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Investigating Inequalities in Knowledge Production on Violence:

Analysing Violence at the Intersection of Gender, Ethnicity, and Migrant-status in the Crime Survey for England and Wales

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge the victims and survivors of violence whose stories and struggles are captured within the numbers and statistics printed in these pages, but also, importantly, all the victims and survivors whose experiences are *excluded* from the statistics.

Declaration

I, Hannah Manzur, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed,

Hannah Manzur

Abstract

This thesis investigates how inequalities are embedded in systems and practices of knowledge production on violence. Despite the proliferation of critical research on the relationship between violence and inequalities, marginalised experiences of violence are routinely excluded from national statistics underpinning mainstream evidence-building and policymaking on violence. The role of inequalities in knowledge production of violence is often overlooked and under-evidenced, despite its impact on research and policymaking in the field of violence reduction.

In addressing my core research questions - *How do inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence? How can we better include, represent, and prioritise marginalised experiences of violence?* – I take a critical intersectional approach to investigating the Sociology of Knowledge's assertion that knowledge is socially constructed by centralising intersecting gendered, ethnic, and migration-based inequalities in understanding knowledge pathways and practices in national statistics. Through this framework, I apply a joint de/reconstructivist approach and quantitative intersectional methodology to critiquing and reshaping practices of knowledge production within the Crime Survey for England and Wales, the UK's most reliable data source for national statistics and policymaking on violence.

Through four empirical applications, I investigate the role of inequalities at distinctive stages of knowledge production, focusing on measuring violence and inequality dimensions, categorising ethnic groups, navigating barriers to disclosure, and monitoring inequalities in violence trends. Each application addresses my two main research aims: (1) revealing how inequalities are embedded in knowledge production on violence through practices of epistemic marginalisation, and (2) contributing new knowledge on inequalities in violence through alternative knowledge production practices.

Through my quantitative intersectional analyses of multiple stages of knowledge production, I found that marginalised groups experienced disproportionately high levels of fear of violence by cross-cutting inequality dimensions and faced greater barriers to violence disclosure, that excluded and misrepresented ethnic groups experienced increased violence victimisation, and that inequalities in violence trends

varied significantly under hostile policy regimes. In particular, I found that minoritised ethnic migrant women were most likely to experience barriers to disclosure, disproportionately high levels of fear of violence, and a relative increase in violence victimisation during the Hostile Environment. Taken together, these findings not only contribute new knowledge to the field of violence and inequalities, but critically disrupt how knowledge is produced through national statistics by evidencing the practices and effects of epistemic marginalisation and revealing how new pathways to knowledge production may mitigate, rather than entrench, violence vulnerabilisation.

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I. Introduction

This thesis investigates how inequalities are embedded in systems and practices of knowledge production on violence. The role of inequalities, such as gender, race, and class, in how violence is perpetrated, experienced, and governed is well-evidenced in the literature (see, for example, Collins 2023; Heise 1989, 1998; Stark 2007; O'Tool and Schiffman 1997; Peterson and Krivo 2005; Fainzylber et al. 2002; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Armstead et al. 2021). Yet the role of inequalities in shaping *knowledge* on violence is often overlooked and underappreciated. Efforts to address inequalities in violence heavily rely on evidence-building to reveal the scale, character, and distribution of the problem through comprehensive evidence building. Within the diverse network of knowledge pathways, national statistics and quantitative methods dominate the heart of evidence-building and policy-making on violence (Babones 2016; Parra Saiani 2018; Natow 2022). Drawing on my professional background in policymaking and advocacy on gendered violence and inequalities, the starting point for this research project was the deepening of knowledge on violence and inequalities to inform policymaking and practice using the most representative and reliable data sources and methods. The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), a nationally representative household victimisation survey providing large-scale quantitative data and national statistics on violence (Kantar Public 2020) and considered the 'gold standard' for measuring violence (Flatley 2014: 199; Maguire and McVie 2017), is the primary data source used by government departments, such as the Home Office, in guiding policymaking on violence (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2; see also, for example, Allen and Harding 2018; Heeks et al. 2018).

However, as I seek to demonstrate in this thesis, the processes and practices of knowledge production involved in translating lived experiences into quantitative data and national statistics are deeply intertwined with systems and relations of power and inequalities, with this thesis focusing particularly on the role of gender, ethnicity, migrant-status and their intersections. Through the process of exploring national data and statistics and conducting quantitative research on the relationship between violence and intersecting inequalities, the importance of *how* national statistics and evidence are produced *through* inequalities and the implications of this for understanding and reducing violence became the core focus of my project. Who is

excluded, misrepresented, and deprioritised in the production of knowledge on violence? How does this shape our understanding of violence and its relation to inequalities? What would it mean to include marginalised victims and hidden forms of violence? In addressing these central research questions, my research not only seeks to deepen knowledge on violence and inequalities, but also challenge and address *inequalities in knowledge* on violence, through a critical intersectional approach to national survey data and statistics. In building a critical intersectional approach to the Sociology of Knowledge as my theoretical framework, and applying an intersectional quantitative methodological approach to secondary data analysis of the CSEW, I analyse how practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation are embedded across multiple stages of knowledge production in the CSEW. Through four empirical applications, I investigate the role and effect of inequalities at distinctive stages of knowledge production, focusing on measuring violence and inequality dimensions, categorising ethnic groups, navigating barriers to disclosure, and monitoring inequalities in violence trends. In doing so, this thesis aims to reveal how inequalities are embedded in national statistics on violence and contribute new evidence on inequalities in violence by addressing the exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of marginalised groups' experiences of violence.

1. Contextual Background and Central Research Problem

The relationship between violence and inequalities in society has long held the attention of researchers, policymakers, and civil society actors from a wide range of research and policy areas. Reducing violence is a core goal for a wide range of stakeholders, including those involved in policing and criminal justice, public health, civil and human rights, public and specialist services, and employment. The effects of violence cascade throughout individuals' lives and wider society, contributing towards poorer public health (Rivara et al. 2019; Loxton et al. 2017; Resnick et al. 1997), decreased labour participation and economic productivity (Paul 2016; Gedikli et al. 2023; Duvvury et al. 2013), increased spending on support services and incarceration, and added strain on social infrastructure such as hospitals and courts (Cohen 2020; Waters et al. 2005; Shoener 2017; Chan and Cho 2010). Violence undermines core societal values and principles of human rights through its destructive impact on social life. The human cost to victims is immense: violence not only results in physical harm and suffering, but levies a heavy toll on victims' mental health and wellbeing, their

ability to navigate the social world, and to live meaningful lives without the fear and controlling influence of violence. Even as violence has steadily, albeit unevenly, declined globally over the past century (Pinker 2012 [1954]; Elias 1994; see Ganpat et al. 2020 for UK violence trends), no society nor social groups within them, are yet free from the experience and impact of violence.

Whilst violence is found throughout society, the risks, prevalence, and responses to violence are not experienced equally across the many social groups which comprise it. Inequalities are deeply embedded in the ways violence is perpetrated, experienced, and governed. Similarly to many other fields of research, violence research has historically been dominated by perspectives which neglect the role of inequalities and marginalised experiences. The emergence of critical and inequality-focused literature on violence has made significant progress in disrupting this legacy, yet challenges, blind spots and areas of resistance remain. For example, feminist researchers and activists have made great leaps in revealing the gendered nature of violence by disrupting default-male perspectives, creating support systems (such as the women's refuge movement), and building a comprehensive body of evidence and policy recommendations on combatting violence against women and girls (VAWG; Hague 2021; McMillan 2007). Yet this progress has not been without significant challenges and setbacks, and critical approaches and evidence building on violence and inequalities remain largely siloed from mainstream 'violence' research in sociology and other fields (Walby 2013; Walby et al. 2014a).

Data on violence and inequalities, such as gendered violence, is collected through a variety of settings, methods and sources, ranging across police records, court files, survivor focus groups, media reports, life-narrative interviews, health and victims' services administrative data, and national surveys (see, for example, Gelles 2017; McPhee et al. 2022; Bellis et al. 2008; Parson 2010). Across these diverse data sources and research pathways, different groups of victims, perpetrators, and forms of violence are included or excluded in the production of knowledge on violence. This patchwork of data sources creates an uneven landscape of evidence on violence against marginalised groups. Each approach involves the exclusion, omission or deprioritisation of certain types of violence and groups of victims. Victims' specific positions within intersecting and interacting systems of inequality expose them to different challenges in whether and how their experiences are represented in data and

evidence on violence. Whilst inequalities in violence, particularly gendered violence, are widely acknowledged as a significant social and policy problem, with frequent evidence from the field used to demonstrate the urgency and injustice of this problem, inequalities in the production of knowledge through data and evidence-building and their implications are largely underaddressed in the field, or at least relegated to cursory caveats of 'data limitations' in national-level statistics and quantitative research. Seemingly technical and practical decisions on data collection, measurement, and survey methodologies carry significant implications for whose experiences are represented in statistics and to what extent these statistics reveal or embed inequalities. For example, Bécares and colleagues highlight the withdrawal of the Health Survey for England's ethnic boost sample, arguing that the lack of data and low sample sizes for ethnic minoritised groups not only inhibit effective evidence-building needed to address inequalities, but represent a form of institutionalised racism embedded in national data practices (Bécares et al. 2020; see also). In this thesis, I argue that rather than treating these issues as inevitable or unimpactful 'data limitations', the exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of marginalised groups and forms of violence in national statistics and quantitative studies represents a significant and underexplored research problem in the field of violence studies. Taking a holistic approach to knowledge production through national statistics, I argue that epistemic marginalisation is prevalent in a wide range of epistemic and methodological practices which are embedded across multiple stages of statistical knowledge production. In doing so, I focus on the UK's primary statistical source for knowledge production on violence: the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

The UK primarily uses data from the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) to record and monitor violent crime, which serves as the primary evidential basis for evaluating and addressing violence in the UK (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2). Yet recent studies have highlighted flawed methodologies which obscure inequalities in violence, for example, through the systemic undercounting of violence against women (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021; Walby et al. 2016). These studies provide invaluable snapshots of how gendered inequalities permeate not only the character and distribution of violence, but the ways we measure and produce knowledge on violence. However, this thesis takes these snapshots further by seeking to establish a more comprehensive picture of how intersecting inequalities are built into the way we produce knowledge across multiple

stages and diverse practices of knowledge production. I argue that the cumulative effect of multiple biased, exclusionary, and misrepresentative practices results in a significant distortion of knowledge on violence, specifically in the production of national statistics through the CSEW.

2. Theoretical and Epistemological Framework

a. Building a Critical Intersectional Sociology of Knowledge

In investigating inequalities in knowledge production, I build my theoretical framework around key insights and perspectives from the fields Sociology of Knowledge (SoK, Mannheim 1936; Curtis and Petras 1970; Swidler and Arditi 1994; Buxton and Rehorick 1988), Critical Epistemologies (Oakley 2000 [1988]; Haraway 1988, 1991; Code 1991; Smith 1979; Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Harding 1987; Smith 2021; Connell et al. 2017; Said 1978), and Intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990, 2019; Romero 2023). Over the past century, sociological approaches to the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production have evolved from the periphery of a centralised subfield of sociology to the central focus of critical epistemologies. In challenging the growing dominance of early 20th-century positivist approaches to knowledge as objective and neutral, the SoK emerged as a new field of inquiry based on its core premise that knowledge is socially constructed. Critical theorists, such as Foucault (1973, 1980) and Gramsci (1971), developed this approach by centralising the relationship between power and knowledge, although largely neglected the role of gender, race, and citizenship-migration in their theoretical contributions to the field. Parallel to these developments, critical theories of feminism, postcolonial, and critical race theory positioned systems of power at the core of their epistemological approaches, effectively embarking on SoK's critical line of inquiry with inequalities at their centre (Oakley 2000 [1988]; Haraway 1988, 1991; Code 1991; Smith 1979; Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Harding 1987; Smith 2021; Connell et al. 2017; Said 1978). These critical epistemologies effectively challenged and deconstructed hegemonic systems and practices of knowledge production and explored alternative 'ways of knowing' through their respective critical theoretical bases (see esp. Haraway 1988, 1991; Harding 1987; Anzaldua 1999 [1987]; Said 1978; Mignolo 2011a, 2011b). Yet critical epistemological perspectives have largely been applied by prioritising one system of inequality over others, neglecting how systems of power and knowledge

overlap and interact with one another. The 'intersectional turn' in critical theories, as well as the wider social sciences, offered a critical breakthrough in understanding the nature of, and relations between, systems of power and inequalities as mutually-shaping and fundamentally interactive (Hancock 2019: 259; Carbin and Edenheim 2013).

In bringing together key insights and perspectives from these fields, I propose an Intersectional SoK theoretical framework for analysing inequalities in knowledge production. In building this framework from distinctive approaches and fields in the literature, I first take SoK's core premise – that knowledge is socially constructed – as my theoretical point of departure, and its sociological line of inquiry – investigating *how* systems of knowledge are socially constructed – as my grounding framework and investigative approach. In reorienting this approach to focus on the role of inequalities in the social construction of knowledge, I draw on critical epistemological perspectives which emphasise how systems and practices of knowledge production are shaped by, and in turn reproduce, systems and relations of power and inequalities. In particular, I use the concept of epistemic marginalisation (Vaditya 2018; see also Collins 2017, 2019) to understand how practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation in processes of knowledge production are both underpinned by wider practices of marginalisation through systems of power and inequalities, and produce knowledge which marginalises the experiences of particular social groups. In bringing key insights from critical epistemologies together and reorienting my SoK framework towards multiple systems of inequality, I apply an intersectional approach to my project. Drawing on Crenshaw's structural approach to systems of inequality (1989, 1991) and Collin's theorisation of epistemic power and resistance (1990, 2017, 2019), I argue that Intersectionality constitutes both a counter-hegemonic knowledge project, and a powerful tool for critiquing and analysing hegemonic knowledge projects. By integrating critical and intersectional epistemological and methodological perspectives within an SoK framework, this approach addresses the role of power and inequalities in the social construction of knowledge through systems and practices of knowledge production.

b. Bridging Epistemological and Methodological Divisions: Deconstructing and Reconstructing Knowledge on Violence

As well as drawing on key insights and perspectives from the literature, I also seek to address a core challenge in critical and intersectional epistemological and methodological approaches to addressing inequalities in knowledge production. These approaches, I argue, are largely divided based on their deconstructivist or reconstructivist strategies for countering hegemonic systems of knowledge. The former aims to counter-hegemonic knowledge by destabilising its foundations and disrupting cycles and systems of knowledge which underpin patriarchal, racist, colonial, and capitalist systems of power and inequality. The latter aims to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge that carves out new pathways for knowledge-production which break free from the constraints of hegemonic knowledge and knowing, and sets out new parameters and perspectives from the position of critical theories, marginalised groups as knowing subjects, and marginalised experiences as worthy objects of knowledge. Despite the wealth of knowledge produced through these approaches, I argue that disciplinary and methodological divisions between 'mainstream' and critical approaches to knowledge production and violence have impeded the effectiveness of both deconstructivist and reconstructivist approaches, as well as siloed qualitative research from the centres of policymaking and marginalised quantitative approaches within critical epistemological research. I argue that whilst qualitative research is essential to a reconstructivist project of producing counter-hegemonic knowledge from marginalised perspectives and alternative 'ways of knowing', the divide between quantitative and qualitative research along the lines of epistemic power contributes towards a methodological marginalisation of critical perspectives. In addressing these challenges, I first implement a joint de/reconstructivist approach in my thesis, reflected in my overarching research aims and questions. Second, I implement an adapted intersectional quantitative methodology, which I argue offers a productive way forward by 'speaking the language of power' as a counter-hegemonic knowledge strategy.

3. Thesis Aims and Research Questions

In applying this theoretical-epistemological-methodological framework to the study of inequalities in knowledge production, I structure my thesis and its empirical applications around two core aims:

1. To reveal how inequalities are embedded in knowledge production on violence in national statistics through practices which exclude, misrepresent, or deprioritise marginalised experiences of violence in national statistics.
2. To contribute new knowledge on inequalities in violence through alternative practices of knowledge production which address issues of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of marginalised experiences of violence.

In reflecting a joint de/reconstructivist approach, the former focuses on critiquing and challenging dominant practices which embed inequalities in knowledge production, and the latter introduces adapted and alternative approaches to knowledge production which better represent marginalised experiences of violence.

These core objectives translate into two sets of overarching research questions which my empirical applications address both individually and taken as a whole:

1. How do inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence?
    - Whose experiences are excluded, misrepresented, or deprioritised in knowledge production on violence?
    - What impact does this have on how violence is understood and responded to?
2. How can we better include, represent, and prioritise marginalised experiences of violence?
    - What new insights can be gained by addressing inequalities in knowledge production?

In addressing these overarching research questions, I take a holistic approach to analysing knowledge production in the CSEW. Rather than focusing on a single issue or practice, I address how inequalities are embedded at multiple stages of knowledge production. I argue that the cumulation of multiple factors which exclude often already marginalised groups and hidden forms of violence creates a cycle of inequalities in knowledge production which are driven by, and in turn sustain, systems and relations of power and inequalities. In contributing towards a de/reconstructivist epistemological aim to reveal and disrupt cycles of inequalities in knowledge production, I conduct four empirical applications which each address a different stage of this cycle.

4. Empirical Applications

This thesis applies an intersectional quantitative approach as its overarching methodological framework, through which I investigate inequalities in knowledge production and their implications for national statistics on violence across four empirical applications. These empirical applications each address a distinctive stage of knowledge production: definitions and measures of violence and inequality dimensions; categorisation of ethnic groups; data collection and barriers to disclosure; and monitoring and analysing violence trends. In addressing my two overarching thesis aims, I take a de/constructivist approach which guides my empirical research questions and informs my dual-methodological application of quantitative intersectionality. This dual-methodological application involves (1) conducting a methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey design and production of national statistics through a critical intersectional lens and supportive quantitative analyses; and (2) conducting quantitative intersectional analyses of gender, ethnic, and migration-based disparities in violence-related outcomes.

Each empirical application addresses a distinctive stage of knowledge production in national surveys and statistics, which I investigate through the following empirical questions:

1. To what extent are dimensions of inequality captured in the measurement of violence in the CSEW? How do inequality patterns vary by different dimensions and measures?

2. To what extent does the UK's standardised categorisation of ethnicity represent ethnic groups and how does this matter for understanding inequalities in violence?

3. What barriers do victims face in disclosing experiences of violence in the CSEW?

4. For whom is violence declining and under what conditions?

In linking these research questions to my overarching research questions, I essentially ask: Whose experiences are excluded, misrepresented, or deprioritised in the (1) definition and measurement of violence and inequality dimensions; (2) categorisation of ethnic groups; (3) data collection and survey design; and (4) analysis of violence trends? What would it mean to include them?

The first empirical application in this thesis investigates the implications of definitional boundaries and measures of violence and inequality dimensions of violence for capturing marginalised experiences and inequality patterns in violence experiences. Here, I analyse gendered, ethnic and migration-based disparities across multiple dimensions of violence (physical victimisation, threats, fear, anticipation) and inequality dimensions in violence (racial motivation and sexual aspects) using an intersectional quantitative comparative approach to explore the interconnections and patterns of inequalities in how violence is experienced.

The second empirical application focuses on how social classification is applied in quantifying and categorising ethnic groups, particularly in terms of misrepresentation and the implications of this for knowledge production on violence by ethnicity. This application first assesses the challenges, inconsistencies and limitations of the current approach to measuring ethnicity through a critical evaluation of standardised ethnicity measures in UK survey data (particularly the CSEW), before analysing quantitative data in the CSEW to compare different approaches to measuring ethnicity and its implications for capturing ethnic disparities in violence victimisation and fear.

My third empirical application addresses inequalities in exposure to barriers to disclosure of physical, domestic, and sexual violence victimisation in the CSEW and the effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance. Here, I apply a methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey design, questionnaire, and methodological practices in identifying potential barriers to disclosure across thematic areas of sample inclusion, comprehension, confidentiality, and independence. I then analyse the estimated effects of exposure to specific barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance, and perform a quantitative intersectional analysis of disparities in exposure to these barriers by gender, ethnicity, migrant-status, and their intersections.

The final empirical application is positioned at the stage of analysis and interpretation, whilst also seeking to capture the cascading impact of hostile policy regimes on inequalities in violence trends. Here, I focus on two distinctive shifts in the UK's economic and border-immigration policy regimes in the 21st century which both saw inequalities deepen across society. Specifically, I examine the 2010 introduction of severe economic Austerity measures (responding to the 2008 global financial crisis with public spending cuts and tax reforms) and the 2014 establishment of widespread surveillance and regulation of migrants' lives in the UK through the restrictive 'Hostile

Environment' immigration regime. In this application, I analyse gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional differences in the rate of decline in violence victimisation during the periods of economic Austerity measures (2010-2014) and the Hostile Environment against migrants in the UK (2014-2019).[1] Using difference-in-difference analyses, I investigate how inequalities in violence-reduction progress are both hidden by total-population monitoring of trends and how disparities in trends changed during Austerity and the Hostile Environment.

5. Thesis Structure

This thesis comprises six main chapters: (I) Introduction; (II) Theoretical Framework and Literature Review; (III) Research Design; (IV) Empirical Results; (V) Discussion; and (VI) Conclusion. These chapters are internally structured through my two overarching research aims and my four empirical applications.

a. (II) Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The following chapter comprises two main sections which situate my thesis within the literature on (1) inequalities in knowledge production, where I develop my theoretical framework; and (2) inequalities in violence, where I develop my empirical applications. The first section charts the trajectories of sociological approaches to knowledge production, particularly in relation to the role of power and inequalities, following the development of SoK, critical epistemologies, Intersectionality, and critical quantitative approaches. Here, drawing on key insights and perspectives from the literature, I build an intersectional approach to SoK as my overarching theoretical framework and apply an intersectional quantitative perspective as my epistemological and methodological approach.

In the second section, moving from the theoretical-methodological to the empirical, I review the literature on violence and inequalities in relation to my four empirical applications. Here, I first outline the literature on violence and inequalities (including conceptualisation, theorisation, and empirical evidence on violence and the relationship between violence and gendered, racial-ethnic, migration-based, and intersecting inequalities), before focusing in detail on specific areas of the literature on

[1] Whilst the policy regimes of Austerity and the Hostile Environment span beyond these years and overlap with one another, I distinguish these two time periods as reflective of the most significant policy shifts for the purpose of analysis. See chapters II.2.e. and III.2.b.iv. for details on the designated Austerity and Hostile Environment time periods.

violence and inequalities based on different focal points of a cycle of knowledge production: (1) inequalities dimensions of violence at the level of definitional boundaries and measurement; (2) ethnic disparities in violence at the level of quantification and categorisation; (3) barriers to disclosure at the level of data collection and survey methodology; (4) inequalities in violence trends during Austerity and the Hostile Environment at the level of analysis and interpretation.

b. (III) Research Design

The third chapter sets out the research design and methods applied in this thesis, which takes a dual approach to identifying practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation through a methodological evaluation and analysis of the effects of these practices and their implications for knowledge production on violence through a quantitative intersectional approach. First, I set out my overarching epistemological and methodological perspective, as developed in the previous chapter, where I apply a de/reconstructivist perspective and critical intersectional quantitative methodology to analysing inequalities in knowledge production and violence across my four empirical applications. Second, I describe the survey, sampling, and questionnaire design of the CSEW as my core data source, as well as key information on my study sample. Third, I describe the variables used in my study, including measures of violence, social groups, inequality dimensions, barriers to disclosure, and policy-based time periods. Fourth, I outline my analytical methods, which comprise (1) a methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey design, questionnaires, data practices, and technical documentation, which I support through quantitative analyses; and (2) quantitative intersectional analyses, where I apply an Intercategorical approach to analysing intersecting inequalities across my empirical applications. Finally, I set out the ethical considerations and implications of my research.

c. (IV) Results

My fourth thesis chapter presents the results of my four empirical applications. For my first empirical application, I present the results of my analysis of inequality dimensions in violence, including key findings on the disproportionality of fear to victimisation among marginalised groups and based on inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, as well as disparities in anticipation and threats of violence. I then describe the results from my second empirical application on ethnic categorisations and their

implications for representing violence against ethnic minoritised groups. For my third empirical application, I present my findings thematically across multiple barriers to disclosure, highlighting disparities in exposure to barriers and the effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance. Finally, I set out the results of my fourth empirical application on inequalities in violence trends during policy regime changes, where I found that violence against women increased relative to men during Austerity and for minoritised ethnic and migrant women during the Hostile Environment.

Through these empirical applications, I found that marginalised groups experienced disproportionately high levels of fear of violence, particularly by inequality-saturated dimensions, and faced greater barriers to violence disclosure, which particularly affected the disclosure of domestic and sexual violence. Through the recategorisation of standardised ethnicity measures, I revealed that otherwise excluded and misrepresented groups were exposed to higher levels of violence. In terms of policy impacts, violence against women increased relative to men during Austerity and for ethnic minoritised migrant women during the Hostile Environment. Using an intersectional quantitative approach, I found variations in inequality patterns within and across groups, with minoritised ethnic migrant women overall being most likely to face barriers to disclosure, experience disproportionately high fear levels, and see a relative increase in violence victimisation during the Hostile Environment.

d. (V) Discussion

This chapter first outlines the key findings across four empirical applications, based on my methodological evaluation, supportive quantitative analyses, and intersectional quantitative analyses. The main body of this chapter (sections 2 and 3) discusses my results in relation to the thesis' overarching research objectives, aligning with deconstructivist and reconstructivist approaches to inequalities in knowledge production.

In section 2, I situate my findings within distinctive stages in the cycle of knowledge production and inequalities. In addressing the first overarching research question – *How do inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence?* – I take a deconstructivist approach by breaking down assumptions and practices and demonstrating how epistemic marginalisation is embedded in knowledge production through the CSEW. Here, I investigated multiple stages in pathways to knowledge

production to build a more holistic understanding of how inequalities are embedded in the ways we define, measure, categorise, collect data on, analyse, and interpret experiences of violence and its relation to intersecting inequalities. I show how epistemic marginalisation is not merely an unfortunate by-product of practical methodological approaches to estimating violence, but deeply entrenched through cumulative practices which disproportionately and specifically exclude, misrepresent, and deprioritise violence experienced by marginalised groups.

In section 3, I demonstrate how addressing inequalities in knowledge production reveals new knowledge and insights on the relationship between and experiences of violence and inequalities. In addressing the second overarching research question – *What impact does this have on how violence is understood and responded to? What new insights can be gained by addressing inequalities in knowledge production?* – I discuss the role of vulnerabilisation in marginalised groups' experiences of violence and demonstrate how alternative approaches to knowledge production reveal hidden victims, violence, and inequality patterns.

Section 4 provides an overall evaluation of my research project. Here, I set out the limitations of my data and findings, evaluate the strengths, limitations, and wider application of my methodological approach, highlight the key strengths and contributions of my project as a whole, and indicate areas for future research on inequalities in knowledge production and violence.

e. (VI) Conclusion

In my concluding chapter, I bring together the key contributions from my four empirical applications and how they address my overarching thesis aims and research questions. Here, I highlight my key findings and their implications for revealing and disrupting cycles of inequalities in knowledge production on violence. I also provide a summary overview of my research project as a whole and why its contributions matter for research and policy addressing violence and inequalities.

II. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1. Knowledge Production: from the Sociology of Knowledge to Quantitative Intersectionality

This chapter sets out evolving sociological approaches to the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production, from the early theorists of SoK (Mannheim 1936; Curtis and Petras 1970; Swidler and Arditi 1994; Buxton and Rehorick 1988) to the emergence of critical and intersectional quantitative perspectives (Cohen 2015; Spierings 2012; Garcia et al. 2018, 2023; Castillo et al. 2018; Bauer et al. 2021; Hancock 2007, 2019; Bowleg 2008, 2012). Drawing on SoK and critical epistemological perspectives, 'knowledge production' is understood as the means by which knowledge is socially constructed through systems of power and inequality. Within this framework, the production of knowledge constitutes a mechanism through which the subjective realities of powerful actors are reified and deployed as objective facts upon which systems of inequalities are founded, legitimised and further perpetuated. Here, hegemonic knowledge production sustains systems of power and inequality, whereas counter-hegemonic knowledge production disrupts these systems.

This thesis investigates the role of inequalities in shaping knowledge production through a theoretical framework which draws on key insights from the fields of SoK, Critical Epistemologies, and Intersectionality, particularly in relation to the role of power and inequalities in quantitative knowledge production. Within this framework, the SoK's premise that knowledge is socially constructed forms my critical point of departure, which I develop through insights from critical epistemological perspectives. These insights, particularly from feminist and postcolonial epistemologies on the role of systems and relations of gender, race, and citizenship-migration in the construction of knowledge, form the meaningful content which informs my approach to critiquing and analysing inequalities in knowledge production on violence in the CSEW. In applying this framework to quantitative knowledge production in particular, I focus on critical quantitative perspectives of FemQuants (Cohen 2015; Spierings 2012; see also

Oakley 2000 [1988]), QuantCrit (Garcia et al. 2018, 2023; Castillo and Gillborn 2022; Gillborn et al. 2018), and Quantitative Intersectionality (Bauer et al. 2021; Hancock 2007, 2019; Bowleg 2008, 2012) within their wider epistemological bases of critical and intersectional epistemologies.

I propose an intersectional approach to the SoK as the overarching theoretical framework for this thesis. Intersectionality provides both a unifying framework for linking critical epistemological perspectives and a critical approach to understanding the role of intersecting inequalities within the wider SoK framework. Intersectionality theorises knowledge production through interacting and mutually-constitutive systems of power and inequality, rather than focusing on individual systems of gender, race and citizenship-migration separately. That is, intersectionality constitutes the unifying framework through which critical epistemological perspectives are deployed in addressing the role of power and inequalities in the social construction of knowledge. As well as engaging critical epistemologies in a 'dialogical engagement', Intersectionality offers a new way of approaching the SoK as a sociological project for understanding the social construction and production of knowledge. By centralising intersecting systems of power and inequality and applying a critical lens to the role of knowledge producers, categorisation, social identities and contexts, and objectivity-subjectivity divides, I position Intersectionality as the critical theoretical underpinning for an SoK approach to the relationship between inequalities and knowledge production.

In developing this theoretical framework, this section first maps out sociological approaches to the production of knowledge, from early SoK theorists to the recent emergence of FemQuants and QuantCrit. Before situating SoK and critical epistemological perspectives within an intersectional framework in the following section, this section critically engages with the development of these perspectives. Here, I map out how successive sociological approaches to knowledge production have accounted for the role of power and inequalities in their theoretical, epistemological, and methodological standpoints. In assessing how successive approaches have developed the field and challenged previous theorisations of knowledge and inequalities, I make two main arguments which feed into the framing of this thesis. First, I argue that systems of power and inequality are not only central to understanding the social construction of knowledge, but that this relationship is

mutually shaping. Second, I argue that strategies for addressing inequalities in knowledge production face significant challenges in how to effectively disrupt and alter hegemonic systems of knowledge. I highlight the distinction between deconstructivist strategies, which contest and disrupt hegemonic knowledge production, and reconstructivist strategies, which seek to establish new knowledge and ways of knowing from marginalised perspectives. Developing critical intersectional quantitative approaches which combine both deconstructivist and reconstructivist strategies within a SoK framework, I argue, offers a productive way forward by 'speaking the language of power' as a counter-hegemonic knowledge strategy. The following section outlines the development and contributions of sociological approaches to the role of power and inequality in knowledge production, drawing on key insights from successive approaches and building the case for the theoretical, epistemological, and methodological approaches taken in this thesis.

a. The Sociology of Knowledge

The starting point from which I develop my theoretical framework is based on the core premise that knowledge is socially constructed through systems of power and inequalities. As such, my project shares its critical line of inquiry into the social construction of knowledge with the subfield of SoK. This core SoK claim, that knowledge is socially constructed, opened a new space for understanding the role, power, and practice of knowledge production in society. The SoK constitutes a subfield of sociology which posits and investigates the social construction of knowledge, and has been variably framed as a "disciplinary matrix" (Buxton and Rehorick 1988: 66), "intellectual orientation" (Buxton and Rehorick 1988: 72), "total ideology" (Mannheim in Curtis and Petras 1970: 10), and as "diverse strands of theory" (Swidler and Arditi 1994: 306) for understanding how knowledge is socially constituted and dispersed. The SoK asserted that not only is the *object* of sociological knowledge socially constructed, but also the *process* of sociological 'knowing' itself. The founding premises of the subfield sought to answer questions of: "how is reality socially generated?" (Schnettler et al. 2017: 238); "how [does] the social location of individuals and groups shape their knowledge"? (Swidler and Arditi 1994: 305, on Mannheim); "how is it possible that subjective meanings become objective facticities"? (Schutz 1967: 18). These early SoK concerns regarding the role of intellectuals, the significance of social locations and contexts, and the tension between objectivity and subjectivity have continued to generate interest and debate across various

approaches to knowledge production (Schnettler et al. 2017; Swidler and Arditi 1994; Curtis and Petras 1970; Buxton and Rehorick 1988; Goldman 1994).

Mannheim formalised the SoK field around the relationship between knowledge and existence through “the genesis of ideas in terms of social processes characteristic of particular historical periods” (Mannheim 1936 in Curtis and Petras 1970: 10). His approach to social relations and structures as ‘determining’, rather than merely selectively ‘manipulating’ the process and content of knowledge production marked a significant intervention to sociological understandings of knowledge, particularly in the context of debates between positivism and relativism and the search for a stable basis for knowledge formation (Mannheim 1936; Buxton and Rehorick 1988). Building on Mannheim’s work, early theorisations of the SoK focused on establishing “formal systems of ideas” (Swidler and Arditi 1994: 306, see for example Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979), whilst also investigating the mutually-shaping relationship between ‘ideas and social structure’ (Buxton and Rehorick 1988: 66, Curtis and Petras 1970: 1). Unlike knowledge production in the natural sciences, knowledge production in social sciences produced changes in the very objects it sought to understand (Törnberg 2017: 53). The social world is highly adaptive to knowledge production, creating a paradox whereby “the very things which make knowledge possible — our ability to monitor our own monitoring, to learn and hence to change our interpretations, actions and responses — are also things which make social science difficult” (Sayer 1992: 252). From this perspective, objectivity and subjectivity in knowledge production are intertwined, where “science is not objective and external, but an inseparable part of the object of study” (Bhaskar 1978, quoted in Törnberg 2017: 55).

The early SoK literature acknowledged the significance of social position (Merton 1972; Swidler and Arditi 1994), yet the role of power and inequality was largely underdeveloped in early SoK literature (Swidler and Arditi 1994). Consistent with the division of the social sciences, the SoK subfield divided, one strand continuing the concern with Mannheim’s insights (see, for example, Berger and Luckmann 2023 [1966]), the second emerging from within critical theories of power (see, for example, Foucault 1973, 1980, 2013 [1969]; Gramsci 1971). Critical theorists, such as Foucault (1973, 1980, 2013 [1969]), drawing on Marx’s economic structuralism and Gramsci’s hegemony, delved deeper into systems of power and authority which served to hierarchise and hegemonise knowledge and ways of knowing in society (2013 [1969]).

Foucault's theorisation of 'power/knowledge' and 'epistemes' stressed the need to examine knowledge production through a focus on marginalised objects and forms of knowledge. Foucault emphasised the role of powerful institutions and practices, such as prisons and asylums, as producers of knowledge about marginalised groups, particularly those marked as 'deviant' (2023 [1975], 2013 [1969]; 1973, 1980). Similarly, Gramsci's (1971) theorisation of 'hegemony' deepened the connection between systems of power and knowledge, emphasising the role of powerful actors in shaping social 'realities' through knowledge and discourse production (see Maesse and Nicoletta 2021: 4; Gramsci 1971). By situating their approaches to the social construction of knowledge within their wider theories of power and inequality, Gramsci and Foucault deepened the field of SoK and provided critical tools for analysing the relationship between power and knowledge. Whilst later developments from critical epistemologies established the role of gendered, racial, and colonial-nationalist systems of power in knowledge production, this development often drew on key concepts and arguments from these early theorists. Conceptual and theoretical approaches to the role of intellectuals as knowledge producers; social identities, locations, and contexts; categorisation and classification; and the tension between objectivity and subjectivity opened new avenues for understanding how systems of knowledge and power interact (Swidler and Arditi 1994; Curtis and Petras 1970; Buxton and Rehorick 1988; Schnettler et al. 2017).

A New Sociology of Knowledge emerged as an attempt to reconvene the subfield and integrate new insights from identity politics that simultaneously was gaining importance in social theory. Following a period of fragmentation and sporadic activity in the SoK field, the emergence of so-called 'New' (Swidler and Arditi 1994; Buxton and Rehorick 1988; Schnettler et al. 2017) and 'Global' (Bhambra 2014; Connell et al. 2017; Connell 2007) SoKs sought to reinvigorate scholarship on the role of power and inequalities in the social construction of knowledge. Whilst building on the work of early SoK scholars and critical theorists, this revival also sought to bring the SoK literature into alignment with parallel developments in critical epistemological perspectives, such as feminist and postcolonial epistemologies. This new approach aimed to address the challenges, and gaps between, the broad SoK project, critical theories of power and knowledge, and critical epistemologies. In aligning these perspectives, the New SoK refocused the field towards 'everyday' and cultural knowledge production, contemporary challenges concerning identity, borders, and social hierarchies, and the

role of institutions of power and patterns of authority (Swidler and Arditi 1994). Nevertheless, what was lost in the New Sociology of Knowledge was an accounting for inequality from the margins rather than the centre and an integration of critical theories and epistemologies of feminism and postcolonialism as central rather than complementary to the SoK project.

The Sociology of Knowledge offers a critical starting point for my investigation of the role of inequalities in knowledge production. Despite the fragmented and sporadic nature of the literature (Buxton and Rehorick 1988: 66), its core premises and the increasing centrality of power in its approach provide a useful foundation from which I develop my critical line of inquiry into the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production. Its central tenet and critical line of inquiry opened new space and drivers for critically examining how knowledge is socially produced, effectively introducing a sociological-epistemological project which, in its various expressions, holds significance today. The emergence of critical epistemologies within feminism and postcolonialism offered new critiques of, and alternative pathways to, the ways we produce knowledge in relation to systems of inequality. This project takes the SoK as its critical starting point and grounding framework, which, as outlined in the following sections, is developed further by engaging with critical and intersectional epistemological and methodological perspectives in both centralizing the role of power and inequality and applying a critical lens towards the role of knowledge in sustaining these systems.

b. Critical Epistemologies

Epistemology may be understood as “a theory about knowledge, about who can know what and under what circumstances” (Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006, see Harding 1987). I refer to ‘critical epistemologies’ as epistemological perspectives which challenge, deconstruct, and explore alternative ‘ways of knowing’ through critical theories, such as Feminism, Postcolonialism, Marxism, and Critical Race Theory, as well as poststructuralism, postmodernism, and radical constructivism. This thesis focuses on the former: those rooted in critical theories of power and inequality specific to hegemonic systems such as patriarchy, colonialism, capitalism, nationalism, and racism. By focusing on how epistemological assumptions shape knowledge through systems and relations of power, critical epistemologies offer invaluable insight into how knowledge is socially constructed and produced. In situating these contributions within

the broader SoK project, I argue that these approaches take seriously the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production, address central themes and challenges within the SoK, and successfully bring marginalised knowledge and knowing into focus. In particular, this section highlights insights from feminist epistemology (see, for example, Smith 1979; Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Oakley 2000 [1988]; Haraway 1988, 1991; Harding 1987; Hartsock 2017 [1983]; Code 1991), as well as comparative contributions from postcolonial epistemology (see, for example, Smith 2021; Connell et al. 2017; Said 1978; Mignolo 2011a, 2011b). In the following section (II.1.c), I situate contributions from critical epistemologies rooted in specific systems of power and inequalities within Intersectional epistemology (Collins 1990, 2019; Romero 2023; Hancock 2016, 2019) as a unifying framework for critical epistemologies.

Critical epistemologies, whilst being rooted in their respective critical theorisations and social movements of gendered, racial, class (and other) inequalities, addressed many of the core questions posed in the SoK field (Swidler and Arditi 1994: 320-1). By exploring principles, debates, and questions of the SoK from within these social movements, scholars were able to critically disrupt the assumptions and priorities of early SoK scholarship and offer counterhegemonic approaches to the social construction of knowledge (Swidler and Arditi 1994: 320-1; see, for example, Haraway 1991; Smith 1979; Hartsock 1987; Collins 1990). They essentially addressed the challenge that the SoK posed against itself: knowledge claims about *how knowledge is produced* are themselves socially produced. Whilst SoK scholars were asking the right questions, critical inquiries of these questions from a hegemonic knowledge position (i.e. from within a Eurocentric, patriarchal, classist system of knowledge), while also neglecting both the role of power and inequalities in both their work and their own positionalities, meant they were essentially marking their own homework (see Bhambra 2007; Longino 1990; Harding 1991). Interventions from the margins were needed to challenge hegemonic knowledge production and produce the critical insights necessary for a comprehensive unravelling of structures, practices, and contents of hegemonic knowledge production. Taking this research project forward, feminist and postcolonial epistemologies emerged as powerful critiques of hegemonic knowledge systems. Scholars like Harding (1987), Haraway (1988, 1991), Said (1978) and Collins (1990, 2017, 2019) argued that knowledge production has been historically dominated by white, male, colonial, and Eurocentric perspectives, which have marginalised and distorted the experiences and ways of knowing of marginalised

groups (for example, women, colonized groups, and ethnic minoritised groups). A number of critical epistemological perspectives gained influence in the 1970s-90s which sought to challenge dominant ways of knowing which subjugated subjects and objects of knowledge within systems of inequality. Rather than situated within the SoK literature, these perspectives were firmly rooted in the critical theories of inequality – most notably Feminism (Smith 1979; Oakley 2000 [1988]; Haraway 1988, 1991; Harding 1987; Hartsock 2017 [1983]) and Postcolonialism (Said 1978; Bordo 1987; see also Smith 2021; Connell et al. 2017), but also Queer Theory (see, for example, McCann 2016; Sedgwick 2003 [1990]), Critical Race Theory (see, for example, Bernal 2002; Solórzano and Yosso 2002; Parker and Lynn 2002) and Marxism (see, for example, Naidysh and Naidysh 2018) – which provided the theoretical framework and meaningful content which informed these epistemological perspectives.

i. Feminist Epistemology and Standpoint Theory

Feminist epistemology may be viewed as a response to the problem posed by Simone de Beauvoir in her seminal work *The Second Sex*, that "representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth" (1972 [1949]: 161). This assertion, Code (1991) argues, represents the "one focal point, one rallying claim" (ix) that best exemplifies early feminist epistemological thought. Among the most powerful tools wielded by patriarchal systems is the historic assertion and widespread acceptance that male knowledge is objective knowledge. Similarly, postcolonial epistemologies centred around a "decolonial epistemic shift" (Mignolo 2011a, 2011b) which recognised subaltern knowledge and ways of knowing (Spivak 2023 [1988]) and the role of colonialist systems of knowledge in constructing distorted images of colonized populations (Said 1978).

As well as deconstructing patriarchal systems and claims of knowledge, early feminist epistemology also sought to address the assumption of men as the default object for analysis and the deprioritisation of 'women's issues' by building a knowledge base which focused on women's experiences. Patriarchal systems of knowledge construct women as epistemically inferior and exclude them from sites and statuses of intellectual and socio-political knowledge-production and 'knowing' subjects[2] (see Code 1991: x). Standpoint Theory, a core perspective of founding SoK scholars like

[2] 'knowing subjects' here refers to individuals, groups, or institutions who produce or hold knowledge.

Marx and Mannheim (Swidler and Arditi 1993: 320), became a central epistemological position in feminist theory and research. Feminist scholars, such as Smith (1979), Hartsock (2017 [1983]), and Collins (1990), argued that marginalised and oppressed groups possess a "unique vantage point" from which to understand and create knowledge which was otherwise invisible to privileged and powerful groups (Swidler and Arditi 1993: 320). Feminist standpoint theory offered a theorisation of how marginalised subjects' positionalities within systems of inequality, particularly patriarchy, provide critical insights into worldviews otherwise eclipsed in hegemonic knowledge production (see Smith 1979, Hartsock 1987, Collins 1990). This perspective rejects positivist claims of an objective viewpoint, but rather that knowledge is accessible through a multitude of subjective viewpoints, where "each subject is specific, located in a particular time a place" (Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006: 27). Feminist standpoint theory instead argues that "this locatedness gives access to the concrete world; knowing is not relative … rather it is partial" (Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006: 27, see Haraway 1988; Hartsock 2017 [1983]). Whilst deploying Foucauldian poststructuralist tools for deconstructing knowledge in relation to power, its conclusion is more aligned with critical realist approaches. Rather than reducing knowledge solely to a tool of power which cannot claim any truth about the world, critical standpoint theory argues that the different positionalities of 'knowing subjects' create "distinctive angles of vision" into the world, which is collectively and socially constructed through a multitude of viewpoints (Collins 2019: 136). Privileging some viewpoints above others, and claiming these as universal or objective ways of knowing, obscures and distorts the production of knowledge. Feminist standpoint theory works to rebalance the privileging of male perspectives and patriarchal systems of knowledge by repositioning these as subjective, not objective, viewpoints, and by pushing forward women's perspectives, experiences, and ways of knowing as legitimate viewpoints worthy of knowledge and inquiry.

The concept of 'situated knowledges' exemplifies the plurality and social locatedness of knowledge and knowing (Haraway 1988; see also Bordo 1987; Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis 2002). Knowledge is understood as embodied, partial, and shaped by the specific social contexts of 'knowing subjects'. Exercising a standpoint perspective not only means evaluating how your social location and subjectivity shape your own viewpoint, but also involves looking through others' viewpoints (Haraway 1988). Marginalised groups are particularly adept at exercising viewpoints other than their

own. Practices of empathising with other marginalised groups, the necessity to gain an acute awareness of others' perceptions of you in order to anticipate threats (Anzaldua 1999 [1987]: 38), and "cross[ing] boundaries between viewpoints as a matter of daily life" (Sprague and Kobrunowicz 2006: 28; see also Smith 1987, 1980) all contribute towards an enhanced ability to exercise different viewpoints among marginalised groups. Critical epistemologies thus not only bring forward marginalised viewpoints as necessary for balancing epistemological hierarchies, but offer a more complex and critical perspective into the tensions between and implications of viewpoints from different locations of power.

Critical epistemologies, particularly those drawing on standpoint perspectives, contribute towards a deeper understanding of the social constructedness of knowledge in terms of the social locatedness of 'knowing subjects', situated knowledges, revealing hidden knowledge and ways of knowing, and critical engagement with different vantage points across systems of power and inequality. Understanding knowledge as situated within, rather than external to, social relations and locations of power and inequality further develops SoK's premise of knowledge as socially constructed by emphasising the significance of social location for the production of knowledge through systems of power and inequality.

ii. Epistemic Marginalisation

Marginalisation is a core concept in critical theories, particularly feminist and intersectionality theories. Marginalisation refers to the sociopolitical process where certain individuals and groups are pushed to the margins of social life, away from centres of power, resources, and opportunities (Hall 1999; Hall et al. 1994). It captures the systemic exclusion, peripheralization, deprioritisation, and denial of access to rights and resources for specific social groups based on their position within systems of power and inequalities. In feminist theory, the concept of marginalisation is applied in understanding the exclusion of women from public life, the deprioritisation of their interests and experiences, their positioning at the peripheries of sites and processes of power, and practices of silencing women's voices and rendering women invisible within dominant power structures and discourses. "To be in the margin," bell hooks argues, "is to be part of the whole but outside the main body" (1984: ix), whereby the separation between margin and centre was part of the lived reality of those existing on peripheries of society.

As well as feminist theory, Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that marginalisation is one of the major processes which construct intersectional positions. Whilst also accounting for interlocking, rather than dichotomous, approaches to inequalities, I argue that the practice of marginalisation remains a powerful tool in inequalities, particularly in relation to knowledge production.

Within hegemonic systems of knowledge, powerful 'knowers' are positioned at the centre and construct knowledge about the less-powerful 'known' at the margins. Yet critical theories, such as Marxism (see, for example, Naidysh and Naidysh 2018), feminism (see, for example, Smith 1979; Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Oakley 2000 [1988]; Haraway 1988, 1991; Harding 1987; Hartsock 2017 [1983]; Code 1991), and postcolonialism (Smith 2021; Connell et al. 2017; Said 1978; Mignolo 2011a, 2011b), have demonstrated the power of generating knowledge *of* the centre *from* the margins. The concept of 'epistemic marginalisation' (Vaditya 2018; see also Collins 2019 on epistemic power and resistance) may be applied in the context of critical epistemological critiques in terms of how particular ways of knowing, knowing subjects, and objects of knowledge are marginalised within hegemonic systems of knowledge and power. Particular forms of epistemic marginalisation may include:

- Epistemological marginalisation: the exclusion, dismissal, and deprioritisation of non/counter-hegemonic epistemologies and ways of knowing. From, for example, indigenous knowledge (Smith 2021; Hokowhitu et al. 2010), to critical epistemological perspectives (Connell et al. 2017: 23; Vaditya 2018; see also Mignolo 2011a, 2011b).
- Disciplinary marginalisation: the siloing, devaluing, and exclusion of particular disciplinary perspectives and sub-disciplinary fields (Wiebke 2008; Power 2011: 38 on Foucault). For example, the historic and ongoing siloing of 'women's studies' from their respective disciplinary areas (Pearse et al. 2019; Connell et al. 2017: 26; Code 1991: ix-x; Walby 2011).
- Methodological marginalisation – the deprioritisation of qualitative methods in mainstream social sciences and policymaking and the hierarchising of qualitative and quantitative methods based on positivist assumptions (Collins 2019: 142-144; Oakley 2000 [1988]; Smith 1979; see also Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Romero 2023; and see Wimmer and Schiller 2003 on methodological nationalism).

- Data marginalisation: the exclusion, misrepresentation, and obscuring of particular social groups in data collection and analysis (Heeks and Satyarupa 2019; Park and Humphry 2019; Castillo and Gillborn 2022; Gillborn et al. 2023; see also Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Romero 2023; Strunk 2024). For example, the historic practice of medical knowledge is based on research which predominately used data on male research subjects (Verdonk 2009; Strunk 2024).

Whilst touching on all of these, this thesis focuses particularly on demonstrating how processes of knowledge production marginalise particular groups' experiences within national-level quantitative data and research. This thesis uses the concept of epistemic marginalisation to understand how practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation in processes of knowledge production are both underpinned by wider practices of social marginalisation through systems of power and inequalities, and produce knowledge which marginalises the experiences of particular social groups.

Sociological approaches to the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production have evolved from the periphery of a centralised subfield of sociology to the central focus of critical epistemologies. Where SoK approaches have failed to centralise systems of gender, race, and citizenship-migration in their theorization of knowledge and power, critical epistemological perspectives have successfully embarked upon SoK's critical line of inquiry with critical theories of inequality at their core. Yet critical epistemological perspectives are often applied by prioritising one system of inequality over others, neglecting how systems of power and knowledge overlap and interact with one another. Intersectionality offered a critical breakthrough in understanding the nature of, and relations between, systems of power and inequalities as mutually-shaping and fundamentally interactive.

c. Intersectionality and Systems of Knowledge

This section introduces Intersectionality as the theoretical underpinning of this thesis' approach to the SoK project and the relationship between violence and inequalities. Whilst intersectionality has been widely implemented in the critical literature on inequalities (Hancock 2019: 259; Carbin and Edenheim 2013), including its relation to violence (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 2023), this thesis further seeks to develop its application to the SoK project and quantitative knowledge production. I first introduce

Intersectionality as a theoretical framework and critical lens for understanding multiple systems of inequality, highlighting its core components and theoretical standpoint. Second, I focus on intersectional approaches to understanding systems and processes of knowledge production, particularly in relation to epistemic power and resistance.

i. Theorising Intersectionality

First conceptualised in academia by Crenshaw (1989, 1991), building on the work of the Combahee River Collective (1977), intersectionality was largely developed by Black feminist theorists (Collins 1990; hooks 1981, 1984; Lorde 1984) and later mainstreamed as a core perspective of feminist and other critical theories of inequality (Bauer et al. 2021: 1; McCall 2005). The so-called 'intersectional turn' offered a breakthrough in social scientific understandings of inequalities (Hancock 2019: 259; Carbin and Edenheim 2013), particularly as an essential tool for gendered analyses which incorporate other critical perspectives, sites of struggle, and complex interactions of inequalities (Romero 2023: 1; McCall 2005: 1771). Beyond critical perspectives, intersectionality has found its way into wider social scholarship (Hancock 2019; McCall 2005; Romero 2023), albeit marked by concerns of co-option, 'whitening', and use as a 'buzzword' (Romero 2023; Bilge 2013, 2014; Alexander-Floyd 2012; Davis 2008). The history and praxis of intersectionality beyond its academic uptake is a critical part of knowledge production through and of intersectionality (Romero 2023; Collins 2019).

Crenshaw applied 'intersectionality' as a critical lens in demonstrating how Black women were simultaneously excluded from both mainstream feminist movements, which equivalated 'women' with 'white women', and antiracist movements, which equivalated 'Black' with 'Black men' (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Bowleg 2012: 1268). Rather than 'combining' inequalities as a form of addition (e.g. race + gender), the intersection of multiple forms of inequality and oppression interact to form unique expressions and experiences. Black women experience, as Collins (1990) argues, a "matrix of domination" which is distinct from the experiences of white women or Black men, or even the additive effect of these (Collins 1990). Crenshaw and Collins both take a structural approach to Intersectionality, emphasising how macro-level systems of power and inequality interact to produce unique forms of oppression and disadvantage.

Intersectionality provides a theoretical framework and conceptual lens for analysing the complex interactions between different systems of inequality (Crenshaw 1989, 1991), focusing in particular on multiple overlapping identities and relations of power (Collins 2015, 2019; McCall 2005). Rather than focusing on one central system of power, as was typical in earlier feminist, postcolonial, and Marxist theories, Intersectionality enables the analysis of multiple systems of power simultaneously, without prioritising or subsuming any particular system. Key contributions to theorising Intersectionality include Crenshaw's (1989, 1991) structural approach to intersectionality as a 'critical lens', Collins' (1990) theorisation of a 'matrix of domination' and 'epistemic power and resistance', and Anthias' (2002, 2008) conceptualisation of 'translocational positionality'. Intersectional approaches vary in whether they deconstruct or provisionally adopt categories (McCall 2005); their level of analysis (Collins 2019); their disciplinary grounding (Orr et al. 2009); and methodological approaches (McCall 2005; see also Collins 2019; Romero 2023). This thesis particularly draws on Crenshaw's structural approach to intersectionality, Collins' work on epistemic power and resistance (2019), and (as addressed in section 1.e.iii.) McCall's distinction between categorical approaches to complexity (2005).

Systems of inequality cannot be understood in isolation, nor can individuals be reduced to one aspect of their identity (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990, 2019; Anthias 2002, 2008). No individual is defined by their relation to one system alone, but by their position at the intersection of multiple systems. In relation to social groups, the category of 'women' does not equally represent all women, who are variously positioned in relation to systems of race, class, sexuality, and other inequalities, but a social construction of gender that is necessarily structured and deployed through other systems of inequality. Intersectionality therefore enables analyses of social groups, such as women, as *heterogeneous*, rather than *homogenous*. In relation to individuals, each person comprises a complex tapestry of mutually constitutive identities and positionalities in relation to their social location within the 'matrix of domination' (Collins 1990). Social identities and systems of power based on, for example, gender, race, or class, are *mutually constitutive,* not *mutually exclusive*. Further, whilst historically oppressed groups with 'multiple socially disadvantaged statuses' are at the centre of intersectionality, the theory accounts for identities with overlapping experiences of oppression and privilege in shaping individuals' intersecting identities. Rather than assuming "that all interlocking identities are equally disadvantaged," intersectionality

accounts for how contrastingly privileged and disadvantaged aspects of one's "social identities intersect to yield disparity and advantage" (Bowleg 2012: 1269; see also Collins 1991; Nash 2008; Misra et al. 2024).

At the macro-level, systems of power are overlapping and mutually constitutive: patriarchal systems are constructed and practiced *through* capitalist, nationalist, colonialist, and, among others, hetero-patriarchal systems of power and inequality, and vice versa. At the micro-level, individuals' identities and experiences are shaped through their particular location within overlapping and interacting systems of power and inequality (Bauer et al. 2021: 1-2, see Bowleg 2012, Collins 1995; Crenshaw 1989, 1991). Intersecting inequalities are therefore not the result of 'adding' multiple levels of oppression together, but understanding: (1) how one's specific position within overlapping systems of inequality shapes their social identity, relations, and experiences; (2) the heterogeneous and diverse character of social groups; and (3) the mutually-constitutive relationship between systems of power.

The theorisation of intersectionality fundamentally "challenges the logic of how processes of racial, gender, class, and sexuality disparities are produced and remedied" (Hancock 2019: 259-60) by moving away from a more segregated model where each system of inequality is analysed in isolation, towards a more integrated approach which focuses on how systems of inequality overlap and interact to produce unique positionalities and distinctive intersections. At its core, Intersectionality addresses how systems of power and inequality are interactive and mutually constitutive of one another. Systems of inequality are rooted in power and oppression which have histories, underlying logics, discourses, and practices (Collins 1990, 2019; Romero 2023). Within this thesis, Intersectionality provides a theoretical framework through which multiple critical theories may interact and inform one another through 'dialogical engagement' (Collins 2019: 144-7). The following section sets out how this approach is applied to the role and practice of knowledge production through intersecting systems of power and inequality, particularly in relation to Collins' conceptualisation of epistemic power and resistance as a core part of Intersectionality as a counter-hegemonic knowledge project.

ii. Intersectionality and Knowledge Production: Epistemic Power and Resistance

Intersectionality is deeply involved in transforming knowledge production, taking on critical epistemological goals and applying intersectional principles to understanding and countering hegemonic knowledge production. Furthering the work of critical epistemologies, as outlined above, Intersectionality investigates how dominant knowledge practices and claims are constructed through intersecting systems and relations of privilege, power, and the exclusion of marginalised groups and perspectives. Intersectionality scholars widely share a common goal of "transforming the production of knowledge by including marginalised groups' experiences" and recognizing how "power structures reproduce and maintain knowledge production by privileged groups" (Romero 2023: 1). In this thesis, I operationalise Intersectionality as a theoretical and epistemological perspective which both challenges hegemonic systems of knowledge rooted in gendered, racialised, and migration-based inequalities and provides a unifying and enhanced framework for critical epistemological perspectives.

Intersectionality emerged in the academic landscape within the context of new ground gained by critical epistemologies and social justice movements where "subordinated groups challenged not just the power arrangements of the academy … but also the epistemological authority of scholarly arguments that had long held sway in explaining the experiences of subordinated people" (Collins 2019: 124). Collins argues that rather than seeking to establish "some higher theoretical truth", Crenshaw's conceptualization of intersectionality sought to operationalize a core component of "antiracist, feminist and decolonial resistant knowledge projects" as a means of addressing "the specific social problem of [how] violence affected people of color, women, and immigrant groups" (Collins 2019: 124). Building on critical epistemological perspectives, core tenets of intersectional epistemological perspectives include: (1) an understanding of knowledge as constructed through *mutually constitutive* systems of power and inequality; (2) an emphasis on knowledge as an expression of *epistemic power* and the importance of epistemic resistance; (3) a rejection of objectivity and neutrality in knowledge production, which are used in the epistemic oppression of marginalised voices and perspectives; (4) recognition of the situatedness of knowledge in socio-historical, socio-cultural, and socio-political locations and contexts;

and (5) an “attention to ambivalence” and scepticism of social categories as reflective of individual identities and experiences (Collins 2019; Romero 2023; Bowleg 2008; Hancock 2007, 2016, 2019). In advancing critical epistemological developments from an intersectional perspective, scholars deepened the theorisation of how inequalities shape knowledge production by enabling ‘dialogical engagement’ between, for example, feminist and postcolonial epistemologies (Collins 2019: 144-147). In doing so, they opened space for a more complex understanding of how systems of power interact and are sustained through the production of knowledge. Additionally, the conceptualisation of social identity and location as positioned at the intersection of multiple systems simultaneously, rather than within isolated binaries challenged both hegemonic constructions of social categories as well as non-intersectional critical epistemologies which approached marginalisation through binary in/exclusion models of marginalisation. As discussed further in section 1.d.iv., Intersectionality not only deepened the theorisation of inequalities and supported collaboration between previously distinctive critical epistemological approaches, but also disrupted approaches to social categorisation and contextual interpretation as part of knowledge production practices.

Epistemic power and resistance

Haas (1992) conceptualises epistemic communities as productive spaces and networks for knowledge production. These communities are not, however, immune to social relations and structures of power and hierarchy (Collins 2019). However, struggles in “gaining access to the closed interpretive communities of Western social theory” persist for marginalised groups sitting outside the core institutions comprising academia, colleges and universities (2019: 122). Systems of power are sustained through the standardization and legitimisation of hegemonic knowledge systems which privilege or suppress knowledge practices, producers, and institutions based on their position within these systems of power. The historic ‘othering’ and exclusion of marginalised groups from such institutions and communities have posed challenges both in their ability to effectively critique hegemonic knowledge production from inside such systems and for their critiques to be taken seriously (see Collins 2019). It is also important to highlight here that epistemic power and oppression are often practiced without conscious intent. The normalisation and legitimisation of hegemonic systems and practices of knowledge production often render the exertion of epistemic power

invisible through claims of neutrality and objectivity. Yet for oppressed and marginalised groups, this notion that knowledge is a core part of systems of power and is used against them is not new, nor are the effects of epistemic oppression (Collins 2019: 122). Living in systems of knowledge which are not reflective of their own knowledge of the world, themselves, and their experiences, which systematically devalue them as knowing subjects, and exclude them from 'real' or 'objective' knowledge claims are part of their own lived reality within hegemonic systems of knowledge and power (Collins 2019).

As with other expressions of power (Foucault 1980), epistemic power is met with epistemic resistance. For some, histories of epistemic resistance are built into "the fabric of their critical analyses", yet for others, the concept is 'quite new' (Collins 2019: 122). Whilst early SoK approaches privileged the role of intellectuals, neutrality and abstraction, and philosophical approaches over empirical and everyday praxis, Intersectionality took a more grounded approach. As well as a theoretical and conceptual framework guiding academic research, Intersectionality also provided "an important analytical and practical tool for social justice movements building solidarity across the matrix of domination" (Romero 2023: 5, see Collins 2019; Collins and Bilge 2016). Romero highlights the work of the Combahee River Collective (1986), Ida B. Wells, and Anna Julia Cooper as demonstrating the importance of praxis in applying the core principles and perspectives of intersectionality to the practice of epistemic resistance (Romero 2023: 5) and how this translation from theory to praxis is a powerful tool in destabilising and contesting hegemonic knowledge systems.

Whilst the concept of epistemic power and resistance may be applied to non-intersectional critical epistemological perspectives, Collins centres this concept around interlocking systems of power. Critical epistemologies and intersectional knowledge projects share a common goal of disrupting hegemonic knowledge systems from the perspective of oppressed groups, however, critical epistemologies have largely done this from the position of single axes of inequality, whereas intersectionality is able to provide a unifying framework which draws insights from multiple critical theories and epistemological framings and build upon their shared positions and even strengthen them.

In this thesis, I argue that Intersectionality constitutes both a counter-hegemonic knowledge project and a powerful tool for critiquing and analysing hegemonic

knowledge projects. In particular, I take forward Collins' (2019) conceptualization of epistemic power and resistance as key drivers of this project and the wider relationship between knowledge production and intersecting inequalities. Here, knowledge is an expression of epistemic power that constructs the social world through intersecting systems of oppression and inequality which are normalised, legitimised and accepted based on relations of power and authority. Epistemic resistance is therefore critical to rebalancing power relations through the production of knowledge from marginalised and oppressed groups and perspectives.

Intersectionality therefore not only reveals how epistemic power and epistemic resistance operate in society, but also represents an act of epistemic resistance in itself. Epistemic resistance is built into the application of Intersectionality as not only a productive tool for revealing how intersecting inequalities shape hegemonic knowledge production, but as an emancipatory tool for redefining and reimagining systems and practices of knowledge production from the perspective of multiple-oppressed groups and perspectives. The following section addresses how epistemic power and marginalisation are challenged through deconstructivist strategies and how epistemic resistance is built through reconstructivist strategies within critical and intersectional epistemological approaches to the social construction of knowledge. I also set out how Intersectionality is deployed as a theoretical and epistemological perspective within this thesis, and its position within competing (and complementary) epistemological strategies and methodological approaches in relation to epistemic power and resistance and key insights from Intersectionality.

d. Critical Epistemological Strategies and Quantitative Approaches

In challenging epistemic power and building epistemic resistance, critical and intersectional epistemologies share a common goal in challenging hegemonic systems of knowledge which function through, and in turn sustain, systems of power and inequality. Different strategic approaches and methodological tools have been put forward to achieve this goal, with varying prevalence and effectiveness. I distinguish between deconstructivist and reconstructivist strategies for destabilising hegemonic systems of knowledge and rebuilding counter-hegemonic knowledge systems. I argue that these strategies face ongoing challenges, particularly in the context of methodological divisions in the social sciences and wider approaches to knowledge production. I use the concept of 'epistemic marginalisation' (Vaditya 2018; see also

Collins 2019) to explain how critical and intersectional epistemological and methodological strategies risk reinforcing a cycle of exclusion and silencing of marginalised voices and experiences in dominant streams of knowledge production. I then introduce approaches from FemQuants, QuantCrit, and Intersectional Quants as a means of disrupting this cycle, which I take forward as the bridge linking my theoretical and methodological approach to analysing intersecting inequalities in the production of knowledge on violence.

i. Critical and Intersectional Epistemological Strategies: Deconstructivist and Reconstructivist Approaches

Critical epistemological strategies may be distinguished between those focused on the deconstruction of hegemonic systems of knowledge on the one hand, and the construction of counter-hegemonic knowledge and ways of knowing on the other. The former aims to counter-hegemonic knowledge by destabilizing its foundations and disrupting cycles and systems of knowledge which underpin patriarchal, racist, colonial, and capitalist systems of power and inequality. This approach focuses on breaking down and critiquing epistemic systems and practices which drive and sustain inequalities, emphasising the *problem* of inequalities in knowledge production. The latter aims to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge that carves out new pathways for knowledge production which break free from the constraints of hegemonic knowledge and knowing, and sets out new parameters and perspectives from the position of critical theories, marginalised groups as knowing subjects, and marginalised experiences as worthy objects of knowledge. This approach focuses on recentring marginalised knowledge and ways of knowing and implementing more equitable and representative epistemic principles and practices, emphasising *solutions* to inequalities in knowledge production.

Deconstructing Hegemonic Systems of Knowledge

Deconstructivist approaches broadly addressed three aspects of hegemonic knowledge: (1) the dominance of ‘knowing subjects’ as white, ‘western’/European, male, and socio-economically privileged; (2) the exclusion of marginalised voices, experiences, and ‘issues’ (for example, so-called ‘women’s issues’) as worthy objects of knowledge; and (3) the production of knowledge and ‘ways of knowing’ through patriarchal, colonial, white supremacist, and classist assumptions and practices (Code 1991; Oakley 2000 [1988]; Haraway 1988; 1991; Romero 2023).

Feminist epistemology challenged existing patriarchal knowledge systems which produced knowledge *about* men *by* men based on default-male and masculinised assumptions (see Code 1991: ix-x). For example, feminist scholars have critiqued the reliance of medical knowledge on male-only studies, arguing that excluding women positioned men as the default object of medical knowledge and contributed towards the under/misdiagnoses of health conditions and poorer health outcomes for women (Verdonk 2009). Institutionalised male-dominated knowledge production on women positioned them in society based on patriarchal, gender-blind, and default-male assumptions which either defined them solely in their relative position to men or ignored their position entirely (de Beauvoir 1972 [1949]; Code 1991). Within the deconstructionist approach, postcolonial epistemological concepts, such as Mignolo's "border thinking" (2011b) and Dussel's "transmodernity" (2019), were used to critique the assertion and practice of Western hegemonic systems of knowledge as universal knowledge in a colonial context. In particular, Said's seminal text, 'Orientalism' (1978), challenged Western colonial constructions of the 'Orient' and its populace as an assertion of colonial power through the production of knowledge.

Further, the claim of neutrality and objectivity of mainstream positivist knowledge systems enabled it to dismiss and devalue feminist claims to knowledge as diverging from the 'epistemological project' (Code 1991). These core assumptions of positivist knowledge systems, of neutrality, objectivity, and universal applicability, "mask the facts of its derivation from and embeddedness in a specific set of interests: the interests of a privileged group of white men" (Code 1991: x). Destabilising positivist assumptions as a legitimising and authorising force underpinning hegemonic knowledge systems is a critical part of deconstructivist approaches.

The core aim of Deconstructivist approaches is to destabilise the 'objectivity' of hegemonic systems of knowledge by demonstrating the role of power and inequality in shaping knowledge production based on epistemic hierarchy, privilege, and authority. Claims of 'objective' and 'neutral' knowledge are revealed as neither objective nor neutral, but rather, as reflections and assertions of biases, assumptions, and prejudices built into society through systems of inequality, which are legitimised through claims of objectivity by powerful knowledge producers.

This approach benefits from its confrontation with hegemonic knowledge by exposing how it fails to account for marginal experiences, how its underlying assumptions are

based on systems of inequality, and how it reinforces biases used to further marginalise such groups. However, it also faces challenges in actually *changing* how knowledge is produced. Revealing inequalities in dominant systems and practices of knowledge production is a critical, and necessary, step in addressing both epistemic power, oppression, and marginalisation, and the systems of power and inequalities which rely upon them. Yet making inequalities visible is only the first step. Without demonstrating how to build more equitable and representative systems of knowledge and implementing them in praxis, deconstructivist-based critiques of hegemonic knowledge production risk becoming a critical voice on the sidelines, rather than a central actor in transforming knowledge production.

Reconstructing Counter-Hegemonic Systems of Knowledge

Reconstructivist approaches draw on insights from critical theories, such as feminism and postcolonialism, to establish new ways of knowing that emphasise marginalised voices and experiences. Where deconstructivist approaches *challenged* the dominance of powerful 'knowing subjects', ways of knowing, and objects of knowledge based on their privileged position within systems of power, reconstructivist approaches built up and centralised perspectives and experiences from the margins. In its early form, feminist reconstructivist approaches focused on including women's experiences in previously male-dominated sociological knowledge. Essentially asking, what happens when we take women's experiences seriously? What new knowledge is gained and how does this transform the way we understand the social world? The field of 'Gender Studies' and its applications across virtually all disciplines not only challenged patriarchal systems of knowledge by making gender visible in knowledge production and its construction of social realities, but also shone a spotlight on how feminist knowledge construction revealed different, hidden social realities. The sub-field of 'The International Political Economy of the Household', for example, revealed the significance and impact of deeply gendered domestic relations, labour, and finances on the global economy, such as the role of the 'maid trade' in international trade agreements, migratory flows, and remittance-based economic disparities (Elias 2020; Elias and Louth 2016). Gender-mainstreaming across multiple disciplines not only 'revealed' new knowledge by examining the role of women and gender in male-dominated spheres, but fundamentally sought to *counter* hegemonic systems of

knowledge by demonstrating how such revelations *changed* fields of knowledge by opening new spaces and sites of gendered knowledge.

Whilst a critical part of rebalancing the scales of knowledge production towards including women's experiences, earlier efforts to include women as objects of knowledge have also been critiqued as limited to an 'add women and stir' approach (Harding 1995). More than simply 'adding' women's experiences, developments in feminist reconstructivist approaches saw the construction of a comprehensive body of knowledge grounded in feminist principles, women's experiences, and epistemic resistance to patriarchal systems of knowledge. Feminist reconstructivist approaches sought to legitimise women as knowing subjects and reinvigorate 'ways of knowing' previously delegitimised as marginalised in epistemic practices (see Belenky et al. 1986). Feminist scholars, such as Harding (1987), Haraway (1988, 1991), Code (1991), and Collins (1990, 2019), introduced new theoretical and conceptual tools and frameworks for understanding gendered knowledge and how to break free from patriarchal epistemic systems and practices. Departing from the notion of 'knowing subjects' as objective, neutral, and detachable from their own social location and experiences, feminists emphasised the value of 'situated knowledge' and 'lived experience' as valuable and valid sources of knowledge (Haraway 1988, 1991; Collins 2019; Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis 2002).

Building on deconstructivist critiques of objectivity and neutrality in patriarchal knowledge systems, feminist epistemological theories emphasise the social position, context, and relation between researcher and subject. In resisting practices of epistemic marginalisation, which devalued women's perspectives and experiences as 'niche', subjective, and unreliable, feminist reconstructivist projects sought to legitimise previously devalued 'ways of knowing' (Belenky et al. 1986). These emphasised subjective, relational, contextual, and narrative practices of knowledge construction by promoting collaboration, dialogue, and storytelling as a means of democratising knowledge and making marginalised voices visible and valuable (Belenky et al. 1986). Extended beyond feminism, postcolonial reconstructivist approaches focused on the valorisation of Indigenous and (global) Southern knowledge and ways of knowing, particularly in relation to struggles of power and resistance between colonizing and colonized groups (Smith 2021; Bhambra 2014; Connell et al. 2017; Hokowhitu et al. 2010). These reconstructivist strategies – of

producing new knowledge by centring marginalised experiences, situating knowledge in social contexts and lived experience, and transforming practices of knowledge production to better capture the role and experience of systems of inequality – were widely applied by feminist, postcolonial, and other critical-epistemology-based researchers (see, for example, Bernal 2002; Haraway 1988, 1991; Anzaldúa 1999 [1987]; Collins 2019; Hancock 2016, 2019; Said 1978; Mignolo 2011a, 2011b). This approach benefits from being able to create new forms of knowledge and knowing which captures the complexity, nuance, and diversity of people's experiences. However, it faces ongoing challenges in having its voice heard due to the structuring and hierarchies of knowledge where quantitative research dominates, and despite a lack of defence, positivist assumptions continue to underpin how knowledge is created and used. The methodological turn underpinning the reconstructivist approach was dominated by qualitative methods, which as discussed in the following section, have faced significant challenges in a quantitative-dominant methodological landscape in social sciences and policymaking.

In overcoming the challenges facing both deconstructivist and reconstructivist approaches, I argue that by integrating these strategies, the strengths of one support the limitations of the other. Deconstructivist critiques reveal the 'problem' of inequalities in knowledge production and reconstructivist pathways offer the 'solution' by demonstrating how these inequalities may be addressed. That is, deconstructivist critiques open space for reconstructivist pathways to more inclusive, equitable, and representative systems, practices, and forms of knowledge. Rather than prioritising one approach over the other, I argue that deconstructivist and reconstructivist strategies complement each other by simultaneously destabilising hegemonic knowledge systems and paving the way for counter-hegemonic ways of knowing.

Translating critical epistemologies into practical applications involved the development of critical methodologies, as well as the critique of existing methodological practices. However, the methodological divisions which emerged during the so-called 'paradigm wars' saw (1) deconstructivist approaches taking a critical, rather than adoptive, stance towards the 'quantitative turn' in social sciences and policymaking; and (2) the embedding of qualitative interpretivist methodologies within reconstructivist approaches reinforcing epistemic marginalisation of critical perspectives. The following section addresses the implications of methodological divisions which

emerged from the so-called ‘paradigm wars’ in relation to methodological marginalisation and the gap between de/reconstructivist strategies.

ii. Epistemic and Methodological Marginalisation: Who Won the Paradigm Wars?

The so-called ‘paradigm wars’ were a series of ontological, epistemological, and methodological debates in the social sciences between positivist-quantitative and post-positivist/interpretivist-qualitative approaches to research (Hammersley 1992; Bryman 2008). Whilst critical epistemological perspectives, such as feminist and postcolonial epistemologies, favoured the latter (Oakley 2000 [1988]; Hughes and Cohen 2012; Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Strunk 2024: 5-6), it was the former which is largely considered to have claimed hegemony in the social sciences and policymaking spheres. Although British Sociology has somewhat resisted the wider quantitative shift in the social sciences (Hughes and Cohen 2012; Cohen et al. 2009; see also Payne et al. 2004), sociological knowledge production as it functions within a wider system of knowledge, particularly in its dissemination and implementation in policymaking, remains dominated by quantitative approaches underpinned by positivist assumptions (Babones 2016; Parra Saiani 2018; Natow 2022).

Critical epistemologies have largely advocated for interpretivist qualitative research as a more inclusive and nuanced method for knowledge production which accounts for the voice, subjectivity, and positionality of its research subjects (see, for example, Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Romero 2023; Haraway 1988). Yet against the quantitative turn in social sciences and the wider legitimation of quantitative data and statistics as an authoritative knowledge-basis in society, critical epistemological approaches risk being ‘drowned out’ in the sea of knowledge being produced.

The epistemological and methodological divide between positivist-quantitative and postpositivist-qualitative approaches may be mapped onto hegemonic and counter-hegemonic/marginalised systems of knowledge. Feminist knowledge and women as ‘knowing’ subjects were then, against the construction of male knowledge as objective, neutral, and universal knowledge, constructed as subjective, partial, and particular. This dichotomy of objective male and subjective female knowledge continues beyond epistemological bases into methodological paradigms, particularly the so-called ‘paradigm wars’. Oakley argues that quantitative research is framed as masculine, linked by concepts of objectivity, rationality, and neutrality; whereas qualitative

research is framed in feminine terms, as subjective, emotive, and partial (2000 [1988]). By defining itself as 'pure' knowledge in its objectivity, neutrality, and universality, male-dominated systems of knowledge necessarily ignored the role of patriarchal power and structural logics in its own formation and assertions. Methods such as testimonies, storytelling, and life-narrative research seek to reposition the object of knowledge as also the subject, where people's perspectives and experiences are put in the foreground and given credit. Proponents of this approach argue that such methods put into practice the core values and tenets of critical theories, with particular attention to the role of epistemic power and power relations between the researcher and the researched. In terms of critical epistemological strategies, deconstructivist approaches focused on critiquing the dominance of quantitative research, whereas reconstructivist approaches sought to practice and legitimise qualitative research centred around critical epistemological principles.

Whilst positivism is seldom explicitly defended in contemporary sociological scholarship (Oakley 2000 [1988]), the quantitative turn in sociology, particularly in relation to evidence-building and policy-oriented research, resulted in positivistic assumptions becoming embedded in sociological knowledge production. The dominance of quantitative research became further embedded through practices of funding and career progress which relied on relations of power and authority in knowledge institutions and systems (Swidler and Arditi 1994; Connell et al. 2017). This resulted in a deepening of knowledge hierarchies, whereby counter-hegemonic perspectives, such as feminism, postcolonialism, critical race and border theories, and queer theory, deployed counter-hegemonic epistemologies and methodologies which were then further marginalised within the discipline.

I argue that whilst qualitative research is essential to a reconstructivist project of producing counter-hegemonic knowledge from marginalised perspectives and alternative 'ways of knowing', the divide between quantitative and qualitative research along the lines of epistemic power contributes towards a methodological marginalisation of critical perspectives. One approach to addressing this divide is to rebalance the methodological scales by promoting and legitimising qualitative interpretivist methods within a critical reconstructivist framework. Whilst incremental progress has been made towards this rebalancing, a contrasting approach has been to reconstruct and adapt dominant methodological practices towards reconstructivist

aims of revealing and re-centring marginalised perspectives and experiences. Whilst most critical epistemological engagement with quantitative research has been through deconstructivist critique, a new field has recently emerged which applies the core tenets of critical theories of inequality, particularly feminism and critical race theory, to quantitative research from a reconstructivist perspective.

iii. The Emergence of FemQuants and QuantCrit: Who Counts?

Despite significant research on inequalities being produced through a quantitative research paradigm, there has been limited engagement with how to "use quantitative methods *as a feminist*" (Cohen 2015: 2). As feminist qualitative research is marginalised within, or even externalised from, the quants-dominant social science and policymaking field, so too are feminist quantitative research marginalised and externalised from feminist methodology and research praxis (Cohen 2015; Oakley 2000 [1988]).

Whilst feminist methodological scholarship has largely focused on critiquing quantitative approaches (Spierings 2012; see, for example, Harding 1987; Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002; Reinharz 1992), several feminist scholars have nevertheless argued for its untapped potential in feminist research (Spiering 2012; Cohen 2015; see also Oakley 2000 [1988]; Sprague and Zimmerman 1989; Westmarland 2001; Harding 1987; McCall 2005; Maynard and Purvis 2013 [1994]). Quantitative methods have been widely used in research on gender inequality, yet the development of a feminist epistemological and methodological approach to quantitative research is a more recent and specialised field (Cohen 2015). Unlike mainstream quantitative studies on women and gender, FemQuants research takes an integrated approach to methodology and theory, whereby feminist principles and perspectives not only guide the theoretical approach underpinning this research, but also the methodological approach to conducting the research itself. In this way, FemQuants scholars have opened a productive dialogue between feminist theory and quantitative methods which moves beyond a feminist critique of quantitative methods and quantitative studies of gender, but instead seeks an integrative approach (Cohen 2015).

More recently, critical approaches to quantitative research have spread to additional critical theories of power and inequalities, most notably Critical Race Theory. Gaining momentum from a 2018 special issue (Garcia et al. 2018; see also Gillborn et al.

2018), a new approach to critically engaging with quantitative research and race has emerged in the form of 'QuantCrit'. This approach applies key principles of Critical Race Theory to quantitative forms of knowledge production as a means of critiquing and improving statistical data in social sciences research (Garcia et al. 2018, 2023; Castillo and Gillborn 2022). QuantCrit has rapidly gained traction across multiple fields and critical theoretical perspectives, with applications in educational studies (for example, Garcia et al. 2018; Gillborn et al. 2018; Castillo and Gillborn 2022), employment (Huber et al. 2023), housing (Vargas and Peet 2024) and medicine (Gerido 2020), and the introduction of productive expansions through QuantQueer (Strunk 2024), Trans QuantCrit (Curley 2019), and quantitative Chicana feminist epistemology (Calderón et al. 2012).

Whilst based on distinctive aims and priorities, FemQuants and QuantCrit share key methodological principles and perspectives, which may be summarised as (1) the centrality of power and inequalities; (2) numbers and categories are not neutral; (3) data cannot 'speak for itself'; and (6) a social justice perspective and objective (Gillborn et al. 2018, 2023; Godwin et al. 2021; Bowleg 2008; Hesse-Biber and Piatelli 2012; see also Strunk 2024 on QuantQueer).

First, critical quants[3] centralise racism, sexism, and other hierarchical relations of power and inequality as the structural logics and theoretical grounding of their methodological approach, rather than simply a variable for analysis, reflecting wider methodological positions (Gillborn et al. 2018; Shepherd 2009: 218). Second, critical quants reject the idea that numbers, statistics, or categories can be neutral or objective, but rather, argue that quantification of the social world reflects the viewpoint and priorities of powerful knowledge producers (Strunk 2024; Zuberi 2003). For example, Critical Race Theory and QuantCrit scholars have demonstrated how quantitative data is used to "encode everyday racism" and highlighted the entangled history of quantitative methods and scientific racism through the categorisation and measurement of racial and ethnic groups (Castillo and Gillborn 2022: 6; see also Leiberman 1968). This approach takes power and domination as "a central component of society that is not *natural* but rather is socially constructed and supported through

[3] Here I refer to critical epistemological approaches to quants, such as FemQuants and QuantCrit, using the shorthand critical quants (although not to be confused with QuantCrit which refers specifically to Critical Race Theory approaches to quants).

multiple dimensions of difference or categories that quantitative research cannot be absent from" (Godwin 2021: 28).

Third, drawing on its critical epistemological foundation, critical quants emphasise the importance of the voices and lived experiences of the populations being studied, which quantitative data cannot replace or 'speak for'. Quantitative data collection and analyses necessarily impose pre-set structures and practices which translate, and always distort to varying extents, subjective lived experiences into generalised numbers and statistics. Data represent "an interpretive stance on the part of researchers and those who consume research", rather than a true reflection of the voices and experiences of those it represents (Strunk 2024: 12; see also Gillborn et al. 2018; Castillo and Gillborn 2022). As such, data should be interpreted as useful indicators which, when situated within a broader sphere of knowledge which includes the voices and lived experiences of marginalised groups, as well as its wider social context, provide productive insights on how these experiences may be mapped at the collective and structural level.

Fourth, critical quants argue that quantitative research should be implemented in advancing social goals of justice and equality, rather than, in an attempt to maintain the perception of neutrality and objectivity, position itself as detached from such goals and projects. The assumption that empirical research should be 'value-free' and 'objective' undermines the researcher-as-activist approach (Collins 2019; Romero 2023) by discarding their methodological approaches as "less than rigorous" and their "engagement with social justice as delegitimate findings" (Romero 2023: 5, see also Romero 2020). The delegitimization of researcher-activists assumes that research and researchers can be isolated from the socio-historical context through which knowledge is produced. Academic norms of objectivity remain dominant and use their epistemic authority to dismiss researcher-activists "as social justice warriors rather than scholarly empirical research" (Romero 2023: 5; see Abraham 2019; Romero 2020). Yet as critical epistemological perspectives gain ground in particular subfields, such as VAWG, "scholar-activists are gaining more acceptance and social justice research agendas are gradually finding some support" (Romero 2023: 5).

Whilst Oakley's argument for the 'usefulness' of quantitative methods for feminist research faced significant critique from feminist qualitative researchers, Hughes and Cohen reinforce the argument that "there is, however, a pragmatic politics to be

considered in terms of the efficacy of quantitative approaches for feminist aims for social justice" (2012: 2). In recognizing the dominance of quantitative methods as the 'gold standard' for social science research and policymaking decisions and evidence building, they argue that "it is crucial that we escape these simplistic dichotomies and re-open critical debates around feminist epistemologies and feminist empirics in terms of quantitative methodologies" (Hughes and Cohen 2012: 4). In taking this approach further, methodological interventions from intersectionality scholars have gained new ground in opening space and impetus for intersectional quantitative research.

iv. Intersectional Quantitative Approaches: An Oxymoron or Overlooked Tool?

Whilst Intersectionality has been widely applied as a theoretical grounding for empirical research on inequalities, its implementation in epistemological and methodological praxis has been far more limited (Romero 2023: 1; Collins 2019: 122; McCall 2005: 1771). Intersectionality is about more than theorising power and inequalities, "rather, its critical inquiry taps the recursive relationship of knowledge and power as organised via epistemology and methodology" (Collins 2019: 122-3). Rather than treating knowledge production as a "technical process … [which] ignores the significance of power relations shaping research itself", Intersectionality should be embedded within this process itself (Collins 2019: 142). Similarly to other critical epistemologies, however, Intersectionality has been largely applied in qualitative interpretivist methodological approaches (Romero 2023: 1; Bauer et al. 2021: 2; Bowleg 2008; Nash 2008). Integrating quantitative methods within an Intersectional framework faced particular challenges, with some scholars suggesting these approaches to knowledge production are fundamentally opposed to one another (see Bowleg 2008: 317; Carbado and Roithmayr 2014; Romero 2023). This is largely due to the underlying positivistic assumptions of quantitative research, its reliance on mutually exclusive categories for defining and measuring groups and experiences, and the common use of statistical significance in defining its findings, all of which are strongly critiqued from Intersectional epistemological perspectives (see Bowleg 2008; Carbado and Roithmayr 2014; Romero 2023).

However, others have argued that integrating intersectionality and quantitative methods offers compelling insights into the role and impact of inequalities across a broad range of disciplines (Else-Quest and Hyde 2016; Bowleg 2012). Quantitative studies which examine inequalities almost universally analyse systems and axes of

inequality separately, as if gender can be analysed in isolation from race and class. Lagging behind the widespread consensus that inequalities operate intersectionally, rather than in isolation, the dominance of quantitative methods represents a fundamental gap in the 'intersectional turn' in social sciences. Essentially, proponents argue that quantitative research on inequalities *needs* intersectionality (Bowleg 2008, 2012; Else-Quest and Hyde 2016). Conversely, we may ask: why would intersectionality need quantitative research? Given its successful application in qualitative research, which better aligns with the theoretical and epistemological principles of Intersectionality, some may argue that intersectional quantitative research is not only antithetical, but unnecessary (see May 2015; Bowleg 2008: 317; Carbado and Roithmayr 2014). I argue, however, that quantitative methods offer two main benefits to intersectional research. First, quantitative methods enable particular forms of knowledge and answers to questions that qualitative methods generally do not. For example, quantifying inequalities, such as the gender pay gap, ethnic disparities in healthcare, and poverty trends, offers critical evidence of how inequalities operate and impact people's lives at a population level. Second, the dominance of quantitative research as particularly authoritative in policymaking decisions (see, for example, Babones 2016; Parra Saiani 2018; Natow 2022) should be harnessed towards equality-focused objectives. Speaking the language of power is essential to claiming a seat at the decision table. Adapting quantitative methods through an intersectional framework enables the production of knowledge which speaks the language of power – quantitative research and evidence – whilst simultaneously using it to speak about marginalised experiences, silenced groups, and hidden inequalities. This approach should be deployed collaboratively, and in support of, intersectional qualitative research which forms the meaningful content and context of intersectional quantitative research and evidence. Quantitative Intersectionality, as I argue and apply in my research, is best practiced through a joint de/reconstructivist approach which lends a powerful voice to a counter-hegemonic knowledge project, alongside intersectional qualitative research which more directly attends to the voices and lived experiences of marginalised groups. In applying this approach, I (1) use a critical intersectional lens to critique the CSEW as a national survey and quantitative data source, taking a deconstructivist approach to revealing biases, exclusions, and misrepresentations; and (2) use an intersectional quantitative approach to analysing inequalities in violence to reveal new insights and evidence which better account for

experiences of, and the relationship between, intersecting inequalities and violence. In informing this approach, I drew on the newly emerging literature which highlighted pathways towards, as well as pitfalls to avoid, intersectional quantitative methods and perspectives. In particular, I situate my approach within McCall's (2005) distinctions of categorical complexity and evaluate it against Bowleg's (2008, 2012) and Bauer's (2014, see also Bauer et al. 2019, 2021) methodological guidelines.

Categorical Complexity

Approaches to complexity and categorisation are a particular site of tension between intersectional principles and quantitative methods. While Intersectionality *challenges* the reduction of individual identities to discrete, mutually exclusive categories, quantitative analyses of inequalities *rely upon* social categorisation to estimate disparities in outcomes (Bowleg 2012: 1268; Romero 2023: 3; Cuádraz and Uttal 1999: 163). Bauer et al. (2021) apply McCall's (2005) distinction between different approaches to intersectionality based on how they address this tension between Intersectionality's emphasis on *complexity* and quantitative methods' reliance on *categorisation*. Situated along a continuum based on their rejection or provisional acceptance of social categorisation, McCall organises Intersectional methodological approaches as Anticategorical, Intracategorical, or Intercategorical.

Anticategorical approaches to complexity focus on deconstructing analytical categories by "critiqu[ing] rigid social categorisation itself" (Bauer et al. 2021: 2; McCall 2005: 1773). In seeking to avoid the essentialising pull of categorisation, anticategorical analyses deconstruct their meaning and effect, conceptualising them as "partial and fluid socially constructed categories" rather than objective and straightforward ways of organising people into boxes (McCall 2005: 14, see also Romero 2023: 3). Largely considered inapplicable in quantitative research, this approach embraces complexity and rejects the use of categories as essentially reproducing, rather than revealing, systemic inequalities (Bauer et al. 2021: 7; McCall 2005).

Intracategorical complexity is situated between anticategorical and intercategorical approaches, "focus[ing on] particular social groups at neglected points of intersection" (McCall 2005: 1774). In addressing inequalities in knowledge production, this approach often aims to focus attention on specific groups' experiences at the intersection of multiple systems of inequality who are otherwise excluded from

knowledge production or subsumed within larger groups. This approach has been particularly well-implemented in research on the specific experiences of minoritised ethnic and migrant women (see Bauer et al. 2021), with variations in the number of intersections applied within the group.

Intercategorical complexity "adopt[s] existing analytical categories to document relations of inequality among social groups and changing configuration of inequality among multiple and conflicting dimensions" (McCall 2005: 1773). This approach seeks to address the heterogeneity of identities and experiences within and across relations of inequality, as well as allows for a comparative approach to capturing the specificity and variation of experiences across multiple intersections of inequality (Bauer et al. 2021). Bauer et al. (2021:2) found that most empirical methodologies may be classed as "intercategorical" in their descriptive approach to inequalities which reveal "finer intersectional detail" by comparing multiple axes of inequality. Yet some scholars have raised concerns that operationalising these categories, particularly if used uncritically, may "reinforce ideas of inherent differences between groups rather than to point towards actionable solutions" (Bauer et al. 2021: 2, see also Bauer 2014, Bauer and Schiem 2019, Lofters and O'Campo 2012). In taking an Intercategorical approach, I analyse inequalities by single and multiple axes of inequalities based on gender, ethnicity, and migrant status (see Chapter II.3.b for details on my approach).

Methodological Guidance for Quantitative Intersectional Research

In addition to setting out different approaches to intersectional quantitative research, scholars have also set out a soft framework for implementing this approach. Whilst methodological guidance and implementation are still in their early stages (Bauer et al. 2021; Cole 2009; Bowleg 2012) and proponents have cautioned against imposing strict rules, recent literature nevertheless provides a set of guiding points which aim to retain the meaningful contributions of intersectionality in its implementation in quantitative studies. Researchers are advised to engage meaningfully with Intersectionality's theoretical roots, to avoid treating intersectionality as a testable hypothesis or an additive function, and to interpret results in relation to their social context.

Meaningful engagement with Intersectionality in quantitative methods involves accounting for its core theoretical tenets. Bauer et al.'s (2021) review of quantitative intersectional studies found the detachment of many studies from the theoretical

foundations of intersectionality as well as the theoretical and methodological literature from Intersectional scholars a key challenge. They called on quantitative intersectional studies to engage with intersectionality's core tenets more deeply and explicitly. This includes explicit definitions of intersectionality, citing foundational scholars of intersectionality and intersectionality methods papers, and using 'intersectional' categories explicitly linked to systems of social power and inequality (Bauer et al. 2021: 5). In particular, they encouraged "explicitly linking theory with methods and interpretation" (Bauer et al. 2021: 5) and warned against 'superficial' usage of intersectionality as a 'trendy concept' (Davis 2008) rather than a fundamental grounding for the research (see also Bowleg 2012).

Hypothesis testing is a core tenet of scientific research, particularly in quantitative methods. Intersectional methodologists have however advised against 'intersectionality-as-testable-explanation' approaches where results are interpreted in terms of testing intersectionality as a hypothesis rather than as an analytical framework (Hancock 2019; Bauer et al. 2021). That is, results where inequalities do not differ at intersections do not 'disprove' intersectionality as a theory nor do they 'prove' that intersections do or do not matter for people's experiences.

A particular challenge in quantitative intersectionality is avoiding 'additive approaches' (Romero 2023: 2; McCall 2005; Bowleg 2008, 2012; Choo and Ferree 2010). As discussed previously, Intersectionality is theoretically opposed to the idea of adding together or ranking inequalities. Disputing the idea that simply adding, for example, experiences of racism to experiences of sexism sufficiently describe the experiences of Black women is the original contestation made by Intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989; 1991). In contrast to this core principle, quantitative analyses of inequalities typically involve estimating the effects of single axes and then adding these together (Bowleg 2008; Choo and Ferree 2010; Hancock 2007). This approach suggests "a ranking of oppression, which does not consider individual experiences that include belonging to both dominant and subordinate groups", making non-additive quantitative analyses particularly challenging for researchers (Romero 2023:2; see also Weber and Para-Medina 2003). Whilst the underlying data in the CSEW is based on an additive approach, by recoding my sample population into distinctive groups based on multiple axes of inequality, I seek to lean away from the additive implications of the data. By applying multiple regression models with rotating referent groups (which allows

individual comparisons between all sub-groups), I seek to avoid 'ranking' groups or 'adding' inequalities and improve the specificity and detail of comparing intersecting disparities in results (see chapter II.4.b. for more details on my application of quantitative intersectional methods).

From an intersectional perspective, individual and collective experiences should be understood in close relation to their sociocultural, sociopolitical, and sociohistorical contexts. Social locations play a core role in understanding how individuals are positioned amidst multiple intersecting systems of power and the importance of context in positioning individuals within a particular social location. Cuádraz and Uttal distinguish between situational locations as "the contemporary moment that they are reporting about", social locations as "a location shaped by particular social histories of race, class and gender", and contemporary social contexts as "the stratification of society and the politicization of certain topics", which, in combination, shape "the individual's understanding of their own life" (1999: 173). This approach is particularly significant in quantitative research, where statistical results are more often presented without sufficient contextualisation (Bauer et al. 2021).

Using recent methodological literature on quantitative intersectionality in guiding my methodological approach, this thesis incorporates Intersectionality as a core theoretical perspective, avoids the use of hypothesis testing in my intersectional results, implements an adapted Intercategorical approach which seeks to avoid the additive tendencies of quantitative methods, and, in discussing my results, draws on conceptual and qualitative literature to situate my findings in their wider social context. In particular, my adapted approach implements rotating referent groups to compare all intersecting groups to one another, rather than, as in most Intercategorical quantitative approaches, comparing intersecting groups to one primary group (often the group perceived as the least disadvantaged, such as high-income white men).

e. Theoretical Framework: An Intersectional Approach to the Sociology of Knowledge

This thesis investigates the role of inequalities in shaping knowledge production through a theoretical framework which draws on key insights from the fields of SoK, Critical Epistemologies, and Intersectionality, particularly in relation to the role of power and inequalities in quantitative knowledge production. Drawing from these perspectives, 'knowledge production' is understood as the means by which knowledge

is socially constructed through systems of power and inequality. Within this framework, the production of knowledge constitutes a mechanism through which the subjective realities of powerful actors are reified and deployed as objective facts upon which systems of inequalities are founded, legitimised and further perpetuated. Here, hegemonic knowledge production sustains systems of power and inequality, whereas counter-hegemonic knowledge production disrupts these systems. This section set out evolving sociological approaches to the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production, from the early theorists of the SoK to the emergence of critical and intersectional quantitative perspectives. Drawing on insights and perspectives through this development, I build my theoretical framework through an Intersectional SoK framework, structured around de/reconstructivist strategies and applied through a quantitative intersectional methodology.

Over the past century, sociological approaches to the role of power and inequalities in knowledge production have evolved from the periphery of a centralised subfield of sociology to the central focus of critical epistemologies. In challenging the growing dominance of early 20th-century positivist approaches to knowledge as objective and neutral, the SoK emerged as a new field of inquiry based on its core premise that knowledge is socially constructed. This intervention, pursued through a critical sociological line of inquiry, opened new space and drivers for understanding how knowledge is socially produced, effectively introducing a sociological-epistemological project which, in its various expressions, holds significance today. Consistent with the division of the social sciences, the SoK subfield divided, one strand continuing the concern with Mannheim's insights (Berger and Luckmann 2023 [1966]), the second emerging from within critical theories of power (Gramsci 1971; Foucault 1973, 1980). Critical theorists, such as Foucault (1973, 1980) and Gramsci (1971), developed this approach by centralising the relationship between power and knowledge, although largely neglected the role of gender, race, and citizenship-migration in their theoretical contributions to the field.

Parallel to these developments, critical theories of feminism, postcolonial, and critical race theory positioned systems of power at the core of their epistemological approaches, effectively embarking on SoK's critical line of inquiry with inequalities at their centre. These critical epistemologies effectively challenged and deconstructed hegemonic systems and practices of knowledge production, and explored alternative

‘ways of knowing’ through their respective critical theoretical bases. Here, marginalised groups’ voices and lived experiences were pushed to the forefront in an effort to rebalance understandings of social life which had previously prioritised privileged social groups as the primary knowledge-producers and objects worthy of study. Yet critical epistemological perspectives have largely been applied by prioritising one system of inequality over others, neglecting how systems of power and knowledge overlap and interact with one another.

The ‘intersectional turn’ in critical theories, as well as the wider social sciences, offered a critical breakthrough in understanding the nature of, and relations between, systems of power and inequalities as mutually shaping and fundamentally interactive. Intersectional perspectives sought to further disrupt mainstream knowledge production by emphasizing the multiple intersecting social positions that shape individual experiences and perspectives. Challenging hegemonic systems of knowledge cannot therefore be achieved from any singular perspective, but requires an accounting of how multiple intersecting positionalities shape our experience of the social world and how this stands in contrast to assertions of a neutral ‘default’ perspective which sits outside of these. Intersectionality not only reveals how epistemic power and epistemic resistance operate in society, but also represents an act of epistemic resistance in itself. Epistemic resistance is built into the application of Intersectionality as not only a productive tool for revealing how intersecting inequalities shape hegemonic knowledge production, but as an emancipatory tool for redefining and reimagining systems and practices of knowledge production from the perspective of multiple-oppressed groups and perspectives.

In bringing key insights and perspectives from these fields together, I propose an Intersectional SoK theoretical framework for analysing inequalities in knowledge production. In building this framework from distinctive approaches and fields in the literature, I first take SoK’s core premise – that knowledge is socially constructed – as my theoretical point of departure, and its sociological line of inquiry – investigating *how* systems of knowledge are socially constructed – as my grounding framework and investigative approach. In reorienting this approach to focus on the role of inequalities in the social construction of knowledge, I draw on critical epistemological perspectives which emphasise how systems and practices of knowledge production are shaped by, and in turn reproduce, systems and relations of power and inequalities. Critical

epistemological perspectives, particularly from feminist epistemologies, form the meaningful content which informs my approach to critiquing and analysing inequalities in knowledge production on violence in the CSEW. In particular, I use the concept of epistemic marginalisation to understand how practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation in processes of knowledge production are both underpinned by wider practices of marginalisation through systems of power and inequalities, and produce knowledge which marginalises the experiences of particular social groups.

In drawing together key insights from critical epistemologies and further reorienting my SoK framework towards *multiple interlocking* systems of inequality, I apply an intersectional perspective to my project as both a theoretical orientation and a methodological standpoint. As a unifying framework for critical theoretical and epistemological perspectives, Intersectionality theorises knowledge production through interacting and mutually-constitutive systems of power and inequality, rather than focusing on individual systems of inequality separately. As well as positioning critical epistemologies in a 'dialogical engagement', Intersectionality offers a new way of approaching the SoK as a sociological project for understanding the social construction and production of knowledge with inequalities at its core. By centralising intersecting systems of power and inequality and applying a critical lens to understanding the role of knowledge producers, categorisation, social identities and contexts, and objectivity-subjectivity divides, I operationalise Intersectionality as the critical theoretical underpinning for an SoK approach to the relationship between inequalities and knowledge production. Drawing on Crenshaw's structural approach to systems of inequality (1989, 1991) and Collin's theorisation of epistemic power and resistance (2019), I argue that Intersectionality represents both a counter-hegemonic knowledge project and a critical tool for understanding and challenging hegemonic knowledge projects. Here, Intersectionality constitutes both a powerful means of critiquing hegemonic systems of knowledge and power, as well as a counter-hegemonic system of knowledge in itself. By integrating critical and intersectional epistemological and methodological perspectives within an SoK framework, this approach addresses the role of power and inequalities in the social construction of knowledge through systems and practices of knowledge production.

I argue that systems of power and inequality are not only central to understanding the social construction of knowledge, but that this relationship is mutually shaping. Systems of power shape the content and process of knowledge production, which in turn acts to reinforce, or challenge, systems of power. Hegemonic systems of knowledge are central to the persistence and functioning of systems of power and inequality, but also face challenges through counter-hegemonic knowledge production, particularly from oppressed and marginalised groups. Systems of inequality determine which knowing subjects, ways of knowing, and knowledge claims are considered legitimate, valid, and authoritative. By critically analysing dominant knowledge production practices, I aim to reveal how inequalities are embedded in the processes of defining, measuring, categorising, disclosing, collecting data on, analysing, and interpreting experiences and relations of violence and inequalities.

As well as drawing on key insights and perspectives from the literature, I also seek to address a core challenge in critical and intersectional epistemological and methodological approaches to addressing inequalities in knowledge production. Critical epistemologies differ in their deconstructivist or reconstructivist strategic approach to addressing the role of inequalities in knowledge production. Deconstructivist strategies aim to counter hegemonic knowledge by destabilizing its foundations and disrupting cycles and systems of knowledge which underpin patriarchal, racist, colonial, and capitalist systems of power and inequality. Reconstructivist approaches aim to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge that carves out new pathways for knowledge production which break free from the constraints of hegemonic knowledge and knowing, and sets out new parameters and perspectives from the position of critical theories, marginalised groups as knowing subjects, and marginalised experiences as worthy objects of knowledge.

I argue that these strategies for addressing inequalities in knowledge production face significant challenges in how to effectively disrupt and alter hegemonic systems of knowledge, particularly when used separately and along methodological lines of division. Whilst Audre Lorde's assertion that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 1984: 112, 123) underpins reconstructivists' widespread rejection of quantitative methods, the dominance of qualitative and interpretivist methodologies as tools for constructing counter-hegemonic knowledge has resulted in a form of epistemological-methodological marginalisation, against the dominance of

positivist and quantitative research in the social sciences. Developing critical intersectional quantitative approaches which combine both deconstructivist and reconstructivist strategies within a SoK framework, I argue, offers a productive way forward by 'speaking the language of power' as a counter-hegemonic knowledge strategy. The growing fields of FemQuants (Cohen 2015; Spierings 2012; see also Oakley 2000 [1988]), QuantCrit (Garcia et al. 2018, 2023; Castillo and Gillborn 2022; Gillborn et al. 2018), and Intersectional Quants bridge the gap between critical and intersectional theories and epistemologies on the one hand, and quantitative methods which drive evidence-based policymaking on the other.

In overcoming the challenges facing both deconstructivist and reconstructivist approaches, I argue that by integrating these strategies and applying an intersectional quantitative methodology, the strengths of one support the limitations of the other. In doing so, I implement a joint de/reconstructivist approach by: (1) revealing practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation in the UK's primary data source on violence; and (2) proposing and implementing alternative practices which reveal hidden victims and experiences of violence. In applying this approach through a quantitative intersectional methodology, I (1) use a critical intersectional lens to critique the CSEW as a national survey and quantitative data source, taking a deconstructivist approach to revealing biases, exclusions, and misrepresentations; and (2) use an intersectional quantitative approach to analysing inequalities in violence to reveal new insights and evidence which better account for experiences of, and the relationship between, intersecting inequalities and violence.

In applying this framework and methodological strategy to knowledge production on violence, I focus on the UK's primary data source on violent crime and victimisation, which produces quantitative data and national statistics used to guide national policymaking, service practices and provisions, and government research (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2; see also, for example, Allen and Harding 2018; Heeks et al. 2018). The CSEW is touted, accurately, as the best estimate for violence prevalence in the UK (Maguire and McVie 2017; Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2). Yet it remains underutilised by researchers (Tilley and Tseloni 2016: 2; Brennan 2011: 3), particularly those seeking to understand the relationship between violence and inequalities. Recent studies have identified specific methodological practices used in the CSEW which

disproportionately underestimate violence against women. These studies provide invaluable snapshots of how gendered inequalities permeate not only the character and distribution of violence, but the ways we measure and produce knowledge on violence. This thesis takes these snapshots further, by seeking to establish a more comprehensive picture of how inequalities are built into the way we produce knowledge across multiple stages and diverse practices of knowledge production. I argue that the cumulative effect of multiple biased, exclusionary, and misrepresentative practices results in a significant distortion of knowledge on violence.

I argue that the relationship between inequalities and knowledge is not linear, but cyclical, where systems of power and inequalities and systems of knowledge are mutually shaping and mutually reinforcing. Disrupting this cycle requires a critical approach which not only produces empirical evidence at specific points of this cycle but situates its findings within a broader theorization of knowledge as socially constructed through inequalities and as reproductive of inequalities in society.

I situate my empirical applications as critical interventions within cycles of knowledge production. Each application addresses a different, albeit overlapping, stage of knowledge production: (1) definitional boundaries and measurement; (2) categorization; (3) data collection and disclosure; and (4) analysis and interpretation. Rather than focusing on a single point, this thesis takes a holistic approach to knowledge production by highlighting the multiple and compounding ways in which inequalities shape knowledge production on violence. Each empirical application contributes towards my overarching thesis aims from a different focal point in this cycle of inequalities and knowledge production. Whilst previous studies have made revealing insights into the hidden biases, exclusions, and misrepresentations of violence and inequalities, I argue that these need to be situated within a broader cyclical process of knowledge production.

2. Inequalities in the Production of Knowledge on Violence: Empirical Applications

Having set out my overarching theoretical framework and situated my thesis within the literature on the SoK, Critical Epistemologies, and Intersectionality, this section focuses on situating each of my empirical applications within a particular focal area of the literature on violence and inequalities. First, I outline my core object of study – violence – in relation to systems of inequalities and knowledge production (section a). In providing an overview of the relevant literature, I address conceptual and measurement approaches to violence (i-ii), research on inequality-based forms of violence (iii), and the role of vulnerabilisation (iv). Each empirical application seeks to (1) develop understandings of how inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence, and the implications of this for reproducing inequalities in violence itself; and (2) contribute new knowledge on the relationship between violence and inequalities by addressing biases, exclusions, and misrepresentations in knowledge production. The first empirical application in this thesis investigates the implications of definitional boundaries and measures of violence and inequality dimensions of violence for capturing marginalised experiences and inequality patterns in experiences of violence. The second empirical application focuses on how social classification is applied in quantifying and categorising ethnic groups, particularly in terms of misrepresentation and the implications of this for knowledge production on violence by ethnicity. My third empirical application addresses inequalities in exposure to barriers to disclosure of violence victimisation in the CSEW and the effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance. The final empirical application is positioned at the stage of analysis and interpretation, whilst also seeking to capture the cascading impact of hostile policy regimes on inequalities in violence trends. In this application, I analyse gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional differences in the rate of decline in violence victimisation during Austerity and the Hostile Environment.

In situating my empirical contributions within the field, the following sections each focus on a particular area of the literature on violence and inequalities which I link to different stages in the cycles of inequalities and knowledge production. In the second section (2.b.), building on the previous section (particularly 2.a.ii), I outline my approach to definitional boundaries and inequality dimensions of violence in relation

to the literature on conceptualizing and measuring violence and inequalities. Here, I focus on (1) the conceptual boundaries of violence as limited by physicality and criminality in national measures; and (2) how conceptual and measurement approaches to violence and inequalities capture the multidimensionality and complexity of how they shape experiences and relations of violence. This section situates my first empirical application within the existing literature on how to conceptualise and measure violence and inequalities. I then focus on how social groups are defined and categorised, particularly in relation to how ethnicity and ethnic groups are constructed through mutually exclusive standardised categories (section 2.c.). Here, I set out the core debates and challenges in the literature, which later inform my methodological evaluation of the CSEW's categorical approach, as well as the CSEW's approach to measuring ethnicity in the context of other national approaches. Section 2.d. addresses the data collection and translation stage of knowledge production, focusing on barriers to disclosure. Here, I review the literature's main focal points and approaches, which centre around domestic and sexual violence, minoritised ethnic and migrant women, socio-cultural explanations, and administrative data and help-seeking pathways. In situating my final empirical application within the literature on violence and inequalities, I focus on theories of violence in decline and critical literature on the impact of the UK's recent policy regimes of Austerity and the Hostile Environment on marginalised groups. Whilst the empirical application is situated at the stage of analysis and interpretation in terms of inequalities in knowledge production, specifically in terms of intersectional quantitative trend analysis and socio-political context for interpretation, I also shift my focus towards the sphere of policymaking and implementation. Here, I challenge the assertion that violence declines with modernity (Pinker 2012 [1954]; Elias 1994), asking for whom and under what conditions, and situating these questions within the context of two UK policy regime shifts which have drawn strong criticism from social equality advocates and researchers (see, for example, Alston 2019; Nunn 2016; Oxfam 2013; Women's Budget Group 2017; Greer 2017; McIlwaine et al. 2019). Following my introductory section on violence and inequalities, each section addresses the particular research areas, gaps, and problems which my empirical applications seek to address through a de/reconstructivist intersectional SoK theoretical perspective and critical intersectional quantitative methodological approach.

a. Violence and Inequalities

This section provides a broad overview of approaches to conceptualising and theorising violence, existing themes and focal points in the literature, and prevalent methodological and empirical approaches to knowledge production on violence. As well as setting the scene for my empirical interventions and contributions, this section also introduces the concept of vulnerabilisation as a core conceptual tool deployed in this thesis which shifts the focus from 'at risk' groups as inherently vulnerable towards systems and processes which *vulnerabilise* often already marginalised and oppressed groups at the intersection of violence and inequalities. Whilst key aspects are developed further in the following sections (b-e) in relation to my four empirical applications, this section introduces the field of violence and inequalities in foregrounding my specific interventions and contributions to the field.

i. Conceptualising and Theorising Violence

Violence is a complex and multidimensional concept which varies significantly in how it is defined, measured, theorised and contextualised across a broad range of disciplines and research specialisms (de Haan 2008; Walby 2013; DeKeseredy et al. 2018; Imbusch 2003; Saltzman 2004; Tjaden 2004; Waddington et al. 2005). National statistics used in government monitoring and evidence for policymakers tend to focus on the number and prevalence of violence victims and incidents (ONS 2024a; see also Walby 2005: esp. 195), yet there is a diverse range of approaches to measuring and understanding the scale and character of violence and inequalities. For instance, competing theories of violence differ in their explanation of the role and cause of violence in society based on disciplinary perspectives (Lawson 2012; Walby 2013; O'Toole and Schiffman 1997), definition of violence (Waddington et al. 2005; Imbusch 2003; Galtung 1969; Walby et al. 2017), level of analysis (see, for example, Collins 2009; Walby 2009; Peacock 2002) and social theory perspectives (Lawson 2012; Cavanaugh 2012; Meyer et al. 2024). Violence is often conceptually reduced to a tool or consequence of power, control and order (see, for example, DeKerseredy et al. 2018; Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997; Imbusch 2003), and positioned as an exceptional event at the margins of normal social life, such as deviant criminality or warfare.

Violence may be understood in a specific sense, referring to a behaviour (Rosenfeld 2010: 1), an incident (Department of Health 2001, quoted in Waddington et al. 2005:

142), the use of force or power (W.H.O. cited in DeKeseredy et al. 2018: 96), or more broadly, as a violation of human rights (Ho 2007; Chapman 1990), an attack on personhood (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004), an institution (Walby 2009), or a form of social control (Donnermeyer 2018: 96). Conceptualisations draw upon other concepts of power, control, authority, and order as underpinning concepts of violence, where violence may defined as "a form of social control" (Donnermeyer 2018: 96), involving "physical, sexual and emotional abuses of power" (Kenway and Fitzclarence 1997: 117), the basis of state authority (Weber 1968), and concerning the "destruction and the creation of order" (Imbusch 2003: 13).

Conceptualisations of violence in critical theoretical frameworks were particularly centred around its function in the exertion and maintenance of power (see, for example, Ricoeur 2010; Parsons 2007; Foucault 2023 [1975]; Weber 1968). These approaches focused on a top-down view of violence and its role in society – centring around the use of physical force as a tool for exerting power, either as its more explicit manifestation or in relation to the breakdown of other tools of power. Disciplinary violence, for instance, was central to Foucault's theorisation of power and societal control (2023 [1975]). As illustrated through the historical development of punishment, violence transitioned from public spectacles to more dispersed forms of surveillance and societal self-regulation, marking a shift from 'sovereign power' to 'disciplinary power' based on the role of violence in social control (Foucault 2023 [1975]). The dual conceptualisation of violence and power is also central to Weberian theorisations of state-making, whereby state legitimacy is dependent on monopolising the use of violence within its own territory, underscoring the importance of violence for establishing and maintaining structures of power (Weber 1968). Here, violence is conceptualised as the primary method of power in societies, whether through its physical exertion or systemic coercion. Alternatively, others have defined violence in terms of chaos, or the breakdown of power relations. Durkheim viewed violence as an inherent tendency of society, arising from conflict between individual and collective interests ('normative endemicity'), and that it erupts when social governance and norms break down, leading to a state of 'anomic epidemicity' (2005 [1897]).

Yet, whilst the relationship between violence and systems of power and inequalities has been intimately linked in conceptual and theoretical scholarship, its translation into definitions and measures often involves shedding this close association, particularly

in terms of how power and inequalities manifest through violence based on gender, race-ethnicity, migrant-status, and class. Violence is often reduced to its physical manifestation, as *acts* of physical violence, in terms of definitions and measures as a means of drawing clear boundaries around what is and is not violence (Blom et al. 2023; Walby et al. 2017; Allen and Anderson 2017; Mider 2013). This is particularly the case within quantitative measures of violence, which rely on conceptual stability, clear definitional boundaries, and distinction from its relation to overlapping social forces, such as power, inequalities, injustice, and oppression (See, for example, Walby et al. 2017; Galtung 1969).

Despite recognition of the complexity and multidimensionality of violence, it is often reduced to physical interpersonal criminal acts in national statistics and policymaking evidence. Violence varies significantly in form and character, how it is experienced, regulated and responded to, and in the ways it shapes people's lives. In seeking to understand how violence is shaped by (and in turn shapes) inequalities, I argue that analysing disparities in physical violence victimisation by single axes of inequality is insufficient in capturing the depth, variety and pervasiveness of inequalities in the way violence is experienced in society. Whilst specialised fields focusing on violence inequalities have contributed towards a deepening of this understanding, notably significant feminist scholarship on violence against women and girls (VAWG; see, for example, Heise 1998; Stark 2007; O'Toole and Schiffman 1997), national measures and government statistics remain narrow in focus and the prioritisation of physical criminal violent acts remains the core indicator of the presence and impact of violence within society (ONS 2024a). The individualisation of violence as acts or tools of power used by one person against another neglects the role of violence as a system which shapes society through a wider range of social interactions and mechanisms, for example, through symbolic and cultural violence (Galtung 1969), regimes of inequality (Walby 2009) and contexts of exploitation and oppression.

ii. Definitional Boundaries and Dimensions of Violence

In defining the scope of violence, various distinctions and dimensions are used in violence research from different sociological perspectives and wider disciplines to position different forms of interactions as constituting violence or not, and the type and character of violence. These include distinctions between: (1) physical and non-physical violence, from a 'hostile glare' to 'an attack causing death' (Waddington et al.

2005: 145; See Walby et al. 2017 for a physicality-focused approach; See Galtung 1969: 169-170 on structural violence; and Tjaden 2004 on violence and abuse, esp. 1246-7); (2) act or harm-focused approaches (See Saltzman 2004: esp. 1236 for harm-focused; See Straus and Gelles' 1999 Conflict Tactics Scale for act-focus; See Walby et al. 2017 for both acts and harms); (3) whether violence is threatened or enacted (See Galtung 1969: 172 on manifest v latent violence; see also Waddington et al. 2005: 160); (4) the intentionality of violence (Rosenfeld 2010: 1; Walby et al. 2017); (5) whether violence is impulsive or instrumental (Besteman 2002: 9); (6) complete and incomplete violence (Galtung 1969: 172); (7) the inclusion of fear (Bjørnholt and Ole Kristian 2018: esp. 476-7); and (8) the inclusion or exclusion of non-consent as a necessary criteria of violence (Walby et al. 2017 esp. 33).

Further distinctions which draw boundaries between violence and non-violence and between types of violence include the level of actors involved (individual self-inflicted, interpersonal interactions (between individuals and groups), and institutional), and the degree of legitimacy (such as violent crime, disciplinary violence, violence as entertainment, state violence/coercion, interstate warfare, and conflicts involving non-state actors). The wide variation in definitions, typologies, distinctions and focal points in violence research is indicative of the diversity and multidimensionality of violence, yet poses challenges for comparative quantitative research as well as a conceptual and theoretical challenge in specifying what *counts* as violence and how to capture the multiple meanings and dimensions of violence without losing its specificity. This challenge centres around debates on how essential 'physicality' is to violence, what dimensions of violence are worthy of measurement and study, and what they reveal about the nature and impact of violence.

These distinctions and dimensions seek to determine both the scope and character of violence, that is, what counts as violence and what variations in violence look like. These debates and distinctions centre around the need for specificity in conceptualisation and measurement, often leading to narrow definitions of physical acts at the individual level, and comprehensiveness in theorisation and conceptual frameworks, which address the broad and diverse role of violence at the societal level.

Beyond Physical Acts

Physical violence is at the core of what is intuitively thought of as 'violence'. More specifically, and particularly in the context of health and social sciences and public

policy, the notion of violence being physical, interpersonal, criminal, and resulting in bodily harm or injury underpins mainstream studies and policy responses to violence in society (Blom et al. 2023; Walby et al. 2017; Allen and Anderson 2017; Mider 2013). This narrow definition largely excludes non-criminal violence, state and institutional violence, non-physical violence and violence which avoids bodily harm.

Feminist scholars have debated whether physicality sufficiently captures how violence is used against and experienced by women. Tjaden (2004) proposes including non-violent acts within the definition of VAWG, advocating an expansion of the term to include violence and abuse against women (VAAW), including threats, stalking, and psychological and emotional abuse (1247). This approach, Tjaden argues, accounts for the strong correlation between physical and non-physical violence in domestic violence contexts, as well as similarities in social and psychological harms from physical and non-physical violence, such as fear, social isolation, and lost employment. By contrast, Walby and colleagues argue that the expansion of the concept of violence beyond physicality to include various forms of power and harm results in the loss of its distinctiveness, suggesting a specific and precise definition based on intended physical acts that cause harm, but also accounts for the gendered dimensions of violence (2017: 4). Whilst various acts which sit on the boundary between violence and abuse (e.g. stalking, coercive control, harassment) are often included in violence measures in the context of VAWG studies, they are typically excluded from mainstream studies and government statistics on violence.

Various violence theorists have also contested narrow approaches to violence as failing to account for the ways that violence is structured and given meaning through cultural and systemic processes beyond physical acts (See, for example, Galtung 1969, 1990; Zizek 2008; Bourdieu; Farmer 2004). Galtung (1969) argues that the contrasting visibility of direct physical violence and often invisible nature of structural and cultural violence should not mean the latter is less worthy of study as an important form of violence, which in turn drives and shapes direct violence. Violence does not take place in a vacuum but is informed by its context, its expression within social relations and inequalities, and its relation to institutional domains. Non-violent acts can take on meanings of violence depending on these factors.

From a macro-level perspective, violence should not be solely attributed to the behaviour of individual perpetrators. Rather, it is essential to consider the wider

systems and regimes that regulate and govern violence. For instance, the lack of refuge places not only fails to protect victims of domestic violence but can also contribute to an increase in the level of violence as victims are unable to protect themselves from further harm. Further, this approach of individualising violence and centring on the physicality of violence neglects the role of violence as a means of communicating and enforcing social control through the threat and fear of violence which extends beyond the individual physical act of violence. Terrorism and genocide are examples of multiple, connected individual acts of violence which are transformed in their intent, meaning and impact due to the systems through which it is expressed. Violence is a focal point for a communication which draws upon and in turn, evokes meaning into its relational and environmental context. The UK's criminalisation of 'coercive controlling behaviour' in 2015 resulted from feminist advocacy efforts seeking to demonstrate the significance of fear, threat and coercion as a form of domestic violence which did not rest upon physical victimisation alone (Burman and Brooks-Hay 2018).

iii. Violence and Inequalities: a brief overview of the field

The sphere of violence and inequalities represents a complex and multifaceted research field that intersects with issues of gender, race, immigration status, and wider systems of power and inequalities. The core literature in the field is driven by critical theories on inequalities, such as feminism (See, for example, Belknap 2020; Brownmiller 1993; MacKinnon 1989; Crenshaw 1991), postcolonialism (See, for example, Mbembe 2003; Fanon 1963; Spivak 2023 [1988]), and critical race theory (See, for example, Harris 1993; Crenshaw 1991), and their investigation of how violence victimisation not only varies across social groups, but how violence is fundamentally shaped by, and shapes, systems of power and inequalities. The field has developed alongside wider social justice and equality movements, with collaboration between civil society stakeholders and academics, and a focus on lived experience and survivor voices reflecting critical epistemological approaches to developing the field.

However, the field of violence and inequalities is largely segregated by axes of inequality, whereby research on violence against women and girls (VAWG) operates largely separately from the fields of violence against ethnic minoritised groups and migrants. This is largely due to the distinctive development of the field around

distinctive critical theories and social movements. Whilst the intersectional turn has seen significant development of a more integrated approach and linkages across these subfields, they remain largely separate and their development and influence on the wider violence field and policymaking has progressed unevenly (Walby 2013). This section focuses more so on literature from the VAWG field as the most well-developed in terms of theorising, conceptualising, and empirical evidence on violence and inequalities, particularly in the UK. Whilst noting significant contributions on the relationship between violence, race-ethnicity, and migrant status (see, for example, Peterson and Krivo 2005; Mbembe 2003; Burnett 2013; Liebe and Schwitter 2021), particularly from intersectional researchers (Collins 2023; Gill et al. 2021; Crenshaw 1989), this literature is comparatively less established and prevalent in the UK. This is largely due to the enduring influence of feminist activists and stakeholders in the UK over the past century (Hague 2021; McMillan 2007), the UK's minimisation of racial inequalities (see Gillborn 2008; Byrne et al. 2020), and its persistent anti-migration discourse (Erel et al. 2016).

As well as divisions *within* the field of violence and inequalities, critical approaches to violence and inequalities are further segregated from the wider field of violence. Research focusing on the relationship between violence and inequalities tends to be siloed within the field based on the particular axis of inequality in focus, such as the segregation of VAWG research as its own domain rather than integrated across the wider field (Walby 2013).

In this section, I first set out broadly how violence and inequalities are approached in the literature, highlighting various theoretical approaches and empirical contributions which evidence the scale and variation of inequalities in violence by gender, ethnicity and migrant status. Here, I flag the key areas of concern and research interest in how inequalities shape violence in terms of victimisation, forms of violence, and criminal justice and service responses. I then outline approaches and challenges in measuring violence in relation to inequalities, including data limitations and inequality dimensions of violence.

Theoretical approaches and empirical evidence on gendered, racial-ethnic, and migration-based violence

Violence against women is widely accepted as a violation of human rights and dignity, a public health issue, and a cause and consequence of gender inequality. Feminist

theorists, particularly radical feminists, emphasise the interconnectedness of violence and gender inequality. Gender is essential in understanding, conceptualising, theorising, measuring and preventing violence, as Stanko puts it, “gender, quite simply, still matters and influences the way we speak, conceptualise, and challenge violence. To lose sight and insight by ignoring how gender matters impoverishes any analyses violence” (Stanko 2005: 551). Understanding violence requires an understanding of gender, its relationship to violence, and the ways in which violence produces and is produced through gendered regimes of inequality.

Yet the relationship between violence and inequalities may be brought closer than just one of cause and effect. Rather, violence and inequalities are mutually shaping systems: gendered, racial/ethnic, and national/migrant identities, relations and structures are articulated, practiced and enforced through violence; and violence is articulated, practiced and regulated through these identities, relations and structures (see, for example, Collins 2019, 2023; Stanko 2006; Walby 2009). This relationship involves the construction of meanings, practices, and structures where one instrumentalises and sustains the other. This interpretation challenges approaches which position violence as peripheral to inequalities, either as an enabling force or an unfortunate consequence; and, conversely, those which position inequalities as peripheral to the study of violence, or as only relevant to specific forms of violence against marginalised groups. Whilst this view has made ground in inequality-focused scholarship, where violence has been centralised in how systems of power and inequalities operate, its impact on the field of violence has been far more limited (Walby 2013; see also Walby 2011, 2009).

Theoretical approaches to inequality-based violence in Sociology differ in their emphasis on socio-cultural cycles and context, resource distribution and cost-benefit analyses, or systems of power and control as the primary drivers of violence against particular social groups, with particular attention paid to gender (Lawson 2012). Systems theory addresses domestic violence as a product of family conflict where continuous feedback loops sustain either violence or non-violence within a family which may be disrupted by individual or socio-cultural interruptions (See Gelles and Straus 1979), with Ecological approaches further emphasising the socio-cultural context of these cycles (See Dutton 2006). Resource theory, however, takes an instrumentalist approach in emphasising the role of access to recourses in motivating

violence (Gelles and Straus 1979), although criticised for failing to account for the absence of violence in such cases (Collins 2009). Subculture-of-violence theory addresses both cultural contexts and resource-dependency, whereby violence is driven by normative socialization within a subculture with higher acceptance of violence used to access denied resources than the dominant culture it lies within (See Wolfgang and Ferracuti 2002 [1967]). Critical theories of feminism, postcolonialism and critical race theory instead focus more on the role of systems of power and inequality, where the governance, perpetration, and experience of violence is shaped by, and sustains, patriarchal, racist, and nationalist systems of social control, and where eliminating violence requires dismantling these structures (See, for example, MacKinnon 1989; Walby 2009; Dobash and Dobash 1980; Foucault 1980, 2023 [1975]). The development of feminist sociological perspectives and research on violence has increasingly positioned gendered violence as a cause and consequence of gender inequality. Studies on the relationship between women's social status and the prevalence of fatal and sexual violence against women support this theorisation of the mutually causal relationship between gendered inequalities and violence (Yodanis 2004).

Research on violence and inequalities, particularly feminist research on VAWG, has contributed a wide range of perspectives and evidence on the multifaceted ways violence is shaped by inequalities through particular forms and dimensions of violence. Whilst research on domestic and sexual violence remains central to the field, specific forms and dimensions of gendered violence which are particularly hidden in society, such as sex trafficking, female genital mutilation (FGM), forced marriage, and coercive control have also been brought to greater attention in the field (see, for example, Stark and Hester 2019; Tietjens Meyers 2000). Feminist analyses of the specific contexts and dynamics of gendered violence, from the workplace to conflict zones, have demonstrated how relations of gender and power shape experiences and responses to violence across all aspects of social life (see, for example, Cockburn 2004; Gile and Hyndman 2004; de Jonge 2018).

Minoritised ethnic groups have long been subject to elevated levels of institutional and interpersonal violence, and ethnic inequalities in the distribution of violence victimisation and fear persist (e.g. Finney et al. 2023; Kumar et al. 2020; Bruce and Roscigno 2003). Violence in society is perpetrated and regulated through systems of

inequality (Walby 2009), which may affect minoritised groups directly, such as through elevated risk factors and victimisation rates, and indirectly, such as through a heightened sense of fear and anticipation of violence even when not directly subjected to physical violence.

However, whilst the VAWG field predominantly emphasises women's position as victims, a considerable proportion of research and policymaking on ethnicity, migration, and violence focuses on minoritised ethnic and migrant groups' position as perpetrators. Building on a legacy of racialised and colonial narratives which criminalise and securitise these groups, particularly men, as threatening, uncivilised, and violent, current policy priorities perpetuate this association through areas of gang violence, knife crime, anti-terrorism, and the criminalisation of migrants (see, for example, Chiricos et al. 2004; Williams 2023; Patel 2017).

The assumption of criminality among minoritised ethnic groups (particularly Black populations, and South Asian and Arab men) and migrants contributes towards a vicious cycle between racial-ethnic and citizenship-migration inequalities and violence. These assumptions are embedded in police and criminal justice attitudes and practices which influence racial profiling in stop-and-searches, high rates of charging and conviction, and longer sentences among Black male suspects. Police and criminal justice data reporting high rates of criminality among this group then further reinforces suspicion and assumptions of criminal behaviour, representing a cycle which underpins associations of Black male criminality through discourse-knowledge mechanisms at the intersection of racial-gender-violence regimes. These logics further apply, as will be explored in this thesis, to processes of knowledge-production on violence through systems of inequality.

Measuring Violence and Inequalities

Data on violence and inequalities, such as gendered violence, is collected through a variety of settings, methods and sources. Different groups of victims, perpetrators, and forms of violence are captured within these diverse approaches, with some more likely to be captured than others. Police data captures criminal interpersonal violence, excluding victims who do not report to the police. Health data captures violence resulting in injuries or cases reported to healthcare professionals. Data from victim support services captures victims who seek out support and are eligible for service provision. Qualitative interviews primarily capture known survivors or those willing to

participate in research projects. This patchwork of data sources creates an uneven landscape of evidence on violence against marginalised groups. Each approach involves the exclusion, omission or deprioritisation of certain types of violence and groups of victims. Victims' specific positions within intersecting and interacting systems of inequality expose them to different challenges in whether and how their experiences are represented in data and evidence on violence. Whilst inequalities in violence, particularly gendered violence, are widely acknowledged as a significant social and policy problem, with frequent evidence from the field used to demonstrate the urgency and injustice of this problem, data limitations contribute towards the exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of particular groups of victims and forms of violence.

Literature on how we measure violence against marginalised groups demonstrates a multitude of factors contributing towards both an increased risk of victimisation and an under-reporting/under-counting of violence. These include non-response biases (see, for example, Ahlmark et al. 2015), socio-cultural factors (shame, community, siding with oppressors; see, for example, Thiara and Roy 2020), the exclusion of state violence (e.g. prisons, detention centres, police and migration officials), risk of revictimization and not being believed (Hulley et al. 2023; McIlwaine et al. 2019; Hegarty and Taft 2001), poor data on gendered violence such as FGM and sex trafficking (Tyldum 2010; Shell-Duncan et al. 2016), methodological practices and undercounting (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021), and barriers to disclosure (Hulley et al.2023; Thiara and Roy 2020).

The quantitative measurement of violence particularly faces challenges in terms of 'objectively' defining a complex and contested concept, whilst balancing the diversity of violence and the need for quantifiable, comparable and uniform measurement to enable researchers and policymakers to address violence in society. Quantitative research on violence, including national and Government statistics, tends to rely upon legal definitions and standardized measures. Inequality scholars have critiqued this approach as neglecting the subjectivities and complexities of violence (see Tjaden 2004; Kelly 1987; Stark and Hester 2019; Cockburn 2004). For example, feminist scholars and VAWG researchers often use qualitative methods to better understand relations and experiences of violence from the perspectives of victims and

perpetrators, revealing deeper insights into the realities and complexities of violence behind the statistics (see, for example, Dobash and Dobash 1980; Stark 2007).

Quantitative methods and national datasets have further been critiqued for deprioritizing and often hiding inequalities in violence through standardized approaches. The UK primarily uses data from the CSEW and national police data to record and monitor violent crime, which serves as the evidential basis for evaluating and addressing violence in society. Yet recent studies have highlighted flawed methodologies which obscure inequalities in violence, for example, through the undercounting of violence against women (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024; Walby et al. 2016; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021). Civil society and academic research focusing on reducing inequalities also highlight areas of hidden violence which are underrepresented or omitted from official figures (Palermo et al. 2014; Pullerits and Phoenix 2024; Walby et al. 2016; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021), although there remains a lack of quantitative evidence supporting these critiques. Whilst national data is also collected on other dimensions of violence, these tend to be underutilized in mainstream violence statistics, research and policymaking outside of specialized inequalities focuses.

Scholarship on inequalities in violence have explored a broad range of perspectives and dimensions of violence, with some dimensions becoming more mainstreamed in violence studies and national data collection due to the explicit relationship between violence and a particular system of inequality. This is particularly visible in the efforts of feminist scholars to mainstream gendered forms and dimensions of violence in policymaking and national data collection, despite the persistent seclusion of VAWG studies within gender studies rather than mainstreamed across various violence-focused disciplines, including Sociology (Walby 2013). International treaties also specify particular forms of violence against women, such as the Istanbul Convention and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

The degree to which these inequality-based dimensions of violence have permeated into mainstream research and national data collection is varied, however. Specific forms of violence which are explicitly linked to inequalities, such as domestic and sexual violence, have become more mainstream in national data collection and evidence-building, yet this insufficiently captures the range and depth of gendered dimensions of violence. Dimensions of violence based on other axes of inequality are

further excluded from violence measures, with the focus on hate crimes only representing one dimension of violence against other marginalised groups and often subsuming many axes of inequality within a single measure. In developing a more comprehensive approach to capturing the multidimensionality of violence and inequality relations, Walby et al. (2017) propose a measurement framework which captures five 'gender-saturated' dimensions of violence: (1) sex of the victim; (2) sex of the perpetrator; (3) relationship between the victim and perpetrator; (4) sexual aspect; and (5) gendered motivation. This approach focuses on dimensions which are explicitly gendered, although further research has highlighted additional gendered dimensions which are less explicitly gendered, such as invalidation (Salter 2012), fear (Bjørnholt and Hjemdal 2018), repetition and duration (Walby et al. 2017) and coercive controlling behaviour (Stark and Hester 2019).

iv. Vulnerabilisation and Violence

In focusing on violence against marginalised groups in particular, I operationalise the concept of vulnerabilisation, in which vulnerability constitutes the product of systemic inequalities, social interactions and contextual factors rather than a property of individuals in themselves (see Engström et al. 2022; Gilodi et al. 2024; see also Virokannas et al. 2020). Vulnerability is associated with powerlessness and marginalisation and is often applied in both research and policy as a static characteristic applied to individuals based on their identity and situation. It represents a condition of "radical dependency" (Butler quoted in Segal 1999: 13) whereby individuals are rendered vulnerable to the power of others. In policy-making and analysis, the notion of vulnerability is often used to identify those 'at-risk' or in need of support, yet the systemic drivers of vulnerability are often unaddressed, and pathways to support and dependence are instead focused upon.

'Vulnerabilising' is often seen as a key factor in the perpetuation of social inequality, as it reinforces existing power structures and marginalises vulnerable groups (Delor and Hubert 2000). By shifting towards a concept of 'vulnerabilising', these systemic drivers are brought to the forefront. In the context of gendered violence, it prompts a focus on the character and mechanisms of gender-violence regimes which vulnerabilise specific groups and individuals, rather than take for granted 'vulnerability' as a characteristic of the groups themselves.

Rather than ‘vulnerability’ as a state of increased risk and helplessness inherent to a particular individual or group, the concept of ‘vulnerabilisation’ better captures how systems impose a sense of ‘vulnerability’ among such individuals or groups through processes of vulnerabilisation. By shifting the focus from the individual characteristic to how systems, processes and experiences expose and impose risks on the ‘vulnerable’, we can better understand how vulnerability is created through systems of inequality and how vulnerability changes depending on contextual and situational factors. Women, ethnic minoritised and migrant groups are subjected to processes of vulnerabilisation across their life-course from a wide range of factors which disadvantage and oppress them in different ways. These factors may contribute towards a generalized state of vulnerability and sense of precarity, such as women’s economic dependence on men, migrant’s precarity in accessing social resources due to immigration regulations and restrictions, and ethnic discrimination in employment. These also include factors which vulnerabilise certain groups in relation to violence victimisation, including unequal access to justice and support from the state (see, for example, The Lammy Review 2017; Belknap 2020; Dhingra et al. 2022; Erez 2002; Harris 1999), discriminatory-motivated violence targeting victims based on their identity (see, for example, Liebe and Schwitter 2021; Padgett 1984; Walby et al. 2017; McPhail 2002), and a lack of attention or measures addressing violence which disproportionately affects marginalised groups.

Yet whilst this generalized sense of vulnerability and precarity among marginalised groups is central to how violence shapes their lives, it is often obscured as a core component of marginalised groups’ lives and only occasionally used to contextualise their experiences rather than feature centre stage. Periodically, this sense of collective vulnerabilisation incites civil society and public activism and mobilization which brings it to the foreground, but not without resistance from powerful actors within the system, which may be viewed in recent examples.

b. Definitional Boundaries and Inequality Dimensions of Violence

Conceptualising and defining violence sets the parameters and focus of knowledge production of violence. How violence is conceptualised and defined is influenced by the epistemic assumptions and frameworks which ground such conceptualisations and definitions. Building on the previous section, which highlighted divisions between ‘minimalist’ and ‘comprehensive conceptions’ of violence (Bufacchi 2005) as well as

the breadth of gendered, racialised, and other inequality-based forms of violence, this section focuses on my conceptual contributions and approach to capturing experiences and inequality dimensions of violence. Here, I situate my first empirical application within the literature, focusing on the implications of definitional boundaries and measures of violence and inequality dimensions of violence for capturing marginalised experiences and inequality patterns in experiences of violence.

i. Experiences and Relations of Violence

In accounting for the tensions between narrow and broad approaches to capturing violence in knowledge production, this project conceptualises violence as a form of social interaction which is rooted in its physical manifestation but not limited to this. Rather than *acts* of physical violence alone, my first empirical application is primarily concerned with wider relations and experiences of violence and variations in dimensions of violence. That is, I not only analyse disparities in physical interpersonal violence, but the surrounding interactions and relations which ascribe it meaning and situate it within wider systems of violence. Whilst physical interpersonal violence acts as a central anchoring point, relations and experiences of violence shape the ways in which the persistence, meaning and governance of violence in society shape people's lives beyond direct physical victimisation. This further enables understandings of the mutually shaping interactions between violence and inequalities, as inequalities cannot be reduced to victim identities and physical violence, but involve multiple dimensions which shape relations and experiences of violence. In this way, violent acts cannot be fully understood without accounting for their relation to systems of violence through relations and experiences of violence.

In bridging the gap between narrow and broad approaches to violence, I propose linking systems and acts of violence through a focus on relations and experiences of violence. Rather than simply measuring the incidence or prevalence of criminal physical interpersonal violence (as measured in most statistical reports on violence, including the CSEW), focusing on relations and experiences of violence enables a more inclusive approach to capturing violence without over-inclusion of related phenomena of exploitation, injustice, and abuse which expansive definitions tend towards. By distinguishing between physical violence as a core component of experiences of violence and the wider aspects of how violence is experienced (fear, motives, threats, responses), this approach keeps hold of the distinctiveness of

physical violence whilst also accounting for the dimensions which shape its character and meaning through inequalities. This links physical acts of violence to the wider system of violence, which plays a key role in shaping these dimensions. For example, whilst fear of violence doesn't require the affected individual to have been directly subjected to physical violence, it plays a key role in shaping their experience and relationship to wider systems of violence.

Systems of violence not only involve the deployment of violence against individuals, but also how violence is structured, regulated and governed in society through policies, resource distribution, institutions, and knowledge production. For example, Black women experience systems of violence through mechanisms which over-police and criminalise them, restrict resources for service support, and discursively construct them as threatening rather than victimised, whereby their specific position within intersecting systems of gender and racial inequalities shapes their position within this system of violence through these mechanisms. Their experiences of violence are not only shaped by direct exposure to physical violence, but by how these mechanisms (and their consequences for interpersonal relations) invoke fear, fail to protect them, shape the motivations behind violence, and imbue gendered and racialised meaning to their experiences of violence. In capturing the character and dimensions of inequality-violence relations, accounting for the wider experiences and relations of violence is critical in linking physical acts to the wider systems that govern them. This approach enables a multi-level approach to violence, accounting for individual physical acts at the micro-level, relations and experiences at the meso-level, and system regimes and institutional domains at the macro-level.

Violent incidents should not be understood as simply isolated 'acts', but as part of wider relations and systems of violence. The meaningful content of violence experiences is based on how it is situated in social settings (Waddington et al. 2005: 142). Acts which are identical in their physical expressions are transformed into different forms of violence depending on their social context and in the expression of this act, for example, the identities and relationship between victim and perpetrator, the social interaction and situation (see Collins 2009), the communicative intent and reception of the act (e.g. to intimidate, to control, to punish), and the systemic context of institutional domains and systems of inequality. Terrorism and genocide are examples of multiple, connected individual acts of violence which are transformed in

their intent, meaning and impact due to the relations and systems through which it is perpetrated. Violence does not take place in a vacuum but is informed by its context, its expression within social relations and inequalities, and its relation to systems of power and inequalities (Collins 2023). Understanding violence cannot be reduced to its physical manifestation, but must situate acts of violence within wider systems of violence and their interaction with systems of power and inequality.

In seeking to bridge the gap between narrow definitions of violence (at the micro-level) which capture the specificity of physical violence and enable quantifiable indicators of violence in society on the one hand, and broad conceptualisations of violence as a multidimensional social interaction and macro-level theorisations of violence as a system on the other, I propose operationalising 'dimensions' of violence as a meso-level approach to capturing both the multidimensionality and specificity of violence through the interaction of acts and systems (see figure 1).

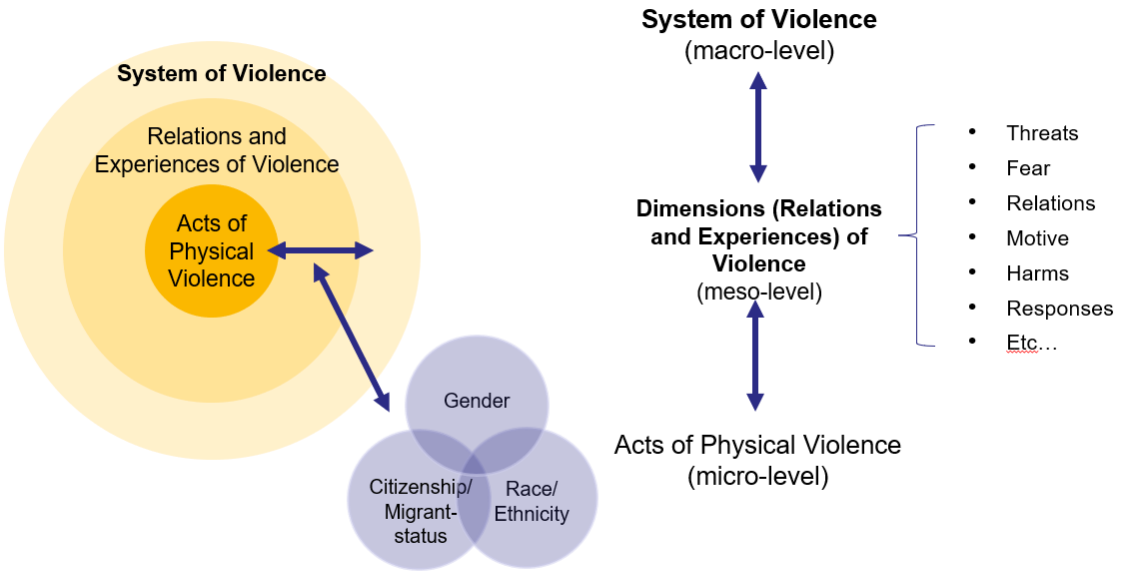

Figure 1. Illustration of the multi-level and multidimensional approach to violence and inequalities

That is, by retaining acts of physical violence as specific anchoring point at the individual level and accounting for the far-reaching role of systems of violence in regulating how violence is deployed and regulated at the systems level, whereby 'dimensions' of violence are linked to but not reduced to physical victimisation but refer to relations and experiences of violence which are shaped by systems of violence. As noted above, these may refer not only to direct physical violence between individuals,

but also threats, fear, anticipation, harms, severity, repetition, and third-party responses – that is, the multidimensional characteristics of violence and the ways in which violence shapes people's lives. In the following sub-sections (ii-iii), I propose an expanded approach to conceptualising and measuring the relationship between violence and inequalities through the distinction between 'inequality-saturated' and 'inequality-variating' dimensions of violence. Whilst the former focuses on how specific systems of inequality *saturate* particular forms of violence, such as the case of gender and sexually-motivated violence, the latter focuses on how wider experiences of violence *vary* based on the role of multiple systems of inequalities, such as repetition and fear.

ii. Inequality Saturated Dimensions of Violence

Following guidelines from international treaties (such as the Istanbul Convention or the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women) and significant feminist advocacy, national statistics and policymaking evidence often include gendered disparities in physical victimisation and the prevalence of sexual and domestic violence, albeit typically as a sub-section within or accompaniment for VAWG-specific stakeholders. In establishing a comparative and more in-depth gendered measurement framework on violence, Walby and colleagues (2017) propose five 'gender-saturated' dimensions of violence: (1) the sex of the victim; (2) the sex of the perpetrator; (3) the relationship between the victim and perpetrator (e.g. stranger, familial, intimate-partner, acquaintance); (4) sexual aspects (e.g. rape, sexual homicide, indecent assault); and (5) gendered-motivation (e.g. femicide, female-only infanticide, dowry deaths). These dimensions are explicitly and specifically driven by gendered inequalities, whereby the role of gender is explicitly and centrally located in the measurement of violence through these dimensions. Further scholarship has supported additional gendered dimensions of violence, such as invalidation (Salter 2012), fear (Bjørnholt and Hjemdal 2018), repetition and duration (Walby et al. 2016) and coercive controlling behaviour (Stark and Hester 2019; Myhill and Hohl 2019). However, these additional dimensions remain largely peripheral to mainstream studies on gendered violence (with the possible exception of coercive controlling behaviour), likely in part due to the lack of gender-saturation of these dimensions.

Inequality dimensions of violence based on ethnicity and migrant status, however, are less developed in the literature and are largely reduced to discriminatory motivation in

national statistics. ‘Hate crimes’ is the predominant framing of ethnicity, race and migration/nationality-related dimensions of violence, although data collection on hate crimes has been critiqued as overly narrow in definition and insufficient in capturing discriminatory dimensions of violence (Perry 2002; Walters et al. 2016; Chakraborti 2018; Iganski 2008). Racial and ethnic dimensions of violence tend to focus on racially-motivated violence, but may also address other dimensions such as the role of institutionally racist and discriminatory policing and criminal justice responses (against both victims and perpetrators) to violence. Migration studies often focus on specific forms of violence such as trafficking and modern slavery (Chibba 2013), institutional violence within migration systems (see, for example, Bralo 2021; Guillot-Wright et al. 2022; Bowling and Westenra 2020), as well as discriminatory violence targeting migrants on the basis of their migrant-status, national or regional origin, or ethno-migration background (see, for example, Burnett 2013). Further research which expands upon the different inequality dimensions of violence relating to ethnicity and migrant status, similarly to those specified for gender, would enable a more nuanced and in-depth approach to understanding the multidimensionality of violence against minoritised ethnic and migrant groups from a comparative and inequality-mainstreamed perspective.

In this thesis, I introduce ‘inequality-saturated’ dimensions of violence as an expansion of Walby and colleagues’ typology of gender-saturated dimensions to encompass a wider range of inequalities. Inequality-saturated dimensions are defined by their relation to violence which specifically affects certain populations based on their identity or group membership. These dimensions are anchored to specific systems of inequality, whereby acts of violence are explicitly and directly characterised by social relations and expressions of power, whether gendered, racialised, or other. These dimensions capture how inequalities are built into violence itself, and where instances of violence are necessarily defined through specific systems and relations of inequality. Whilst further research and data collection is needed to specify wider inequality-saturated dimensions of violence based on ethnicity and migrant status, I use ‘racial motivation’ as one dimension of violence specific to ethnic minoritised groups, which is available in the CSEW. For gender, I use ‘sexual aspect’ as an example of gender-saturated dimensions of violence, as included in Walby and colleagues’ (2017) definition, which is analysed alongside racially-motivated violence in my first empirical application. As examples of inequality-*saturated* dimensions of

violence, racially-motivated violence is specifically and explicitly anchored to racial-ethnic inequalities, and sexual violence is specifically and explicitly anchored to gendered inequalities.

iii. Inequality Variating Dimensions of Violence

In addition to inequality-saturating dimensions of violence, I further propose the inclusion of dimensions of violence which reveal *variations* in experiences of violence by inequalities, but should not be reduced to or defined by them. That is, inequality-variating dimensions of violence account for the multidimensional ways in which violence is experienced, whether in terms of the characteristics, impact, or responses to violence, and how these vary by inequalities in more dispersed and indirect ways. These may be specific characteristics of physical violence (e.g. repetition and duration, severity and harms), or broader experiences of violence (such as fear and third-party responses). In contrast to inequality-saturated dimensions, which are *anchored* to *specific* systems of inequality, inequality-variating dimensions are *shaped* by multiple systems of inequalities. Inequality-variating dimensions therefore capture how violence varies in relation to different inequalities, but is not necessarily determined by any particular one. These dimensions may be analysed in relation to a particular system of inequality or multiple, and demonstrates *variations* in violence by inequalities.

For example, existing studies have demonstrated how domestic violence is often characterised by repeated and persistent series of incidents due to the often dependent relationship between the victim and perpetrator, the use of controlling behaviour trapping victims in violent relationships, and social norms of 'privacy' and patriarchal household structures preventing interventions (see, for example, Stark 2007; Dobash and Dobash 1980). Whilst repetition and duration of violence are not explicitly gendered, the nature of domestic violence (linked to the gender-saturated dimension of victim-perpetrator relations) means that the repetition and duration of violence vary by gender. However, repetition and duration in violence not only vary by gender, but also by other inequalities depending on the context, such as age (e.g. violence against children or older people in care homes) or disability (e.g. violence by carers or in institutionalised settings). In the context of gendered variations in violence repetition and duration, Walby and colleagues (2014, 2017) argue that measuring this dimension of violence is significant for understanding the character of gendered

violence. In the CSEW, the practice of 'capping' violence artificially reduces the prevalence of violence disproportionately for female victims. In this way, whilst repetition and duration of violence are not dimensions *specific* to gendered violence, their *variation* in outcome by gender means that excluding produces an inaccurate measure of gendered violence and obscures inequalities in violence by gender.

Additional examples of dimensions of violence which vary by inequalities but should not be reduced to any specific inequality include severity and harms (Marshall 1992; Walby et al. 2017), invalidation (Salter 2012), police and criminal justice responses, and access to and treatment by support services, and, of particular interest to my first empirical application, threats, anticipation, and fear (Bjørnholt and Hjemdal 2018). These dimensions are shaped by multiple systems and relations of inequalities, but are not necessarily specific to any one system. They capture variations in wider relations and experiences of violence which are affected by but not determined by inequalities.

In distinguishing between inequality-saturated and inequality-variating dimensions, I propose that whilst the former captures the way violence is defined through its direct relationship to a specific system of inequality, the latter captures how relations and experiences of violence also vary through its indirect relation to multiple systems of inequality.

iv. Empirical Application: Inequality Dimensions of Violence

In my first empirical application, I analyse inequality-variating dimensions of violence which go beyond direct physical victimisation, including threats, fear and anticipation of violence. Threats are often excluded from violence measures as they do not constitute physical acts of violence. However, studies have shown that threats may produce similar psychological harms to violence and are often shaped by, and in turn shape, relations of violence. In contrast to fear, threats tend to be measured as individualised incidents similarly to physical violence, rather than in terms of the collective 'sense' of threat which is captured by fear of violence. In this context, threats are delivered by an individual and may be neatly bounded as an incident, categorized into crime codes, and quantified in research as discrete events. Fear, on the other hand, is the broad sense of threat that is variously evoked by individuals, groups, institutions, experiences, beliefs and attitudes. Fear is evoked by the relationship between the individual and society, traversing the micro to the macro. Studies have

shown that individual incidents, beliefs and attitudes, media consumption, political discourse, and neighbourhood conditions (Brunton-Smith and Sturgis 2011) may contribute towards an individual's fear of violence. Anticipation is linked to but distinct from fear or threat and relates to the perceived likelihood of violence. This application compares inequalities in experiences of violence in terms of physical violence and violent threat victimisation, and fear and anticipation of violence as potential inequality-variation dimensions of violence which are not intrinsically linked to any particular axes of inequality but vary depending on the interaction of systems and relations of inequalities and violence.

In my first empirical application, I seek to address the micro/macro-level gap between violence as an individual physical act and violence as an expansive system for regulating social life, by elaborating on how inequalities shape violence at the meso-level between systems and individuals. I propose a conceptualisation of 'relations and experiences' of violence at the meso-level as a means of bridging the gap between narrow definitions and broad theorisations of violence, and between limited and inclusive measures of violence. In further bridging this gap and expanding how inequalities in violence are captured, I also propose operationalising 'dimensions' of violence to include relations and experiences of violence within the context of systems of inequality. I conceptualise violence as a form of social interaction between individuals, groups and systems, characterised by different dimensions of violence – i.e. how violence is experienced and shapes people's lives in different ways. From this approach, dimensions of violence not only distinguish different forms of physically violent acts, such as perpetrator motivations, repetition, and harms, but wider aspects of how violence is experienced, such as fear, anticipation, criminal justice and services responses. Within this expanded approach to dimensions, I distinguish between (1) *inequality-saturated* dimensions which are defined by their explicit and direct relation to a specific system of inequality, such as discriminatory motivation or content (e.g. racially-motivated and sexual violence); and (2) *inequality-variating* dimensions which are shaped and vary by multiple inequalities (without reducing them to any single inequality system), such as fear and third-party responses (e.g. treatment by criminal justice and services actors). In doing so, I not only seek to expand upon the conceptualisation and theorisation of the relationship between violence and inequalities, but also provide an expanded approach to measuring violence which

better accounts for how violence shapes people's lives through relations and systems of inequality.

c. Categorising Social Groups: Misrepresenting Ethnicity

This section sets out the literature and research problem guiding the second empirical application. My second empirical application investigates the role of ethnic categorisation in understanding ethnic disparities in violence victimisation and fear. Here, I focus on the misrepresentation of ethnicity at the level of social categorisation and quantification. This approach diverges from the thesis' overarching Intercategorical quantitative intersectional approach, instead focusing on ethnicity specifically. However, it is informed by intersectional literature and takes what I refer to as a critical categorical approach. Whilst McCall's (2005) 'anticategorical' approach to intersectionality opposes the use of social categories, I argue that although ethnic categories are far from objective reflections of social realities, they are nevertheless critical for understanding inequalities based on the practice and imposition of racial-ethnic boundaries in society. Whilst ethnicity has increasingly been recognised as a contested concept and a social construct (Finney et al. 2023; see also Anthias and Yuval-Davis 2005; Anthias 2007), addressing the need for statistical evidence on ethnic inequalities has largely involved sidelining this conceptualisation by relying on quantifiable measures and standardised categories. Rather than using ethnic categories as neutral measures of ethnic difference, we should question how inclusive, representative, and coherent these categories are. My second empirical application addresses the two research aims (understanding how inequalities shape knowledge production on violence; and what new insights are revealed by addressing these) within the context of the literature as follows.

First, by investigating the potential misrepresentation of ethnicity in the UK's standardised categorisation, my second empirical application seeks to demonstrate how the underlying assumptions of difference, group membership, and identity, as expressed in ethnic categories, shape knowledge produced on ethnic inequalities in violence. Here, I argue that social categorisation matters for knowledge production and that whilst they are a flawed instrument for measuring ethnic identities and group membership, they remain a critical tool for understanding how systems of race-ethnicity shape experiences based on social categorisation. Whilst remaining critical of ethnic categorisations, I argue that improving such categories in terms of

coherence, representativeness, and practical applications is critical for understanding ethnic inequalities. Second, by comparing ethnic patterns in violence victimisation and fear based on different ethnic categorisations, I seek to contribute towards the literature on race-ethnicity and violence by revealing new insights into violence victimisation among hidden and misrepresented groups. Noting disparities in ethnic patterns in violence across different data sources and empirical studies, I argue that ethnic categorisation has the power to hide, skew, or reveal patterns in violence against marginalised groups.

Social categorisation and classification are central tools for both knowledge production and systems of inequality. Social categorisation is not neutral nor objective, but a tool of power which is reified, legitimised, and practiced through systems of power and inequality. It involves ontologically separating and hierarchising groups of people based on relations of power, social constructs of the 'self' and 'other' and of 'normal' and 'deviant' (Foucault 1980; 2023 [1975]). Systems of power and inequalities require an almost obsessive fixation on social categorisation as an everyday practice. Ambiguities have historically (with some exceptions) been viewed as a threat to the infallible truth of social categories as the bedrock of systems of power and inequality. For example: interracial relationships were viewed as a threat to racial 'purity' in the U.S. (Fay 2010); nationalist movements have waged campaigns of harassment and violence against 'foreigners' and migrant communities viewed as threatening national identity and 'purity' (Burnett 2013); and intersex, gender-fluid, and transgender groups have long experienced prejudice and violence for violating gendered boundaries (Jauk 2013). Social categories are not fixed, although anxieties around social changes which shift or 'unfix' established categories hide the reality of social categories as socially constructed. Such anxieties are based on the assertion of systems of power in maintaining and relying upon these categories. Critiquing and deconstructing social categories as socially constructed is a core objective of critical epistemological perspectives (McCall 2005; Hancock 2019; Bowleg 2012). Yet researchers face a challenge in terms of deconstructing social categories as socially constructed and based on systems of power rather than a true reflection of difference on the one hand, and the need to use categories as a measure for inequalities as a reflection of how inequalities function through such categories. Researchers face a challenge in that using social categories both enables insights into how systems of power operate based on such categories and reifies these categories by using them as measures of

difference. That is, by choosing to divide groups along ethnic lines through social categorisation in research, researchers in turn contribute towards its reconstruction: “if one goes out to look for ethnicity, one will ‘find’ it and thereby contribute to constructing it” (Eriksen 2002: 177, quoted in Nazroo et al. 2006). How we, as researchers, operationalise the concept of ethnicity in seeking to bridge theories of racial-ethnic systems of inequality and statistical evidence of ethnic disparities, poses a persistent challenge.

First, I introduce the background and research problem that my second empirical application seeks to address. Here, I introduce the core debates and renewed interest in ethnic categorisation which this application seeks to contribute towards, as well as outline the approach and motivation of my second empirical application within this context. Second, I review the literature on the core debates and challenges for measuring and categorising ethnicity, highlighting the position of ‘race’ and the multidimensionality of ‘ethnicity’, as well as the challenge of balancing complexity and practicality in capturing inequalities through ethnic categorisation. Third, I focus on the UK’s standardised approach to measuring and categorising ethnicity, which I evaluate in relation to the debates and challenges set out in the literature. Here, I identify key areas of potential misrepresentation in terms of conceptual coherence, reflection of respondents’ self-identities, and practical application of the categories. I conclude this section by highlighting how my second empirical application draws upon and seeks to contribute towards the literature on ethnic categorisation and inequalities in violence as well as the wider thesis.

i. Representing Ethnicity through Social Categories: Making Measures Matter

In 2021, a petition to the UK Parliament calling for ‘Latinx/Hispanic’ to be included in the UK census highlighted the importance of representation in national survey data, asserting: “We are not white, black, Asian, and certainly not ‘other’” (UK Parliament Petition 2021). The measurement and categorisation of ethnicity are often taken for granted in mainstream research and policy, yet they represent a core underpinning logic in how systems of racial and ethnic inequalities operate, change and persist in society. They not only shape our understandings of these systems and how to tackle them through the production of knowledge for policymakers and service providers, but often signify a source of discomfort, alienation and misrepresentation among minoritised ethnic groups (Woozeer 2022).

As societies become increasingly ethnically diverse and heterogeneous in a post-colonial and globalised world, the question of how we measure, categorise and represent ethnicity poses a growing challenge for data producers, researchers, and policymakers seeking to identify and address ethnic and racial inequalities. Conceptual critiques and qualitative studies have well-documented the complexities of measuring ethnicity and the inadequacies of standardised approaches (Burton et al. 2010; Khanna 2010; Aspinall 2000; Ballard 1997), yet there remains a lack of quantitative studies which investigate the implications of these complexities and inadequacies for understanding inequalities in society. The limited existing evidence from health revealed discrepancies between self-identified and observed race, changing racial categories and identification, and challenges in categorising and counting 'mixed' race groups (Williams 1996). More recently, increased interest in ethnic health disparities following the Covid-19 pandemic highlighted gaps in ethnicity data availability, consistency, and quality (OSR 2021a; ONS 2023b). Besides these, there remains a lack of critical attention to how the measurement of ethnicity may shape our understanding of ethnic inequalities produced through these measures, which in turn shape policy and practice, across a plethora of research and policy areas. The UK produces a wealth of nationally representative survey data, across a range of research and policy areas which measure ethnicity using a standardised approach derived from the national Census (UKDS 2023; ONS 2022a). These surveys play a significant role in evidencing ethnic disparities in socio-economic (e.g. Family Resources Survey, see DWP 2022; Annual Population Survey, see ONS 2023c), health (e.g. Health Survey England, see NHS Digital 2022; Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey, see Rhead et al. 2022), housing (e.g. English Housing Survey, see Garret et al. 2014), employment (e.g. Labour Force Survey, see Powell and Francis-Devine 2023), and crime (CSEW, see ONS 2021a). In order to address ethnic inequalities, it is necessary to collect data which reveals the often hidden, yet persistent, ways in which individuals' experiences are shaped by their membership of particular ethnic groups (Williams and Husk 2013). How ethnicity is measured is therefore of significant relevance.

Whilst the links between how we measure *violence* and our understanding of inequalities in violence have been investigated in several recent studies using the CSEW (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024; Walby et al. 2016; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021), far less focus has been placed on how we measure *inequality groups*,

particularly ethnic groups. A central challenge in measuring inequalities is whether and how nationally representative and comparable data on inequalities can be produced without inadvertently excluding or misrepresenting the complexities and variations of self-identities and experiences (Burton et al. 2010; Ulmer et al. 2009). Using quantitative victimisation and attitudinal data on violence in the CSEW, my second empirical application explores the complexities and challenges of measuring ethnicity in UK national survey data and analyses the implications of different measurement approaches for understanding ethnic disparities in experiences of violence (victimisation and fear). The CSEW derives its approach to measuring ethnicity from the UK decennial census (in line with the UK's GSS standardised approach, Equality Hub 2023), which undertakes considerable evaluation of its approach to capturing UK demographic data (ONS 2009). As such, the methodological critique, statistical findings and recommendations provided by this study not only apply to the CSEW, but more broadly to the Census' approach to measuring ethnicity which sets the standardisation of ethnic measures for most nationally-representative surveys and government statistics in England and Wales (e.g. ONS 2009).

Investigating and addressing the measurement of ethnicity is essential to both improving the collection, interpretation, and use of this data, as well as revealing how the underpinning logics, methodology, and interpretations involved in translating complex self-identities into broad categories shape our understanding of inequalities in society. My second empirical application investigates the central question – How does the way we represent ethnicity matter for understanding inequalities in violence? – by first investigating what exclusions, categorisations and interpretations are involved in translating complex, multifaceted self-asserted identities into neat, mutually-exclusive categories in UK survey data, before comparing how alternative measurement approaches could address these challenges through quantitative data analysis of the CSEW. This research seeks to bridge the gap between conceptual deliberations and practical applications by scrutinizing methodological processes and revealing the implications of measurement in the CSEW as part of a wider critique of the UK's standardised approach to capturing ethnicity in national survey data and government statistics. This research thus shows how the measurement of ethnicity plays a significant part in our understanding of violence inequalities by demonstrating how alternative categorisations influence reveal different and hidden patterns of ethnic disparities in violence outcomes.

ii. Debates and Challenges in the Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity

The concept and meaning of ethnicity have been long debated in both academic (see, for example, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 2005 [1992]; Anthias 2007; Fenton and Bradley 2002; Callister et al. 2009) and public discourse (Bush 2022; Rose and Rose 2005; Schneider 2023), with varying definitions and perspectives. Perspectives differ in their framing of ethnicity as a 'practice' or 'articulation' of ethnic group membership (Anthias 2007), as an embodied identity (Alcoff 1999), or as a system of inequality which structures society (Walby 2009). Drawing on perspectives from Anthias and Yuval-Davis (2005, also Anthias 2007), this application approaches ethnicity as a complex and multi-dimensional social construct used to define socio-cultural differences and group membership based on a variety of characteristics, including culture, religion, nationality, and language. It acts to position individuals within systems of inequality, a core component of which is the structuring, organising and categorising of individuals and groups through identities, behaviours and social relations.

Ethnicity: Race and Other Dimensions

Whilst ethnicity is considered distinct from 'race', the two are interconnected and often incorrectly conflated in language and measurement. Historically, the measurement of race was widely derived from 'scientific racism' which promoted deeply flawed assertions of biological differences between groups of people based on skin colour and physical characteristics (Saini 2019). Racial measurements and categorisations were used to impose hierarchal structures of racial superiority and have been a central tool in justifying and implementing colonial occupation and exploitation, genocide and ethnic cleansing, and systems of apartheid and segregation (Hoover 2007). The production of knowledge on 'race' during the Colonial era was used to justify and legitimize individual and systemic violence against minoritised racial groups on the basis of their 'biological inferiority'. As counter-hegemonic knowledge-production increasingly refuted this premise, violence against minoritised racial groups became increasingly contested, leading, for example, to the abolition of the slave trade and the civil rights movements. Disempowering the systems of inequality which enabled and enacted the slave trade, apartheid, segregation and the 'Jim Crow' era required a shift in the production of knowledge.

The imposition of 'race' as a means of categorising human beings has been extensively critiqued (see Barot and Bird 2001), and despite concerns of a resurgence

of scientific racism (Saini 2019; Morning 2014), the notion of biological race has been widely rejected among social scientists (Wagner et al. 2017). National data from most countries focuses on ethnic groups (or comparable proxies) rather than race (the US being a notable exception, Morning 2015). Yet 'ethnicity' is often used as a proxy measure for racial difference and inequalities as 'race' represents a dimension of ethnicity. Whilst ethnicity measures may benefit from capturing aspects of racial inequalities without re-imposing flawed racial categories and logics, the uneven distinction and conflation of ethnicity and race also pose challenges.

Alongside race, further dimensions which form the bases of ethnic groups include language, culture, religion, country or region of origin, ancestry (including parentage), shared histories, and others (Burton et al. 2010). Ethnic groups often draw on multiple dimensions, creating a patchwork of shared experiences and communal bonds which inform ethnic identities, practices and group memberships. Whilst the multifaceted nature of ethnicity as a concept is reflective of the complex ways such groups are formed and hold meaning, this complexity poses a significant challenge for statistical measurement. Ethnicity cannot be reduced to a single dimension (such as race or ancestry alone), yet broad categorisations of ethnic groups tend to unevenly prioritise different dimensions across ethnic categories, and survey design recommendations advise against using a single variable to measure multiple indicators (e.g. regional origin, race, singular/mixed ethnicity) (Kautt 2010).

Complexity versus Practicality

Much conceptual and theoretical scholarship emphasises characteristics of ethnicity which are often at odds with conventional forms of measurement (Burton et al. 2010; Ulmer et al. 2009; Kautt 2010). Whilst specialised surveys offer more nuanced and theoretically grounded approaches to ethnicity measures (Madood et al. 2002), standardised measures in national surveys prioritise stability, comparability, and methodological practicality (Burton et al. 2010; Ulmer et al. 2009). Standardised categorisations enable consistent comparison and aggregation of ethnic differences across multiple data sources and research areas, yet must also standardise ethnic groups in a way which meets diverse research needs, is broadly reflective of ethnic variation in the population, and is practical for data collectors (Burton et al. 2010; Ulmer et al. 2009). Quantifying and analysing ethnic variation involves processes of interpretation and simplification of complex, fluid and subjective experiences and

perceptions of individuals' sense of ethnic identity and group membership. This process of 'fitting' ethnicity into neat, mutually exclusive categories necessarily entails a simplification of the complexities of ethnicity and the specificity of individuals' ethnic identities. Herein lies one of the central challenges in measuring ethnicity: how to retain the specificity and meaning of ethnic groups in a way which is reflective of individuals' asserted identities whilst producing data which is reliable, comparable and useable in quantitative analyses of ethnic variation.

National Variations

Official approaches to measuring ethnicity vary widely across countries, based on national context, time period, data source and mode of collection. A study of 141 countries' ethnicity measures in national censuses found diverse conceptualisations of ethnicity and significant variation in language used, dimensions captured, response options and structures, and question design (Morning 2015). Respondents may be asked about 'nationality', 'indigenous status', 'race' or directly about 'ethnicity', and may respond via open-ended free text answers, multiple-choice or tick-box options, or a composite of multiple questions, with closed-ended check-boxes or code lists using single-selection of pre-set categories among the most common approaches (Morning 2015). This variation restricts researchers' ability to compare ethnic variation across countries and over time, often limiting evidence of ethnic inequalities to country-specific and time-bound contexts. The European Social Survey, for example, collects data on whether respondents "feel [they] are part of the same race or ethnic group as most people in [their country]" and the country of origin of their parents (ESC 2020). Whilst this captures self-identified ethnic minoritisation and national heritage, it fails to capture the multiple dimensions of ethnicity, particularly race, which may instead be inferred based on parental origin but provides an unreliable and vague measure of ethnicity. Early measures in other surveys and administrative data often relied on 'assigned' rather than 'asserted' ethnicity, whereby a person's ethnicity was 'observed' and attributed to them by a researcher, state actor or other authority, rather than based on the individual's asserted identity and sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group (e.g. Wood 1984: 46).

Specialised surveys designed to better capture experiences of minoritised ethnic groups, such as the EVENS dataset, offer more detailed and representative insights into ethnic inequalities (Finney et al. 2023; esp. Shlomo et al. 2023). The EVENS

dataset, seeking to address a knowledge gap on minoritised ethnic groups' experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic, made several methodological innovations and adaptations to set itself apart from the UK's national survey landscape by prioritising inclusive and quality data on ethnic inequalities in its methodological structure and practices. In terms of categorising ethnicity, EVENS uses free-text ethnic identity responses rather than pre-set standardised categories. This approach offers a more inclusive and accurate way of capturing ethnic identities (Borkowska et al. 2023: 30), Yet it also encounters both practical challenges of resource-heavy coding of free-text into quantitative data, and methodological challenges of sample sizes for less populous groups (see also Shlomo et al. 2023). The survey also over-sampled minoritised ethnic groups and engaged with leading voluntary, community and social enterprise (VCSE) organisations) to capture an ethnically diverse sample suitable for detailed analyses of ethnic inequalities and which avoided issues of insufficient sample sizes and poor representation in ethnic categories (Finney et al. 2023). Whilst this approach significantly improved the representation of more ethnic groups and provided larger sample sizes for minoritised groups, as a non-population based survey, it faced limitations in its comparability with other national surveys, and its generalisability to the national population, The EVENS dataset provides an innovative and much needed intervention into the production on high quality data on ethnic minoritised groups' experiences. Integrating aspects of this approach and its prioritisation of ethnic minoritised experiences in wider national surveys offers progress, and alongside disrupting standardised practices in national surveys may, as I explore, may contribute towards more representative data on ethnic minoritised experiences in the UK.

Despite the need for higher quality data on ethnic minoritised experiences, expertise on conducting ethnicity surveys has not yet successfully permeated mainstream research and national surveys (Nazroo et al. 2006: xi). My research on ethnic categorisation in the CSEW, particularly as part of a wider thesis exploring how we capture and represent marginalised voices and experiences in national surveys and statistics, seeks to contribute towards a mainstreaming of expertise and the prioritisation of ethnic minoritised and other marginalised groups in survey methodical choices. Alongside research which addresses data quality and representative issues through specialised non-probability surveys which operate parallel to national surveys (such as the EVENS dataset), my approach targets national surveys themselves as a

central component of hegemonic knowledge production which requires both critique and reform.

iii. Empirical Application: Misrepresenting Ethnicity

The UK adopts a standardised approach to measuring ethnicity which enables cross-comparison across different national surveys and analysis of trends over time. The UK uses a two-tier categorisation of high (5 groups) and low-level (19) ethnic groups which seeks to capture multiple dimensions of ethnicity. Most large-scale UK surveys use a standardised measure based on the decennial Census, with minor variations, including the UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS), the UK Labour Force Survey (UKLFS), the Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey (APMS), the Annual Population Survey (APS), the CSEW, and others. This standardised approach forms the basis for most national statistics on ethnic disparities used in evidence-building and policymaking across the UK. Yet despite its widespread usage, the standardised model for measuring ethnic groups has received little scholarly attention, particularly in relation to its implications for understanding ethnic disparities in social outcomes. Further, despite the plethora of discussion and debate surrounding the conceptualization and categorization of ethnicity, there is a notable absence of studies which practically engage this subject through quantitative analysis, particularly those which explore the implications of misrepresentation on specific outcomes. No studies have thus far analysed the effect of ethnic misrepresentation on violence outcomes, despite a growing number of studies addressing the effect of flawed violence measures on inequality patterns in victimization (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024; Walby et al. 2016; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021).

My second empirical application seeks to untangle the specific challenges in balancing representativeness, whereby respondents recognise themselves in ethnic categories; conceptual coherence, whereby ethnic categories offer consistent and meaningful information for both respondents and researchers; and methodological practicality, whereby ethnicity data is practical for quantitative analyses and aligns with methodological standards (e.g. sufficient sample sizes, comparable over time and across data sources).

In doing so, I first assess the challenges, inconsistencies and limitations of the current approach to measuring ethnicity through a critical evaluation of standardised ethnicity measures in UK survey data (particularly the CSEW), before analysing quantitative

data in the CSEW to compare different approaches to measuring ethnicity and its implications for violence-related outcomes (violence victimisation and fear). In doing so, I aim to both (1) reveal how methodological practices of social categorisation contribute towards the misrepresentation of individuals, groups, and disparities based on the UK's standardised approach; and (2) demonstrate how new insights into ethnic groups' experience of violence may be revealed through an alternative approach to categorisation. In this way, my second empirical application addresses inequalities in knowledge production at the stage of measurement and categorisation, focusing on the misrepresentation of ethnicity, and seeks to open space for a more representative and inclusive approach to capturing ethnic disparities in violence and wider social outcomes.

d. Translating Lived Experience into National Statistics: Barriers to Disclosure of Violence Victimisation

The context and tools through which data on violence victimisation is collected vary, from police and support services data to research focus groups, with different challenges for disclosure across these sources and methods. Building upon previous empirical applications, my third empirical application addresses a key component in processes of knowledge-production: translating individual experiences into statistics and evidence through victim disclosure. Disclosure of violence victimization is not evenly distributed across the population and forms of violence. Inequalities not only shape the risk and experience of violence, but also shape pathways to disclosure and help-seeking among victims. Varying individual, contextual and systemic factors may facilitate, undermine or prevent victims from disclosing victimization. These factors are heavily intertwined with systems of inequalities, whereby the character and form of violence and the victim's position and exposure to systems of inequalities determine the conditions for disclosure. Existing research has identified barriers to disclosing domestic and sexual violence (Heron and Eisma 2021; Hegarty and Taft 2001; Rose et al. 2011; Zinzow et al. 2022; Halstead et al. 2017), particularly among minoritised ethnic and migrant women (Hulley et al. 2023; Thiara 2023; Gilligan and Akhtar 2006; O'Neal and Beckman 2017). These include, for example, feelings of shame and self-blame, fear of not being believed and victim-blaming, the risk of revictimization, familial and community pressures, distrust of the police and other authorities, coping-mechanisms of denial and minimization, and social isolation preventing access to disclosure routes (see Hulley et al. 2023; Thiara 2023; Gilligan and Akhtar 2006;

O'Neal and Beckman 2017). Yet, there is a lack of quantitative studies analysing the prevalence, disparities and effects of barriers, particularly those based on nationally representative and comparative data. Existing literature on barriers to violence disclosure tends to focus on the experiences of the target population without comparing them to other groups (Hulley et al. 2017). Studies on intersectional approaches tend to focus on barriers facing minoritised ethnic and migrant women, emphasising cultural factors over systemic factors and inequalities in data-collection and research processes. Uncovering the effect of barriers to disclosure and its inequal distribution is critical to understanding inequalities in violence by revealing hidden victims and underestimated forms of violence.

i. Theoretical Approaches and Explanatory Frameworks for Barriers to Disclosure

Whilst there is no macro-level theorization of barriers to violence disclosure, theoretical and explanatory approaches vary across studies in terms of analytical levels, including distinctions and interactions between levels, and the explanatory framing of what drives barriers to disclosure in terms of cultural, social, psychological, institutional, and systemic factors. Hulley et al. (2023) distinguish between barriers operating at three interwoven levels: (1) 'individual experiences of abuse', capturing key features of control by intimate partner violence (IPV) perpetrators (see Goodman et al. 2009; Refuge 2017b; WHO 2012), which disproportionately impacts minoritised ethnic and migrant women; (2) 'the broad socio-cultural and political level', where "women's experiences of GBV are underpinned by a context of racism and patriarchal gender norms"; which feed into barriers operating at (3) the 'meso-level' which GBV victims need to navigate (Hulley et al. 2023: 1004). Comparatively, Thiara (2023) distinguishes between individual-community factors (social isolation; wellbeing/agency; immigration status-abuse; family, community and social factors; knowledge and normalisation; perception of state-racialisation and discrimination; resistance) and structural factors (systemic blocks; state and agency-professional responses; and absent/limited 'by and for' services).

Research on barriers to disclosure often distinguishes between systemic and cultural factors in relation to marginalised groups, with the former deriving from authorities and institutions such as immigration and policing systems and the latter deriving from within the marginalised community itself (Hulley et al. 2023; Thiara and Roy 2020;

Heron and Eisma 2021). Whilst cultural factors are essential in understanding how perpetrators operate within distinctive micro-social systems of communities and households, this should not be reduced to culture alone (Burman et al. 2004). Instead, researchers should focus on how nuanced cultural differences influence and shape the relationship between inequality-based risk factors and mechanisms of knowledge production. That is, rather than isolating the drivers of barriers to disclosure in cultural factors, they should be used to inform the nuances and complexities of how violence is regulated through knowledge-production mechanisms across systemic, local and individualised factors. Whilst the interaction between systemic and cultural drivers is well-addressed in research which prioritised marginalised perspectives and positionalities, such as in Thiara's work (2023; see also Thiara and Roy 2020), the practical implications of this interaction within disclosure settings remain underexplored, particularly in relation to non-administrative disclosure settings.

ii. Disclosing Domestic and Sexual Violence

Much of the literature on barriers to violence disclosure focuses on domestic and sexual violence, reflecting widespread under-reporting, heightened risks in disclosure, social norms and pressures on victims, and inadequate service and institutional responses (Thiara and Roy 2020; Hulley et al. 2023; Heron and Eisa 2021; Rose et al. 2011). Estimates of domestic and sexual violence victimization vary widely depending on the data source and disclosure pathway (ONS 2023e). There is widespread consensus and significant evidence that domestic and sexual violence is chronically underestimated compared to other forms of violence (see, for example, Cullen 2023; Davis et al. 2003; Fernández-Fontelo et al. 2019; Stöckl et al. 2021).

Disclosing domestic violence is a critical step in accessing support and escaping a violent relationship, but also carries significant, and in some cases deadly, risks for the victim. Domestic abusive relationships, particularly those involving coercive control, typically involve strategies by the perpetrator to manipulate, isolate and control the victim as a means of preventing them from disclosing the abuse (Hulley et al. 2023, see also WHO 2012; Refuge 2017a, 2017b; Women's Aid 2019). Victims who disclose are often subsequently subject to intensified threats, controlling behaviour and violence by the perpetrator as a deterrent to disclosure, help-seeking, and escaping the abusive relationship (see Hulley et al. 2023, see also WHO 2012; Refuge 2017a, 2017b; Women's Aid 2019).

Additionally, research and insights from practitioners found that family, friends and communities may play a role in preventing victims from disclosing violence due to social norms and pressures, affiliations with the perpetrator, and aversion to interventions (Thiara 2023; Thiara and Roy 2020). Disclosing domestic violence is often framed as a transgression of the public/private divide that contains women within the domestic/family sphere. This may be exacerbated in particular cultural contexts where this division is more pronounced and narratives of shame and betrayal are more prevalent as a tool for maintaining this boundary. As Hulley et al. (2023) note, cultural factors played a role in "ideas that women were responsible for 'keeping the family together' and that women's roles were primarily domestic and 'private' in contrast to the 'public' breadwinner roles for men" (1004-1005). There are also cultural and religious variations in the acceptability of gendered violence, particularly in the context of "maintaining an intact marriage" (Hulley et al. 2023: 1005), contributing towards both internal and external pressures from the victim and those around them to accept certain forms of violence as expected. Disclosure to the police or services in these cases may be framed as a betrayal of family and community norms and privacy, and attempts at interventions quashed by those around the victim through conflicting narratives to police and services undermining the victim's credibility (Thiara and Roy 2020).

Whilst previous research rightly focuses on domestic and sexual violence victims as facing heightened and severe barriers to disclosure, there is little research which addresses barriers to disclosure of other forms of violence and violence as a whole. This inhibits comparisons in barriers by different violence types to enable researchers and practitioners to identify which barriers pose particular risks of non-disclosure across different forms of violence. In addressing this gap, this study takes a comparative approach to identifying and analysing barriers to violence disclosure across the population.

iii. Hidden Victims: Minoritised Ethnic and Migrant Women

Minoritized ethnic and migrant women experience a variety of challenging and compounding barriers to disclosure of violence victimisation. Violence against minoritised ethnic and migrant women is often explained through cultural norms and differences (Burman et al. 2004). Whilst cultural factors play a significant role in varying risks and experiences of violence, this is often translated into wider public,

media and political discourses around violence and marginalised groups by reducing ethnic and national groups to cultural stereotypes of victimhood and perpetrator. Discriminatory discourses of oppressed Muslim and Asian women and violent misogynistic men, of 'dangerous and criminal' Black men and 'angry Black women', and of migrants introducing 'backwards' cultures of gendered violence and oppression to the otherwise 'civilised' UK rely upon reducing marginalised groups to harmful stereotypes about their culture. Narrow perspectives which only address cultural factors not only risk reinforcing these narratives, but also neglect the powerful role of institutional and systemic inequalities in excluding, silencing, and vulnerabilising these groups in relation to violence victimisation.

Whilst research on barriers to disclosure has largely focused on cultural factors, it often also recognises the importance of contexts of systemic inequalities, such as immigration pressures and institutionalised racism (Thiara and Roy 2020). For example, whilst culture is used to explain how community insularity and family dynamics act to silence victims and normalise violence, collective distrust of state interventions which drive insularity are based on historic and ongoing injustices against marginalised communities, such as through policing and immigration enforcement (Thiara and Roy 2020). A range of reasons for barriers to disclosure of IPV and sexual violence among minoritised ethnic and migrant women have been highlighted in the literature. Minoritised ethnic and migrant women victims of IPV "faced additional barriers as a result of institutional racism, immigration laws, culture and religion, and issues of cultural competence, and lack of diversity within frontline services" which "exacerbate[d] feelings of fear, threat, isolation and powerlessness" (Hulley et al. 2023: 1001). Barriers to disclosure of sexual violence underlined by Thiara and Tory (2020), are related to psychological, social and cultural issues, including secrecy and normalisation, shame and self-blame, denial, aversion to victim-identification, protecting family, community and race loyalties, and collusion between family members and authorities.

Whilst research on barriers to disclosure among minoritized women through support services has revealed the breadth and hidden nature of these challenges, barriers within national victimisation surveys have been underexplored. Gendered, racialised and immigration systems of inequality, precarity and marginalisation not only shape

the contexts within which violence occurs for these groups but also inform the contexts through which it may be disclosed.

iv. Disclosure Pathways

Disclosure of violence can take place in different settings such as through the police and criminal justice system, healthcare providers, educational settings, and specialised support services. The literature on disclosure pathways demonstrates how varying contextual factors mitigate or exacerbate barriers to disclosure of violence (focusing on domestic and sexual violence) across these settings (Decker et al. 2019, Heron and Eisma 2021, Halstead et al. 2017).

Barriers to reporting to the police highlighted in the literature are related to both structural influences such as power disparities and mistrust of the police as well as community and social norms-related barriers such as police avoidance (Heron and Eisma 2021). Additionally, police data is subject to its own processes which also generate barriers – such as adherence to a criminal threshold, distrust in police, police competency, and the police's focus on holding perpetrators criminally accountable. Support services data are not nationally representative and do not enable national and cross-sectional inequality comparisons. Some of the issues of disclosure of violence in healthcare settings highlighted in the literature are related to health care providers' lack of training, time constraints and resources (Beynon et al., 2012; Sundborg et al., 2012), as well as victim-survivors' concerns of safety such as fear of violence escalation, lack of privacy in the settings, and lack of trust between them and healthcare providers, as well as negative attitudes among healthcare providers (Heron and Eisma, 2021; Robinson and Spilsbury 2008). The data across all these settings also have a number of data-driven barriers in common such as their primary reason for collection is for administrative purposes and the information covers only those who had come in contact with their services. The result of these various barriers across settings is that not all violence is being captured by their data, with some victims 'missing' from them. National victimisation surveys therefore enable us to open a small window into the experiences of women who have not disclosed violence victimisation across some or any of these settings.

National victimisation surveys are a critical source of evidence on violence, particularly due to capturing those who do and do not report their victimisation to professional settings. They provide an opportunity to explore barriers to violence disclosure that go

beyond individual accounts of these, often detailed in qualitative interviews. Whilst these accounts offer an invaluable nuanced picture of the experiences of specific groups' journeys to disclosure and the barriers they face, they offer little insight into the processes and mechanisms themselves. For example, instead of asking women what barriers to disclosure of violence they face, we could examine the processes they must overcome and what effect these processes have on disclosure.

v. Empirical Application: Barriers to Disclosure

Existing literature on barriers to disclosure almost exclusively focuses on disclosure to services within help-seeking pathways (see, for example, Rose et al. 2011; Zinzow et al. 2022; Halstead et al. 2017; Hulley et al. 2023), rather than survey data. This is likely due to the necessity for victim disclosure when providing support services to victims and pursuing criminal charges against perpetrators, whereas survey data is rarely linked to individual support or criminal justice outcomes. Whilst there is a significant need to address barriers to disclosure as part of responding to violence victimisation, whether supporting victims or criminalising perpetrators, the focus on help-seeking pathways and administrative data misses key evidence relating to non-help-seeking victims, national representativeness and comparability, the role of data-collection processes, and the significant of knowledge-production in both exacerbating and obscuring inequalities in violence. There are no known studies on barriers to disclosure in victimisation studies, despite the CSEW representing the primary source of violence statistics for the UK government.

This empirical application aims to address gaps and challenges in the literature by analysing nationally representative victimisation survey data, rather than isolated marginalised groups who have already disclosed violence and are seeking help. This enables us to determine which groups are more vulnerable to certain barriers, and what the overall and comparative effects of these barriers are. It also enables us to capture experiences from people who have not sought help or disclosed elsewhere, as well as focus on systems and mechanisms, rather than locating barriers solely at the individual level.

My third empirical application investigates the prevalence, disparities and effects of barriers to disclosure in the CSEW as a core evidence-base for policy-making on violence in the UK. Specifically, I address the following sub-research questions: 'What barriers do victims, particularly minoritised ethnic and migrant women, face in

disclosing experiences of violence in victimisation surveys? What is needed to remove or mitigate these barriers?'. Here, I investigate these questions by (1) applying a critical methodological evaluation to the CSEW questionnaire, methodology and data to identify a variety of compounding barriers to disclosure, and (2) analysing the potential effects of these barriers on violence disclosure rates. I argue that barriers to disclosure are the result of methodological and situational factors which arise based on biases and assumptions underpinning gendered, racial, and citizenship-migration regimes of violence. The persistence of barriers to disclosure among marginalised groups risks underrepresenting violence victimisation. This in turn poses barriers to demonstrating the need for policy measures and service provision which address overlapping factors and processes of marginalisation and vulnerabilisation which simultaneously increases violence exposure risks and undermines pathways to disclosure.

e. Inequalities in Violence Trends under Hostile Policy Regimes: Austerity and the Hostile Environment

Whilst the previously addressed empirical applications focus on practices of knowledge production within the CSEW's measurement and data collection on violence and inequalities, this final application examines both the analysis and interpretation of data and the role of wider policy regimes on violence and inequalities in shaping inequalities in violence trends. For the former, I examine how methods for analysis which neglect inequality variations exclude important insights on inequality trends and associations with policy regimes. For the latter, I provide new evidence on the association between inequality-increasing policy regimes and inequalities in violence.

Violence has long been in decline. But the questions of 'for who?' and 'under what conditions?' remain underexplored, particularly in terms of inequalities in violence trends and their relationships to specific policy regimes. The past decade has seen a distinctive shift in the UK's economic and immigration policy regimes, with the introduction of severe Austerity measures in 2010 and the restrictive 'Hostile Environment' immigration regime in 2014 deepening inequalities across society.

Whilst some studies have explored gendered differences in violence trends during Austerity (Ganpat et al. 2022), there has been little research into the impact of the Hostile Environment on violence, and no nationally representative studies have been

conducted on the latter. Research on the UK's Austerity and Hostile Environment regimes have also approached inequalities as largely separate, with no studies conducted which account for the role of intersection inequalities, a lack of quantitative studies and statistical evidence of the impact of the Hostile Environment on inequalities, particularly in terms of violence victimisation, and an absence of studies which monitor inequalities in violence trends in relation to policy regimes. This section first challenges theories of violence in decline, arguing that these approaches overlook the role of power and inequalities in shaping whether and to what extent violence is declining for marginalised groups. I then outline my two policy regime case studies in relation to academic literature and evidence on the impact and implications of Austerity and Hostile Environment measures for intersecting inequalities, including in the context of violence victimisation, support, and criminalisation.

i. Theorising Violence in Decline

Macro-level theories have tended to focus on the decline of violence through the development of modernity and variations in state governance of violence, whether through the formation of states through the monopolisation and governance of violence within their own territories (Weber 1968); the modernization of violence regulation from state punishment to societal self-regulation (Foucault 2023 [1975]); or the process of 'civilization' whereby violence is increasingly located at the social periphery or 'decivilized' spaces (Elias 1994). Theories of violence tended to focus on the decline of violence through the development of modernity, an assertion which has been increasingly challenged by 'new' research which focuses on gendered and marginalised perspectives on violence (Walby 2013).

Elias' theory of violence as declining through a process of civilization focuses on the historical development of European social norms and states' monopoly of legitimate violence (see also Weber 1968) as the basis for declining levels of violence in society. Pinker (2012 [1954]) further develops this historical analysis through statistical analysis of data on violence, positing that this decline in violence is driven by five historical forces, and that modern violence is largely peripheral or located in 'decivilized' spaces. Further, Weber's theorisation of state legitimacy as based on a monopoly of violence which excludes patriarchal violence may be derived in part from his conceptualisation of 'patriarchalism' as a system of gendered domination based on 'natural' difference. Without accounting for patriarchal violence as a subject worthy

of sociological study, Weber neglects the role of the state in maintaining systems of gender inequality and permitting a decentralisation of violence based on domination beyond state control.

In providing broad theories of declining violence, variations in the level and governance of violence across time and place are reduced to the role of the state and social norms at the expense of economic, civil society, and bordering factors, thereby neglecting the variety of ways violence shapes and is shaped by multiple institutions in a complex social system. They also tend to rely on Eurocentric conceptions and evidence of 'civilization' and 'modernization', and neglect the role of systems of inequality in governing violence and society by positioning violence as peripheral in 'civilized' societies. This approach risks deprioritising violence against marginalised groups as the remaining consequences of not-yet 'civilized' spaces and peoples or as deviant or peripheral to normal social life, rather than as a consequence of the interaction between systems of violence and inequalities which structure social life. Whilst Walby's approach to modernity risks repeating these tendencies, the overarching theoretical framework and its centralising of intersecting inequalities as interacting systems enables a movement beyond 'civilizing' approaches depending on its application.

Further, the emergence of research which focused on previously peripheral and marginalised forms of violence and victims challenged the assumption of violence as reducing with modernity as a linear and global process (Walby 2013). More recent studies have analysed the long-term decline in violence, and crime more broadly, in national contexts, noting periods of reversal and examining the more specific policy mechanisms driving this decline in different contexts (Ganpat et al. 2022; Farrell 2013; Tonry 2014). Comparatively little research has investigated inequalities in violence trends, with notable exceptions of studies by Ganpat et al. (2022) and Walby et al. (2014b; 2016) which found that stranger violence was declining faster for men than women, and that incidence rates of domestic violence against women had increased during Austerity.

The past decade has seen a distinctive shift in the UK's economic and border-immigration policy regimes, with the introduction of severe Austerity measures in 2010 and the restrictive 'Hostile Environment' immigration regime in 2014 deepening inequalities across society. In analysing these policy regimes through a theoretical

framework of intersectionality, I analyse inequalities in violence trends following shifts in these regimes, using the UK's policy regimes of Austerity and the Hostile Environment as representative case studies.

ii. Austerity

In 2010, the newly elected Conservative-led coalition Government announced a series of economic policy reforms under the new 'age of austerity' in response to the Global Financial Crisis of 2008/09. In a departure from the previous Labour Government's economic response, which saw government bailout of UK banks and a £31 billion stimulus effort, Austerity measures involved significant public spending cuts, including public sector pay freezes, reduced public service and governmental department budgets, and reforms to the UK's welfare benefit and taxation systems. From 2010 to 2020, Austerity was established as the dominant fiscal policy in the UK and involved a period of redistribution of socio-economic resources, resulting in increased economic and social inequalities (see, for example, Nunn 2016; Greer Murphy 2017).

Whilst Austerity involved both legislative and institutional changes, it was predominantly concerned with the redistribution of socio-economic resources, whereby the corporate economy was prioritised over the adequate and equal distribution of public goods and services, and redistribution of wealth from poorer to wealthier groups in society (Oxfam 2013), marking a distinctive shift from a more Social Democratic regime to one which was more Neoliberal in character (see Walby 2009). The Austerity policy regime has also been criticised for its length, severity and prioritisation of socio-political ideological values and assumptions over economic targets, with the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights suggesting that Austerity was "a policy pursued more as an ideological than an economic agenda" (Alston 2019: 1), and further, that "women, particularly poor women, have been intentionally targeted" (16).

The gendered effects of Austerity are well-evidenced and have provoked widespread criticism by women's rights and gender equality organisations, such as the Fawcett Society and Women's Budget Group (Wakefield 2019; Sands 2012; Women's Budget Group 2017). The severity and persistence of the UK's Austerity regime was made possible by, and exploited, women's role as unpaid carers, shock-absorbers of family poverty, and buffers against a shrinking welfare state. Research carried out by the House of Commons Library found that women shouldered 86% of the cost of welfare

and tax changes, with £80.7 billion of the total £94 billion in savings coming at the expense of women (Keen and Cracknell 2017). Public spending cuts were found to disproportionately effect women through a 'triple whammy' effect based on their position as the primary users of public services and recipients of welfare benefits, the majority of public sector workers, and the majority of unpaid carers who were expected to fill the gap left by underfunded and understaffed public services (Wakefield 2019; see also Ginn 2013). An EHRC review found that whereas UK men lost on average £30 per year, women lost £400 a year as a result of these changes (Portes and Reed 2018). As the primary shock absorbers of family poverty, women are more likely to mitigate financial hardship in households by increasing both paid and unpaid labour (Women's Budget Group 2005). Austerity represents not only a further Neoliberal shift in the UK's economic regime, but also in its gender-economic regime whereby prioritisation of the corporate economic and shrinking of the UK's welfare regime came predominantly at the cost of women, in terms of both welfare and public service cuts increasing the financial and (unpaid) labour burdens on women.

The gendered economic impact of Austerity, whereby women faced the compounding effects of public service and welfare cuts and shouldered a disproportionate burden of austerity measures through both financial and labour costs, had significant implications for the governance and prevalence of gendered violence. As well as increasing gendered economic inequalities, which have been associated with increased violence against women (Aizer 2010; Ackerson and Subramanian 2008), Austerity measures have been associated with reduced access to services for women victims of violence and increased levels of gendered violence (Sanders-McDonagh et al. 2016; Towers and Walby 2012; Walby et al. 2016). Reduced access to household economic resources, victim support services, and employment act as barriers to women escaping domestic violence (Women's Aid 2024). At the same time as women, particularly those already economically disadvantaged, were experiencing fewer resources to mitigate the risk and harms of violence, 31% of local authority funding for domestic and sexual violence services was cut from 2010-2012 (Towers and Walby 2012). Persistent underfunding has resulted in high levels of competition between service providers (Towers and Walby 2012; Women's Aid 2024), disadvantaging specialised services, particularly those supporting Black and ethnic minoritized women such as Imkaan, who were forced to close two of their six specialist refuges (Towers and Walby 2012). In this way, Austerity measures not only deepened gendered

economic inequalities, but also carried significant implications for gendered violence through cuts to public and support services particularly for women, as well as exacerbating economic risk factors for violence victimisation, particularly for domestic violence.

iii. The Hostile Environment

In a 2012 interview, then-Home Secretary Theresa May's declaration of plans "to create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal migration" (Kirkup and Winnett 2012) heralded a new Border-Immigration regime in the UK. In the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis and deepening austerity measures, the 'Hostile Environment' was positioned as the Government's assertive response to growing anti-immigration sentiments which often framed migrants as undeserving and burdensome in British society (see, for example, Goodfellow 2019). The Immigration Acts 2014 and 2016 introduced and intensified, respectively, a series of legislative measures designed to restrict particularly (but not exclusively) undocumented migrants', access to essential goods and services by imposing a multitude of checks, rules and restrictions throughout their lives. This included restrictions within the spheres of housing, travel, banking, employment, marriage, and healthcare, creating a panoptical system of checks and surveillance of migrants by a wide range of proxy immigration enforcers (including landlords, healthcare professionals, agencies, employers, bank clerks, social workers, charity workers, among others). Migrants' everyday lives were increasingly monitored, regulated and restricted, from accessing their bank account to renting their home to seeing their doctor (Griffiths and Yeo 2021; Yeo 2018).

These policies have been widely criticised for the use and incitement of discriminatory practices, deepening inequalities, and unlawfully undermining migrants' rights. Notably, the Hostile Environment directly resulted in the Windrush Scandal, in which hundreds of Commonwealth citizens who were legally resident in the UK were unlawfully detained, deported and denied their legal rights, with victims mostly Black Caribbean migrants who moved to the UK around the 1950s-70s. Following her 2018 UK mission, the UN Special Rapporteur on Racism reported that "a hostile environment ostensibly created for, and formally restricted to, irregular immigrants is, in effect, a hostile environment for all racial and ethnic communities and individuals in the UK" (Tendayi Achiume 2019). The Right to Rent's pilot scheme found that the policy increased discrimination against ethnically minoritized tenants (Home Office

2015). The scheme has also been linked to increased difficulties for migrant women victimised by violence in accessing safe accommodation (McIlwaine et al, 2019).

The Hostile Environment represents a decisive shift from centralised to decentralised border regime enforcement, whereby the implementation, and interpretation, of immigration policies was no longer the responsibility of immigration officers, but a wider system of civil society and economic institutions and private citizens. Griffiths and Yeo define the UK's 'Hostile Environment' as the deputization of the border, which involves "the co-opting of organisations and people as de facto immigration officers … responsible for enacting – and interpreting – immigration policy on the ground" (2021: 523; see also Walsh 2013, 2014). Whilst the expansion of the border beyond territorial frontiers was not new, the Hostile Environment introduced an unprecedented expansion of the border into routine practices across individuals' social lives through processes of everyday bordering and its expansion across institutional systems.

Whilst the Hostile Environment was largely defined through the expansion of immigration controls beyond coercive institutions such as the police and border enforcement, it also involved an embedding of these coercive institutions and expansion of their powers into new areas. Operation Nexus saw immigration officials embedded in police stations and suspected undocumented migrants referred to the Home Office for detention and removal rather than being arrested by police and tried, including not only criminal suspects but also witnesses and victims (Yeo 2018). Further, in creating a visibly 'hostile environment', communication strategies targeted specific groups, with Operation Vaken using billboard vans driven around London boroughs with high ethnic diversity reading 'Go Home or face arrest', adverts in minority ethnic newspapers, and the rebranding of immigration enforcement vehicles to look like police vehicles (Griffiths and Yeo 2021; Jones et al. 2017). Increased criminalisation of migrants (and, by discriminatory association, Black and minoritized ethnic groups) through coercive and intimidatory bordering practices positioned the state as adversarial rather than protective towards migrant groups in its governance of violence.

The Hostile Environment also saw the expansion of the 'No Recourse to Public Funds' (NRPF) policy to include a far wider range of migrant categories, estimated to apply to 1.4 million people in the UK (Citizen's Advice Bureau 2020). The NRPF status prohibits most migrants from accessing a range of publicly funded services, including women's

refuges (Dudley 2017; Project17 2020). Whilst the High Court marginally eased the requirements for lifting the NRPF status in extreme cases, after finding that it constituted a breach of Article 3 (Human Rights Act 1998) which prohibited inhumane or degrading treatment, the policy remains largely unchanged to date (England and Wales High Court 2017). Healthcare charging and immigration checks in hospitals have been found to deter migrants from accessing medical treatment (Doctors of the World 2017), including pregnant women and new mothers trapped in domestic abusive and violent relationships due to reliance on their partners to pay for NHS service charges (Feldman 2017). The NRPF policy has been identified as particularly damaging for migrant women experiencing violence (Dudley 2017; Project17 2020). The link between police and immigration enforcement has raised concerns over community relations and victim reporting of violence (Guardian 2013), with 40% of migrant women in abusive relationships staying with their partner for over five years due to fear of deportation (Imkaan 2012). The combined effects of criminalisation of migrants through coercive bordering practices and the withdrawal of critical public and third sector victim services serve to further marginalise and vulnerabilise violence victims on the basis of citizenship, nationality, and ethnicity. In particular, the systematic prioritisation of economically-active men within the UK's immigration system and denial of health and victim's services predominately used by women acts to restrict avenues of support, resilience-building and escape along gendered lines. Isolation from both state and societal awareness and protection from violence through these hostile bordering practices traps women migrant victims of violence within multiple forms of hostile environments along gendered, ethnic, and migration-based lines.

Politically-charged narratives in which the UK was at 'breaking point' due to mass migration, rather than half a decade of Austerity, became the dominant (albeit not uncontested) discourse underpinning the Hostile Environment project. The Hostile Environment's lack of official documentation, clear objectives or measures for progress has been criticised, and the Government's approach accused of being motivated solely by political ideology rather than policy efficacy or the achievement of any stated or quantifiable aims (Griffiths and Yeo 2021: 522; Alston 2019). Whereas Austerity was primarily focused on resource redistribution, the Hostile Environment was pursued through legislative reforms which increased restrictions and penalties for undocumented migrants (although significantly effecting documented migrants also);

shifting institutional roles and relationships where proxy immigration actors and systems were established across a wide range of institutions, and the expansion of the border beyond the polity domains; and the redistribution of resources whereby social infrastructure, services and economic resources were made less accessible to migrants while simultaneously increasing application fees and income requirements.

iv. Empirical Application: Inequalities in Violence Trends under Hostile Policy Regimes

My empirical application engages with (and critiques) the view that violence declines with modernity, asking what kinds of violence, victims, and modernities are excluded within this position. The investigation of inequalities in violence trends not only contributes new evidence of gendered differences in violence trends but is the first study which examines these trends at the intersection of gender, migrant-status and ethnicity.

In my fourth, and final, empirical application, I analyse the estimated effects of Austerity and the Hostile Environment on inequalities in violence victimisation trends at the intersection of gender, migrant-status, ethnicity, and their intersections using difference-in-difference modelling. Using Austerity and the Hostile Environment as case studies, I investigate how systems of power, in their manifestations as particular policy regimes, influence the changing prevalence and distribution of violence in society, specifically in the production of inequalities in violence trends. In focusing on Austerity and the Hostile Environment, I demonstrate how the effects of regime shifts interact and cascade through systems, whereby systems of violence and inequalities are not only shaped by policies which directly seek to address them, but wider changes in the system environment and its interactions.

f. Knowledge Production on Violence and Inequalities in Context: Empirical Applications

In understanding the research landscape on violence and inequalities, it is important to capture both the content and process of knowledge production. Academic scholarship on violence and inequalities comprises a diverse network of knowledge pathways, conceptual and theoretical approaches, and methodological and measurement practices. In situating my empirical contributions within the literature on violence and inequalities, I focused on gaps in the literature which reflect tensions between ‘mainstream’ and critical perspectives on violence, as well as pathways and

practices of knowledge production. In particular, I highlighted gaps and challenges in the literature relating to distinctive stages of knowledge production, including definitional boundaries and measures of violence, representation of marginalised groups (specifically ethnicity), barriers to disclosure of violence, and the impact of policy regimes on inequalities in violence trends. Whilst each empirical application aims to address specific research questions and gaps in distinctive areas of the literature, together they aim to demonstrate the multiple ways in which inequalities in knowledge production influence our understanding of violence. In this way, each application addresses both specific areas of the literature highlighted in this section (II.2.), as well as contributes towards a wider understanding of the role of inequalities in knowledge production in violence (section II.1.) and their implications for research and policymaking in the field.

The conceptual complexity and multidimensionality of violence has been subject to considerable debate and discussion in the literature, particularly regarding its relation to theorising power (see, for example, Ricoeur 2010; Parsons 2007; Foucault 2023 [1975]), its definitional boundaries (see, for example, Waddington et al. 2005; Walby et al. 2017; Galtung 1969), and approaches to measurement (see, for example, Walby et al. 2017; Straus and Gelles 1999; Tjaden 2004). Whilst national statistics tend to focus on criminal physical interpersonal violence, feminist researchers have often critiqued narrow definitions and measures which exclude wider forms of gendered violence and deprioritise the complexity of lived experiences of violence (Tjaden 2004; Kelly 1987; Stark and Hester 2019; Cockburn 2004).

Academic scholarship focusing on the relationship between violence and inequalities is largely segregated from ‘mainstream’ violence studies and instead positioned within specialised fields, such as the VAWG field, which often draw on critical theories, such as feminism, in their approach to violence research. As a particularly active subfield, the VAWG field has been widely influenced by feminist theoretical perspectives and research agendas (Hague 2021; McMillan 2007), with distinctive gendered forms, dimensions, and relations of violence emerging from the field (Walby et al. 2017; Kelly 1987; Stark and Hester 2019; Cockburn 2004). In terms of measuring violence, critical epistemologies and methodologies have both critiqued ‘mainstream’ and quantitative approaches to violence and generated a significant body of research using qualitative approaches (Oakley 2000 [1988]; Sprague and Kobrynowicz 2006; Calderón et al.

2012). A particular challenge here concerns the marginalisation of inequalities and critical perspectives in mainstream violence studies, particularly in terms of national statistics and quantitative studies. Integrating approaches which account for the complexity and multidimensionality not only of violence, but also its relationship to inequalities, in national statistics and quantitative studies requires both a deconstruction of inequalities in knowledge production on violence, and a reconstruction of knowledge production which better captures marginalised experiences and relations of inequalities in violence. In approaching this challenge, I use concepts of epistemic marginalisation (see section 1.b.ii.) and violence vulnerabilisation (section 2.a.iv.) to capture the role of inequalities in both the production of knowledge on, and the experience of, violence at a systemic level.

As reflected in my two main research aims, I position my empirical applications within both the literature on violence and inequalities, by seeking to contribute new insights into the character and relationship between them; and the literature on inequalities in knowledge production, by investigating inequalities in knowledge production at distinctive stages which relate to specific areas of the violence and inequalities field. First, I seek to contribute towards the literature on conceptualising and measuring violence through its relationship to intersecting inequalities. Building on conceptual debates relating to the scope and definitional boundaries of violence, I propose blurring these boundaries to better capture experiences and relations of violence which are particularly shaped by systems of inequality. In addressing scholarly divisions between 'mainstream' and inequality-focused violence research, I propose an expanded approach to measuring inequality dimensions of violence which also accounts for these blurred definitional boundaries. In doing so, I aim to both demonstrate how narrow definitions disproportionately exclude marginalised experiences of violence, and contribute towards critical research efforts to better integrate relations and dimensions of inequalities in the measurement of violence in mainstream research and evidence-building. By taking a multidimensional intersectional approach to analysing inequalities in violence, I aim to contribute new insights into the interactions between multiple dimensions of inequalities in violence, in contrast to much existing quantitative literature which focuses on inequalities in isolation and separates rather than compares multiple dimensions of inequalities in violence.

Having explored alternative approaches to measuring violence, my second empirical application seeks to contribute towards the literature on measuring inequalities and categorising social groups, with a particular focus on ethnicity. By applying conceptual and methodological critiques of the UK's standardised ethnic categories through a critical quantitative approach, I seek to bridge a gap in the literature between conceptual critiques of ethnicity and how it is operationalised in national statistics. This approach involves balancing the need to account for the conceptual complexity and lived experience of ethnicity on the one hand, and the need for practical quantitative measures to identify patterns of ethnic inequalities on the other. By taking a practical and quantitative approach to challenging the measurement and categorisation of ethnicity, rather than, as the literature currently stands, a conceptual-only approach, I seek to contribute both new evidence on ethnic patterns of violence and demonstrate alternative ways of measuring ethnicity which is more reflective and representative of ethnic groups' identities and experiences.

My third empirical application seeks to address a gap in the literature on barriers to disclosure, focusing on the knowledge-production stage of data collection and the process of translating individuals' lived experiences into national statistics. Whilst there has been significant research on barriers to disclosure, these predominantly use qualitative methods, focus on help-seeking victims and services data, and lack a comparative approach to different groups' experiences of barriers to disclosure. In this way, I not only seek to further demonstrate how inequalities are embedded throughout knowledge production pathways, but also provide new evidence on the exposure to and effect of barriers to violence disclosure through intersecting inequalities. Finally, my fourth empirical application seeks to contribute towards the literature both in terms of intersectional approaches to analysing patterns and trends in violence, as well as the estimated impact of particular policy regimes. Whilst Austerity and the Hostile Environment have both been widely critiqued for exacerbating inequalities, there is a notable lack of quantitative evidence on their impact on violence, particularly among marginalised groups and the impact of the Hostile Environment. Further, by taking an intersectional approach to violence trends, I seek to challenge the assertion that violence declines with modernity and contribute towards the critical literature which investigates inequalities in progress on violence reduction. In these ways, this project seeks to contribute new evidence on the relationship between violence and inequalities, demonstrate how inequalities are embedded across multiple stages in

pathways to knowledge production, and apply alternative approaches to knowledge production which may address issues of epistemic marginalisation in national statistics on violence through practices of excluding, misrepresenting, and deprioritising specific forms and victims of violence.

III. Research Design

This thesis applies an intersectional quantitative approach as its overarching methodological framework, through which I investigate inequalities in knowledge production and their implications for national statistics on violence across four empirical applications. These empirical applications each address a distinctive stage of knowledge production: definitions and measures of violence and inequality dimensions; categorisation of ethnic groups; data collection and barriers to disclosure; and monitoring and analysing violence trends. In addressing my two overarching thesis aims, I take a de/constructivist approach which guides my empirical research questions and informs my dual-methodological application of quantitative intersectionality. This dual-methodological application involves (1) conducting a methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey design and production of national statistics through a critical intersectional lens and supportive quantitative analyses; and (2) conducting quantitative intersectional analyses of gender, ethnic, and migration-based disparities in violence-related outcomes.

As the primary data source producing national statistics on violence in the UK, I use the CSEW as both the focal point of my methodological critique and the data source used in my secondary quantitative data analyses. The CSEW is a nationally representative victimisation survey which records detailed information on violence and is the central evidence base for national statistics on violence prevalence, trends, and characteristics used by government bodies in the UK. Combining 17 years of data (2003-2019), I analyse data from approximately 700,000 adult respondents, primarily using crosstabulations and logistic regression models, as well as multiple line graphs, multinomial and ordinal regression models, and difference-in-difference models as my quantitative methods.

This chapter sets out my methodological approach to this research project and its comprising empirical applications. I first describe the CSEW's survey design and my study sample, including the sampling design, study samples, data merging, and study period. I then describe the variables used in my quantitative analyses across multiple and individual empirical applications. In section 3, I outline the methods applied across these applications, including my methodological evaluation and quantitative

intersectional methods, as well as the specific methods used in each application. Finally, I set out the ethical considerations taken in my research project.

1. Data

In this thesis, I used secondary data from the CSEW, merging multiple years and datasets to compose my study sample of 681,955 adult respondents in England and Wales. This section first introduces the CSEW as the leading data source on violence in the UK and outlines details of its survey and sampling design. I then introduce my study sample, including steps taken to merge multiple years and datasets, the rationale for my study period, and sample variations across the empirical applications.

a. The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)

The CSEW (formerly the British Crime Survey) is an annual (since 2001, previously biannual) household victimisation survey produced by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). It is widely considered to provide the most accurate estimates of national crime levels, including violent crime (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2), and spans four decades of data collection (1982-2024). The CSEW was initiated as a reliable measure of criminal offences in England and Wales which, unlike police data, captured victimisation not reported to the police. Whilst police data also provides national statistics on violent crime, concerns over quality and consistency resulted in the Office for National Statistics (ONS) removing its National Statistics accreditation in 2014 (OSR 2024). The CSEW therefore represents the primary data source for national statistics on violence in the UK and is used by a wide range of government bodies, service providers, and research institutes in producing knowledge and shaping policy measures on violence. In particular, the Home Office uses statistics from the CSEW to monitor and evaluate violence victimisation and related factors, such as police responses, social and health harms, reporting and support access rates, and characteristics of victims, incidents, and perpetrators, to inform policy measures and resources dedicated to addressing violence in society.

The CSEW provides nationally representative quantitative data from interviews conducted with 35,000-45,000 adult respondents per year[4] during the study period. The survey is comprised of face-to-face interviews using non-victim forms which include demographic, attitudinal, and screener questions on victimisation, and

[4] Based on the study period 2003-2019. Pre-2003 data varies in sample size depending on the survey year.

victimisation forms on specific incidents and series, including interactions with institutions and mechanisms involved in governing violence, as well as CASI self-completion (SC) modules for sensitive topics, including sexual and domestic violence. It has a high response rate compared to other national surveys (70% in 2019, ONS 2023a) and represents the most nationally-representative data-source on violence victimization.

i. CSEW Survey and Sampling Design

The CSEW uses face-to-face interviews and computer-assisted self-interviews (CASI), with the former consisting of non-victims forms and victims forms. Non-victim forms are completed by all respondents and collect information on respondent characteristics, attitudes, and screener questions on whether the respond was the victim of a crime in the past 12 months. Respondents identified as victims of a crime are then asked further questions via victim forms relating to a specific crime incident or series of incidents. Non-victim forms collect data per respondent, whereas victim forms collect data per incident (or incident series), with up to six victim forms completed per victim. The SC module is completed by respondents themselves using a laptop, with the interviewer available but discouraged to enable confidentiality in answering sensitive questions. The SC module is comprised of several modules addressing topics which may be viewed as sensitive or may be subject to response bias, including questions on illicit drug use, the performance of the criminal justice system, domestic abuse, and sexual assault. In this thesis, I refer to the SC module specifically in reference to its module on domestic and sexual violence.

The CSEW uses a stratified multi-stage cross-section sample design with continuous annual rotation. The survey selects a nationally representative sample of 35,000 households annually, with a minimum of 650 interviews conducted with adults aged 16 and over in each of the 42 police force areas. The sampling frame for the CSEW is the small users' Postal Address File (PAF), which lists all postal delivery points in England. Stratification is used to divide the sampling frame into groups (strata) before sampling, reducing the risk of extreme or unrepresentative samples. Interviewers establish address eligibility by ensuring they are not vacant properties, second homes, non-residential addresses, or group residences like care homes. Whilst the CSEW introduced an adolescent questionnaire for the youth population aged 10-15, this thesis uses the adult survey (aged 16+) for comparability over time and population.

b. Thesis Datasets: Study Samples and Data Merging

Violence victimisation is a comparatively rare event, with approximately 2% of the population estimated to experience violence victimization per year (ONS 2024c). To ensure sufficient statistical power for my analyses, particularly when accounting for intersecting inequalities which further reduced my comparative sub-samples, I pooled data from 17 years of CSEW interviews for a combined sample size of 681,955 participants. This enabled sufficient statistical power when analysing disparities in violence by small sub-groups in the population. It also enabled longitudinal analyses of the effect of policy regimes on violence trends, as used in the final empirical application. My survey period was defined as 2003-2019,[5] with the starting year determined by the introduction of questions on country of origin in 2003, which was necessary for my analyses of migrant respondents, and the ending year determined by the disruption of the Covid-19 pandemic in the CSEW's survey mode from face-to-face interviews to telephone interviews which prevented comparability of the data over this period. In creating a pooled dataset, one file containing 17 years of data (2003-2019) was created by merging years in Stata, using the adult (16+) non-victim form datasets, with minor variable recoding for comparability over time and sub-group coding for analysis. I used Blom's (2023) CSEW merger code to merge multiple survey waves into two files: one combining multiple waves of the non-victim form datasets and another for the victim form datasets, which I then merged into one main file using a 1-to-1 merging method. In order to access variables held in the secure dataset, additional merged files were created within the secure lab environment where analyses using secure data were completed in line with all security requirements and outputs approved by the UK Data Service.

I follow the ONS' guidance and provided weighting variable (C11IndivWgt) for individual-based (rather than household-based) crime victimisation estimates and analyses (ONS 2018: 23). The ONS recommends that "all prevalence rate analysis based on personal crimes [including violence victimisation] should be weighted by 'c11indivwgt'" (21). This weighting variable adjusts the sample population based on Census data for England and Wales to enable nationally representative estimates. It includes adjustments for non-response bias and "unequal probabilities of selection involved in the sample design" (22). It should be noted that whilst C11IndivWgt

[5] Using shorthand for waves, e.g. 2004/05 = 2004

consistently applies the ONS' weighting methodology across all waves of survey data, it does not include adjustments for variations in sample size between individual survey waves (see limitations section 4.a. in the discussion chapter V).

i. Project Samples and Sub-Samples

As noted above, the overall study sample for this thesis comprised 681,955 adult (16+) respondents from a pooled dataset from 2003-2019 combining non-victim form and victim-form components. The empirical applications comprising this thesis varied moderately in terms of: (1) the use of secure-access datasets which provided missing variables not present in the face-to-face datasets, such as respondent country of origin; (2) the study period, due to missing variables and data, such as in the third and fourth empirical applications.

In the first empirical application, the total sample included 681,955 adult respondents from England and Wales from 2003-2019. I used a reduced sample for analyses using fear (N=335,129) and anticipation (N=53,730) due to the base questions being asked of a sub-sample of respondents and anticipation only being included in waves 2008-2012. The second empirical application used an adapted sample of 426,135 respondents over 11 years of both face-to-face interview and secure datasets. This sample used 11 years of pooled data from the CSEW, combining waves 2004-2007 and 2013-2019 and combining non-secure victim form and non-victim datasets with secure non-victim form datasets (ONS 2021b; Blom 2023). Five survey waves (2008-2012) were excluded due to missing variables for recategorization (country of origin). The third empirical application's total sample was 681,955 respondents from 2003-2019, although required the use of reduced samples for some analyses due to missing variables for some years. Due to data availability on specific variables for barriers, I used a reduced 2012-only sample for analyses English language difficulties (N=34,839), as well as further reduced samples for barriers relating the self-completion module, including module access (2012 16-59 only, N=22,402), module interference (2012 SC-participants only, N=20,389) module confidentiality concerns (2012 SC-refusers only, N=2,013). Overall disclosure reluctance used a victim-only sample, as it compared victims who disclosed consistently to those who disclosed reluctantly. The final empirical application's sample included 553,721 respondents from 2006 to 2019 (representing 99.8% of the total survey sample, excluding respondents

not identifiable by sex, ethnicity and migrant-status), using only the non-victim form datasets.

2. Variables

a. Main Variables: Violence and Inequalities

i. Violence Variables: Violence Victimisation, Fear, and Inequality Dimensions

The overall thesis focused on the prevalence of physical interpersonal violence, as measured in the CSEW using the ONS categorisation of violent offences, although several empirical applications (1 and 2) also addressed measures of fear of violence. I used physical violence victimisation and fear of violence as my primary indicators of violence, with variations of these, such as sexual violence or fear of racial violence, used in relevant empirical applications (see the following section ii.).

For physical violence victimisation, I used an adapted version of the CSEW's measurement of violence based on ONS-defined offence codes for violent offences (serious wounding, other wounding, common assault, attempted assault, robbery, attempted robbery, snatch theft from the person), plus sexual violence offence codes (rape, serious wounding with sexual motive, other wounding with sexual motive, attempted rape, indecent assault) using data from respondent victim-forms recording crime victimisation. Whilst the ONS does not include most sexual offences in its measure of violence, which is based on the crime category 'violence against the person', I followed the approach taken by Walby, Towers and Francis (2016) and Cooper and Obolenskaya (2021) and included sexual offences otherwise excluded (rape, attempted rape, and indecent assault) within my measure of violence. All measures of violence victimisation used in my thesis used prevalence rather than incidence, whereby victimisation estimates were based on the number and percentages of victims in the total population and within different social groups, rather than the number of incidents of violence.

Empirical applications 1 and 2 also analysed disparities in fear of violence, with the former including measures of fear of overall, stranger-perpetrated, racially-motivated, and sexual violence, and the latter including stranger-perpetrated violence specifically. For overall fear of violence (empirical application 1), I combined responses from four distinct questions asking "How worried are you about … [being mugged and robbed?/being physically attacked by strangers?/being raped?/being subject to a

physical attack because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?]", where respondents who answered "fairly worried" or "very worried" to any of these questions were coded as experiencing fear of violence, and respondents who answered "Not very worried", "Not at all worried", or "Not applicable" were coded as not experiencing fear of violence. Fear of stranger-perpetrated violence (empirical application 2) was measured using the survey question "How worried are you about being physically attacked by strangers?", whereby respondents reporting being 'fairly' or 'very' worried were coded as fearful (coded 1), compared to those who were 'not very' or 'not at all' worried (coded 0). As this base question was given to approximately half of the respondents, I used a reduced sample (missing N=244,814) in my analyses on fear of violence.

ii. Social Groups: Single and Multiple Axes of Inequality

In investigating the effect of intersecting inequalities of gender, ethnicity and migrant-status on violence outcomes, I compared levels and trends in violence prevalence using binary variables for (1) sex, (2) migrant-status, (3) ethnicity (binary and categorical), and (4) categorical variables for their intersections: sex by migrant-status by ethnicity (8 groups).

I used the binary CSEW variable 'sex', which categorises respondents as 'male' or 'female' to determine gendered differences, based on the question "are you male or female?". Whilst this variable records sex rather than gender, it is used as a proxy indicator of gender for the purpose of analysis. It should be noted that this therefore does not accurately represent transgender and non-binary respondents. Since data on gender identity was only collected from 2019 onwards and is held in the secure access datasets, it was not possible to distinguish these groups due to comparability issues, in addition to insufficient sample sizes for analytical purposes.

Whilst the CSEW does not collect data on specific migrant-status categories, the 2003 introduction of survey questions on country of birth enabled us to derive a proxy variable of 'migrant-status' based on whether the respondent was born in the UK ('UK-born') or had at some point migrated to the UK ('Migrant'). This does not account for differences between nationalities, countries or regions of origin, legal migrant-status types or visa categories, or, importantly, a distinction between documented and undocumented migrants. This binary categorisation does, however, sufficiently enable

a comparison between those with or without some form of current or previous status as a ‘migrant’.

For ethnicity, the ONS categorisation of five ethnicities (white, mixed, Asian, Black, Chinese/Other) was used in single-axes analyses, and a binary categorisation of (1) white and (2) ethnic minoritised groups was used for intersecting categorisations. Binary categorisation was therefore used as a proxy indicator of whether a respondent was likely to experience disadvantage and discrimination through a system of racial/ethnic inequality. The CSEW derives its approach to measuring ethnicity from the UK decennial census (in line with the UK’s GSS standardised approach, Equality Hub 2023), which uses a two-tier categorisation of high (5 groups) and low-level (19) ethnic groups which seek to capture multiple dimensions of ethnicity. Additionally, my second empirical application, which focused on ethnic categorisation, introduced a recoded variable for ethnicity based on my proposed recategorization of ethnic groups as well as an additional binary variable for single/mixed ethnicity (detailed in section 2.b.ii.).

For my intersectional analyses, I recoded respondents into eight sub-groups based on the intersection of their gender, migrant-status and ethnicity (detailed in section 3.b.). Respondents were categorised as: white UK-born men; minoritised ethnic UK-born men; white migrant men; minoritised ethnic migrant men; white UK-born women; minoritised ethnic UK-born women; white migrant women; or minoritised ethnic migrant women, based on their combined responses to questions on sex, ethnic group, and country of birth. All quantitative intersectional analyses used a categorical variable representing these eight sub-groups by gender, ethnicity, and migrant status. The final empirical application also used a series of binary dummy variables for pair-wise comparisons between each sub-group and all other sub-groups (e.g. 0 = white UK-born men, 1 = white migrant men), which was necessary for difference-in-difference analyses of trends in violence prevalence over time.

My control variables included respondent age as a discrete variable ranging from 16 to 105 and class as a categorical variable of individuals’ occupational class (coded by the CSEW using multiple variables on occupation and socio-economic factors).

b. Empirical Applications

This second sub-section describes the specific variables used in each empirical application (in addition to those outlined above), including their baseline question and response options and any recoding applied.

i. Inequality Dimensions of Violence

In measuring inequality dimensions of violence for my first empirical application, I used binary variables for (1) physical violence victimisation (detailed above), (2) threat victimisation, (3) overall fear of violence (detailed above), (4) anticipation of violence, (5) racially-motivated violence victimisation, (6) fear of ethnically-motivated violence, (7) sexual violence victimisation, and (8) fear of sexual violence victimisation, with 1-4 representing inequality-variating dimensions of violence and 5-8 representing inequality-saturated dimensions intersecting with variating dimensions of victimisation and fear.

Similarly to physical violence victimisation, threat victimisation was based on ONS offence codes for threat offences (threat to kill/assault made against respondent, sexual threat made against respondent, other threat or intimidation made against respondent, threat against others made to the respondent). Anticipation of violence was captured by coding respondents who responded with “very likely” or “fairly likely” to the question “how likely do you think you are to be physically attacked or assaulted by a stranger in the next year?” as anticipating violence victimisation. Racially-motivated violence victimisation was based on whether the respondent ‘yes’ to either question “Do you think the incident was racially motivated?” or “Was there anything about the incident that made you think it might have been racially motivated” in relation to a violent offence. *Sexual violence victimisation* was based on whether the respondent was coded with a sexual violence offence (rape, serious wounding with sexual motive, other wounding with sexual motive, attempted rape, indecent assault), or answered ‘yes’ when asked “was there any sexual element in the offence (e.g. indecent assault, touching)?” in relation to another violent offence, or reported sexual violence (“raped me”, “attempted to rape me”, “sexually assaulted me”) among types of force used against them. For *fear of ethnically-motivated violence* and *fear of sexual violence*, I coded respondents who reported being ‘fairly’ or ‘very’ worried about “being subject to physical attack because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin or religion” as

fearing ethnically-motivated violence[6], and those who were 'fairly' or 'very' worried about "being raped" as fearing sexual violence, with separate binary variables coded for each.

ii. Misrepresenting Ethnicity

In my second empirical application, which focused on ethnic categorisation, I conducted significant variable recoding for my alternative categorisation of ethnicity (see figure 2), as well as additional recoding for comparability across survey waves. For standardised ethnicity, I used the Office for National Statistics (ONS) ethnicity measures which distinguished between high-level categorisation of five ethnic groups ('White', 'Mixed', 'Asian', 'Black', and 'Chinese/Other'[7]) and low-level categorisation, providing a detailed break-down of 16 ethnic groups (the latter only consistently available in the secure dataset). Ethnicity recategorization was based on my methodological evaluation and supporting analysis using crosstabulations of standardised ethnicity and regional origins and evaluation of misrepresentation risks (see section 5). I also recoded the ONS regional categories to further distinguish regions with distinctive (high-level) ethnic origins (the UK; Europe; North America; Latin America; the Caribbean; the Middle East and North Africa; Africa (excluding North Africa); East, South East and Central Asia; South Asia; and Oceana/Other, see Appendix C). Based on these findings (detailed in chapters IV.2.a & V.2.b.), I used regional origin to estimate ethnicity in cases where ethnic information was otherwise unavailable (e.g. 'Other') and distinguish between specific groups (see figure 2).

In order to explore the effects of different ethnicity measures on ethnic disparities in experiences of violence, I recoded the standardised ethnicity variables based on the findings of my methodological evaluation and comparative analyses to derive a proxy alternative categorisation for ethnicity. The alternative categorisation sought to address issues of exclusion and misrepresentation in the UK's standardised approach by: (1) differentiating between 'South Asian' and 'East, South East and Central (ESEC) Asian' ethnic groups; (2) introducing the ethnic group 'Latinx/Hispanic'; (3)

[6] I distinguish between 'racially-motivated violence' victimisation and fear of 'ethnically-motivated violence' due to the question wording for the former referring to violence which is "racially motivated" and the question for the latter referring to ethnic characteristics beyond race ('skin colour, ethnic origin or religion'), although these are sufficiently similar to enable comparison between fear and victimisation on the basis of ethnicity for the purpose of analyses.

[7] Whilst the CSEW has since recategorized 'Chinese' from 'Chinese/Other' into 'Asian', a lack of comparable variables for the study period required us to use the 'Chinese/Other' version (see Appendix B).

distinguishing ‘Arab’ from ‘Other’ ethnicities at the high-level categorisation; and (4) differentiating ‘mixed’ ethnicity as an ethnic characteristic, rather than a group, and integrating mixed-ethnic respondents into specific ethnic groups. This approach seeks to reduce the number of respondents categorised as ‘Mixed’ or ‘Other’ which not only provides little useful information for researchers seeking to understand variation by ethnic group but also risks misrepresenting individuals’ ethnic identities. Further, this approach provides a proxy measure for ethnicity which accounts for Arab and Latinx ethnicities and differentiates between Asian ethnicities as an indication of potential future alternative approaches.

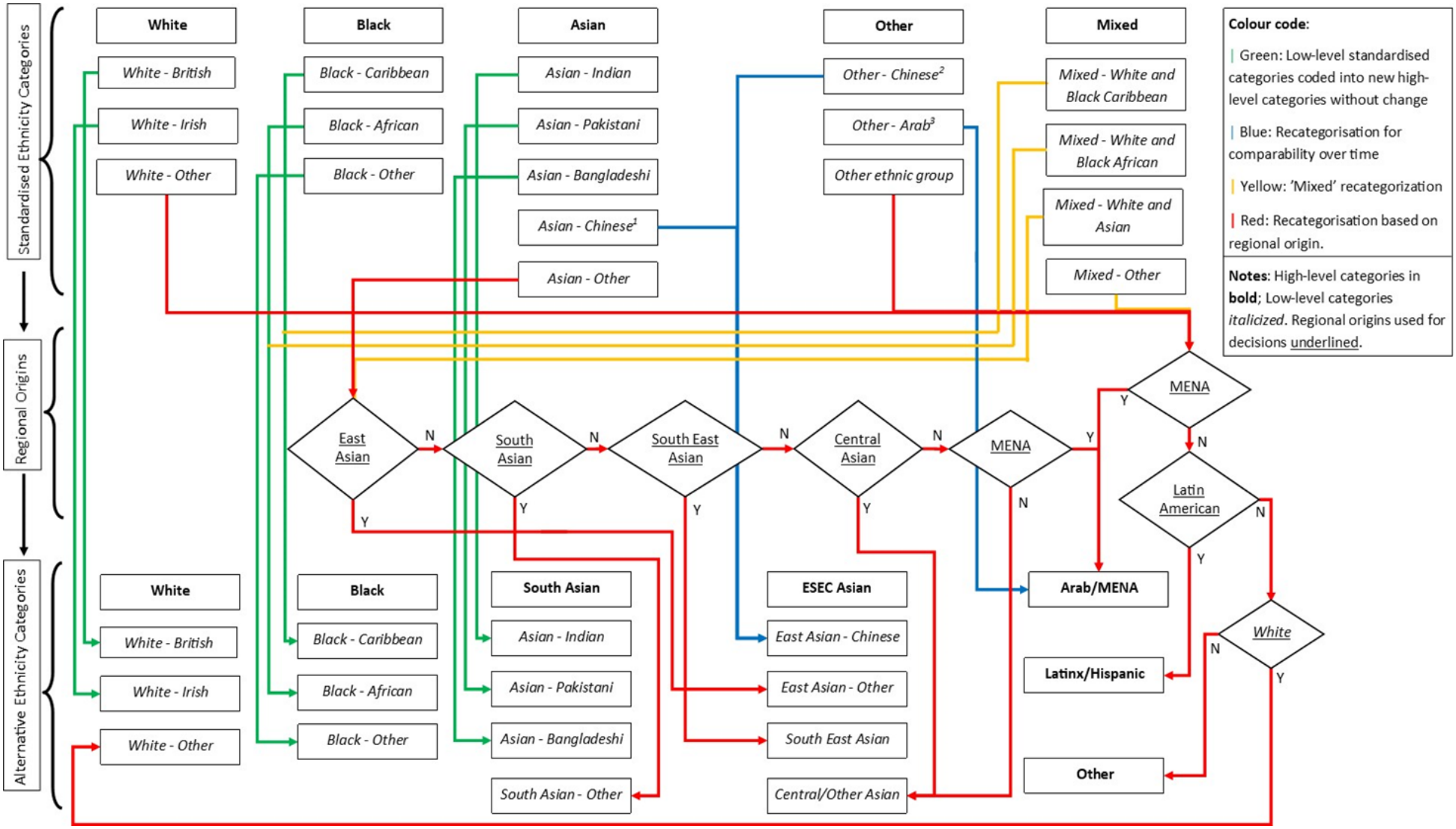

Figure 2. Diagram illustrating my recoding method for recategorizing ethnicity based on low-level ethnic groups and regional origin.

As this approach relies on regional origin for recategorization of some groups (Arab, Latinx, some Asian sub-groups), and therefore is only able to use data from migrant respondents, it offers an approximate recategorization for the purpose of demonstrating variation in violence outcomes between standardised and a proxy alternative. It serves as a tool to investigate the implications of different ways of measuring violence and propose recommendations for methodological improvements. As such, it uses a mix of asserted ethnicity by respondents, and quasi-assigned ethnicity where asserted ethnicity and regional origin are used to form newly assigned categories. These quasi-assigned categories aim to provide an indication of the need for changes which would improve the accuracy and representativeness of asserted ethnicity. The process of estimating otherwise excluded ethnic groups faces limitations in terms of the data it relies upon (i.e. 'Latinx/Hispanic' and 'Arab' groups made up of migrants only) and is designed to provide a proxy estimate preceding methodological improvements which may implement more detailed, inclusive and representative measures and categories for ethnicity.

In distinguishing between Asian groups, I coded respondents as 'South Asian' if they identified as a specified South Asian ethnicity (Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi), or identified as 'Asian-Other' and originated from South Asia. I coded respondents as 'ESEC Asian' if they were identified as 'Chinese' (any regional origin), or as 'Asian-Other', or 'Other' (if originating from ESEC Asian countries). Whilst further differentiation between ESEC Asian groups would be preferable, the proposed approach seeks to balance the need for sufficient sub-sample sizes for high-level group analysis.

Due to the absence of data collected on 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an ethnicity category, I coded a proxy measure for this group using Latin America-originating migrants who identified as 'Other' or 'White-Other'. Whilst this approach fails to capture UK-born Latinx/Hispanic respondents, including second-generation migrants, it provides the closest estimate of 'Latinx/Hispanic' respondents based on the available data.

In order to capture 'Arab' respondents during waves pre-dating the 2012/13 introduction of this category (required due to sample size limitations), I similarly coded MENA-origin migrants otherwise categorised as 'Other' (or also 'White-Other' and 'Asian-Other' in pre-2012 data) as 'Arab/MENA'. Whilst this approach encounters

similar limitations to ‘Latinx/Hispanic’, with only post-2012 ‘Arab’ respondents being accurately captured and pre-2012 data only capturing ‘Arab’ as an approximate *migrant-only* group, this enabled us to roughly distinguish ‘Arab’ respondents from ‘Other’ ethnicities for the purpose of analysing ethnic variations in violence outcomes. This proxy approach draws on previous US Census methods for reducing the number of ‘Some Other Race’ by recategorizing them based on other available ethnicity-related data (Del Pinal et al. 2007).

In recategorizing ‘Mixed’ ethnicity respondents, I first regrouped respondents identifying as ‘mixed’ into ethnic groups on the basis of minoritised ethnic group membership, whereby each minoritised ethnic group (South Asian, ESEC Asian, Black, Arab/MENA, Latinx/Hispanic, Other) includes both single- and multiple-ethnic respondents. I then code a separate variable for ethnic multiplicity which distinguishes between ‘single’ and ‘mixed/multiple’ ethnic respondents, allowing researchers to distinguish between, and explore the interacting effects of, the role of ethnic groups and heterogeneity/multiplicity. Similar ‘prioritisation’ approaches to categorising multiple ethnic groups were implemented in several countries around the 1990s, such as New Zealand and the US (Cormack and Robson 2010; Ulmer et al. 2009; OMB 2000). This approach typically prioritises minoritised ethnicities when recategorizing mixed ethnic groups into single ethnicities, particularly in relation to civil rights claims, and research on discrimination and inequalities (Ulmer et al. 2009: 1-2).

My approach to recoding ‘Other’ ethnicities based on regional origins data draws on comparable methods to recategorize racial groups in the 2000 US Census (Del Pinal et al. 2007). The US Census applied the “90 Percent Rule” to recategorize responses indicating ethnicity into a standardized racial group. By cross-tabulating ancestry (similar to ethnic groups CSEW) and race responses, respondents who provided ‘ethnic’ (not racial) groups were recategorized into a racial group if 90% of respondents from the same ancestry selected this racial group (e.g. “German” was coded as ‘White’, “Jamaican” as ‘Black/African American’). Ancestry groups with less than 90% alignment with single racial groups were designated “Some other race” (e.g. ‘Mexican’, ‘Guyanan’; Del Pinal et al. 2007).

The discussion and evaluation of my approach to recategorizing ethnicity, including comparable methods to guide my approach as well as the rationale, strengths, and

limitations of my proposals, are included in chapter V.1.b. As well as ethnicity and regional origin variables, this theoretical application used variables for physical violence victimisation and overall fear of violence (described in the previous section).

iii. Barriers to Disclosure

My third empirical application, focusing on barriers to violence disclosure in national surveys, involved significant recoding and the use of proxy variables to measure disparities in exposure to, and the effect of, identified barriers to disclosure. Based on my methodological evaluation, I identified 12 factors which pose a risk of undermining disclosure, 6 of which were quantifiable and captured in the data, and detailed below. As well as using proxy variables for quantified barriers to disclosure, I also combined and recoded existing variables which asked respondents about victimisation to create indicators of disclosure rates and reluctance.

Disclosure Rates and Reluctance

In evaluating the effect of barriers on disclosure rates, I measured whether respondents had disclosed violence at any point in the survey, rather than relying on the final offence codes used by the ONS which combine multiple measures of victimisation and apply additional practices which may, as I later discuss, exclude some instances of disclosure. As noted earlier in this thesis, multiple factors affect the interpretation of disclosure of violent crime, which have been critiqued for excluding cases of violence due to counting rules (Walby et al. 2016), offence code hierarchies (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024), and the definition of 'violence against the person' which excludes most sexual violence (Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021; Walby et al. 2016). I, therefore, coded my variable for disclosure rates based on whether the respondent answered 'yes' to a question on violence victimisation at any point in the survey, even if they answered otherwise at an earlier or later point. Respondents are therefore coded as having disclosed violence victimisation at some point if they answered yes to any of the screener questions asking if they had experienced physical, domestic, or sexual violence; any of the victim-form questions on physical, domestic or sexual violence; any of the follow-up questions (asked if the respondent answered no, don't know, or refused in previous opportunities to disclose); or if they disclosed victimisation of a non-violent crime but when detailing the incident also disclosed being a victim of a violent act (such as being kicked or sexually assaulted). Respondents who answered 'no', 'don't know', or 'refused' to all the questions on violence victimisation were coded

as not having disclosed at any point. For variables measuring disclosure rates for domestic and sexual violence, I used the above-outlined approach with similar adjustments for domestic and sexual violence used in calculating victimisation (see section 2.a.). For domestic violence, I coded respondents as having disclosed if they answered yes to any questions on domestic violence or any questions on violence which were then identified as having been perpetrated by an intimate partner, family member, or household member. For sexual violence, I coded respondents as having disclosed sexual violence if they answered 'yes' to any questions specifying sexual violence or a sexual aspect to the violence.

The overall measure of disclosure reluctance used in this chapter coded respondents as disclosing 'reluctantly' if they responded 'yes' to experiencing violence at least once in the survey, but initially answered 'no', 'don't know' or refused to other questions on violence victimisation. By recoding responses to multiple separate questions on violence victimization, I was able to use a proxy indicator of 'reluctance' in disclosing violence. However, due to question routing preventing a similar coding for domestic and sexual violence, I used two secondary proxy indicators using the screener questions, whereby respondents who responded 'don't know' or 'refused' when asked if they were a victim of domestic and sexual violence, respectively, were coded as 'reluctant'. Therefore overall reluctance refers to whether victims disclosed reluctantly or not (estimated victim population based on any disclosure), and domestic and sexual violence disclosure reluctance refers to whether respondents indicated reluctance in disclosing in the first instance (total population) for these specific forms of violence.

Identifying and Quantifying Barriers to Disclosure

Rather than facing singular and isolated barriers to disclosure of violence victimisation within CSEW, the survey respondents must navigate a series of hurdles which vary in extent and severity depending on their position in systems of inequality – i.e. how many they are likely to face and how much of a challenge they pose. Based on the methodological evaluation of the CSEW questionnaire and survey design, I identified several potential barriers to disclosure of victimisation in the survey, within the interviewer observations as well as within the survey questions.

The indicators of barriers to disclosure of violence within the main face-to-face questionnaire identified are participants' difficulties in reading and understanding

English, the interviewer being male, and the presence of any other person in the room with the respondent when answering the survey questions. Barriers to disclosure of domestic and sexual violence and abuse, identified through questions about the self-completion module, are related to barriers to access, exclusion and confidentiality.

Having English language difficulties is considered a barrier to disclosure of violence victimisation as it has the potential to impair comprehension of the questionnaire. This measure is based on the interviewer's observations of whether the respondent has "any difficulties reading or understanding English". Interviewer sex was the only interviewer characteristic recorded in the CSEW data, with male interviewers representing a potential barrier to disclosure for domestic and sexual violence, with existing literature and practices around interviewer position and distance linking them to issues of distrust and shame (Condon et al. 2011). Having another person in the room (besides the interviewer) during the face-to-face interview represents a barrier to confidentiality and the respondents who confirmed the presence of another person ('Other presence') or their partner ('partner presence') were coded as having experienced a barrier to disclosure in relation to confidentiality. The above-mentioned indicators of barriers to disclosure were coded into binary variables with a category '1' indicating a potential barrier to disclosure.

The analysis of barriers to disclosure of domestic and sexual violence through the self-completion module is based on data from 2012 only. This is due to the availability of required variables relating to access to the SC module, refusal due to confidentiality concerns, and interference during the SC module. Only respondents aged 16-59 were offered to fill in the self-completion (SC) questionnaire, which includes questions on domestic and sexual violence and abuse. Respondents could either accept the offer of participation, refuse it or have an interviewer administer the questionnaire for them. While parts of the self-completion questionnaire can be filled in by an interviewer, questions on domestic and sexual abuse modules cannot be administered by interviewers, so no answers to these questions exist for those respondents who needed assistance. Exclusion of participants from the domestic abuse and sexual violence self-completion modules based on their needing help with the survey, is an indicator of barriers to disclosure related to access, while exclusion based on refusal is an indicator of reluctance to participate. Those who refused to participate in the self-completion module, and cited being either 'worried about confidentiality' or

concerned about the presence of others in the room with them as the reason for their decline to respond to the self-completion, are categorised as facing barriers to confidentiality. Of those who completed the SC module, I categorised respondents based on the degree of intervention from others, using CSEW variables recording (1) whether and to what extent the interviewer assisted with responses; (2) whether someone else was present; and (3) whether someone else discussed or looked at/ read/ filled in together the answers. Respondents were coded from least interference (0 – completed alone without interviewer help) to most (7 – others present and looked at/ read/ filled in responses).

iv. Violence Trends during Hostile Policy Regimes

For my final empirical application, which focused on inequalities in violence trends during Austerity and the Hostile Environment, I introduced three dummy variables for time periods 2006-2009, 2010-2013, and 2014-2019 as proxy measures for policy regime changes, as required for difference-in-difference analyses. I also recoded my categorical variable for intersecting sub-groups into a series of binary dummy variables used in pair-wise comparisons for my difference-in-difference analysis (noted in section 2.b.).

For analytical purposes, I defined three different time periods: T1 (pre-Austerity, 2006-2009); T2 (Austerity 2010-2013); and T3 (Hostile Environment 2014-2019). The pre-austerity period (T1) provided comparative pre-existing violence trends before either Austerity or the Hostile Environment policy regimes came into effect. Austerity measures introduced in 2010 saw a significant withdrawal of the Welfare state and a resurgence of a hard-Neoliberal economic regime, remaining largely in effect until the 2020 economic regime shift in response to Covid-19. Whilst using time-periods as proxy measures for policy regimes may be critiqued as a reductionist approach to policy change and impact and as neglecting the role of concurrent social and policy changes outside these regime, the breadth and impact of these regimes in British society enables analyses of their broad associations with trends in violence and inequalities. As noted in chapter II, sections 2.e.ii-iii., and elaborated in chapter V, section 4.a., Austerity and the Hostile Environment represent major shifts in the UK's economic and border-immigration policy regimes, with each saturating the policy landscape not only at their central bases (economy and border-immigration) but through their implementation across virtually all areas of policy and practice. The

Austerity period (T2) applies to the years where Austerity measures were in effect, but not the Hostile Environment, i.e. the early/pre-Hostile Environment period of Austerity (2010-2013). The Hostile Environment policy regime was implemented and expanded through the Immigration Acts 2014 and 2016, remaining largely in effect to date (2022). The Hostile Environment period (T3) applies to the years where both Austerity and Hostile Environment measures were in effect, i.e. the Hostile Environment period during late Austerity. Whereas the Austerity period (T2) refers to the period of Austerity effects in isolation, the Hostile Environment period (T3) refers to the period of combined late-Austerity and Hostile Environment effects. Figure 3 illustrates the application of time periods to shifts in policy regimes.

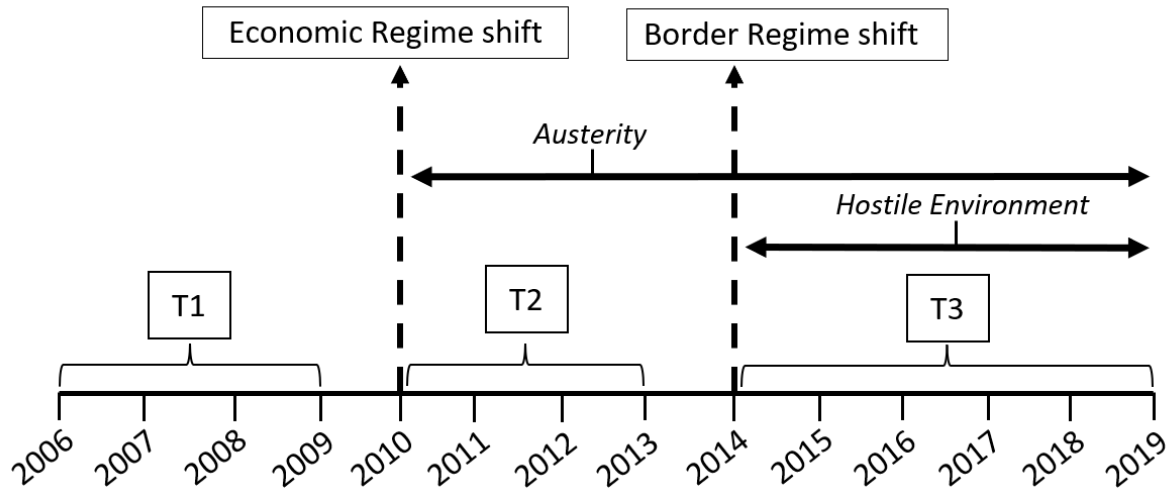

Figure 3. Diagram of the Austerity and Hostile Environment analytical time periods for Empirical Application 4

3. Methods

This section outlines my dual-methodological application of quantitative intersectionality and details the specific implementation of this approach and methods used in my four empirical applications. Through this approach, I first conducted a methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey and sampling design, questionnaire and data descriptives, and statistical reports, applying a critical intersectional lens to identifying practices which may contribute towards the exclusion, misrepresentation, or deprioritisation of marginalised groups' experiences of violence. In supporting my

evaluation, I also conduct supporting quantitative analyses to test the effects of identified practices, such as the effect of barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance. This stage was applied in the first three empirical applications, with the final application focusing more so on the analytical stage and policy contexts. Second, I propose and implement an adapted approach to intersectional quantitative analyses using a series of regression models estimating the effect of combined gender-ethnicity-migrant-status (based on my Intercategorical approach to intersecting sub-groups) on my dependent variables. To avoid 'ranking' groups or taking an 'additive' approach, I use rotating referent groups which enables comparisons of effects across multiple sub-groups within and across axes of inequalities, as well as greater specificity and detail in effects based on single and combined axes of inequalities. The first stage of this dual-methodological approach is applied in empirical applications 1, 2, and 3, and the second stage is applied in applications 1, 3, and 4.

a. Methodological Evaluation and Supporting Analyses

In order to first identify methodological processes and practices which posed a risk for excluding, misrepresenting, or deprioritising certain groups of victims or forms of violence, I applied a critical methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey design and methodological practices, combined with quantitative analyses to test the estimated effects of identified issues. This approach drew from deconstructivist approaches to Data Feminism, which focuses on revealing and challenging how certain practices of data collection and analysis disproportionately exclude women and their experiences (D'ignazio and Klein 2023; Yarrow 2023; Harnois 2012). Drawing on existing critiques in the literature where relevant, I review key sources of methodological information on the CSEW. These include over twenty years of technical reports, survey user guides, questionnaires, and data descriptives which detail the specific process and practices of survey design, quantitative measurement, sampling frames, data production stages, question routing and recoding practices, question and response option content, interviewer settings and conditions, and statistical methods.

In reviewing these sources, I applied existing methodological critiques and knowledge on violence and inequalities from the literature (as discussed in chapter II) and my own specific research questions to identify practices which involve excluding or misrepresenting certain victims or forms of violence. Similarly to qualitative practices

of ‘immersing oneself in the data’ through manual transcriptions and re-readings of textual data (Braun and Clarke 2006), I immersed myself in the methodological apparatus of the CSEW and its quantitative datasets. This process not only enabled me to identify practices and variables for analysis, but also supported a deeper understanding and curiosity of the multiple, complex, and often invisible practices and mechanisms involved in translating, and often distorting, individuals’ lived experiences into national statistics.

Before detailing the steps I took in this method further, my position and point of entry as a research was key in shaping how I approached the data and methods used in this doctoral project. In developing my approach to evaluating the CSEW’s methodology, my point of entry and positionality as a researcher on violence and inequalities was influential in how I developed and conducted this stage of analysis. As noted in my thesis introduction (chapter I) and elaborated in my project evaluation (chapter V, section 4.b.), I embarked on this research project from a position which was shaped by my background in feminist theory and activism, and my policy background in EU policymaking on gender inequality, migration, violence against women and girls, and sexual exploitation. In approaching a quantitative research project from a critical perspective in theorising, policy-making, and advocacy on gendered violence, rather than from a background in statistics, I found the process of familiarising myself with national survey datasets and learning how to use statistical methods inseparable from the process of critiquing them. The combination of my position as an outsider-newcomer to statistics and my background in critical feminist perspectives in civil society and policymaking spaces grounded my approach to quantitative data and research as a project driven by not only curiosity but scepticism and critique. Rather than taking for granted that the data, practices, and methods were neutral and unbiased by default, I questioned every stage and aspect of these processes, from data collection to analysis. In particular, I drew on my previous experience working on gender-mainstreaming policymaking in the European Parliament, which required both a thorough awareness of evidence on inequalities in society as well as a critical eye for identifying the implications of specific and often seemingly unrelated policies for different, particularly marginalised, social groups. This critical perspective and inequalities-focused lens for analysing processes of knowledge production was not only built into my theoretical framework (see chapter

II.1.) but also formed a key component of my methodological approach by critically evaluating the CSEW's methodological processes and practices in producing national survey data and statistics on violence.

In implementing my methodological evaluation, I applied a critical perspective to (1) familiarising myself with the survey's general structure and content; (2) reviewing, selecting, and operationalising variables; (3) cleaning and organising the data; and (4) questioning and investigating specific methodological practices. These steps were not necessarily chronological, as, for example, step 4 (questioning and investigating) was repeated across the process. Rather than linear, this was a repeated and iterative process which sought to both understand and investigate data and statistical processes and practices from multiple angles and at different stages of knowledge production.

As a newcomer to survey data and statistical methods, I began by familiarizing myself with the CSEW's general structure by reviewing summary documentation and exploring the raw datasets available via the UKDS. Alongside University modules and online courses to learn quantitative research skills, I sketched out the key features of the CSEW: its sample population (adults, household residences, nationally representative), questionnaire design (victim and non-victim forms, main and self-completion modules), and data (demographics, victimisation, harms and impact). Whilst this process began as a simple famliarisation and variable selection exercise, it grew into a much more comprehensive exploration of the CSEW's methodological practices and processes. Each stage generated more questions for the next stage, with increasing depth of exploration and critical perspective.

The CSEW's methodological documentation (questionnaires, user guides, and technical reports) were key sources used in this process. For example, the CSEW questionnaires include the full questions and response options asked of participants, including instructions to interviewers, indications of question routing, and question wording and adjustments. They include questions asked in both the core module (non-victim and victim forms) and self-completion modules. They provide detailed content on survey questions and response options as used in the interview. This was not only helpful for cleaning the dataset, but also provided important insights into interview practices which I later used in my empirical application on barriers to disclosure. First,

I was able to easily identify question routings to explain missing values for some variables in the datasets, as well as in most cases infer the reason for routing questions to exclude some participants. Second, I was able to examine the conditions under which the interview took place, through both questions and interview instructions. Third, I was able to screen for factors which may have an adverse effect on respondent experiences, whilst drawing on my own experience in the field and insights from the literature. Technical reports and user guides were also key sources of information on process and practices of data collection and coding, interviewing, and analysis, providing in depth documentation on sampling design and structure, reference periods, measures for victimisation, coding schemes for offence codes and derived variables, weighting methods, incident classification, data and methodological limitations, changes over time, fieldwork practices, and data processing. Appendix I shows the list of documents reviewed and what methodological sources they include (for example, which references includes questionnaires).

In applying the first stage of my dual-methodological approach, my first three empirical applications are of particular relevance. In the first empirical application, which assessed how violence measures captured marginalised experiences and dimensions of inequality, I focused on building up and linking together existing critiques and applying them to the CSEW and UK national statistical context. In the second empirical application, I critically evaluated the CSEW's categorisation of ethnicity, which exemplified the UK's standardised approach, in relation to existing literature and my own arguments on conceptual coherence, respondent self-recognition, and methodological practicalities. Based on these criteria, I identified several categories which posed a risk for misrepresenting and excluding ethnic groups: 'Asian', 'Mixed', and 'Other', which I further tested through supportive quantitative analyses. In the third empirical application, I reviewed several decades of questionnaires, dataset descriptives, ONS User Guides, and Technical Reports from the CSEW to identify potential barriers to violence disclosure. Drawing on existing literature on disclosure barriers and the existing knowledge landscape of violence and inequalities, I reviewed methodological documents through a series of questions which were refined into thematic areas: access and inclusion; trust and confidentiality, comprehension, and autonomy and independence. The final empirical application focused more on

statistical analysis based on, rather than part of, the CSEW, with the methodological evaluation not applied in this application.

Additionally, rather than relying solely on my evaluation to determine practices which may contribute towards inequalities in knowledge production, I support key findings from my methodological evaluation with quantitative analyses in my two empirical applications which are particularly focused on practices within the CSEW and where practices are measurable using quantitative variables. In areas where quantitative analyses were not possible, I drew on existing qualitative studies and methodological literature to further support these findings in my discussion chapter. In my second application, I tested how representative the CSEW's practices of ethnic categorisation were by comparing high-level ethnic groups by regional origin, and in the third application, I tested the effects of identified quantifiable barriers to disclosure on disclosure rates and reluctance.

b. Quantitative Intersectional Methods

The second stage of my dual-methodological approach involves quantitative intersectional analyses of gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional inequality patterns in violence victimisation, and for specific applications, fear of violence and exposure to barriers to disclosure.

My adapted intercategorical approach, using rotating referent groups across a series of models, aims to improve the specificity of results by intersecting inequalities, tests the consistency and patterns within and across groups for inequality effects, and identifies hidden patterns and nuances in the results otherwise obscured by single-axes approaches. Quantitative studies which analyse outcome disparities by inequality groups tend to focus on one axis of inequality, with those analysing multiple inequalities within one study examining each axis separately. Intersectional approaches to quantitative analysis remain limited, with most intersectional perspectives explored through qualitative methods which do not rely on statistical power for significance in results and instead are able to explore detailed intersections at the individual and small-group level. However, given the prominence of quantitative data in evidence-based policy-making on violence and the benefits of nationally representative data producing insights at the population level, there is a particular need for new approaches to quantitative intersectional analyses of such data.

In this thesis, I propose and implement an approach to quantitative intersectional analysis which improves the specificity of inequality-focused results and accounts for multiple axes of inequalities in a more comprehensive way. This approach involves coding respondents on the basis of both single-axis groups (for example, women and men) as well as multiple-axis sub-groups. For example, in coding the latter at the intersection of gender and migrant-status, respondents would be coded into sub-groups of UK-born men, UK-born women, migrant men, and migrant women. In this thesis, I code respondents by single-axes of gender (binary), ethnicity (binary and categorical), and migrant-status (binary), as well as their intersections:

1. White UK-born men
2. Minoritised ethnic UK-born men
3. White migrant men
4. Minoritised ethnic migrant men
5. White UK-born women
6. Minoritised ethnic UK-born women
7. White migrant women
8. Minoritised ethnic migrant women

This approach may be applied to further intersections, yet is limited by the study sample size. Whilst initial approaches sought to include class and a more detailed break-down of ethnicity, due to the small populations of minoritised ethnic and migrant groups and the low prevalence of violence, this was unfeasible due to the requirement for sufficient sample sizes for analysis.

In analysing these groups, I first analysed results by single axes of inequality, with binary and categorical independent variables for each model. I then analyse groups by multiple axes of inequality, using the categorical variable for gender by ethnicity by migrant-status (as listed above). I use rotating referent categories for logistic regression models to enable comparisons between all sub-groups, not only in relation to ‘White UK-born men’. This enables cross-comparison of results to better identify patterns and exceptions on the basis of multiple inequalities and their specific intersections. For example, in addressing exactly which group had the highest odds of

violence victimisation, whether this was significantly higher than all others. Rather than an additive approach, i.e. adding axes to determine who experienced 'more' inequality, this approach enables researchers to be more specific about which groups and specific sub-groups are more or less at risk and where they are positioned within interacting and overlapping systems of inequality. Finally, I examine the results by respective sub-group comparisons to analyse disparities within and across axes of analyses. Here, patterns in gendered differences, for example, are compared by looking at the difference (and significance of these differences) between (1) white UK-born women and men; (2) white migrant women and men; (3) Minoritised ethnic UK-born women and men; and (4) minoritised ethnic migrant women and men. This is then compared to the single-axis results. For example, we may find a significant gendered difference by single-axes results, but when comparison respective sub-groups, find that this is only the case for white UK-born women, with other female groups showing opposite results. Here, the larger population of white UK-born respondents hides a significant finding that this gendered difference is mediated by ethnicity and migrant-status. This approach is implemented across all empirical applications excluding my third application, which focuses specifically on ethnicity.

c. Empirical Applications

This section details the specific application of the above-outlined approach and statistical methods used in each of my four empirical applications.

i. Inequality Dimensions of Violence

The first empirical application in this thesis investigates the implications of definitional boundaries and measures of violence and inequality dimensions of violence for capturing marginalised experiences and inequality patterns in experiences of violence. Here, I analyse gendered, ethnic and migration-based disparities across multiple dimensions of violence (physical victimisation, threats, fear, anticipation) and inequality dimensions in violence (racial motivation and sexual aspects) using an intersectional quantitative comparative approach to explore the interconnections and patterns of inequalities in how violence is experienced.

In this application, I analyse 17 years of pooled data from the CSEW, using logistical regression models with rotating referent groups for cross-comparisons between sub-groups by gender, migrant-status, ethnicity and their intersections (as described

above). Here, I analysed the effect of marginalisation based on gender, migrant-status, ethnicity and their intersection (respondent inequality groups) on the odds of physical, racially-motivated, and sexual violence, threat victimisation, fear of overall, ethnically-motivated, and sexual violence, and anticipation, controlling for age and occupational class and using ONS population weights in regression analyses. I first compared the prevalence of violence-related outcomes by inequality groups via weighted and unweighted crosstabulations. I then ran a series of logistic regression models to calculate the odds ratios and significance of each violence-related outcome (dimensions of violence) by inequality groups (e.g. comparing women to men). Finally, I analysed the ratios of victimisation and fear by non-inequality-saturated and inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, using weighted prevalence for the total population in order to distinguish between the effect of group marginalisation and inequality-saturated dimensions of violence.

ii. Misrepresenting Ethnicity

The second empirical application focuses on how social classification is applied in quantifying and categorising ethnic groups, particularly in terms of misrepresentation and the implications of this for knowledge production on violence by ethnicity. This application first assesses the challenges, inconsistencies and limitations of the current approach to measuring ethnicity through a methodological evaluation of standardised ethnicity measures in UK survey data (particularly the CSEW), before analysing quantitative data in the CSEW to compare different approaches to measuring ethnicity and its implications for capturing ethnic disparities in violence victimisation and fear.

For my quantitative analyses, I first performed unadjusted crosstabulations to compare standardised ethnicity (5 and 16 ethnic groups, respectively) and the new regionally grouped country of origin. I identified which regional origins were over-represented as 'other' ethnicities, and assessed the homogeneity of each region by ethnicity (section 5). Since UK-born respondents did not provide additional indicators of ethnicity, I primarily focused on migrant respondents in my interpretation of findings as the basis for later recategorization.[8] Secondly, drawing on existing literature, my evaluation of the CSEW and Census standardised approaches and comparative analysis of ethnicity and regional origin, I proposed an alternative categorisation of ethnicity, with

[8] In focusing my analysis of violence/fear of violence on migrants only, the only ones who could potentially be recategorized based on country of origin, led to the same conclusions (Appendix E).

justifications for decisions on specific ethnic groups. Finally, I used crosstabulations and a series of controlled logistic regression models to compare the effect of standardised and alternative ethnicity measures on estimates for violence outcomes (victimisation and fear). To capture significant differences between multiple ethnic groups within a single measure, I used rotating referent groups in my models. In regression analyses with alternative ethnicity categorisation, I additionally controlled for 'Mixed' ethnicity (binary variable indicating single or mixed/multiple ethnicity). In order to additionally test my findings based on like-for-like comparisons, I also ran my regression analyses using a migrant-only sample (see appendix E).

iii. Barriers to Disclosure

My third empirical application addresses inequalities in exposure to barriers to disclosure of violence victimisation in the CSEW and the effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance. Here, I apply a methodological evaluation of the CSEW's survey design, questionnaire, and methodological practices in identifying potential barriers to disclosure across thematic areas of sample inclusion, comprehension, confidentiality, and independence. I then analyse the estimate effects of exposure to specific barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance, and perform a quantitative intersectional analysis of disparities in exposure to these barriers by gender, ethnicity, migrant-status, and their intersections.

Drawing from insights in existing research on barriers in other pathways to disclosure, methodological limitations in the CSEW, and previous experience in critical gender-mainstreaming, I analysed technical reports, survey user guides, questionnaires, and dataset descriptives from 2003-2019 to identify potential barriers and challenges for disclosure. Here, I applied specific questions, based on my existing understanding of the CSEW's methodology and existing literature on barriers to disclosure in other data sources and settings, to guide my process of identifying potential barriers. Variables and questionnaire texts from this period were scrutinized for respondent situational, comprehension, and interpretation factors, along with contextual influences of inequalities, with particular attention paid to identifying quantifiable factors which may be analysed for disparities in exposure and their effects.

Through this process, I identified 12 factors which may pose a barrier to disclosure of violence victimization, 6 of which were captured in the data and subject to quantitative

analysis. Four thematic areas emerged across these factors, which were updated iteratively in this process, each represented by a corresponding question based on the questions applied in my evaluation:

1. Access and Exclusion – who was excluded, by design or outcome, from the survey sample? Who completed the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence?
2. Comprehension: was the respondent able to understand the questions and response options?
3. Trust and Confidentiality: was the respondent able to disclose in a safe, confidential, and trustworthy environment?
4. Autonomy and Independence: was the respondent able to complete the survey in their own words, without any external influence or intervention while responding?

Having identified potential barriers to disclosure, I reviewed the questionnaires and datasets from 2003-2019 with specific questions applied to identify variables which may be used in quantitative analyses. Data cleaning and merging processes were then undertaken to create derived variables, ensuring comparability over time and producing indicators of barriers to disclosure and data interpretation. First, logistic regression models were run to test the effect of each quantifiable barrier on disclosure rates and reluctance by physical, domestic, and sexual violence, respectively. Second, a series of logistic and multinomial regression models were used to analyse disparities in the odds of exposure to these barriers by gender, ethnicity, migrant-status, and their intersections. Quantitative intersectional analyses were performed, examining single and multiple axes of inequality to assess their impact on specific sub-groups and to compare inequality-based differences across various demographic categories (see appendices G and H). Crosstabulations were conducted for summary statistics.

iv. Violence Trends during Hostile Policy Regimes

The final empirical application is positioned at the stage of analysis and interpretation, whilst also seeking to capture the cascading impact of hostile policy regimes on inequalities in violence trends. In this application, I analyse gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional differences in the rate of decline in violence

victimisation during Austerity and the Hostile Environment. Using difference-in-difference analyses, I investigate how inequalities in violence-reduction progress are both hidden by total-population monitoring of trends and how disparities in trends changed during Austerity and the Hostile Environment.

In investigating the relationship between macro-level policy regimes, violence, and inequalities, I adapted my intersectional quantitative approach used in my regression models and applied this to my difference-in-difference models. I analysed disparities in annual trends in violence prevalence during Austerity (T2: 2010-2013), the Hostile Environment (T3: 2014-2019), and the immediately preceding years (T1: 2006-2009) as a baseline comparison, comparing groups by sex, migrant-status, ethnicity and their intersections. In analysing inequalities in violence trends, I first used two-way multiple-line graphs of unadjusted annual violence trends, and then tested for statistically significant changes in violence prevalence between specific groups based on increasing degrees of intersection from one policy regime period to another using difference-in-difference modelling.

The difference-in-difference (DiD) analysis (see Wing et al. 2018; Lechner 2010) was carried out using the diff command (package) in STATA to show how differences in violence prevalence between groups changed from one policy regime period to another. DiD models estimate the effect of a specific 'treatment' by taking the differences between two groups before and after treatment, and calculating the degree, direction and statistical significance of the change in differences following treatment. This approach assumes that prior trends (e.g. T1) would continue in the absence of treatment (e.g. without the introduction of Austerity T2), producing a counterfactual trend based on this assumption (see figure 4), for example, if Austerity did not have a gendered effect on violence prevalence, in the case of gendered disparities in trends. I used the DiD method to estimate whether violence significantly increased (positive values) or decreased (negative values) for 'treated' groups during Austerity (H1), and for minoritised ethnic and migrant groups (H2) and women (H3) during the Hostile Environment, with the counterfactual trend representing the corresponding null hypothesis in each case. In single axes analyses of binary groups, 'treated' and 'control' groups were determined based on their comparative marginalisation within specific systems of inequalities, where women, minoritised ethnic groups, and migrants were positioned as 'treated' groups, and men, white

groups, and UK-born groups were 'control' groups for the purpose of analysis. In multiple axes analyses of intersectional sub-groups, I applied 'treated' and 'control' groups based on the category order rather than an assumption that some intersections were more marginalised than others, based on the methodological guidance for intersectional quantitative research (see Romero 2023: 2; McCall 2005; Bowleg 2008, 2012; Choo and Ferree 2010). As noted in section 2.b.iv., since DiD analyses require the use of binary variables for 'control' and 'treated' groups, I recoded my categorical variable comprising eight sub-groups into a series of dummy variables which compared each sub-group to all others in a pair-wise comparison. I then ran a series of DiD models for each pair-wise comparison for each of the T1-3 comparisons.

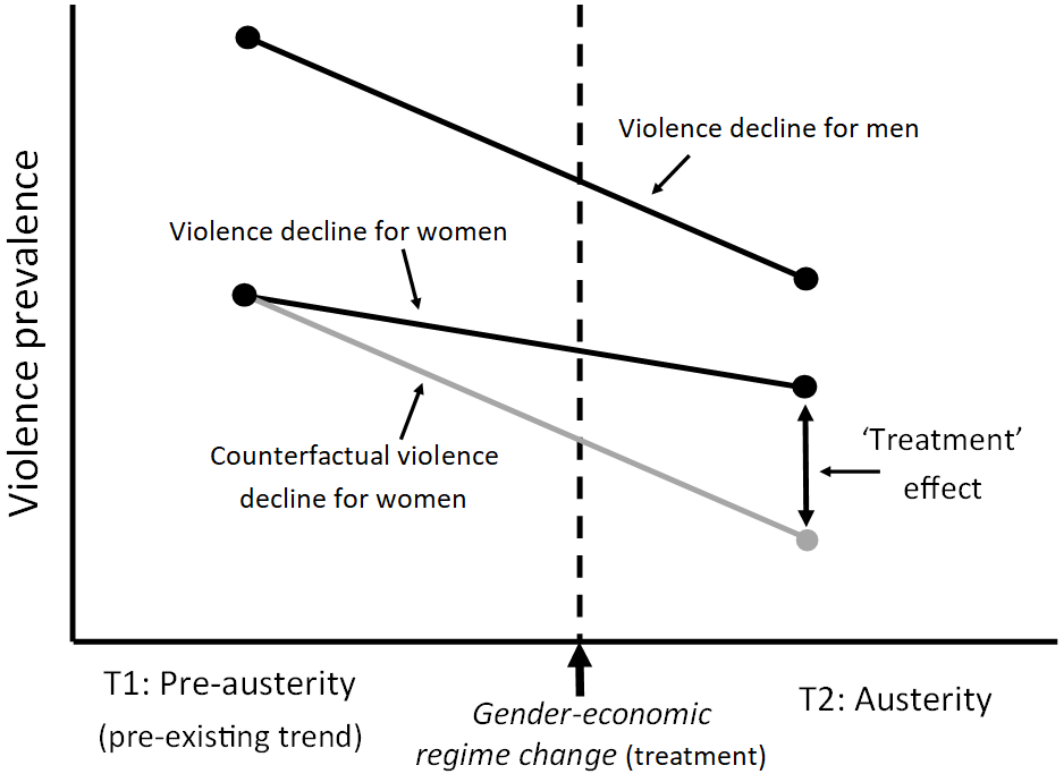

Figure 4. Illustration of the difference-in-difference model based on gender differences in violence trends from pre-Austerity (T1) to Austerity (T2) as an example.

4. Ethical Considerations

Consideration of research and data ethics have been built into this project through its commitment to strictly adhere to data security requirements in accessing and

analysing both the main and secure CSEW data; its prioritisation of secondary sources which reduces the ethical risks of such research; and its critical engagement with the ethical implications of representing violence and inequality through methodological processes and measurements as well as the representation of sensitive data and marginalised groups and victims in relation to modelling, predicting and making policy recommendations on these imperfect representations.

The use of secondary survey data significantly reduces the risk of direct adverse effects on vulnerabilised and victimised populations, who are at the heart of this project. In terms of indirect adverse effects on these populations, this project involves both a strict adherence to data security requirements which protects the anonymity and disclosure of personal and sensitive information by survey respondents, and an ongoing evaluation of the relationship between the representation of violence and inequality in the data and findings produced, and the use of such representations in a highly politicised, and currently more divisive, policy-making and social environment.

Further accreditation for access to secure data from the CSEW, which includes more detailed categorisation of ethnicity and survey responses to questions on sexual and domestic violence, but is still anonymised and non-identifiable, has been achieved via the UK Data Service (UKDS). I have completed secure data access training and have fulfilled the requirements for secure data access. In terms of using the data, this project has only accessed this data in a dedicated and verified Secure Research Environment within the Violence and Society Centre; has strictly adhered to all protocols, including the prohibition of taking notes or any records during analysis; and submitted research outputs using secure data to the UKDS for withdrawal based on sufficient anonymisation and security requirements.

Ongoing consideration of the ethical implications of particular processes and methods of collecting, manipulating and representing data on marginalised groups and victims was built into the research design and aims of this project. This includes both scrutinising the methodology and presentation of CSEW (and supplementary) data, as well as continually evaluating and comparing the ethical implications of the use and presentation of data by this project itself. The ethics of research is at the core of my project, where issues otherwise relegated to a brief ‘study limitations’ section are centred, challenged, and, where possible, addressed through alternative approaches.

As well as identifying how mainstream and standardised data and analysis practices pose ethical issues for representing and evidencing marginalised experiences of violence, I also propose and implement several methodological adaptations which seek to mitigate these challenges. Yet these must in turn be assessed from a research ethics standpoint. In particular, the re-coding of ethnicity data involved assessing the ethical implications of re-assigning ethnic categories. Whilst my proposed recoding sought to improve existing ethical issues in the UK's standardised ethnic categorisation, it nevertheless involved decisions which risked misrepresenting participants' ethnic identities differently. This process, therefore, required careful considerations of the rights of researchers (in this case also myself) in representing and recoding sensitive data, the ethical and social implications of presenting recoded ethnicity results, and the framing of ethnicity as either a static category or fluid social construction. Across this project, I have sought to build ethical considerations into my critique of how my data represents marginalised experiences of violence, and the socio-ethical implications of methodological choices in research, including (and even especially) my own. In prioritising the representation of inequalities and marginalised experiences as a core part of ethical research, this work also contributed towards and drew upon the Risk of Bias assessment and toolkit developed by the VISION project, to which this doctoral research has contributed (Innes et al. 2023a, 2023b).

Finally, whilst often forgotten, the researcher themselves should also be subject to protections when conducting ethical research. The process of researching violence, particularly racially-motivated, domestic, and sexual violence, has been widely found to contribute towards secondary and vicarious traumatisation among researchers (see, for example, Williamson et al. 2020; Nikischer 2019; Baird and Kracen 2006). Given my use of secondary data and quantitative analysis, and previous work in the field of gendered violence, I did not expect to encounter secondary trauma as a result of my research. However, as noted in the literature (see, for example, Fincham et al. 2008), secondary trauma is not exclusive to primary data collection or qualitative studies. Combined with the mental load of doing a PhD, as well as external research and advocacy work I undertook during my studies on gendered homicides and sexual exploitation, which were particularly heavy in content and carried an increased risk of secondary traumatisation, the prevalence and saturation of violence-focused content in my life took a mental health toll during my studies. Whilst not initially built into my

project, I drew on various support sources to mitigate the personal impact of researching violence and inequalities over the course of my studies, including peer support from fellow PhD students and my colleagues at the Violence and Society Centre, private therapy sessions, and a range of online resources.

This doctoral research project received ethical approval from City St George's, University of London on January 24th 2023 (ETH2223-1065). Having outlined the data, samples, variables, methods, and ethical considerations of my empirical analyses, and situated these within my overarching methodological framework and empirical applications, the following section presents the results of my four empirical applications.

IV. Results

This chapter presents the results of my quantitative analyses for each of my four empirical applications. The first section, addressing inequality dimensions of violence, describes the results of my quantitative intersectional analyses of violence by cross-cutting dimensions of inequality. The second section, addressing the misrepresentation of ethnicity, first presents the results of my comparative analysis of standardised ethnic groups by regional origin, before comparing ethnic disparities in violence based on different categorical approaches to ethnicity. Third, addressing barriers to disclosure, I first present my findings on the effects of identified barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance, before presenting results on disparities in exposure to individual barriers by thematic area. Finally, I describe the results of my analyses of inequalities in violence trends during the periods of Austerity and the Hostile Environment. The results of my methodological evaluation are noted where relevant to my quantitative analyses in the following sections, and are otherwise outlined and discussed in the following chapter (V).

1. Inequality Dimensions of Violence

For my first empirical application, I analysed gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional disparities in violence based on different dimensions of inequality, including physical victimisation, threats, fear, anticipation, racial motivation, and sexual aspects. In addressing my first empirical research questions - *To what extent are dimensions of inequality captured in the measurement of violence in the CSEW? How do inequality patterns vary by different dimensions and measures?* – I first reviewed the CSEW's measures of violence, before analysing inequality patterns in violence by single and cross-cutting dimensions of inequality, based on my distinction between inequality-variating and inequality-saturated dimensions and my conceptual expansion to include wider relations and experiences of violence. In particular, my analyses focused on comparing victimisation and fear by stranger-perpetrated, racially-motivated, and sexual violence, demonstrating how multiple inequality factors shape violence outcomes and disparities in experiences. This first application focuses on inequalities in the *measurement of violence* using a quantitative intersectional

approach to analysing the multidimensionality of violence and inequalities. Summary statistics for key variables used in this empirical application are presented in table 1.

Tables 2a and 2b show the results of cross-tabulated prevalence rates of violence-related outcomes (physical violence victimisation, threat victimisation, overall fear of violence, anticipation of violence, stranger-violence victimisation and fear, racially-motivated violence and fear, and sexual violence victimisation and fear), with frequencies and un/weighted percentages for respondents who experienced each violence outcome. Tables 3a and 3b show the odds ratios and significance results for my series of logistic regression models by inequality group and violence-related outcome (variating by dimension). For the full results including p-values and detailed tables for ethnic comparisons and intersecting analyses with rotating referent groups (ethnicity with 5 groups and intersecting sub-groups by gender, ethnicity and migrant-status), see tables A-J in Appendix A.

In comparing inequality-variating dimensions of violence for the total population by weighted prevalence, I found that an estimated 2.96% of the population were victims of physical violence, 2.50% were victims of threats of violence, 41.95% expressed fear of violence (stranger, sexual, or racist violence or muggings), and 13.95% believed they would be victimised in the following year. In comparing non/inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, I found that an estimated 1.48%, 0.18%, and 0.21% of the population were victims of stranger violence, racially-motivated violence, and sexual violence, respectively, whilst 31.38%, 11.63%, and 19.37% expressed fear of stranger, racially-motivate, and sexual violence, respectively.

In describing the following results by intersecting inequality groups and dimensions of violence, I organise the results by gender, ethnicity, and migrant-status, with each section addressing both single-axis results and comparing these to patterns found in the intersecting-axes results. I then focus on intersecting-axis results in further detail, before turning to differences in victimisation-fear ratios.

a. Gender

I found that women had significantly lower odds of physical violence victimization (OR 0.612 $p<0.000$), but significantly higher odds of overall fear (OR 2.015 $p<0.000$), and no significant difference for threats (OR 1.01 $p<0.532$) or anticipation (OR 0.980 $p<0.542$). For inequality-saturated dimensions, I found that women had significantly

lower odds for stranger-perpetrated (OR 0.398 p<0.000) and racially-motivated violence victimisation (OR 0.450 p<0.000), but significantly higher odds for sexual violence victimization (OR 4.954 p<0.000), and fear of stranger-perpetrated (OR 2.034 p<0.000), racially-motivated (OR 1.39 p<0.000) and sexual violence (OR 8.248 p<0.000).

I found consistent results in respective sub-group comparisons by physical violence victimization (ORs 0.55-0.67 p<0.000), overall fear (1.635-2.124, p<0.000), stranger violence fear (ORs 0.377-0.557 p<0.000), racial violence fear (0.39-0.47 0.000-0.001), sexual violence victimization (4.56-9.07 p0.000), and sexual violence fear (5.36-9.37 p0.000), although with some variation for threats, anticipation, and racial violence victimization. Whilst there was no significant gendered difference in threat victimization based on single-axes analyses, I found minoritised ethnic migrant women had significantly higher odds of threat victimization (OR 0.687 p<0.000), white UK-born women had marginally significantly lower odds (OR 1.041 p<0.071), and no significant differences for minoritised ethnic UK-born women (OR 0.910 p<0.355) or white migrant women (OR 1.090 p<0.275), based on their male counterparts in respective sub-group comparisons by gender.

a. Migrant-Status

I found that migrants had significantly lower odds of victimization by physical violence (OR 0.674 p<0.000) and threats (OR 0.771 p<0.000), but significantly higher odds of overall fear (OR 1.752 p<0.000) and anticipation of violence (OR 1.959 p0.000), compared to UK-born respondents. By inequality dimensions, I found that migrants had significantly higher odds of racially-motivated violence victimization (OR 2.825 p<0.000) and fear (OR 3.823 p<0.000), sexual violence fear (1.385 p<0.000) and stranger violence fear (OR 1.563 p<0.000), but significantly lower odds of stranger-perpetrated (OR 0.904 p<0.014) and sexual violence victimization (OR 0.653 p<0.000).

Table 1. Summary Statistics for Empirical Application 1: Frequencies and Percentages of Individual Characteristics, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Respondent Gender			
Men	*309,437*	*45.37*	*48.73*
Women	*372,518*	*54.63*	*51.27*
Respondent Migrant-Status			
UK-born	*604,490*	*88.64*	*85.30*
Migrant	*77,465*	*11.36*	*14.70*
Respondent Ethnicity (Binary)			
White	*626,578*	*91.88*	*88.28*
Minoritised Ethnicity	*55,377*	*8.12*	*11.72*
Respondent Ethnicity (5 groups)			
White	626,578	91.88	88.28
Mixed	5,384	0.79	1.03
Asian	26,302	3.86	6.21
Black	15,247	2.24	2.84
Other	8,331	1.22	1.63
(Missing)	113	0.02	0.02
Intersecting sub-groups by gender, migrant-status & ethnicity (8 groups)			
White UK-born men	266,532	39.08	39.51
BME UK-born men	7,895	1.16	1.96
White migrant men	17,091	2.51	3.26
BME migrant men	17,919	2.63	4.00
White UK-born women	320,485	47.00	41.89
BME UK-born women	9,578	1.40	1.94
White migrant women	22,470	3.29	3.62
BME migrant women	19,985	2.93	3.82
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Physical Violence Victimisation			
No physical victimisation	663,889	97.35	97.04
Victim of physical violence	18,066	2.65	2.96
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00
Violent Threat Victimisation			
No threat victimisation	665,501	97.59	97.50
Victim of violent threat	16,454	2.41	2.50
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00
Overall Fear of Violence[9]			
Not very/at all worried/NA	198,620	59.27	58.05
Fairly/Very worried	136,509	40.73	41.95
Total	335,129	100.00	100.00
Anticipation of Violence			
Not very/at all likely	47,174	87.80	86.05
Fairly/Very likely	6,556	12.20	13.95
Total	53,730	100.00	100.00
Ethnically-Motivated Violence Victimisation			
No ethnically-motivated violence	663,889	99.87	99.82
Victim of ethnically-motivated violence	874	0.13	0.18
Total	664,763	100.00	100.00
Fear Ethnically-Motivated Violence			
Not very/at all worried/NA	301,754	90.09	88.37
Fairly/Very worried	33,190	9.91	11.63
Total	334,944	100.00	100.00

[9] Note smaller sample size (N=335,129) for fear of violence (overall, racially-motivated, and sexual) due to missing data (see chapter III.2.a.i.)

Table 1 (Continued). Summary Statistics: Frequencies and Percentages of Individual Characteristics, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Occupational Class			
Higher managerial	21,858	3.21	3.14
Higher professional	43,373	6.36	6.71
Lower managerial / higher technical	163,457	23.97	23.35
Intermediate occupations	81,821	12.00	11.75
Small employers and own account workers	64,441	9.45	9.22
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	62,876	9.22	8.76
Semi-routine occupations	106,246	15.58	14.76
Routine occupations	84,905	12.45	11.56
Never worked	23,687	3.47	3.63
Not classified	29,291	4.30	7.11
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Sexual Violence Victimisation			
No sexual violence victimisation	663,742	99.79	99.77
Victim of sexual violence	1,385	0.20	0.23
Total	665,127	100.00	100.00
Fear of Sexual Violence			
Not very/at all worried/NA	271,543	81.17	80.63
Fairly/Very worried	63,013	18.83	19.37
Total	334,556	100.00	100.00
Continuous Variables (Age and Wave)			
	N	*Mean*	*SD*
Age (16+)	681,955	51.64	29.75
Wave (2003-2019)	681,955	2010.49	4.78

Table 2a. Crosstabulations of Dimensions of Violence by Inequality Group: Frequencies and (Un)weighted Percentages, pooled data (2003-2019)

	Physical Violence Victimisation			Violent Threat Victimisation			Overall Fear of Violence			Anticipation of Violence		
Inequality Group	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Gender												
Men	9,923	3.21	3.72	7,438	2.40	2.55	47,602	31.41	33.05	2,885	11.88	13.91
Women	8,143	2.19	2.25	9,016	2.42	2.45	88,907	48.43	50.40	3,671	12.47	13.98
Migrant-status												
UK-born	16,233	2.69	3.06	14,711	2.43	2.56	118,849	39.42	40.02	5,238	10.95	12.12
Migrant	1,833	2.37	2.43	1,743	2.25	2.17	17,660	52.54	54.51	1,318	22.39	24.79
Ethnicity												
White	16,484	2.63	2.98	15,065	2.40	2.51	121,979	39.20	39.66	5,431	10.95	12.09
Minoritised Ethnic	1,582	2.86	2.81	1,389	2.51	2.42	14,530	60.63	61.09	1,125	27.13	28.32
Mixed	292	5.42	5.34	186	3.45	3.44	1,177	52.06	51.25	74	21.08	21.03
Asian	636	2.42	2.44	633	2.41	2.39	7,173	64.56	64.80	570	28.96	30.33
Black	453	2.97	3.01	365	2.39	2.20	3,976	60.14	59.25	338	28.99	28.83
Chinese/Other	198	2.38	2.30	202	2.42	2.28	2,179	55.54	56.88	142	22.26	23.80
Intersecting sub-groups												
White UK-born men	8,511	3.19	3.79	6,337	2.38	2.54	39,178	29.47	30.00	2,174	10.32	11.46
BME UK-born men	405	5.13	4.97	276	3.50	3.46	1,537	44.64	47.27	117	21.12	23.31
White migrant men	511	2.99	3.30	403	2.36	2.33	2,510	33.81	35.35	189	14.81	18.14
BME migrant men	496	2.77	2.77	422	2.36	2.37	4,377	56.38	57.61	405	28.95	30.54
White UK-born women	7,002	2.18	2.28	7,763	2.42	2.51	75,422	46.87	48.13	2,779	10.88	11.64
BME UK-born women	315	3.29	3.04	335	3.50	3.10	2,712	63.89	65.07	168	24.49	27.10
White migrant women	460	2.05	2.10	562	2.50	2.40	4,869	49.11	51.72	289	16.95	19.48
BME migrant women	366	1.83	1.63	356	1.78	1.60	5,904	69.35	69.88	435	28.87	28.82
Total	18,066	2.65	2.96	16,454	2.41	2.50	136,509	40.73	41.95	6,556	12.20	13.95

Table 2b. Crosstabulations of Dimensions of Violence by Inequality Group: Frequencies and (Un)weighted Percentages, pooled data (2003-2019)

	Stranger Violence Victimisation			Fear of Stranger Violence			Racially-Motivated Violence Victimisation			Fear of Ethnically-Motivated Violence			Sexual Violence Victimisation			Fear of Sexual Violence		
Inequality Group	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Gender																		
Men	5,423	1.75	2.15	33,832	22.33	23.47	556	0.19	0.25	12,000	7.92	9.69	193	0.06	0.08	7,399	4.89	5.71
Women	2,654	0.71	0.84	68,049	37.10	38.88	318	0.09	0.11	21,190	11.55	13.47	1,192	0.32	0.37	55,614	30.37	32.36
Migrant-status																		
UK-born	7,017	1.16	1.47	88,662	29.42	29.93	545	0.09	0.13	24,356	8.08	9.01	1,230	0.20	0.24	54,743	18.18	18.48
Migrant	1,060	1.37	1.52	13,219	39.36	40.80	329	0.43	0.44	8,834	26.31	28.67	155	0.20	0.19	8,270	24.72	25.18
Ethnicity																		
White	7,214	1.15	1.45	91,094	29.29	29.73	502	0.08	0.11	24,015	7.72	8.36	1,257	0.20	0.23	55,904	17.99	18.20
Minoritised Ethnic	863	1.56	1.67	10,787	45.05	45.12	372	0.69	0.67	9,175	38.33	38.93	128	0.23	0.21	7,109	29.81	29.20
Mixed	147	2.73	3.12	865	38.27	37.26	44	0.86	0.73	609	26.97	26.91	37	0.69	0.73	634	28.08	27.26
Asian	383	1.46	1.58	5,282	47.58	47.50	178	0.69	0.72	4,842	43.62	43.53	35	0.13	0.14	3,405	30.81	30.33
Black	221	1.45	1.53	3,014	45.61	44.61	109	0.73	0.69	2,500	37.85	37.24	35	0.23	0.19	2,047	31.08	29.57
Chinese/Other	110	1.32	1.39	1,609	41.07	42.22	41	0.5	0.44	1,214	31.01	32.63	21	0.25	0.19	1,014	26.05	25.89
Intersecting sub-groups																		
White UK-born men	4,522	1.70	2.12	27,981	21.06	21.47	268	0.10	0.15	7,318	5.51	6.04	170	0.06	0.08	5,668	4.27	4.70
BME UK-born men	236	2.99	3.07	995	28.91	30.57	85	1.12	1.08	944	27.44	29.09	7	0.09	0.09	324	9.42	10.67
White migrant men	324	1.90	2.14	1,766	23.81	25.06	45	0.27	0.25	803	10.83	12.53	9	0.05	0.04	375	5.06	6.02
BME migrant men	341	1.90	1.93	3,090	39.82	40.63	158	0.9	0.88	2,935	37.85	37.97	7	0.04	0.03	1,032	13.33	14.05
White UK-born women	2,153	0.67	0.79	57,627	35.84	37.07	145	0.05	0.06	14,524	9.03	9.72	1,001	0.31	0.37	46,892	29.20	30.67
BME UK-born women	106	1.11	1.26	2,059	48.57	49.35	47	0.50	0.49	1,570	37.01	39.80	52	0.54	0.58	1,859	43.96	45.78
White migrant women	215	0.96	1.15	3,720	37.56	39.68	44	0.20	0.22	1,370	13.83	15.63	77	0.34	0.38	2,969	30.07	32.27
BME migrant women	180	0.90	0.90	4,643	54.60	55.26	82	0.42	0.35	3,726	43.84	44.57	62	0.31	0.28	3,894	46.19	46.74
Total	8,077	1.18	1.48	101,881	30.42	31.38	874	0.13	0.18	33,190	9.91	11.63	1,385	0.20	0.23	63,013	18.83	19.37

Table 3a. Logistic Regression Models of Dimensions of Violence by Inequality Groups, pooled data (2003-2019)

		Physical Violence Victimisation		Violent Threat Victimisation		Overall Fear of Violence		Anticipation of Violence	
Model	**Inequality Group**	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*
M1	Gender								
	Women	0.612	***	1.013		2.015	***	0.980	
M2	Migrant-status								
	Migrant	0.674	***	0.771	***	1.752	***	1.959	***
M3-4	Ethnicity								
	Minoritised Ethnic	0.680	***	0.817	***	2.285	***	2.131	***
	Mixed	1.094		1.050		1.516	***	1.245	
	Asian	0.591	***	0.803	***	2.701	***	2.360	***
	Black	0.781	***	0.777	***	2.067	***	2.209	***
	Chinese/Other	0.544	***	0.767	***	1.959	***	1.723	***
M5	Intersecting sub-groups								
	BME UK-born men	0.731	***	1.000		1.978	***	1.643	***
	White migrant men	0.699	***	0.798	***	1.257	***	1.513	***
	BME migrant men	0.622	***	0.858	*	3.089	***	2.665	***
	White UK-born women	0.610	***	1.041	†	2.124	***	1.001	
	BME UK-born women	0.441	***	0.910		4.067	***	1.916	***
	White migrant women	0.466	***	0.870	**	2.482	***	1.613	***
	BME migrant women	0.345	***	0.598	***	5.051	***	2.248	***

†p<0.100 *p<0.050 **p<0.010 ***p<0.005

Table 3b. Logistic Regression Models of Dimensions of Violence by Inequality Groups, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

		Stranger-Perpetrated Violence Victimisation		Fear of Stranger-Perpetrated Violence		Racially-Motivated Violence Victimisation		Fear of Ethnically-Motivated Violence		Sexual Violence Victimisation		Fear of Sexual Violence	
	Inequality Group	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*
M1	Gender												
	Women	0.398	***	2.034	***	0.450	***	1.392	***	5.143	***	8.248	***
M2	Migrant-status												
	Migrant	0.904	*	1.563	***	2.825	***	3.823	***	0.669	***	1.385	***
M3-4	Ethnicity												
	Minoritised Ethnic	0.856	***	1.827	***	4.534	***	6.665	***	0.606	***	1.610	***
	Mixed	1.322	**	1.299	***	4.038	***	3.844	***	1.682	*	1.405	***
	Asian	0.810	***	2.020	***	4.870	***	8.054	***	0.405	***	1.700	***
	Black	0.843	*	1.756	***	5.040	***	6.145	***	0.593	**	1.626	***
	Chinese/Other	0.693	***	1.662	***	2.858	***	5.175	***	0.551	*	1.407	***
M5	Intersecting sub-groups												
	BME UK-born men	0.802	**	1.476	***	4.234	***	6.105	***	0.519		1.962	***
	White migrant men	0.831	**	1.190	***	1.389	†	2.177	***	0.434	*	1.198	**
	BME migrant men	0.790	***	2.409	***	5.240	***	9.286	***	0.345	*	3.094	***
	White UK-born women	0.377	***	2.116	***	0.429	***	1.634	***	4.749	***	9.372	***
	BME UK-born women	0.325	***	3.244	***	1.994	***	9.721	***	3.589	***	14.184	***
	White migrant women	0.463	***	2.372	***	1.347		2.830	***	4.045	***	9.670	***
	BME migrant women	0.364	***	4.197	***	2.062	***	11.431	***	2.659	***	16.597	***

†p<0.100 *p<0.050 **p<0.010 ***p<0.005

I found consistent results in respective sub-group comparisons by physical violence, overall fear, and racially-motivated violence fear (although noting only marginal significance for lower odds of physical violence between minoritised ethnic men by migrant-status), but some variations for threats, anticipation, racially-motivated violence, and for sexual violence victimization and fear. I found no significant differences by migrant-status among minoritised ethnic men for threat victimization, among minoritised ethnic women for anticipation, or among white women for fear of sexual violence. Notably, I found that migrant-status increased the odds of racially-motivated violence only significantly among white women and (marginally) among white men, with no significant differences for ethnic minoritised men or women by migrant-status. I also found that migrant-status only significantly reduced the odds of sexual violence victimization for white men, with other respective sub-group comparisons non-significantly different.

Further, migrants had nearly double the odds of fear and anticipation of violence than UK-born respondents (ORs 1.752 p<0.000; 1.959 p0.000). Migrants had higher odds of racially-motivated violence victimization (nearly 3 times higher) and fear (nearly 4 times higher) than UK-born respondents. Although migrant-status only increased the odds of victimisation for white migrants (no significant difference between minoritised ethnic migrant and UK-born respondents), it significantly increased fear of racially-motivated violence for both white and minoritised ethnic respondents. In contrast to gender, migrant-status significantly lowered the odds of threat (similarly to violence victimisation), but significantly increased the odds of anticipating violence (similarly to fear).

b. Ethnicity

I found that minoritised ethnic respondents had significantly lower odds of victimisation by physical violence (OR 0.680 p<0.000), threats (OR 0.817 P<0.000), stranger violence (OR 0.856 p<0.001), and sexual violence (OR 0.591 p<0.000), but significantly higher odds of overall fear (OR 2.285 p<0.000) and anticipation of violence (OR 2.131 p<0.000), and fear of stranger-perpetrated violence (OR 1.827 p<0.000), racially-motivated violence (OR 6.665 p<0.000) and sexual violence (OR 1.610 p<0.000).

By ethnic group, I found that mixed-ethnicity and white respondents had significantly higher odds of physical violence (ORs 1.401-2.011 p<0.000; ORs 1.280-1.838 p<0.000, respectively) and threat victimisation (ORs 1.307-1.370 p<0.009-0.014; ORs 1.245-1.305 p<0.000-0.002, respectively), but significantly lower odds of violence anticipation (ORs 0.424-0.580 p<0.000; ORs 0.528-0.723 p<0.000-0.062*) than other ethnic groups. White respondents also had the lowest odds of overall fear (ORs 0.370-0.660 p<0.000) among any ethnic group. Chinese/Other respondents had the lowest odds of physical violence or threat victimisation (significantly lower than Black, white and mixed; and white and mixed, respectively). Asian respondents had significantly higher odds of overall fear and anticipation of violence than other groups (except non-significantly compared to Black respondents for anticipation).

For racially-motivated violence victimisation and fear, Asian respondents had the highest odds and white respondents had the lowest odds (significantly in all sub-group comparisons except between Asian and mixed for victimisation). Notably for racially-motivated violence, mixed-ethnicity respondents had significantly higher odds of victimisation and significantly lower odds of fear than Black and Chinese/Other respondents. Mixed-ethnicity respondents also had the highest odds of sexual violence victimisation and fear (significant in all sub-group comparisons except Chinese/Other for sexual violence fear), whereas Asian respondents had the lowest odds (although only significantly lower than mixed and white respondents for victimisation and mixed respondents for fear).

Whilst the pattern and significance of ethnic group disparities varied across dimensions, the overall findings were that Asian, Black and Chinese/Other respondents had significantly lower odds of physical violence and threat victimisation, but significantly higher odds of overall fear and anticipation of violence than white and mixed-ethnicity respondents. For inequality dimensions, Asian respondents had significantly higher racially-motivated violence victimisation and fear than Black, Chinese/Other and white respondents, whereas mixed-ethnicity respondents had significantly higher sexual violence victimisation and fear than white, Black and Asian respondents.

It should be noted that controlling for age and occupational class significantly altered physical violence and threat victimization odds by ethnicity, which I observed as potentially underestimating risks posed to marginalised groups.

c. Intersecting Sub-Group Comparisons

Comparing violence and inequality dimensions by intersecting sub-groups, I found that white UK-born had the highest odds of physical violence victimisation ($p<0.000$ for all comparisons, followed by minoritised ethnic UK-born men), but the lowest odds of experiencing overall fear ($p<0.000$ for all), fear of racially-motivated violence ($p<0.000$), and fear of sexual violence ($p<0.000$-0.008). Whilst white UK-born men had the highest odds of physical violence victimisation, white UK-born women had the highest odds of threat victimisation (significance $p<0.000$-0.001, except minoritised ethnic UK-born men $p<0.596$, and marginal significance against white UK-born men, $p<0.071$, and minoritised ethnic UK-born women, $p<0.064$). White UK-born men and women had the lowest odds of violence anticipation compared to all other sub-groups ($p<0.000$). Minoritised ethnic migrant women had the lowest odds of physical violence and threat victimisation (0.000-0.011 for all comparisons), but the highest odds of overall fear, racial violence fear and sexual violence fear ($p<0.000$-0.001 for all comparisons). Minoritised ethnic migrant men had the highest odds of violence anticipation (followed by minoritised ethnic migrant women), and minoritised ethnic men (UK-born and migrant) had the highest odds of racially-motivated violence victimisation. The estimated odds of sexual violence were distributed along clear gendered lines, with higher odds for all female sub-groups than male, and minor variations within genders (significantly higher odds for white female sub-groups than minoritised ethnic migrant women, and significantly higher odds for white UK-born men than migrant male sub-groups).

Racial violence victimisation was higher among minoritised ethnic men (no significant migrant difference), but fear was higher among minoritised ethnic migrant women. Men and women showed similar patterns based on migrant-status and ethnicity when comparing sexual violence victimisation and fear variation within genders. Among sub-group comparisons for women and men, respectively, white UK-born sub-groups had significantly higher odds of sexual violence victimisation but significantly lower odds of sexual violence fear than minoritised ethnic sub-groups.

e. Comparing Ratios of Victimisation to Fear by Inequality Dimensions of Violence

I further analysed the ratios of victimisation and fear by non-inequality-saturated and inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, using weighted prevalence for the total population in order to distinguish between the effect of group marginalisation and inequality-saturated dimensions of violence (see table 4). I found that for overall violence (i.e. physical violence which includes racially-motivated, sexual and stranger-perpetrated violence and muggings), the weighted prevalence of fear was 14 times higher than victimisation. For my comparative analyses, I found that fear of stranger violence was 21 times higher than victimisation, fear of racially-motivated violence was 65 times higher than victimisation, and fear of sexual violence was 97 times higher than the rate of victimisation. Overall, I found that inequality-saturated dimensions of violence had disproportionately higher levels of fear relative to victimisation than non-inequality-saturated violence.

Table 4: Ratios of Victimisation and Fear (weighted prevalence) by Stranger-perpetrated, Racially-Motivated and Sexual Violence

	Prevalence of Victimisation (A)	Prevalence of Fear (B)	Ratio of Victimisation to Fear
	Wgt %	Wgt %	Ratio (A:B as 1:X)
Stranger-Perpetrated Violence	1.48	31.38	21.20
Racially-Motivated Violence	0.18	11.63	64.61
Sexual Violence	0.20	19.37	96.85
(Overall)	2.96	41.95	14.17

2. Misrepresenting Ethnicity

In my second empirical application, I focused specifically on ethnicity and its representation in the CSEW's standardised categorisation of ethnic groups. In addressing my second empirical research question - *To what extent does the UK's standardised categorisation of ethnicity represent ethnic groups and how does this matter for understanding inequalities in violence?* – I first evaluated the CSEW's ethnic categorisation in terms of conceptual coherence, respondent self-recognition, and

meaningful content (discussed in chapter V.2.b.), before conducting quantitative analyses of the representativeness of these categories and differences in inequality patterns based on the standardised approach and my proposed recategorization. In presenting the empirical results of my quantitative analyses, I first describe the findings of my comparative analyses of standardised ethnic groups by region of origin (table 5), which informs my recategorization of ethnicity used in the second stage of my analyses. I then present the results of my analyses of ethnic disparities in violence victimisation and fear, comparing results from the standardised approach and my proposed recategorization.

a. Ethnic Representation: Comparing standardised ethnic groups by regional origin

Using crosstabulations of standardised high (5 groups) and low-level (16 groups) ethnicity and regionally grouped country of origin (table 6), I identified which regional origins had higher proportions of 'other' ethnicities and assessed the ethnic homogeneity of each region (see Del Pinal et al. 2007 for a comparable approach used in the US Census).

Based on my ethnicity-regional origin crosstabulations (table 6), I found that respondents born in the UK (non-migrants), Europe, North America, the Caribbean, and South Asian regions were largely ethnically homogeneous (largest ethnic group >85% of the total regional population), with low rates of 'Other' ethnic identification (<5%). UK, Europe, and North America-originating respondents were predominantly 'White' (97.0%, 95.8%, 91.2%, respectively), Caribbean-origin respondents were 88.1% 'Black' (76.4% 'Black-Caribbean'), and South Asian-origin respondents were 92.9% 'Asian' (81.6% identifying with a named South Asian sub-group: India/Pakistan/Bangladesh). Respondents from these regions had low rates of 'Other' ethnic identification (between 0.2 and 3.2%), indicating a high degree of alignment with the ethnic categories provided in the survey.

Table 5. Summary Statistics (Empirical Application 2): Frequencies and (Un)weighted Percentages of individual characteristics, pooled data (waves 2004-2007 and 2013-2019)

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Respondent Ethnicity (5 groups - ONS categories)			
White	391,191	91.80	88.58
Mixed	3,587	0.84	1.06
Asian	17,247	4.05	6.17
Black	9,610	2.26	2.78
Other	4,501	1.06	1.41
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00
Ethnic regrouping			
White	390,739	91.69	88.44
Black/Black British	11,332	2.66	3.27
Arab/MENA	471	0.11	0.16
South Asian	15,243	3.58	5.54
ESEC Asian	4,969	1.17	1.58
Latinx/Hispanic	782	0.18	0.26
Other	2,600	0.61	0.74
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00
Mixed Ethnicity			
Not mixed	422,549	99.16	98.94
Mixed/Multiple ethnicity	3,587	0.84	1.06
Total	426,136	100	100

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
(Any) violence victimisation			
None	415,361	97.47	97.09
Violence victim	10,775	2.53	2.91
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00
Fear of stranger violence (reduced sample, N=244,814)			
Not very/at all worried/NA	169,440	69.21	67.59
Fairly/Very worried	75,374	30.79	32.41
Total[1]	244,814	100.00	100.00
Occupational Class			
Higher managerial	12,095	2.84	2.77
Higher professional	29,088	6.83	6.88
Lower managerial/higher technical	103,422	24.27	23.62
Intermediate occupations	52,360	12.29	11.89
Small employers / own acc. workers	40,901	9.60	9.26
Lower supervisory/technical occupations	38,324	8.99	8.74
Semi-routine occupations	65,929	15.47	14.72
Routine occupations	52,281	12.27	11.56
Never worked	14,297	3.36	3.50
Not classified	17,439	4.09	7.05
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00

Table 5 (Continued). Summary Statistics (Empirical Application 2): Frequencies and (Un)weighted Percentages of individual characteristics, pooled data (waves 2004-2007 and 2013-2019)

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Respondent country of origin - regional groupings			
UK	376,941	88.46	85.59
Europe	18,882	4.43	5.22
North America	1,635	0.38	0.42
Caribbean	1,979	0.46	0.49
Latin America	1,069	0.25	0.34
Africa	8,131	1.91	2.34
MENA Region	2,335	0.55	0.70
South Asia	9,729	2.28	3.31
East/SE/Central Asia	3,581	0.84	1.07
Oceana/Other	1,854	0.44	0.53
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Respondent Sex (binary male/female)			
Male	193,978	45.52	48.63
Female	232,158	54.48	51.37
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00
Respondent Migrant-status (binary UK-born/migrant)			
UK-born	376,853	88.43	85.57
Migrant (foreign-born)	49,283	11.57	14.43
Total	426,136	100.00	100.00
Continuous Variables (Age and Wave)			
	N	*Mean*	*SD*
Age (16+)	426,136	51.29	18.58
Wave	426,136	2011.4	5.45

Table 6. Crosstabulation of Respondent Ethnicity by Regional Origin, pooled data (waves 2004-2007, 2013-2019)											
	Regional origin (country of origin grouped by geographic region)										
	UK	Europe	North America	Caribbean	Latin America	Africa	MENA Region	South Asia	ESEC Asian	Oceana/ Other	Total
Respondent Ethnicity (5 groups - ONS groups)											
White	96.94	95.67	89.34	4.24	53.17	24.79	33.68	4.74	16.50	74.05	91.62
Mixed	0.66	0.81	2.68	6.03	11.75	3.54	4.39	1.06	2.72	2.36	0.84
Asian	1.30	0.41	1.65	0.95	2.52	17.37	15.04	92.80	34.73	6.65	4.05
Black	0.82	0.81	2.38	87.64	9.51	51.45	4.43	0.00	0.00	10.88	2.27
Chinese/Other	0.29	2.30	3.96	1.15	23.04	2.86	42.46	1.35	45.68	6.06	1.22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Respondent Ethnicity (16 groups - ONS groups)											
White - British	95.56	18.69	34.21	3.54	10.63	15.02	14.19	4.41	14.85	35.16	86.25
White - Irish	0.27	14.09	1.46			0.23				0.75	0.87
White - Other White Background	1.14	63.00	53.72	0.70	42.26	9.59	27.58	0.32	1.61	38.33	4.64
Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	0.28	0.11		4.24	1.96						0.28
Mixed - White and Black African	0.06	0.25				2.14	1.28				0.12
Mixed - White and Asian	0.17	0.12	0.91		1.12	0.26	2.09	0.88	1.95		0.22
Mixed - Any Other Mixed Background	0.14	0.34	1.28	1.60	8.40	1.10	1.96	0.17	0.75	1.34	0.22
Asian or Asian British - Indian	0.61	0.07	0.61		1.31	13.82	1.49	42.74	1.97	4.09	1.84
Asian or Asian British - Pakistani	0.47	0.17				0.61	0.81	27.37			1.07
Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi	0.12							11.43			0.37
Asian or Asian British - Other Asian Background	0.09	0.14	0.67	0.65	1.21	2.97	16.24	11.27	32.48	2.04	0.78
Black or Black British - Caribbean	0.50	0.09	0.73	76.06	5.41	1.15				4.68	0.87
Black or Black British - African	0.25	0.57		9.08	1.21	48.46	4.39			5.65	1.27
Black or Black British - Other Black Background	0.07	0.15	1.22	2.54	2.89	1.93	1.02			0.59	0.14
Chinese	0.08		0.67			0.21			36.74	0.59	0.39
Other Ethnic Group	0.19	2.13	3.23	1.10	22.48	2.47	28.52	1.28	8.90	5.22	0.66
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Notes: empty cells denote suppressed counts and frequencies to adhere to the Statistical Disclosure Control (SDC) – the cells were suppressed either due to the cell percentage being based on a count lower than 10 or to avoid having to delete totals so that not to identify numbers in empty cells.

Table 7. Crosstabulations indicating the proportion of respondents who experienced past-year violence victimisation and fear of stranger violence by standardised and regrouped ethnicity, pooled data (waves 2004-2007 and 2013-2019)

	Violence victimisation (past year), sample 1 (N=415,361)			Fear of Stranger Violence (fairly/very worried), sample 2 (N=169,440)		
	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Standardised Ethnicity (5 groups)						
White	9,852	2.52	2.93	67,576	29.69	30.81
Mixed	180	5.02	5.11	628	37.16	37.75
Asian	365	2.12	2.27	3877	47.54	48.53
Black	279	2.90	3.00	2194	46.69	46.29
Chinese or Other	99	2.20	2.44	1099	40.95	43.14
Total	10,775	2.53	2.91	75,374	30.79	32.41
Ethnic regrouping (7 groups)						
White	9,838	2.52	2.93	67,495	29.68	30.78
Black/Black British	369	3.26	3.31	2514	45.66	45.64
Arab/MENA	21	4.46	4.38	214	45.53	48.70
South Asian	318	2.09	2.27	3438	47.26	48.47
ESEC Asian	116	2.33	2.46	1029	44.22	44.44
Latinx/Hispanic	27	3.45	3.80	148	44.85	45.35
Other	86	3.31	3.49	536	35.54	37.15
Total	10,775	2.53	2.91	75,374	30.79	32.41
Mixed Ethnicity						
Not Mixed (single ethnicity)	10,595	2.51	2.88	74,746	30.74	32.36
Mixed / Multiple Ethnicities	180	5.02	5.11	628	37.16	37.75
Total	10,775	2.53	2.91	75,374	30.79	32.41

Table 8. Odds ratios from logistic regressions of violence victimisation and fear of violence using standardised ethnicity and regrouped ethnicity as predictors, pooled data (waves 2004-2007, 2013-2019)

	Violence Victimisation		Fear of Violence	
	OR	p<	OR	p<
Standardised Ethnicity (5 groups)				
1. White	*Ref*		*Ref*	
2. Mixed	1.192†		1.253***	
3. Asian/Asian British	0.634***		1.967***	
4. Black/Black British	0.925		1.635***	
5. Chinese/Other	0.674**		1.450***	
Ethnic regrouping (7 groups)				
1. White	*Ref*		*Ref*	
2. Black/Black British	0.884		1.670***	
3. Arab/MENA	1.120		1.747***	
4. South Asian	0.631***		1.974***	
5. ESEC Asian	0.609***		1.736***	
6. Latinx/Hispanic	1.200		1.508**	
7. Other	0.826		1.275***	
Mixed Ethnicity (Ref = Not mixed)				
Mixed / Multiple Ethnicities	1.492***		0.783***	

Notes: † p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

However, I found higher rates of 'Other' ethnicities among respondents from East, South East and Central Asian countries (ESEC Asia, 9.0%), Middle East and North African countries (MENA, 28.7%), and Latin American countries (22.7%). I also found high levels of ethnic heterogeneity among MENA (41.9% 'White', '28.7% 'Other', 16.3% 'Asian-Other') and Latin America-originating respondents (42.8% 'White-Other', 22.7% 'Other', 10.8% 'White-British', 8.5% 'Mixed-Other'), as well as African-origin respondents, with 51.5% identifying as 'Black' (including 48.4% Black-African), 25.0% as 'White', and 17.3% as 'Asian'.[10] These results indicate lower levels of alignment between respondents' self-identified ethnicity and the survey's ethnic categories for MENA, Latin America, and ESEC Asia-originating groups.

[10] Further analyses found that 'White' and 'Asian' African-origin respondents corresponded with countries subject to British colonial rule and policies which provided historical explanations to the ethnic heterogeneity of African-origin migrants to the UK (e.g., the expulsion of Asians from Uganda).

Based on these findings, and also drawing upon my evaluation of the CSEW and Census approach to ethnicity, I proposed an alternative measure and categorisation of ethnicity which distinguishes between South Asian and ESEC Asian groups; recategorizes 'Mixed' ethnicities[11] (primarily drawing on my methodological evaluation); distinguishes 'Arab' groups; and introduces 'Latinx/Hispanic' as a distinct ethnic group. Figure 2 illustrates the recoding process for my alternative ethnicity categorisation, using standardised low-level ethnic groups and regional origins to recategorize and (in cases where ethnicity data is missing for recategorization) estimate respondent ethnicities for this alternative measure.

b. Implications for Violence Victimisation and Fear

In analysing the implications of different ethnicity measures on inequality patterns in violence-related outcomes, I ran cross-tabulations (table 7, showing frequencies and un/weighted percentages) and a series of logistic regression models for violence victimisation (past 12 months) and fear of stranger violence by standardised and alternative categorisations of ethnicity (table 8, see also appendix D for detailed regression tables). I also ran supplementary analyses of migrant-only samples to check for consistency in my results based on like-for-like comparisons (although noting a smaller sample size), which supported my main results and conclusions (see appendix E).

i. Physical Violence Victimisation

Standardised ethnic group comparisons (by cross-tabulated weighted percentages, table 7) for violence victimisation showed that 'mixed' ethnicity respondents were nearly twice as likely to have experienced violence in the past year (5.1%) than other ethnic groups (see table 7). Black respondents had the second highest prevalence of violence victimisation (3.0%), followed by White (2.9%) and 'Other' (2.4%) respondents, and the lowest prevalence reported among Asian respondents (2.3%). Based on my logistic regression analyses (table 8), I found that these results were largely significant. 'Mixed' ethnicity significantly increased the odds of victimisation compared to all other ethnic groups.[12] The odds of victimisation among 'White' and

[11] Recategorisation for 'mixed' is informed by my methodological evaluation and existing critiques in the literature rather than quantitative findings due to non-applicability of regional origin for estimating ethnic representation for 'mixed' groups.

[12] Note: only marginally significant compared to 'White', $p<0.072$

'Black' groups were significantly higher than 'Asian' and 'Other' groups, although I found no significant difference between 'White' and 'Black' ethnic groups.

Using my alternative categorisation of ethnicity, I found the highest victimisation rates among 'Arab/MENA' (4.4%) and 'Latinx/Hispanic' (3.8%) ethnic groups, followed by 'Other' (3.5%), 'Black' (3.3%), and 'White' (2.9%) groups (table 7). 'ESEC Asian' and 'South Asian' groups reported the lowest prevalence of violence victimisation (2.5% and 2.3%, respectively). 'Mixed' groups had significantly higher odds and prevalence of violence victimisation than non-mixed (5.11%, OR 1.492 $p<0.000$). The results from my regression analyses (table 8, see also appendix D) showed significant differences only among Asian group comparisons, with 'ESEC Asian' and 'South Asian' ethnicities both having significantly lower odds of victimisation than all other ethnic groups.[13] 'Mixed' ethnicity significantly increased the odds of victimisation (OR 1.492, $p<0.001$). It should be noted that limitations relating to sample size and recoding reliability (see chapter V, section 4.a.iii.) affect the generalisability and application of these results beyond their use in this thesis as a proxy indicator of alternative approaches to ethnicity.

In comparing violence victimisation by standardised and alternative ethnicity measures, I noted several insights relating to the introduction, distinction and recategorization of ethnic groups. First, by distinguishing 'Arab/MENA' and 'Latinx/Hispanic' respondents from 'White' and 'Other' categories, I found that these groups experience a higher prevalence of violence victimisation than other ethnic groups. Notably, results for unadjusted prevalence indicate higher rates of victimisation among Latinx/Hispanic (3.45%) and Arab/MENA (3.08%) respondents than 'White' (2.52%) or 'Chinese/Other' (2.26%) respondents, which, based on the ONS standardised measure, they would otherwise be subsumed and hidden within. Whilst these results were reflected in non-significant differences in odds ratios (likely due to small sample sizes of the proxy measures and the inclusion of controls which may suppress the role of intersecting inequalities), they suggest the importance of measuring and disaggregating these ethnic groups, particularly considering that Latinx/Hispanic had the highest percentage of respondents reporting violence victimisation. Improvements to sampling and categorisation which enables better

[13] Note: although with only marginally significant differences when comparing the former to 'Arab/MENA' and 'Other' groups, respectively

capturing of these groups may address the challenge of small sample sizes based on the proxy measure.

Second, I found that 'Mixed' ethnic groups experienced the highest prevalence and odds of violence victimisation in both standardised and alternative categorisations, and found similar results for the latter with and without controlling for 'Mixed' ethnicity. In contrast to standardised ethnicity results which estimated significantly lower odds of victimisation odds for all minoritised ethnic groups (except 'mixed) compared to white respondents, I found that integrating 'mixed' ethnic respondents into their corresponding ethnic groups resulted in non-significant differences between Black and white groups. I also found no significant differences between white, 'Other', Latinx/Hispanic, and Arab/MENA respondents, although the relatively small sub-sample sizes may also be a contributing factor.

Third, recategorising 'Other' groups based on regional origin resulted in a comparative increase in the odds of victimisation, although with limited significance found. Fourth, distinguishing between 'ESEC' and 'South Asian' groups did not reveal any significant differences between these groups, with results equivalent to the original 'Asian' categorisation. Overall, I found that my recategorization of ethnicity revealed high levels of violence among otherwise excluded or misrepresented groups, although noting that this approach also faced challenges in terms of statistical power and significance necessary for reliable results.

ii. Fear of Physical Stranger Violence

In analysing fear of stranger violence by standardised ethnicity (table 7), I found that nearly half of respondents from 'Black', 'Asian', or 'Other' ethnic groups reported being 'very' or 'fairly' worried about being physically attacked by a stranger, compared to under a third of White respondents. 'Asian' respondents reported the highest (weighted) prevalence of violence fears (48.53%), followed by 'Black' (46.29%), 'Other' (43.14%), and 'Mixed' (37.75%) groups, and 'White' respondents reporting the lowest rate of violence fears (30.81%). My regression models found that these results were all statistically significant ($p<0.001$), although only marginally ($p<0.1$) for 'Other' ethnic respondents when compared to 'Mixed' and 'Black' groups (OR 1.158, OR 0.887, respectively).

Using my alternative categorisation of ethnicity (proxy measure), I found that 'South Asian' (47.3%) respondents had the highest percentage of being 'very/fairly' worried about stranger violence, followed by 'Black' (45.8%), 'Latinx/Hispanic' (44.9%), 'ESEC Asian' (44.3%), 'Arab/MENA' (43.5%), and 'Other' (32.5%), with the lowest rate of violence fear among for white respondents (29.7%). The results of my logistic regression models estimated that 'South Asian' respondents had the highest odds of reporting violence fears (significantly higher than all ethnic groups except non-significantly higher than 'Latinx/Hispanic'), and that white respondents had the lowest (significance in all sub-group comparisons). 'Arab/MENA' respondents had the second highest odds of violence fear, although this was not significantly different from 'ESEC Asian', 'Black', and 'Latinx/Hispanic' groups.

Notably, by distinguishing between 'South Asian' and 'ESEC Asian' groups, I found that 'ESEC Asians' experienced significantly lower odds of violence fear, which was more similar to Black respondents than South Asians. In recalling that MENA and Latin American-originating respondents would largely otherwise be categorised into either 'White' or 'Chinese/Other' ethnic groups (table 6 & figure 2), it is notable that when distinguishing these groups, both Arab/MENA and Latinx/Hispanic respondents had significantly higher odds of violence fear than both 'White' and 'Other' respondents.

3. Barriers to Disclosure

My third empirical application investigates the prevalence, disparities and effects of barriers to disclosing physical, domestic, and sexual violence in the CSEW as a core evidence-base for policy-making on violence in the UK. In addressing my third empirical research question - *What barriers do victims face in disclosing experiences of violence in the CSEW?* – I first apply a critical methodological evaluation to the CSEW questionnaire, methodology and data to identify a variety of compounding barriers to disclosure, before analysing the effects of these barriers on violence disclosure rates and reluctance for physical, domestic, and sexual violence. I then apply a quantitative intersectional approach to analysing disparities in exposure to identified (and quantified) barriers by gender, ethnicity, and migrant-status.

Based on my critical evaluation of the CSEW's survey methodology and questionnaires, I identified 12 factors which may pose a barrier to disclosure of violence victimization, 6 of which were captured in the data and subject to quantitative

analysis. These were grouped into four thematic areas corresponding to questions used in evaluating the presence of barriers in the CSEW:

1. Access and Exclusion – who was excluded, by design or outcome, from the survey sample? Who completed the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence?
2. Comprehension: was the respondent able to understand the questions and response options?
3. Trust and Confidentiality: was the respondent able to disclose in a safe, confidential, and trustworthy environment?
4. Autonomy and Independence: was the respondent able to complete the survey in their own words, without any external influence or intervention while responding?

I analysed inequalities in exposure and the effect of disclosure and disclosure reluctance for 6 factors across the above thematic areas, including: (a) whether the respondent was excluded from the SC module on domestic and sexual violence, due to refusal or the requirement of non-interviewer completion (access and exclusion); (b) whether the respondent had difficulties reading and understanding English (comprehension); (c) whether the interviewer was male (trust and confidentiality); (d) whether someone else or a partner was present during the interview (trust and confidentiality); (e) whether the respondent refused the self-completion module due to confidentiality concerns (trust and confidentiality); and (f) whether there was interference by the interviewer or others during the self-completion module (interference). Evaluation of the additional 6 factors which the CSEW did not data collect on, including issues of population exclusions and non-identification, survey framing and institutional associations, as well as post-disclosure practices which posed barriers to representation of disclosure, are included alongside the quantitative analyses by thematic area in my discussion section. Tables 9a-b below provide the summary statistics for all variables analysed in this application.

This section sets out the results of my quantitative analyses thematically: first reporting disclosure rates and reluctance by inequality groups (table 10 presents crosstabulation results and table 11 presents results from my regression analyses of reporting rates

and reluctance); second, describing the results of the critical methodological evaluation and resulting thematic areas and identified barriers; and finally, reporting and discussing results by thematic area by (1) access and exclusion, (2) comprehension, (3) trust and confidentiality, and (4) autonomy and independence. Based on the results of my regression analyses, table 12 indicates disparities in exposure to identified barriers and table 13 indicates the estimated effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance (Underlying crosstabulation tables for these analyses are in appendix F). Detailed tables of my regression analyses for ethnic and intersectional comparisons are included in appendices G and H.

a. Disclosure Rates and Reluctance

I found that during 2003-2019, 24,586 respondents disclosed violence victimization (3.61%, see table 9a). Of those, 18.1% disclosed domestic violence victimization (0.65% of the total sample, N=4,454), and 7.4% disclosed sexual violence victimization (0.27% of the total sample, N=1,819). Similarly to ONS measures of victimization (based on offence codes), I found that marginalisation by gender, ethnicity and migrant-status reduced the odds of overall violence victimization, particularly among minoritised ethnic migrant women. I also found that disclosure of domestic and sexual violence was significantly higher among women, but significantly lower among minoritised ethnic and migrant groups (although noting non-significance in most sub-group comparisons by ethnicity and migrant-status).

Nearly half (43.77%) of respondents who disclosed any violence victimization indicated reluctance in doing so. Screener-level reluctance overall was relatively low (0.16%, N=375), and ‘don’t know’/‘refused’ responses were primarily in response to questions on domestic (0.14%) or sexual (0.10%) violence rather than non-specific physical violence (0.01%). Based on overall disclosure reluctance among victims, I found that women, minoritised ethnic, and migrant respondents had significantly higher odds of disclosing reluctantly and of responding ‘don’t know’ or ‘refused’ to the screener questions on domestic and sexual violence. Both overall and domestic/sexual violence screener reluctance was significantly higher for Asian and ‘Chinese/Other’ respondents than other ethnic groups. Minoritised ethnic and migrant women had significantly higher odds of disclosing reluctantly, and minoritised ethnic migrant women specifically had significantly higher odds of disclosure reluctance for domestic and sexual violence. By respective sub-group comparisons, I found that

gender marginalisation increased the odds of screener reluctance for domestic violence among minoritised ethnic groups, and for sexual violence among minoritised ethnic migrant comparisons specifically. Ethnic minoritisation increased screener reluctance in all respective comparisons for domestic violence, but only among migrant groups for sexual violence. Migrant-status increased screener reluctance in all respective comparisons for both domestic and sexual violence.

Table 9a. Summary Statistics (Empirical Application 3): Frequencies and (Un)weighted Percentages for Study Variables (Non-Barriers), pooled data (2003-2019)

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Respondent Gender			
Men	309,437	45.37	48.73
Women	372,518	54.63	51.27
Respondent Migrant-Status			
UK-born	604,490	88.64	85.30
Migrant	77,465	11.36	14.70
Respondent Ethnicity			
White	626,578	91.88	88.28
(All Minoritised Ethnic Groups)	*55,377*	*8.12*	*11.72*
Mixed	5,384	0.79	1.03
Asian	26,302	3.86	6.21
Black	15,247	2.24	2.84
Other	8,331	1.22	1.63
(Missing)	113	0.02	0.02
Intersecting sub-groups by gender, migrant-status and ethnicity (8 groups)			
White UK-born men	266,532	39.08	39.51
BME UK-born men	7,895	1.16	1.96
White migrant men	17,091	2.51	3.26
BME migrant men	17,919	2.63	4.00
White UK-born women	320,485	47.00	41.89
BME UK-born women	9,578	1.40	1.94
White migrant women	22,470	3.29	3.62
BME migrant women	19,985	2.93	3.82

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Any Violence Victimisation Disclosure			
No violence disclosure	657,369	96.39	96.03
Disclosed violence victimisation	24,586	3.61	3.97
Domestic Violence Victimisation Disclosure			
No domestic violence disclosure	677,501	99.35	99.43
Disclosed domestic violence victimisation	4,454	0.65	0.57
Sexual Violence Victimisation Disclosure			
Not very/at all worried/NA	680,136	99.73	99.71
Fairly/Very worried	1,819	0.27	0.29
Overall Disclosure Reluctance (Victim Sample, N=22,282)			
No reluctance	12,529	56.23	55.87
Reluctance	9,753	43.77	44.13
(Missing)	*2,304*	*9.37*	*9.75*
Total	*22,282*	*90.63*	*90.25*
Screener Reluctance: Any Violence (physical, domestic or sexual violence)			
No reluctance (yes/no)	680,969	99.86	99.81
Reluctance (Don't know/refused)	986	0.14	0.19
Screener Reluctance: Physical Violence			
No reluctance (yes/no)	681,855	99.99	99.98
Reluctance (Don't know/refused)	100	0.01	0.02
Screener Reluctance: Domestic Violence (Cohabiting Sample*, N=478,396)			
No reluctance (yes/no), *valid %*	477,749	99.86	99.82
Reluctance (Don't know/refused) *valid %*	647	0.14	0.18
(Missing)	*203,559*	*29.85*	*16.28*
Total	*478,396*	*70.15*	*83.72*

Table 9a (Continued). Summary Statistics: Frequencies and Un/Weighted Percentages for Study Variables (Non-Barriers), pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Occupational Class			
Higher managerial	21,858	3.21	3.14
Higher professional	43,373	6.36	6.71
Lower managerial / higher technical	163,457	23.97	23.35
Intermediate occupations	81,821	12.00	11.75
Small employers and own account workers	64,441	9.45	9.22
Lower supervisory and technical occupations	62,876	9.22	8.76
Semi-routine occupations	106,246	15.58	14.76
Routine occupations	84,905	12.45	11.56
Never worked	23,687	3.47	3.63
Not classified	29,291	4.30	7.11

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Screener Reluctance: Sexual Violence			
No reluctance (yes/no)	681,113	99.88	99.83
Reluctance (Don't know/refused)	842	0.12	0.17
Continuous Variables (Age and Wave)			
	N	*Mean*	*SD*
Age (16+, excluding missing)	681,539	51.06	18.40
Wave (2003-2019)	681,955	2010.49	4.78
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00

* Missing data due to this question not being asked if the respondent lived alone

Table 9b. Summary Statistics (Empirical Application 3): Frequencies and Un/Weighted Percentages for Study Variables (Barriers), pooled data (2003-2019)

Barriers in the Main Questionnaire

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
English Language Difficulties (2012 Sample, N=34,473)			
No English difficulties	33,174	96.23	95.71
Difficulties reading/understanding English	1,299	3.77	4.29
(Missing)	*366*	*1.05*	*1.02*
Total	34,839	100.00	100.00
Sex of the Interviewer			
Female	281,089	41.23	40.99
Male	400,658	58.77	59.01
(Missing)	*208*	*0.03*	*0.03*
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00
Whether Others were Present (main questionnaire)			
No-one else present	483,324	70.87	67.03
Someone else present	198,631	29.13	32.97
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00
Whether a Partner was Present (main questionnaire)			
No partner present	565,626	82.94	81.35
Partner present	116,329	17.06	18.65
Total	681,955	100.00	100.00
Recognition of Violence as Wrong/Criminal (Violence victims only, N=18,066)			
A crime (all)	11,279	62.61	61.48
Wrong, but not a crime	3172	17.61	18.31
Just something that happens (at least once)	3,563	19.78	20.21
(Missing)	*52*	*0.29*	*0.28*
Total	18,066	100.00	100.00

Barriers to the Self-Completion Module

	N	*No Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Access to the Self-Completion Module (16-59 2012 Sample, N=22,402)			
Accessed self-complete module (Accepted)	20,389	91.01	91.45
(Did not access self-complete module: interviewer completed/refused)	*2,013*	*8.99*	*8.55*
Interviewer Completed (no module access)	1,293	5.77	5.39
Refused (no module access)	720	3.21	3.15
Total	22,402	100.00	100.00
SC Non-Access due to Confidentiality Concerns (2012 Non-SC Sample, N=2,013)			
Other reasons	1,752	87.03	87.35
Due to confidentiality concerns	261	12.97	12.65
Total	2,013	100.00	100.00
SC Interference, grouped (2012 SC Sample, N=20,389)			
Respondent completed SC alone	14,042	68.88	67.13
Respondent alone, but interviewer assisted	448	2.20	1.85
Others present, but did not interfere	5,222	25.61	27.45
Others present and interfered with SC	675	3.31	3.57
(Missing)	*2*	*0.01*	*0.00*
Total	20,389	100.00	100.00
Continuous Variables (SC interference, graded)			
	N	*Mean*	*SD*
SC Interference, graded 0 (least) to 7 (most)	20,387	1.02	1.67

Table 10. Crosstabulations of Violence Rates and Reluctance by Inequality Group: Frequencies and Weighted & Unweighted Percentages, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	Disclosure Rates								
	Overall Violence			Domestic Violence			Sexual Violence		
Inequality Group	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Gender									
Men	12536	4.05	4.64	982	0.32	0.32	299	0.10	0.12
Women	12050	3.23	3.33	3472	0.93	0.81	1520	0.41	0.46
Migrant-status									
UK-born	21989	3.64	4.07	4092	0.68	0.61	1603	0.27	0.30
Migrant	2597	3.35	3.40	362	0.47	0.38	216	0.28	0.27
Ethnicity									
White	22423	3.58	3.99	4117	0.66	0.59	1642	0.26	0.29
Minoritised Ethnic	2163	3.91	3.82	337	0.61	0.47	177	0.32	0.30
Mixed	386	7.17	6.88	80	1.49	1.03	45	0.84	0.85
Asian	890	3.38	3.38	122	0.46	0.36	55	0.21	0.21
Black	600	3.94	3.94	105	0.69	0.64	47	0.31	0.30
Chinese/Other	281	3.37	3.33	28	0.34	0.21	30	0.36	0.30
Intersecting sub-groups									
White UK-born men	10703	4.02	4.69	863	0.32	0.34	257	0.10	0.12
BME UK-born men	500	6.33	6.20	36	0.46	0.37	13	0.16	0.14
White migrant men	678	3.97	4.28	51	0.30	0.28	16	0.09	0.11
BME migrant men	655	3.66	3.66	32	0.18	0.15	13	0.07	0.06
White UK-born women	10326	3.22	3.37	3048	0.95	0.85	1264	0.39	0.45
BME UK-born women	460	4.80	4.33	145	1.51	1.13	69	0.72	0.77
White migrant women	716	3.19	3.23	155	0.69	0.57	105	0.47	0.51
BME migrant women	548	2.74	2.52	124	0.62	0.51	82	0.41	0.40
Total	24,586	3.61	3.97	4,454	0.65	0.57	1,819	0.27	0.29

Table 10 (Continued). Crosstabulations of Violence Rates and Reluctance by Inequality Group: Frequencies and Weighted & Unweighted Percentages, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	Disclosure Reluctance								
	Overall Violence			Domestic Violence			Sexual Violence		
Inequality Group	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Gender									
Men	4145	36.38	36.45	257	0.11	0.14	324	0.10	0.14
Women	5608	51.51	54.40	390	0.16	0.22	518	0.14	0.20
Migrant-status									
UK-born	8548	42.80	42.78	251	0.06	0.07	389	0.06	0.07
Migrant	1205	52.12	53.71	396	0.68	0.80	453	0.58	0.72
Ethnicity									
White	8795	43.15	43.10	363	0.08	0.10	502	0.08	0.10
Minoritised Ethnic	958	50.42	52.49	284	0.68	0.73	340	0.61	0.70
Mixed	156	44.96	47.05	6	0.16	0.18	12	0.22	0.23
Asian	419	54.06	56.54	202	0.89	0.94	223	0.85	0.91
Black	252	47.73	47.56	29	0.31	0.31	50	0.33	0.33
Chinese/Other	128	52.46	54.33	47	0.75	0.86	55	0.66	0.82
Intersecting sub-groups									
White UK-born men	3418	35.00	34.30	120	0.06	0.06	165	0.06	0.07
BME UK-born men	180	40.82	43.08	6	0.10	0.10	11	0.14	0.13
White migrant men	258	42.36	43.86	39	0.29	0.39	44	0.26	0.34
BME migrant men	289	49.91	51.99	92	0.64	0.70	104	0.58	0.66
White UK-born women	4742	50.67	53.17	121	0.06	0.07	204	0.06	0.07
BME UK-born women	208	51.23	57.67	4	0.06	0.10	9	0.09	0.13
White migrant women	377	58.00	61.87	83	0.53	0.62	89	0.40	0.50
BME migrant women	281	59.28	60.80	182	1.24	1.41	216	1.08	1.32
Total	9,753	43.77	44.13	647	0.14	0.18	842	0.12	0.17

Table 11. Logistic Regression Models of Violence Rates and Reluctance for total, domestic and sexual violence by Inequality Groups, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

		Disclosure Rates						Disclosure Reluctance					
		Overall Violence		Domestic Violence		Sexual Violence		Overall Violence		Domestic Violence		Sexual Violence	
Model	**Inequality Group**	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*
M1	Gender												
	Women	0.734	***	2.676	***	4.230	***	2.108	***	1.306	***	1.195	*
M2	Migrant-status												
	Migrant	0.711	***	0.526	***	0.769	***	1.487	***	10.187	***	8.811	***
M3-4	Ethnicity												
	Minoritised Ethnic	0.710	***	0.610	***	0.687	***	1.471	***	6.354	***	6.528	***
	Mixed	1.117		1.192		1.588	*	1.304	†	2.151	†	2.778	***
	Asian	0.628	***	0.464	***	0.483	***	1.690	***	7.728	***	8.158	***
	Black	0.782	***	0.871		0.745	†	1.201	†	2.952	***	3.214	***
	Chinese/Other	0.606	***	0.276	***	0.670	†	1.560	***	7.941	***	8.135	***
M5	Intersecting sub-groups												
	BME UK-born men	0.784	***	0.722		0.590		1.597	***	2.016		2.419	*
	White migrant men	0.743	***	0.675	*	0.719		1.475	***	6.375	***	5.283	***
	BME migrant men	0.668	***	0.407	***	0.399	**	1.913	***	10.982	***	9.688	***
	White UK-born women	0.736	***	2.669	***	3.953	***	2.196	***	1.019		0.942	
	BME UK-born women	0.543	***	2.306	***	3.344	***	2.960	***	2.092		2.274	†
	White migrant women	0.587	***	1.463	***	3.695	***	3.076	***	9.756	***	7.122	***
	BME migrant women	0.437	***	1.245	†	2.665	***	2.859	***	14.641	***	12.755	***

†p<0.100 *p<0.050 **p<0.010 ***p<0.005

Table 12. Logistic Regression Models of Exposure to Disclosure Barriers by Inequality Groups, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

		Interviewer Sex (male)		Others Present		Partner Present		English Difficulties		SC Access		Confidentiality Concerns (SC)		Interference (SC)	
Model	**Inequality Group**	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*
M1	Gender														
	Women	0.872	***	1.142	***	0.793	***	0.982		1.073		2.498	***	1.267	***
M2	Migrant-status														
	Migrant	1.324	***	1.302	***	1.240	***	16.23	***	2.665	***	0.927		1.326	***
M3-4	Ethnicity														
	Minoritised Ethnic	1.307	***	1.267	***	1.048	***	7.149	***	2.535	***	1.092		1.216	***
	Mixed	1.248	***	0.883	***	0.708	***	2.231	*	1.344		0.967		1.053	
	Asian	1.278	***	1.494	***	1.265	***	9.282	***	2.862	***	1.112		1.441	***
	Black	1.439	***	0.960	†	0.605	***	3.193	***	2.040	***	1.867	*	0.851	
	Chinese/Other	1.248	***	1.346	***	1.373	***	12.923	***	3.156	***	0.102	***	1.318	†
M5	Intersecting sub-groups														
	BME UK-born men	1.323	***	0.778	***	0.505	***	1.142		1.583	*	1.508		0.678	**
	White migrant men	1.387	***	1.078	***	1.118	***	15.621	***	1.848	***	0.157	*	1.153	
	BME migrant men	1.442	***	1.262	***	1.045	†	17.752	***	3.560	***	0.862		1.430	***
	White UK-born women	0.888	***	1.095	***	0.759	***	0.892		1.068		2.276	***	1.244	***
	BME UK-born women	1.089	***	1.221	***	0.509	***	1.652		1.492	*	1.395		1.213	†
	White migrant women	1.119	***	1.247	***	0.922	***	11.176	***	2.284	***	1.797	†	1.254	*
	BME migrant women	1.146	***	1.919	***	1.180	***	18.010	***	3.397	***	2.819	***	2.113	***

†p<0.100 *p<0.050 **p<0.010 ***p<0.005

Table 13. Logistic Regression Models of the Effect of Barriers on Disclosure Rates and Reluctance, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

		Disclosure Rates						Disclosure Reluctance					
		Overall Violence		Domestic Violence		Sexual Violence		Overall Violence		Domestic Violence		Sexual Violence	
Model	***Barriers***	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*	*OR*	*p<*
	Comprehension												
M1	English Language Difficulties	0.785		0.203	*	0.216	*	0.747		73.786	***	62.858	***
	Trust and Confidentiality												
M2	Male Interviewer	0.910	***	0.806	***	0.950		1.011		1.665	***	1.713	***
M3	Others Present	0.840	***	0.909	*	0.801	***	1.053		4.728	***	4.902	***
M4	Partner Present	0.710	***	0.535	***	0.421	***	1.078		2.438	***	2.572	***

†p<0.100 *p<0.050 **p<0.010 ***p<0.005

b. Access and Exclusion: Who was excluded, by design or outcome, from the survey sample and self-completion modules?

This section presents results within the theme of access and exclusion, with specific factors identified through the following sub-questions used in my methodological evaluation: Who was approached for an interview? Who was asked questions about their experiences? Who participated in the CSEW's self-completion modules on domestic and sexual violence?

I identified several factors which may contribute towards the exclusion, omission, mis/under-representation of marginalised and vulnerabilised populations from the CSEW's sample population for the face-to-face interview and self-completion module: (1) household residence-based sampling methods excluding those living in non-standard residences; (2) under-sampling Black and ethnic minorities populations; (3) non-identification and expected under-sampling of insecure migrants; and (4) refusal or exclusion from the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence. I first evaluated the implications of the CSEW's sampling methodology and variables capturing inequality groups, before analysing disparities in access to the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence.

I found that 9% of respondents were excluded from the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence either due to respondent refusal (3.21%) or the requirement for interviewer completion (5.77%) which also excluded them from the sample. Minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents had significantly higher odds of being excluded from the SC module, based on both single axes and respective sub-group comparisons. 'Chinese/Other' and Asian respondents had significantly higher odds of SC exclusion than other ethnic groups. I found no significant gendered differences by single or multiple axes of inequality. Minoritised ethnic men and women had significantly higher odds of exclusion than all other sub-groups (ORs 1.488-3.560 $p<0.000$-0.007), with white UK-born men and women having the lowest odds of exclusion (significantly lower than all others except marginally between white and ethnic minoritised UK-born women).

I additionally compared ethnic diversity in the CSEW to the Census as a means of estimating the potential under-representation of minoritised ethnic groups in the CSEW's sample. When compared to 2011 (14%) and 2021 (15.2%) Census data for England and Wales, I found that Black and minoritised ethnic populations were under-

represented in the CSEW survey sample, with 8.3% and 11.0% of respondents being from Black and minoritised ethnic backgrounds (unweighted 2011/12 and 2019/20 samples, respectively). By these estimates, the CSEW only captures around 60-70% of the Black and minoritised ethnic population in England and Wales.

c. Comprehension: Was the respondent able to understand the questions and response options?

This section presents results within the theme of comprehension, which was identified through the guiding question of whether respondents were able to understand the questions and response options provided. Earlier iterations of this theme also included additional factors relating to recognition (whether respondents could identify their experiences as violence in relation to the questions), but due to a lack of data and identifiable practices, these were excluded form my evaluation and analysis. In capturing barriers to comprehension, I identified English language difficulties as a potential challenge for disclosure in the CSEW, based on existing studies (see chapter V.2.c.iii.) and the CSEW's lack of translators or translated texts.

English language difficulties significantly reduced the odds of disclosure and increased the odds of reluctance to disclose specifically for domestic and sexual violence, with no significant difference found for overall violence disclosure or reluctance. English language difficulties had the greatest effect on domestic and sexual violence disclosure reluctance compared to all other barriers, with the odds of disclosure reluctance 63-74 times higher than respondents without language difficulties.

I found that 3.8% of respondents were identified as having 'difficulties reading or understanding English' (2012 data only). Migrants (OR 16.231, $p<0.000$) and minoritised ethnic (OR 7.149, $p<0.000$) respondents had significantly higher odds of experiencing English language difficulties, although whilst the former was significant in all respective sub-group comparisons, the latter was only significant in female sub-group comparisons (marginally for UK-born women). No significant gender difference was found (by single axis). 'Chinese/Other' respondents had the highest odds of English difficulties (ORs 1.392-12.923 $p<0.000$-0.046), followed by Asian respondents (ORs 0.718-9.282 $p<0.000$-0.046), and the lowest odds among white respondents (ORs 0.077-0.448 $p<0.000$-0.018). When analyzing multiple inequality axes, I found that English language difficulties were highest among minoritised ethnic migrant women (significantly higher than all other sub-groups except non-significant compared

to migrant men). Ethnic minoritisation increased the odds of English difficulties specifically among women when compared by respective sub-groups, including among UK-born women, albeit with marginal significance.[14] There were no significant differences between UK-born sub-groups, all of whom had lower odds of English difficulties than migrant groups.

d. Trust and Confidentiality: Was the respondent able to disclose in a safe, confidential and trustworthy environment?

This section presents results within the theme of trust and confidentiality, with specific factors identified through the following sub-questions used in my methodological evaluation: Who conducted the interview? What institutions were visibly associated with the CSEW and did their involvement pose any perceived or actual risk for participants sharing sensitive information? Was the interview conducted in a private and confidential environment? Here, I identified several factors which may undermine respondent's sense of trust and security in disclosing their experiences in a confidential environment: (1) interviews, which included sensitive topics on domestic and sexual violence, were conducted by male interviewers in a majority of cases; (2) interviews were often conducted in the presence of other household members and respondents' intimate partners, including questions on domestic violence; (3) among those who refused to participate in the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence, which enabled greater confidentiality in disclosing victimisation, participants often cited confidentiality concerns as a reason for non-participation in this module; and (4) the Home Office, which has an ongoing history of discriminatory policies against ethnic minorities communities and migrants, was visibly associated with the CSEW (addressed in chapter V.2.c.iv.); (3)

i. Interviewer Characteristics

I found that the odds of disclosing violence were significantly lower for respondents with male interviewers, particularly domestic violence. Whilst there was no significant effect for overall disclosure reluctance, respondents were significantly more likely to answer 'don't know' or 'refused' to screener questions on domestic and sexual

[14] Although noting that the small sub-sample size for minoritised ethnic UK-born women experiencing English language difficulties (n=12) reduces the reliability of this finding. Comparisons to minoritised ethnic UK-born men were excluded due to sub-sample size <10. Data for English language difficulties was only available for 2012.

violence with male interviewers. Male interviewers conducted over half the survey interviews (58.77%, N=281,089). The odds of having a male interviewer were significantly lower for women (OR 0.872, p<0.000), but significantly higher for minoritised ethnic (OR 1.307, p<0.000) and migrant respondents (OR 1.324, p<0.000), particularly Black respondents. Based on multiple-axes comparisons,[15] minoritised ethnic and migrant men had the highest odds of having a male interviewer (p<0.000), followed by minoritised ethnic and migrant women (p<0.000-0.001), with the lowest odds of a male interviewer for white UK-born (p<0.000). Whilst the odds of a male interviewer were consistently lower for women and higher for migrants, ethnic minoritisation specifically reduced male-interviewer odds for UK-born respondents. These findings support existing recommendations on how to facilitate disclosure of domestic and sexual violence.

ii. Other's and Partner's Presence during the Interview

I found that both others and partners being present during the interview significantly reduced the odds of violence disclosure for physical, domestic and sexual violence, particularly for domestic and sexual violence and partner presence. Whilst other and partner presence did not increase overall reluctance to disclose, it significantly increased reluctance to disclose domestic and sexual violence in the screener questions.

In terms of exposure to others and partner presence, 29.13% of face-to-face interviews were conducted with another person present, and 17.06% with a partner present. Women, migrants and minoritised ethnic respondents had significantly higher odds of others being present during the interview. Whilst migrants and minoritised ethnic respondents also had significantly higher odds of partner presence, this was significantly lower for women. The odds of other and partner presence were significantly higher among Asian and 'Chinese/Other' respondents than other ethnic groups. Minoritised ethnic migrant women had significantly higher odds of both other and partner presence compared to all other sub-groups[16] based on gender, ethnicity, migrant-status and their intersections.

[15] Except non-significantly between minoritised ethnic women by migrant-status, p<0.102.
[16] Although noting only marginal significance when compared to white migrant men for partner presence

When comparing respective sub-groups, I found that whilst single axes findings for others' presence corresponded across sub-group comparisons, intersecting inequalities had mixed effects for partner presence. Marginalisation by gender decreased the odds of partner presence specifically among UK-born women, with opposite effects for minoritised ethnic migrant women. Ethnic minoritisation significantly increased partner presence specifically for migrant women, with converse effects for UK-born and male respective comparisons by ethnicity. Migrant-status consistently increased partner presence odds, however, particularly among minoritised ethnic sub-groups. These findings suggest that ethnicity increased partner presence specifically at the intersection of migrant-status, and that gender only increases partner presence odds when also intersecting with ethnicity and migrant-status.

Overall, I found that marginalisation by gender, migrant-status and ethnicity significantly and consistently increased the odds of others' presence, whilst the odds of partner presence were significantly higher based on migrant-status, particularly its intersection with ethnic minoritisation, and significantly lower based on gender marginalisation for UK-born women only. In both cases, the intersection of gender, ethnicity and migrant-status increased the odds of other or partner presence for minoritised ethnic migrant women.

iii. Confidentiality Concerns in the Self-Completion Module

The self-completion module provides greater confidentiality in responding to questions specifically on domestic and sexual violence, yet confidentiality concerns were cited as the reason for non-completion by 12.97% of those excluded from the module (and 15.93% of those who directly refused the module). These included respondents who were "worried about confidentiality" or those who refused due to others or children being present in the room. Due to the limited sample for this variable (non-SC participants in 2012, N=261), I excluded results based on sub-groups with counts below N=10 (see table 9b).

I found that women had significantly higher odds of confidentiality-based exclusion from the SC than men, when comparing by single axes (OR 2.498 $p<0.000$) and respective sub-group comparisons (ORs 2.276-3.268 $p<0.000$-0.004). There were no significant differences by ethnicity and migrant-status overall, although I found that

Black respondents had significantly higher odds of confidentiality-based exclusion than white respondents (OR 1.867 p<0.035). Minoritised ethnic migrant women had the highest odds of confidentiality-based exclusion (significantly higher than white UK-born men and minoritised ethnic migrant men, but non-significant compared to white women).

e. Autonomy and Independence: Was the respondent able to complete the survey in their own words, without any external influence or intervention while responding?

This section presents results within the theme of autonomy and independence, which was identified through the guiding question of whether respondents were able to able to complete the survey in their own words, without any external influence or intervention while responding. In capturing barriers to autonomy and independence in disclosure, I identified interference during the self-completion module as a particular area of concern. Combined multiple factors, including interviewer assistance and completion of the SC module, other household members' presence and reading of confidential questions during the SC module, and other household members' discussion and involvement in responding to confidential questions in the SC module, I analysed the prevalence, degree, and effect of interference in the SC module as undermining respondent's ability to independently disclose violence in this secure module.

Noting a reduced sample (self-completion module participants in 2012), I analysed the degree of interference among 20,387 respondents using ordinal logistic regression models. Based on single-axes of inequality, I found that women, migrants, and minoritised ethnic respondents experienced significantly higher levels of interference during the self-complete module. Based on multiple-axes of inequality, I found that minoritised ethnic migrant women had significantly higher levels of interference than all other sub-groups. Minoritised ethnic UK-born men, followed by white UK-born men, had the lowest levels of interference. Marginalisation by gender significantly increased interference for all respective sub-group comparisons except white migrants, migrant-status increased interference specifically for ethnic minoritised sub-groups, and ethnic minoritisation only significantly increased interference for migrant women and conversely decreased it for UK-born men.

Marginalisation based on gender and intersecting migrant-status and ethnicity increased the degree of interference. I found significantly higher interference for women than men, and for migrants than UK-born respondents (except white women), based on respective sub-group comparisons. Multiple-axes analyses found that ethnic minoritisation increased interference levels specifically among migrants, with minoritised ethnic migrant sub-experiencing significantly higher interference than white migrant sub-groups, no significant difference between minoritised ethnic and white UK-born women and significantly lower interreference among minoritised ethnic UK-born men compared to white UK-born men. Overall, I found that marginalisation by gender and intersecting ethnicity and migrant-status increased interference during the self-completion module, particularly for minoritised ethnic migrant women, who faced significantly higher levels of interference on the basis of gender, ethnicity, migrant-status and their intersections.

4. Austerity and the Hostile Environment

My final empirical application investigated inequalities in violence trends during two major policy shifts in the UK. In this section, I present the results of my analysis of gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional disparities in annual trends of violence victimisation during Austerity and the Hostile Environment. In addressing my empirical research questions – *For whom is violence declining and to what extent? Under what conditions?* – I use a quantitative intersectional approach to estimating inequalities in violence trends in relation to economic and Border-Immigration policy shifts associated with increased inequalities among specific marginalised groups.

I first present the results of my single and multiple-line graphs which illustrate differences in violence trends by gender, ethnicity, migrant-status, and their intersections[17] during the three study periods: the pre-Austerity (2003-2009), early Austerity (2010-2013) and Hostile Environment (2014-2019) periods. I then present the results of my difference-in-difference analyses which estimate the relative change in violence prevalence between groups (based on gender, ethnicity, migrant-status, and their intersection) across these policy periods. Here, I show the estimated effects of Austerity and the Hostile Environment on inequalities in violence trends at the

[17] Intersections here represented as gendered difference by ethnic-migrant-based groups, i.e. differences in violence trends by gender for white UK-born, minoritised ethnic UK-born, white migrant, and minoritised ethnic migrant groups.

intersection of gender, migrant-status and ethnicity using difference-in-difference modelling of nationally representative victimisation survey data on physical violence prevalence. Summary statistics for dependent, independent and control variables used in this application (excluding dummy variables for sub-groups and comparisons) are presented in table 14, with results for each time period (T1-3) using unweighted and weighted data included.

First, in analysing violence trends for the total population, I observed a continuation of the pre-existing declining trends in violence from 2006-2014 (with a briefly increased rate of decline for 2011-2013), after which this trend flattened, with no decline in violence during 2014-2019 (figure 5).

In analysing disparities in violence trends and differences across policy regime periods, I used two-way multiple-line graphs of unadjusted weighted annual trends in violence, disaggregated by increasing degrees of intersections to compare gendered differences in violence trends (figures 5-7), and differences-in-difference models to test for statistically significant relative changes in violence during each policy regime period (table 15). Table 15 displays the difference-in-difference estimation of the effect of Austerity and the Hostile Environment on violence prevalence, by increasing degrees of intersecting inequalities. Column one displays changes in differences between pairwise comparisons from the pre-Austerity (2006-2009) to the Austerity period (2010-2013), representing the estimated effect of Austerity on violence prevalence for specific groups by increasing degrees of intersecting inequalities. Column two displays changes from the Austerity (2010-2013) to the Hostile Environment period (2014-2019), representing the estimated additional effect of the Hostile Environment on violence prevalence for specific groups. Column three displays changes from the pre-Austerity (2006-2009) to the Hostile Environment period (2014-2019), representing the combined effect of Austerity and the Hostile Environment. I ran three models: first comparing binary groups based on a single axis of inequality (without interactions); second, by pair-wise comparison of four sub-groups based on two inequality dimensions (sex and migrant-status, with interactions); and third, by pair-wise comparisons of eight sub-group based on three inequality dimensions (sex, migrant-status and ethnicity, with interactions).

Table 14. Summary Statistics (Empirical Application 4): (Un)weighted percentages for study variables

	Total (2006-2019)		T1: Pre-austerity (2006-2009)		T2: Austerity (2010-2013)		T3: Hostile Environment (2014-2019)	
Variables	No Wgt %	Wgt %	No Wgt %	Wgt %	No Wgt %	Wgt %	No Wgt %	Wgt %
Violence (capped) incidence	4.0%	4.3%	4.5%	5.2%	4.1%	4.7%	3.3%	3.5%
Violence prevalence	2.4%	2.6%	2.9%	3.4%	2.4%	2.8%	1.9%	2.1%
Gender								
Male	45.5%	48.8%	45.2%	48.5%	45.4%	48.9%	45.9%	49.0%
Female	54.5%	51.2%	54.8%	51.5%	54.6%	51.1%	54.1%	51.0%
Migrant-status								
UK-born	87.9%	84.6%	90.2%	86.8%	88.1%	84.9%	85.7%	83.0%
Migrant	12.1%	15.4%	9.8%	13.2%	11.9%	15.1%	14.3%	17.0%
Ethnicity								
White	91.4%	87.8%	93.1%	89.4%	91.4%	87.9%	89.8%	86.6%
Minoritised Ethnic groups	*8.6%*	*12.2%*	*6.9%*	10.6%	*8.6%*	12.1%	*10.2%*	13.4%
Mixed	0.8%	1.1%	0.6%	0.8%	0.8%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%
Asian or Asian British	4.2%	6.6%	3.2%	5.6%	4.1%	6.5%	5.1%	7.2%
Black or Black British	2.4%	2.9%	1.9%	2.6%	2.4%	2.9%	2.8%	3.2%
Chinese or Other	1.3%	1.6%	1.2%	1.6%	1.3%	1.7%	1.3%	1.7%
Socio-economic group								
Higher managerial and professional occupations	34.0%	33.5%	33.0%	32.6%	33.2%	32.5%	35.5%	34.8%
Intermediate occupations	21.8%	21.2%	20.4%	19.8%	21.7%	21.2%	23.1%	22.1%
Routine/ manual occupations	36.5%	34.4%	38.8%	36.6%	37.2%	35.1%	34.0%	32.6%
Never worked/ long-term unemployed	3.50%	3.70%	3.3%	3.4%	3.6%	3.9%	3.5%	3.7%
Not classified	4.2%	7.2%	4.5%	7.7%	4.3%	7.3%	3.9%	6.8%
Multiple deprivation index								
Q1: 20% most deprived	18.0%	19.1%	17.2%	18.7%	18.3%	19.5%	18.5%	19.2%
Q2	19.1%	20.0%	18.5%	19.4%	19.1%	20.0%	19.5%	20.3%
Q3	20.7%	20.4%	20.7%	20.3%	20.7%	20.2%	20.8%	20.4%
Q4	21.4%	20.3%	22.2%	20.9%	21.1%	20.0%	20.9%	20.3%
Q5: 20% least deprived	20.8%	20.2%	21.5%	20.8%	20.8%	20.3%	20.3%	20.2%
Total study population	100%	100%	33.4%	27.3%	29.4%	28.5%	37.2%	44.2%

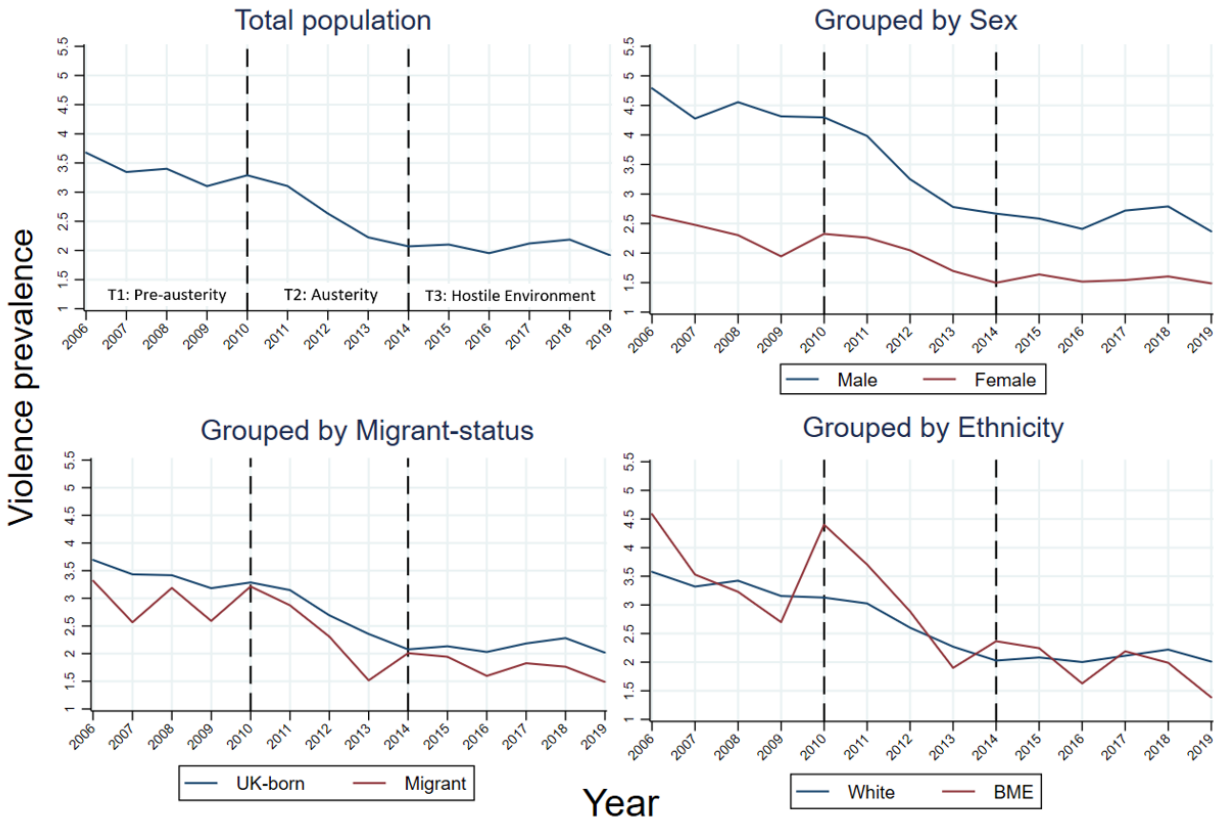

Figure 5. Annual trends in violence prevalence by total population, Sex, Migrant-status, and Ethnicity (unadjusted weighted prevalence)

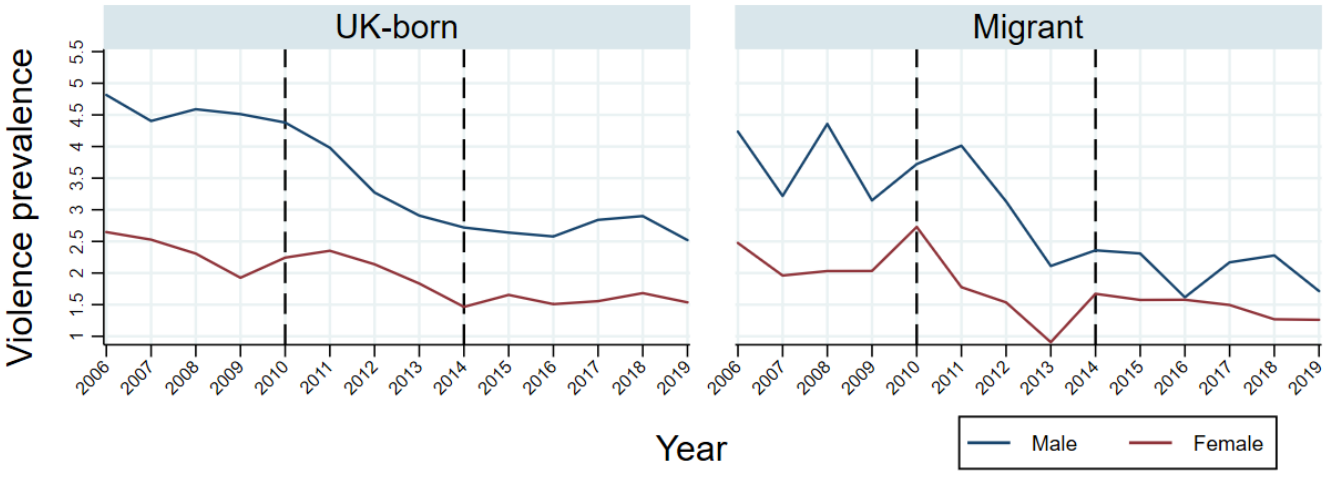

Figure 6. Gender differences in annual trends in violence prevalence by Migrant-status (uncontrolled weighted prevalence)

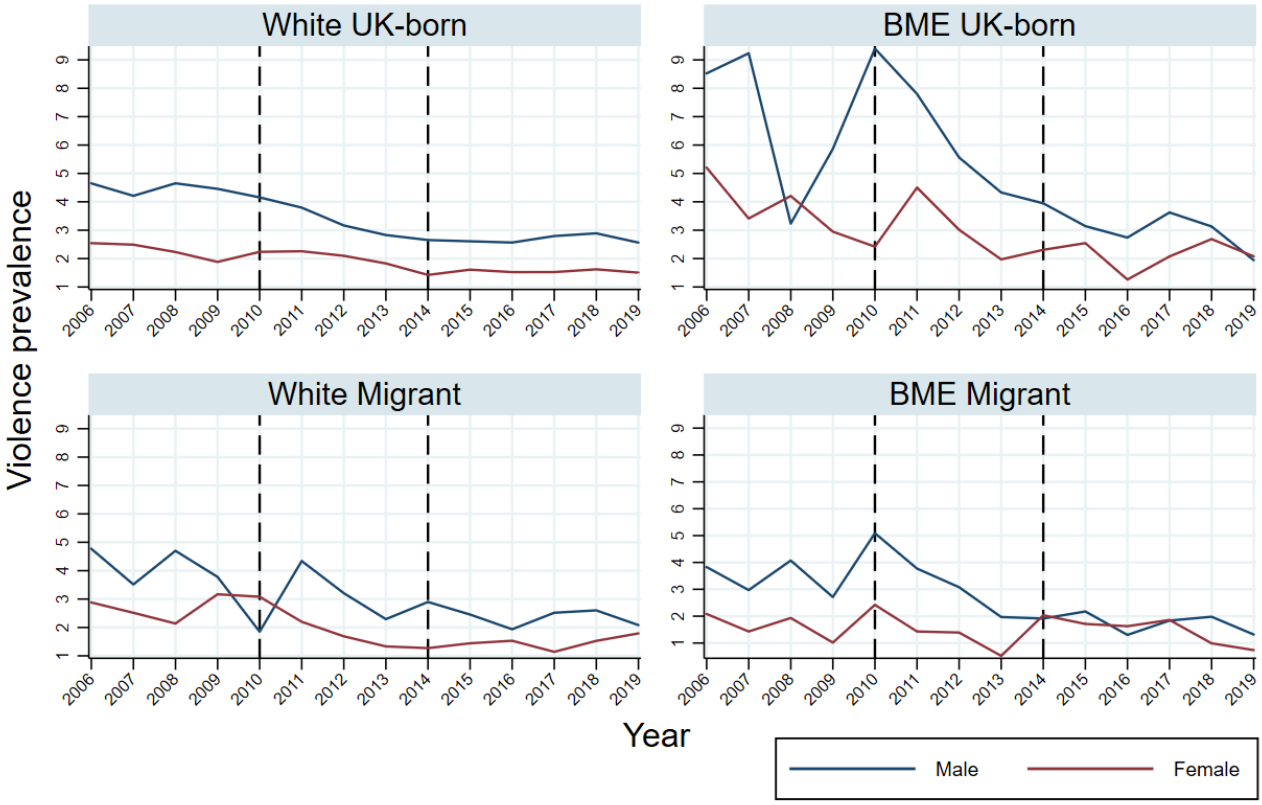

Figure 7. Gender differences in annual trends in violence prevalence by Migrant-status and Ethnicity (uncontrolled weighted prevalence)

Table 15. Difference-in-difference results for estimated violence prevalence by pair-wise comparisons, comparing Pre-Austerity, Austerity, and Hostile Environment (HE) periods

Difference-in-Difference Models:	T1-T2: Pre-Austerity to Austerity	T2-T3: Austerity to HE	T1-T3: Pre-austerity to HE
Model 1: Single inequality dimensions (no interactions):			
Gender: Women - Men	0.694***	0.440***	1.114***
Migrant-status: Migrant - UK-born	0.053	0.030	0.081
Ethnicity: Minoritised ethnic (BME) - White	0.506ł	-0.573*	-0.103
Model 2: Two inequality dimensions (with interactions):			
Sex by Migrant-status			
UK-born female - UK-born male	0.801***	0.350*	1.126***
Migrant female - Migrant male	0.088	0.890**	0.975**
Migrant male - UK-born male	0.441	-0.245	0.173
Migrant female - UK-born female	-0.259	0.301	0.048
Migrant female - UK-born male	0.487ł	0.610**	1.072***
Model 3: Three inequality dimensions (with interactions):			
Sex by Migrant-status by Ethnicity			
(Gender differences by Migrant-status and Ethnicity)			
White UK-born female - White UK-born male	0.893***	0.225	1.092***
White migrant female - White migrant male	0.590	-0.079	0.512
BME UK-born female - BME UK-born male	-1.076	2.861***	1.775ł
BME migrant female - BME migrant male	-0.285	1.746***	1.457***
(Migration-based differences by Sex and Ethnicity)			
White migrant male - White UK-born male	-0.294	0.116	-0.235
BME migrant male - BME UK-born male	-0.149	1.981*	1.888*
White migrant female - White UK-born female	-0.575	-0.104	-0.662ł
BME migrant female - BME UK-born female	0.774	0.850	1.605*
(Ethnic differences by Sex and Migrant-status)			
BME UK male - White UK male	1.541	-2.925***	-1.543ł
BME migrant male - White migrant male	1.389ł	-1.103*	0.311
BME UK female - White UK female	-0.640	-0.248	-0.951
BME migrant female - White migrant female	0.502	0.692ł	1.224***
(Differences across multiple intersections)			
BME migrant male - White UK male	1.150*	-0.853*	0.285
BME migrant female - White UK female	-0.003	0.620*	0.616*
White migrant female - White UK male	0.167	0.027	0.197
BME UK female - White UK male	0.563	-0.127	0.230
BME migrant female - White UK male	0.934***	0.800***	1.670***

Each value in table 15 indicates whether the estimated violence prevalence for the second group (e.g. women) increased (positive values) or decreased (negative values) in relation to the first group (e.g. men) from one time period to the next (e.g. T1-T2: from pre-austerity to Austerity).

a. Gendered Violence Trends in an Age of Austerity

The Austerity period was significantly associated with an increase in violence prevalence among women compared to men (T1-T2: 0.694, $p<0.005$). By analysing changes in gendered differences in violence at the intersection of ethnicity and migrant-status, I found that this association was specifically found among white UK-born and minoritised ethnic migrant women when compared to white UK-born men, but not among white migrant and minoritised ethnic UK-born women, or any male groups. Annual violence trends suggest that this change in gendered differences was due to slower declines in violence against women than men during the T1 Austerity period (figures 5-7).

b. Violence in a Hostile Environment

I found that single-inequality (model 1) DiD results comparing differences during the Hostile Environment to the previous period of Austerity (column 2) showed no significant change in violence against migrants compared to UK-born respondents, and, conversely to expected results, a significant decrease in violence against minoritised ethnic compared to white respondents. However, by further comparing the latter with DiD results for other time period comparisons and unadjusted annual violence trends (figure 5), I found a marginally significant increase in violence against minoritised ethnic respondents during Austerity (model 1, column 1) and no significant relative change during the Hostile Environment when compared to pre-existing trends (model 1, column 3), with annual trends suggesting that a 2010-2011 spike in minoritised ethnic victimisation may have contributed towards this relative decreased when comparing T2-T3. These findings suggest that on a national scale, the Hostile Environment was not associated with inequalities in violence trends based on migrant-status or ethnicity at an aggregate (single inequality dimension) level.

However, based on my multiple-axes intersectional analysis, I found that the Hostile Environment period saw aa relative increase in violence against migrant and minoritised ethnic women, with findings specifying that the *intersection* of ethnicity,

migrant-status and gender was the pivotal point of interaction between the Hostile Environment and violence. By specifying the intersection of migrant-status and gender (model 2, column 2), I found that the Hostile Environment was significantly associated with increased violence specifically against minoritised ethnic migrant women based on gender (significantly increased compared to minoritised ethnic migrant men, 1.746 $p<0.005$), ethnicity (marginally significant vs white migrant women, 0.692 $p<0.1$), and the intersections of migrant-status, ethnicity (vs white UK-born women, 0.620 $p<0.05$) and gender (vs white UK-born men,), when compared to the previous time-period of Austerity. Increased violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women based on migrant-status (vs minoritised ethnic UK-born women, 0.850, $p=0.136$) was not statistically significant when comparing the Hostile Environment to the Austerity period (T2-T3), but did significantly increase when compared to pre-existing trends (T1-T3: 1.605, $p<0.05$). I found no significant increase in violence against white UK-born and white migrant groups, regardless of gender, indicating that the estimated effect of the Hostile Environment on violence trends operated through racial systems and dimensions of inequality. Whilst the estimated violence prevalence among minoritised ethnic UK-born women increased compared to minoritised ethnic UK-born men during the Hostile Environment compared to Austerity trends (2.861, $p<0.005$), this may be in-part due to high volatility and a sharp decline in violence trends against minoritised ethnic UK-born men specifically, with no significant change found when compared to white UK-born women and a significant decrease in violence compared to minoritised ethnic migrant women when compared to pre-existing trends (1.888, $p<0.05$).

Further demonstrating the gendered effects of the Hostile Environment on minoritised ethnic migrants, I found less significant results for minoritised ethnic migrant men than women. When compared to white migrant and white UK-born men, violence against minoritised ethnic migrant men significantly decreased, although this followed a significant increase during Austerity (marginally significant compared to white migrant men), and no significant change was found when comparing the Hostile Environment period to pre-existing trends (model 3, columns 1-3). Similarly to single-inequality comparisons by ethnicity, unadjusted annual violence trends (figure 5 and 7) suggest these results may be influenced by a 2010 spike in violence against minoritised ethnic migrant men.

Spikes in annual violence trends may have also influenced DiD results for comparisons with minoritised ethnic UK-born men. Contrary to my findings concerning minoritised ethnic migrant women, I found that violence against minoritised ethnic UK-born men significantly decreased relative to all other compared groups during the Hostile Environment compared to Austerity (T2-T3: vs minoritised ethnic UK-born women, 2.861 $p<0.005$; vs minoritised ethnic migrant men, 1.981 $p<0.05$; vs white UK-born men, -2.952 $p<0.005$). However, when compared to pre-existing trends, this decrease was only significant compared to minoritised ethnic migrant men (1.888, $p<0.05$), and marginally significant compared to minoritised ethnic UK-born women (1.775, $p<0.1$) and white UK-born men (-1.543, $p<0.1$). High prevalence and volatility in violence trends were found among minoritised ethnic UK-born men from 2006-2011, followed by a steep decline in unadjusted violence prevalence trends following a 2010-2011 spike in violence. Whilst this trend may be influenced by specific policy initiatives targeting violence in diverse urban areas, such as gang violence and knife crime, further research is needed to account for high levels of volatility and reduction in violence for this group.

I found that whilst the Hostile Environment period was not associated with a relative increase in violence against minoritised ethnic and migrant groups when analysing *single* axes of inequality, it was associated with a relative increase in violence specifically in the case of minoritised ethnic and migrant *women* and, particularly, women at the intersection of these inequalities. By integrating gendered and intersectional approaches to estimating the inequal effect of the Hostile Environment on violence trends, I found that the Hostile Environment policy regime saw a relative increase in violence against minoritised ethnic and migrant women based on their specific *intersectional* position within systems and relations of gender, ethnicity, and migrant-status. In summarising the above-presented results of my four empirical applications, section 1 of the following chapter provides an overview of my key findings in relation to the two overarching aims of this thesis.

V. Discussion

This project centred around two primary objectives: (1) understanding inequalities in knowledge production on violence and (2) revealing new insights into violence and inequalities. In addressing the former, I critically examined how inequalities are embedded within knowledge production on violence through processes and practices of defining, measuring, categorizing, collecting data, and analysing violence and inequalities. Grounded in a critical deconstructivist approach, I investigated how epistemic marginalisation operates through these practices and outcomes, influencing multiple stages in the cycle of knowledge production. This includes the establishment of definitional boundaries, measures, and categories, which play a crucial role in measuring violence and capturing dimensions of inequality, such as ethnic categorization. I also evaluated survey design, data collection and data interpretation, uncovering barriers to disclosure and challenges in representing marginalised groups' experiences.

In addressing the second objective, this project revealed new knowledge and evidence on violence and inequalities, drawing on a reconstructivist approach. By linking the critiques of existing practices (as addressed by the first objective) to specific methodological changes implemented in my empirical applications, this project demonstrated how alternative approaches to violence measurement, ethnic categorization, and trend analyses can reveal new insights and evidence on marginalised experiences and relations of violence. Using this approach, I found variations in disclosure rates and reluctance depending on exposure to barriers, in inequality patterns based on violence dimensions, in violence victimisation and fear depending on ethnic categorization, and in violence trends during hostile policy regimes.

As outlined in my theoretical framework, I took forward the core SoK premise that knowledge is socially constructed through, as emphasised in critical epistemologies, systems and relations of power and inequalities. Knowledge is produced through, and simultaneously reinforces and challenges, systems of power and inequalities. The production of knowledge cannot be separated from its social environment: it is both a product and manifestation of the social context and actors through which it is

produced. I demonstrated how epistemic marginalisation and violence vulnerabilisation embed and drive forward cycles of violence and inequalities through the production of knowledge itself. This perspective aligns with critical theorists' arguments that systems of inequality determine which knowing subjects, ways of knowing, and knowledge claims are considered legitimate, valid, and authoritative. By deconstructing and reconstructing dominant quantitative knowledge production practices, I revealed how inequalities are embedded in the processes of defining, measuring, categorising, disclosing, collecting data on, analysing, and interpreting experiences and relations of violence and inequalities.

The empirical starting point of this thesis was the gendered, ethnic, and migration-based disparities in the prevalence of physical violence victimisation, where national statistics estimate lower victimisation rates for women, ethnic minoritised groups,[18] and migrants (ONS 2022b; 2021a). However, rather than accepting these statistics at face value, this thesis delved deeper, critically attending to the factors that shape these figures and offering alternative and adjusted approaches to measuring the relationship between violence and inequalities. This alternative approach addressed multiple epistemological and methodological aspects of social research, including sampling and survey scope, measures of violence, the categorisation of ethnicity, survey and questionnaire design, analysis of trends, policy impacts, and the application of quantitative intersectional methods. In doing so, my alternative approach revealed the multiple and overlapping ways in which epistemic marginalisation is embedded in quantitative knowledge practices and how inequalities are not only represented, but reproduced, by these systems and practices of knowledge production.

Significantly, this thesis goes beyond merely challenging statistics. Rather, I demonstrated how knowledge production is fundamentally shaped by inequalities, revealing hidden victims and violence, tracking cycles of violence and identifying points of disruption. This holistic approach is crucial, as focusing solely on individual data points or relegating the role of inequalities in embedding biases, exclusions, and misrepresentations in knowledge production to a cursory 'limitations' section is

[18] Depending on whether statistical results for ethnic disparities in violence used weighted data and/or use control variables.

insufficient to address the complex interplay between inequalities and violence through the production of knowledge.

The implications of flawed data and methodologies in this field are significant. There is a risk that such data may be used to undermine equality initiatives, silently deprioritising already marginalised groups and forcing equality-focused stakeholders to rely on selective data to demonstrate widely acknowledged issues. Further, flawed data and methods can dampen efforts to tackle violence and inequalities by providing an inaccurate picture of the problem's scope and nature.

I focused on the UK's primary data source on violence, which produces quantitative data and national statistics used to guide national policymaking, service practices and provisions, and government research on violence. The CSEW is touted, accurately, as the best estimate for violence prevalence in the UK (Maguire and McVie 2017; Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2). Yet it remains underutilised by researchers (Tilley and Tseloni 2016: 2; Brennan 2011: 3), particularly those seeking to understand the relationship between violence and inequalities. Recent studies have identified specific methodological practices used in the CSEW disproportionately underestimate violence against women (Pullerits and Pheonix 2024; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021; Walby et al. 2016). These studies provide invaluable snapshots of how gendered inequalities permeate not only the character and distribution of violence, but the ways we measure and produce knowledge on violence. This thesis took these snapshots further, by establishing a more comprehensive picture of how inequalities are built into the way we produce knowledge across multiple stages and diverse practices of knowledge production. In doing so, I have analysed and evidenced the cumulative effect of multiple biased, exclusionary, and misrepresentative practices results in a significant distortion of knowledge on violence.

By first critically evaluating the methodology of the CSEW, with supporting quantitative analyses, I identified numerous factors which posed a significant risk not only for underestimating violence, but for distorting the landscape of knowledge on violence to the detriment of marginalised groups. I then applied a quantitative intersectional approach to analysing inequality patterns in violence outcomes by gender, ethnicity, migrant status, and their intersections. In this discussion chapter, I first outline the key

findings across four empirical applications, based on my methodological evaluation, supportive quantitative analyses, and intersectional quantitative analyses. The main body of this chapter (sections 2 and 3) discusses my results in relation to the thesis' overarching research objectives, aligning with deconstructivist and reconstructivist approaches to inequalities in knowledge production.

In section 2, I situate my findings within distinctive stages in the cycle of knowledge production and inequalities. In addressing the first overarching research question – *How do inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence?* – I took a deconstructivist approach by breaking down assumptions and practices and demonstrating how epistemic marginalisation is embedded in knowledge production through the CSEW. Here, I investigated multiple stages in pathways to knowledge production to build a more holistic understanding of how inequalities are embedded in the ways we define, measure, categorise, collect data on, analyse, and interpret experiences of violence and its relation to intersecting inequalities. In this section, I demonstrate how epistemic marginalisation is not merely an unfortunate by-product of practical methodological approaches to estimating violence, but deeply entrenched through cumulative practices which disproportionately and specifically exclude, misrepresent, and deprioritise violence experienced by marginalised groups. In section 3, I demonstrate how addressing inequalities in knowledge production reveals new knowledge and insights on the relationship between and experiences of violence and inequalities. In addressing the second overarching research question – *What impact does this have on how violence is understood and responded to? What new insights can be gained by addressing inequalities in knowledge production?* – I discuss the role of vulnerabilisation in marginalised groups' experiences of violence and demonstrate how alternative approaches to knowledge production reveal hidden victims, violence, and inequality patterns. Finally, section 4 provides an overall evaluation of my research project. Here, I set out the limitations of my data and findings, and how I have evaluated the strengths, limitations, and wider application of my methodological approach.

1. Overview of key findings: Mapping cycles of knowledge production, violence, and inequalities

Through several empirical analyses of the relationship between violence and inequalities, this research project found that marginalised groups experienced disproportionately high levels of fear of violence, particularly by inequality-saturated dimensions, and faced greater barriers to violence disclosure, which particularly affected disclosure of domestic and sexual violence. Through the recategorization of standardized ethnicity measures, it revealed that otherwise excluded and misrepresented groups were exposed to higher levels of violence. In terms of policy impacts, violence against women increased relative to men during the period of Austerity[19] and for ethnic minoritised migrant women during the Hostile Environment. Using an intersectional quantitative approach, I found variations in inequality patterns within and across groups, with minoritised ethnic migrant women overall being most likely to face barriers to disclosure, experience disproportionately high fear levels, and experience a relative increase in violence victimisation during the Hostile Environment.

Each empirical application addressed a distinctive stage of knowledge production in the context of quantitative research and national statistics. Each stage addressed the two main aims of this thesis, by (1) investigating how inequalities are embedded into knowledge production on violence through practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation, and (2) by applying alternative conceptual and methodological approaches, revealing new insights and evidence on the experience of, and relationship between, violence and intersecting inequalities. This section summarises the key findings of this research project and situates them within these two overarching aims. For each application, I demonstrate how my key findings contribute towards both overarching aims of this thesis through a joint de/reconstructivist approach to knowledge production on violence. As elaborated further in sections 2 and 3 of this chapter, these findings not only contribute new evidence on the relationship between violence and inequalities, but also demonstrate the fundamental flaws and

[19] Whilst the policy regimes of Austerity and the Hostile Environment span beyond these years and overlap with one another, I distinguish these two time periods as reflective of the most significant policy shifts for the purpose of analysis. See chapters II.2.e. and III.2.b.iv. for details on the designated Austerity and Hostile Environment time periods.

opportunities for knowledge production on violence through a *practical application* of critical and intersectional approaches to the SoK. My research therefore has not only contributed new knowledge to the field of violence and inequalities, but has critically disrupted the ways in which knowledge is produced by evidencing the practices and effects of epistemic marginalisation and revealing new pathways to knowledge production which mitigate, rather than entrench, violence vulnerabilisation.

a. Inequality Dimensions of Violence

My first empirical application focused on how definitional boundaries and measures of violence shape our understanding of inequality patterns in violence, particularly in terms of how inequality dimensions and relations of violence are captured in national statistics. By distinguishing and comparing inequality-variating dimensions (physical victimisation, threats, fear, and anticipation) and inequality-saturated dimensions (racial motivation and sexual aspect), I analysed gendered, ethnic, migration-based, and intersectional differences in the experience of violence by cross-cutting dimensions of inequalities.

I found lower odds of direct physical violence victimisation among women, minoritised ethnic, and migrant respondents, which, excluding ethnicity,[20] corresponded with national estimates on violence (ONS 2022b; ONS 2021a). However, I found that these inequality patterns for victimisation were inverted when analysing *fear*, with women, minoritised ethnic, and migrant respondents being significantly more likely to fear violence than the white, UK-born, and male populations, respectively. This was particularly pronounced among ethnic minoritised migrant women, who experienced significantly lower odds of physical victimisation and significantly higher odds of experiencing fear than all other sub-groups. My analyses also revealed that ethnic minoritised and migrant groups experienced higher levels of anticipating violence, and women experienced similar levels of threat and anticipation, despite these groups reporting significantly lower physical victimisation. When analysing disparities in violence by cross-cutting inequality dimensions, I found that targeted violence (inequality-saturated dimensions of racial motivation and sexual aspect) also increased the level of fear disproportionately to the level of physical victimisation.

[20] Due to the effect of controlling variables for age and occupational class.

In discussing these results from a deconstructivist perspective (see section 2.a.), I first review how dominant national measures of violence, as exemplified in the CSEW, offer a limited scope for capturing wider experiences and inequality dimensions of violence. Here, I challenge the definitional boundaries of violence measures (physical, individual/interpersonal, criminal), the exclusion of specific forms of violence (such as human trafficking and FGM), and reductive approaches to inequality-based 'forms' of violence (e.g. gendered dimensions = domestic and sexual violence). This approach disproportionately excludes and deprioritises experiences of violence among marginalised groups and obscures the depth and range of inequality dimensions of violence. In doing so, definitional boundaries and measures of violence contribute towards epistemic marginalisation by privileging physical, individual/interpersonal, criminal acts of violence and by reducing the role of inequalities to specific forms of violence, such as domestic and sexual violence and hate crimes, which is segregated from 'mainstream' violence.

From a more reconstructivist perspective, building on my conceptual and methodological critique, I implemented a multidimensional approach to analysing inequality patterns in violence. Whilst feminist scholars have contributed significant research towards women's fear of sexual violence, there is a lack of research analysing multiple cross-cutting dimensions, particularly by intersecting inequalities. In interpreting my results, focusing particularly on inequality patterns in the disproportionality of victimisation and fear, I discuss methodological, psychological/ contextual, and behavioural explanations for these results (section 3.c.). These explanations raise concerns regarding the deprioritisation of policy measures for marginalised victims, health harms resulting from elevated and chronic fear, and victim-blaming narratives which neglect the significance of fear and individualise the onus of victimisation avoidance on marginalised groups in particular. I also discuss how cross-comparing inequality-saturated and variating dimensions of fear, racial motivation, and sexual aspect revealed the exacerbating effect of targeted violence on the disproportionality of fear among marginalised groups (section 3.d.).

In linking this back to knowledge production, I demonstrate how including fear of violence better captures how not only physical acts of violence, but individuals' position within wider systems of violence shape how violence is experienced and shapes people's lives through systems and relations of inequality. Including fear as a central

indicator, alongside direct victimisation and other dimensions, of how violence is experienced and shapes people's lives allows for a more systemic understanding of how the interaction between violence and inequalities structures individuals and society.

b. Misrepresenting Ethnicity

Whilst the first empirical application addressed the measurement of violence, this application focused on the measurement of inequalities by addressing how the categorisation of ethnicity influences our understanding of inequality patterns in violence. This empirical application highlighted methodological challenges and risks for misrepresentation in the measurement and categorisation of ethnicity in the CSEW and wider UK national statistics.

Through a critical methodological evaluation, I identified issues relating to the exclusion and conflation of certain ethnic groups, conceptual incoherence, limitations for accessibility, and the longevity of ethnicity categories in a changing demographic landscape. Building on existing critiques and applying a critical lens to the UK's standardised approach, my analyses revealed how the categorisation of 'Mixed', 'Asian', and 'Other' ethnicities, as well as the exclusion of 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an ethnic group, undermines respondent self-recognition in ethnic categories, conceptual coherence and consistency, and the availability of meaningful categories for research on ethnic differences and inequalities. In supporting my methodological critique, I compared ethnic groups by regional origin to determine areas of heterogeneity and non-identification with categories. Based on these analyses, I found that Latin American and MENA-originating respondents were disproportionately categorised as 'Other', indicating a lack of appropriate categories reflecting respondents' self-identified ethnicity. I also found that the 'Asian' category was more representative for South Asian rather than ESEC Asian groups, with the latter more likely to be categorised as 'Other'. This first stage of analysis took a deconstructivist approach by critiquing and breaking down the UK's standardised approach to ethnicity.

The second stage of analysis was explicitly reconstructivist in terms of proposing and implementing an alternative approach to ethnic categorisation which addresses key challenges for inclusion and representation identified in the standardised approach. Based on my methodological evaluation and supporting comparative analysis, I

proposed an alternative categorisation which differentiated between Asian groups, included Latinx/Hispanic as an ethnic group, brought forward Arab/MENA groups from 'Other', and reframed 'Mixed' as a dimension of ethnicity rather than a cohesive ethnic group. Through a comparative analysis of violence outcomes using the standardised and proposed ethnic categorisation, I identified several key insights based on variation in ethnic disparities across the two approaches. First, I found that Arab/MENA and Latinx/Hispanic groups reported the highest rates of violence victimisation based on my approach, with these groups otherwise subsumed within 'Other' or 'White' standardised categories. Second, I found that whilst Asian groups experienced similar levels of violence victimisation, by distinguishing between these groups, I found that South Asians experienced higher rates of fear than ESEC Asians. Third, I found that both approaches significantly associated 'mixed' ethnicities with higher rates of victimisation.

c. Barriers to Disclosure

The third empirical application similarly employed a critical methodological evaluation, which in this case was applied to identify potential barriers to disclosure, which were then analysed in terms of inequalities in exposure to barriers and the effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance for overall, domestic and sexual violence. Based on a series of critical questions used to interrogate the CSEW's survey design and questionnaire, I identified 12 factors potentially contributing towards barriers to disclosure across four main themes: access and inclusion; comprehension; trust and confidentiality; and autonomy and independence. Of these, 6 were quantifiable factors which I analysed for inequalities in exposure and their effect on disclosure rates and reluctance, with the other non-quantifiable factors discussed in relation to existing literature. I found that all barriers subject to quantitative analysis had significant disparities in exposure and significant effects on disclosure rates and reluctance.

In terms of effects on disclosure, I found that barriers relating to trust and confidentiality significantly decreased the odds of violence disclosure across all violence types and increased the odds of disclosure reluctance for sexual and domestic violence. Barriers to comprehension (English language difficulties) had a particularly pronounced effect in decreasing the odds of disclosure and increasing the odds of disclosure reluctance specifically for sexual and domestic violence. In terms of disparities in exposure, I found that women, minoritised ethnic, and migrant respondents were more likely to

face barriers to confidential and independent disclosure relating to the presence of others during the face-to-face interview and others' interference during the self-complete module. The odds of facing barriers to disclosure relating to interviewer sex (trust), a partner being present during the interview (confidentiality), English language difficulties (comprehension) and exclusion from the SC module on domestic and sexual violence were all significantly higher for minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents, although significantly lower (male interviewer and partner presence) or non-significantly different (language difficulties and SC access) for women. By intersecting inequalities, we found that minoritised ethnic migrant women faced particularly high odds of barriers relating to confidentiality and interference, with significantly higher odds of both other and partner presence and others' interference in the SC compared to all other sub-groups. Minoritised ethnic and migrant women also had significantly higher odds of having a male interviewer and being excluded from the SC module on domestic and sexual violence than white UK-born women. This corresponded with my finding that women, minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents, particularly minoritised ethnic and migrant women, had significantly higher odds of disclosing violence reluctantly.

This empirical application leaned more towards a deconstructivist approach than others, focusing on critiquing and interrogating specific practices and processes of knowledge translation from lived experience to national statistics (see section 2.c.). Through a critical intersectional approach to methodological evaluation, I have shown how these practices and processes, often overlooked as technical and therefore neutral to power relations, constitute a series of hurdles which disproportionately exclude already marginalised victims and underestimate already hidden forms of violence. In supporting my wider reconstructivist aims, this application also contributes new evidence of the social characteristics of hidden victims (see section 3.a.).

d. Inequalities in Violence Trends during Austerity and the Hostile Environment

In the final empirical application, I investigated inequalities in violence trends in relation to shifting border and economic policy regime shifts. Here, I analyse the estimated effects of Austerity and the Hostile Environment on inequalities in violence trends at the intersection of gender, migrant status and ethnicity using difference-in-difference modelling of nationally representative victimisation survey data on physical violence

prevalence. Whilst violence has long been in decline (Ganpat 2020; see also Pinker 2012 [1954]; Elias 1994), my analysis found that not only have overall violence trends in the UK stopped declining over the past decade (2014-2020), but that violence against women increased relative to men during Austerity, and that violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women has increased relative to all other groups during the Hostile Environment (compared to both the Austerity period and pre-existing trends). Here, policy regimes of Austerity and the Hostile Environment are revealed to not only contribute towards the persistence of violence in society through the stagnation of previously declining trends in violence, but also contribute towards inequalities in the level and response to violence resulting in inequalities in violence trends.

In contrast to the previous application, this empirical application leaned more towards my reconstructivist aims by implementing a quantitative intersectional analysis of trends during two policy regime shifts. In doing so, my analysis not only revealed that the widespread claim that violence is in decline is not equally applicable across social groups, but that the effects of hostile policy measures vary by intersecting inequalities. Of particular significance was my finding that violence trends did not significantly vary by ethnicity or migrant status as a whole under the Hostile Environment, but that analysing intersecting inequalities revealed its impact specifically on minoritised ethnic and migrant women, which carried both policy-oriented and methodological implications. This finding suggests that the combined effect of Hostile Environment measures disproportionately reduced the rate of decline in violence victimisation for minoritised ethnic migrant women specifically based on their intersectional positionality. Further, the fact that this finding was only visible through an intersectional approach, demonstrates how analytical practices can obscure or reveal hidden inequality patterns in violence based on their implementation or exclusion of intersectionality as an epistemic and methodological practice.

2. Deconstructing Epistemic Power in Practice: Critiquing Hegemonic Knowledge Production on Violence in the Crime Survey for England and Wales

This thesis introduces a critical investigation into how experiences of violence are captured in knowledge production, questioning the core statistics underpinning our understanding of, and response to, violence and inequalities. Here, I discuss how inequalities are embedded in practices of knowledge production in quantitative research and national statistics in violence across multiple stages. In doing so, I first challenge dominant measures of violence based on physicality, individuality, criminality, and isolated axes and dimensions of inequalities (section a). In the following section (b), I break down how standardised ethnic categorisation misrepresents and excludes specific ethnic groups, particularly Mixed, Asian, Latinx/Hispanic, and Arab/MENA ethnicities. I then track multiple barriers to inclusion, disclosure, and representation of victims of violence through specific methodological practices in the CSEW (section c). I draw on critical and intersectional perspectives on violence, inequalities, and knowledge, which highlight the diverse and complex ways marginalised groups are positioned within these systems and their impact on both knowledge and experience of violence and inequalities. By adopting a holistic approach to multiple stages of knowledge production, this thesis aims to make visible the role of epistemic power and marginalisation and its implications for processes and practices of knowledge production and construction. I highlight areas of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation, as well as how complexity is dealt with in research on inequalities and violence. In doing so, this section contributes to the broader field of inequality and knowledge production by demonstrating the need for a more nuanced and critical approach to national statistics and the knowledge they claim to represent. Further, it contributes towards the literature by revealing how epistemic power and marginalisation are practiced throughout knowledge production pathways, from conceptual frameworks to statistical interpretation.

a. Measuring Violence: Definitional Boundaries and Multidimensionality

This section addresses how the CSEW *measures violence*, and the implications of definitional boundaries and measures for capturing inequality dimensions of violence

and marginalised groups' experiences. Here, I focus particularly on my methodological evaluation of the CSEW, drawing on existing methodological critiques and evidence on excluded forms and experiences of violence. I set out two main critiques on how violence is measured in the CSEW, focusing on (1) definitional boundaries of physicality and criminality, including the exclusion of specific forms of violence; and (2) uni-dimensional approaches to capturing inequalities in violence. I have shown how excluding wider experiences and specific forms of violence distorts our understanding of violence by underestimating violence against marginalised groups and neglecting how systems of violence shape their lives in multiple, unequal ways. Further, I propose that rather than reducing and segregating inequalities dimensions of violence to, for example, domestic/sexual violence and hate crimes, we need to deepen our approach to inequalities through multiple cross-cutting dimensions of violence which better capture specific and unequal patterns in victimisation.

i. Definitional Boundaries: Physicality and Criminality

The CSEW is widely regarded as the most comprehensive and reliable data source for estimating violence victimisation in England and Wales. However, the CSEW still relies on a relatively narrow definition of violence which, as I reveal through my methodological critique and first empirical application, produces exclusionary measures that insufficiently capture experiences of violence among marginalised groups. As highlighted in chapter II (section 2.a.i-ii), there is significant debate on the definition and measurement of violence in the literature, with wide variation in how definitional boundaries are applied to determine what does and does not count as violence. In the context of ongoing debates, particularly between narrow and broad conceptualisations, operationalising definitions into specific measures of violence also depends on data producers' objectives, methodological practicalities, and existing trends of de/prioritising certain forms, experiences, and contexts of violence. These variations pose challenges for cross-comparability of measurement, yet the call for standardised approaches also poses a risk for entrenching practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation in the measurement of violence. Dominant approaches to measuring violence, particularly in national statistics and policy tend to reflect narrow definitions and criminality-based measures of violence. Critical perspectives such as feminist, critical race theory, and postcolonial, on the other hand, often advocate for broader definitions and measures which better capture

marginalised victims' experiences and the systemic nature of violence systems (Tjaden 2004; Kelly 1987; Stark and Hester 2019; Cockburn 2004). In this sub-section, I first critique the definitional boundaries of physicality, interpersonal/individuality, and criminality which narrow the scope of violence measurement in the CSEW. Drawing on existing literature to support my critique, I have shown how the CSEW's definitional boundaries on violence exclude forms of violence which are disproportionately or specifically against marginalised groups, and neglect the meso-level of experiences and relations which link acts to systems.

First, in terms of physicality, the main questions, measures, and statistics produced by the CSEW focus on violence which involves 'physical force' and bodily 'assault' against the victim. Whilst the SC module on domestic and sexual violence includes some non-physical violence,[21] this is framed as 'abuse' and is not included in the main national statistics on violence. Despite the acceptance of non-physical violence in various academic and governance spheres (see, for example, UNDRR 2024), most national statistics and quantitative measures of violence situate physicality as a prerequisite for counting violence victimisation (see ONS 2024a). Feminist VAWG researchers have emphasised the importance of non-physical violence, particularly in domestic violence, which not only manifests as physical assaults, but also through psychological, economic, and sexual violence (Tjaden 2004; Kelly 1987; Stark and Hester 2019; Cockburn 2004). In particular, violence associated with interpersonal and social relations of control and oppression, such as coercive control, is often non-physical (see, for example, Stark and Hester 2019). For example, whilst sex trafficking, FGM, and forced marriage are recognised as forms of gendered violence which disproportionately affect minoritised ethnic, migrant, and poor women (see, for example, Matanda et al. 2023; Segrave and Pickering 2012; Gangoli et al. 2011), the CSEW includes no measures of these forms of violence other than specific acts of physical violence within these contexts. Even then, the CSEW does not collect any data which would enable researchers to identify whether such incidents of physical violence occurred within the wider relational contexts of violence, i.e. within forced marriage or sex trafficking. Structural and institutional violence, which often targets ethnic minoritised and migrants (see Guillot-Wright et al. 2022; Burnette and Figley

[21] Noting recent development of the CSEW's self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence by Hester and colleagues to better capture non-physical violence (Hester et al. 2023a, 2023b)

2016; Hamer and Lang 2015; Durr 2015), is also excluded from violence measures, or at least similarly reduced to its physical elements alone.

Second, reflecting the CSEW's primary aim of capturing violent crime not reported to the police, its approach to capturing violence victimisation is structured around specific criminal offences, particularly physical assault. This definitional boundary excludes non-criminalised violence and depends on state authority and legal systems to legitimise experiences of violence as violence. Feminist researchers and activists have long-demonstrated how gendered forms of violence have historically been excluded from criminal definitions and sanctions against violence (Richards and Haglund 2015; Centre for Women's Justice 2016), with ongoing critiques of the decriminalisation of gendered violence (Mannel and Hawkes 2017; Douglas and Lee 2002; Centre for Women's Justice et al. 2020). Rape was only legally defined in 1956 (with limitations), and marital rape was legal until 1991. Physical domestic violence was criminalised in 1976, and coercive control was not a criminal offence until 2015. (Centre for Women's Justice 2016). Whilst racialised and migration-based violence has received far less legal attention, they also shared a history of exclusion from criminal definitions and measures (see, for example, Alexander 2010; Machin et al. 2023). In the UK, racially aggravated violence was only introduced in 1998, and laws protecting victims of violence, including gendered violence, have specifically excluded targeted measures to protect migrants (such as the Istanbul Convention; see End Violence Against Women Coalition 2020).

Relying on criminal offence codes as the basis for defining violence also results in the exclusion of most sexual violence, including rape, in the CSEW's measure of violence (Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021). Whilst the CSEW collects data on sexual violence, its classification under 'sexual offences' rather than 'violence against the person' in UK criminal law means that rape, attempted rape, and indecent assault are not included as violence alongside other forms of assault and wounding. This deeply problematic exclusion is a direct result of the UK's legacy of homophobic laws criminalising consensual sex between men ('buggery' and 'indecency between males'). The offence group 'sex offences' reflects legacies of discrimination against women and gay men by deprioritising sexual violence as effectively 'non-violence', criminalising normal sexual relations between men, and equating the two as non-violent criminal offences based on 'sexual deviancy'.

By neglecting forms of violence which deviate from the narrow scope of physical criminal assault and which specifically and disproportionately affect marginalised groups (particularly marginalised women), the CSEW deprioritizes hidden violence against women and other marginalised groups that may not manifest as overt physical harm but are nonetheless critical to understanding the experiences of victims. Understanding social relations as either non-violent if they do not involve specific physical acts, or reducing them to their physical components alone, not only neglects the social contexts and behavioural patterns shaping how violence is experienced, but also neglects how non-physical and non-criminal violence is experienced and impacts victims (Blom and Gash 2023; Hester et al. 2023a; Kelly 1987; Stark and Hester 2019; Cockburn 2004) While the SC module captures some non-physical violence, it segregates these measures from the main violence statistics, and primarily focuses on domestic violence contexts. This segregation limits researchers' ability to analyse the broader implications of non-physical violence across various social inequalities and contexts, as it confines the understanding of violence to specific scenarios rather than recognising its pervasive nature in different social relations and contexts.

These exclusions are not by coincidence, but are a mix of methodological practicalities as well as, importantly, a continuation of long-term deprioritisation and normalisation of violence against marginalised groups. The CSEW, like most national data on violence, centres around a view of violence from a masculine, individualistic perspective. Here, violence is public, physical, between strangers, and easily recognisable: it is a bar fight, a mugging, a stranger in a dark alley. Domestic violence was, for a long time, portrayed as a necessary tool for husbands to discipline their wives, rather than a violent crime. Marital rape was similarly viewed as a husband's right and, until 1991 (Centre for Women's Justice 2016), completely legal. Victims and survivors of domestic violence have long emphasised how the use of psychological violence and coercive control, is, for many, as or more impactful than physical abuse (Coker et al. 2002; Follingstad 2007). In the US, police brutality and the systemic imprisonment of Black people is a continuation of state-sanctioned violence and control dating back to the slave trade (see, for example, Bassett 2021). Critical and intersectional epistemologies emphasise the need to situate research findings within the broader socio-historical, socio-political, and socio-cultural context and legacies of systems of inequality (see, for example, Collins 2017, 2019; Romero 2023).

ii. *The Multidimensionality of Violence: Inequality-Variating and Inequality-Saturated Dimensions*

In terms of capturing inequalities, critical perspectives, particularly feminist researchers on VAWG, emphasise the *multidimensionality* of violence and inequalities (Walby et al. 2017; Heise 1989). The role of inequalities, such as gender, should not be reduced to singular, isolated characteristics, nor should violence with inequality dimensions be segregated from 'mainstream' violence. However, in much mainstream research, national statistics, and policymaking, multiple cross-cutting inequality dimensions of violence are reduced to their most visible and explicit components. Gendered violence is often reduced to domestic and sexual violence against women, whereas racialised/ethnicity-targeted violence is often reduced to 'hate crimes'. Whilst Walby and colleague's framework of five gender-saturated dimensions of violence offers a more comprehensive way of capturing the multidimensionality of gendered violence (2017), this approach (1) remains focused on physical violence, (2) is insufficiently implemented in national statistics, and (3) no equivalents have been applied to racial/ethnic or citizenship/migration-based dimensions of violence. In addressing the former, I propose an expanded approach to inequality dimensions which accounts for both wider experiences of violence beyond physicality and for the in/direct ways in which experiences of violence are shaped by inequalities. On the latter (2-3), I demonstrate why, and how, inequality measures and statistics for violence should be developed and expanded beyond their current focus on domestic and sexual violence and hate crimes.

First, by expanding the conceptual and analytical tools needed to capture the multidimensionality of violence, particularly in relation to inequalities, I distinguish between inequality-saturated and inequality-variating dimensions of violence. 'Dimensions' of violence and inequalities may be operationalised as both a means of accounting for the multidimensionality of violence and mutually shaping relation to inequalities, and in terms of bridging the gap between definitions of violence as physical interpersonal criminal acts between individuals at the micro-level and theories of violence as a system through which society and social relations are structured via the deployment and governance of violence.

Aligning with critical perspectives on violence from feminist and intersectional research, I have proposed and applied a more inclusive and holistic approach to

understanding inequalities in violence. Incorporating a wider range of inequality dimensions of violence is important not only in the context of methodological limitations obscuring inequalities in victimisation, but also in addressing the conceptual and theoretical linkages between physical acts and systems of violence. In particular, I use fear of violence as a productive indicator of the relationship between physical acts of violence (the subject of fear) and systems of violence (regulating the drivers of fear), representing a dimension of violence which does not rely upon direct physical victimisation but nevertheless shapes people's experiences of violence and how they navigate a social world under the threat of violence. Focusing on fear of violence (including fear of physical, racially-motivated and sexual violence), enables us to explore broader dimensions of violence which bridge the gap between physical acts as the referent object of fear, and systems of violence which drive and shape these fears.

Whilst fear of violence doesn't require the affected individual to have been directly subjected to physical violence, it plays a key role in shaping their experience and relationship to systems of violence. Systems of violence not only entail the deployment of violence against individuals, but also how violence is structured, regulated and governed in society through policies, resource distribution, institutions and discourse-knowledge production. For example, Black women experience violence regimes through mechanisms which over-police and criminalise them, restrict resources for service support, and discursively construct them as threatening rather than victimised, whereby their specific position within intersecting systems of gender and racial inequalities shapes their position within this system of violence through these mechanisms (see Richie 2012; Hampton et al. 2003; Bent-Goodley 2013; see also Crenshaw 1989; Collins 2023). Their experiences of violence are not only shaped by direct exposure to physical violence, but in how these mechanisms (and their consequences for interpersonal relations) invoke fear, fail to protect them, shape the motivations behind violence, and imbue gendered and racialised meaning to their experiences of violence. In capturing the character and dimensions of inequality-violence relations, accounting for the wider experiences and relations of violence is critical in linking physical acts to the wider systems that govern them. As explored further in section 3.c. (particularly in relation to explanatory factors and implications), expanding our conceptualisation and measurement of violence to capture dimensions

such as fear enables a broader understanding of how violence shapes people's lives at the meso-level between physical acts and systems of violence and inequalities.

My approach also better reflects conceptual and theoretical approaches to violence and inequalities, particularly from feminist researchers on VAWG, who argue that violence and inequalities are mutually shaping and deeply intertwined. Rather than segregating 'gendered' and 'racial' violence from 'mainstream' or 'normal' violence, I have shown why neither violence nor inequalities can be understood in isolation from one another.

Preliminary Conclusions

Through an intersectional and multi-dimensional approach to measuring and analysing violence, I have demonstrated that the primary measure of violence in UK national statistics insufficiently captures how inequalities shape experiences of violence and its impact on people's lives. Narrow definitions of violence as physical interpersonal criminal acts between individuals and national data limitations not only underrepresent violence against marginalised groups, but neglect the multidimensional ways in which people's lives are shaped by inequalities in violence.

Violence is a complex and multidimensional concept and phenomenon, yet is often reduced to physical interpersonal criminal acts in national statistics and policymaking evidence. Violence varies significantly in form and character, how it is experienced, regulated and responded to, and in the ways it shapes people's lives (see, for example, DeKeseredy et al. 2018; Imbusch 2003; Waddington et al. 2005; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004 [1956]). In seeking to understand how violence is shaped by (and in turn shapes) inequalities, analysing disparities in physical violence victimisation by single axes of inequality is insufficient in capturing the depth, variety and pervasiveness of inequalities in the way violence is experienced in society. In challenging the definitional boundaries, exclusionary measures, and unidimensional approach to violence in UK national statistics, exemplified by the CSEW's approach, I propose a broadening of violence measures and inequality dimensions through inequality-variating and inequality-saturated dimensions of violence.

How we conceptualise and measure violence matters for whose experiences are captured in the data and research produced. Whilst a necessary component of quantitative measures, definitional boundaries act similarly to social categories by

flattening complexity and centralizing concepts on dominant narratives which overlook marginalised experiences. Whilst physical victimisation seems to align with a more 'objective' view of violence, by accounting for fear, anticipation, and threat, we allow subjective experiences of violence to also be captured. Rather than focusing on physical acts, which emphasise individualised and criminalised approaches to violence, we need to account for wider experiences and relations of violence which better reflect the nature of violence as shaped by social relations and contexts.

We need to measure violence in a way that captures how violence is lived in and experienced as a facet of everyday life, rather than as isolated incidents. This is particularly important for capturing how systems of power and oppression use systemic violence and a culture of threat to exert social control and coercion at a societal level. Rather than reducing the relationship between violence and inequalities to distinctive research areas or even categories of 'VAWG', 'domestic and sexual violence', or 'hate crimes', we need to account for the cross-cutting dimensions of inequality that shape violence both directly and indirectly.

b. Measuring Inequalities and Social Categorisation: Ethnic Misrepresentation

This section discusses how the CSEW measures *inequalities* by comparative social groups, specifically in relation to the implications of ethnic categorisation for representing ethnic differences and patterns in violence victimisation. Here, I focus particularly on my methodological evaluation of the UK's standardised approach and supporting quantitative analyses to identify issues of exclusion and misrepresentation for measuring ethnicity, drawing on conceptual debates and critiques in the literature. Social classification has been a powerful epistemic tool for reifying and entrenching social divisions by lending scientific legitimacy to social hierarchies based on gender, class, race, sexuality, health and disability (see Lieberman 1968; Strunk 2024; Gillborn et al. 2018). Yet social categorisation is also an essential tool for revealing, and therefore challenging, how these systems operate and impact individuals, groups, and society. The CSEW's measurement of ethnicity offers an insightful case example of the impact of social classification on knowledge production. Whilst the majority of this thesis took an intercategorical approach to intersecting inequalities by multiple axes of inequality, this empirical application delved deeper into the social categories themselves.

i. Evaluating Standardised Measures of Ethnicity in the UK: Changes, Challenges and Complexities in UK Survey Data

This empirical application first assessed the challenges, inconsistencies and limitations of the current approach to measuring ethnicity through a critical evaluation of standardised ethnicity measures in UK survey data (particularly the CSEW), before analysing quantitative data in the CSEW to compare different approaches to measuring ethnicity and its implications for violence-related outcomes. Despite significant attention and development of the UK Census methodology for measuring ethnicity upon which the CSEW is based (ONS 2009), I identified several persisting challenges relating to: ethnic group exclusion and self-identified representative groups; conceptual coherence of categories and conflation of multiple dimensions of ethnicity; accessibility and useability of the data by researchers; and longevity of ethnic groups in the face of a changing demographic landscape and research agenda.

Since its 1982 introduction, the CSEW has recorded ethnic dimensions of violence victimisation (predating the 1991 Census' ethnicity inclusion). Yet how ethnicity is captured and represented has changed over time, reflecting changing sociocultural norms, political priorities, demographic trends and methodological developments (see Appendix B, see also Laux 2019). Early CSEW waves used assigned rather than asserted ethnicity (1982, 1984), whereby interviewers recorded 'observed' ethnicity, with the 1982 survey wave including a category for 'mixed/uncertain' (Wood 1984). Ethnic categories of 'White', 'Black (West Indian or African), Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi, and 'Other'/ 'Other non-white' reflected socio-cultural norms around ethnicity language, the UK's political and research priorities and a demographic landscape shaped by post-colonial migration flows (Kautt 2010).

Standardised ethnic measures in the UK have benefited from stability over time, with the high-level ethnic groups ('White', 'Black', 'Asian', 'Mixed' and 'Other') remaining broadly similar over 40 years of CSEW data, despite growing ethnic diversity during this period, and low-level groups (currently 18 categories) providing more detailed breakdowns of these high-level groupings. This approach balances the need for stable categorisation over time and categories which reflect growing ethnic diversity in the UK, yet is not without its limitations. Whilst capturing all ethnic groups in the UK would be impractical for quantitative data collection, the current response options are insufficient in capturing non-specified ethnic groups, who are otherwise categorised

as ‘Other’. Ethnic groups including Latinx/Hispanic, Somali, Kashmiri, Jewish and others have all been raised for potential inclusion due to ethnic specificity and demographic changes, yet remain excluded from measures largely due to sample size (ONS 2009). The exclusion of ethnic groups carries implications for representativeness, whereby respondents are unable to recognise themselves in the categories provided and are forced to select either an ill-fitting ethnic group or the miscellaneous ‘other’ ethnicity which fails to adequately represent respondents’ identity or provide researchers with meaningful data.

Although the CSEW has benefitted from the continued demographic relevance of its high-level ethnic categories, the emphasis on stability over time fails to balance the need to anticipate emerging ethnic groups, such as Latinx/Hispanic which is one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the UK (Blair 2019). The introduction of ‘Arab’ in 2012/13 was welcomed, although earlier inclusion would have enabled researchers, for example, to capture experiences of violence against these groups during key periods of rising discrimination and hostility against Arabs during the Global War on Terror period. Capturing ethnic diversity and disparities in a population should anticipate rather than try to keep up with demographic trends, in order to avoid frequent and lagging updates to ethnic categories and improve comparability over time.

Aspinall (2009) observes a shift from ‘colour’ to ‘culture’ in how ethnicity is defined and categorised in England and Wales, with increased inclusion of regional and national dimensions of ethnicity. The language used in survey questions also varied, with respondents asked to identify their ethnicity based on self-description (‘which group … best describes you?’), group belonging (‘which of these groups do you consider to belong?’), cultural background (‘indicate your cultural background’), or explicit ethnic group (‘what is your ethnic group?’) across several decades of questionnaires (see also Appendix B). In 2012/13, following 2011 Census changes, the CSEW renamed ‘Black’ and ‘Asian’ ethnic categories to ‘Black/Black British’ and ‘Asian/Asian British’, which addressed Kautt’s 2010 critique of the association of ‘British’ with ‘White’ ethnic groups only, whereas ‘Black’ and ‘Asian’ groups were associated with non-British regions and nationalities (i.e. ‘White-British’, ‘Black-African’, ‘Asian-Indian’). This update sought to reflect a more modern approach to nationality and ethnicity which reflected asserted values of diversity and multiculturalism in the UK.

Due to the multi-dimensionality of ethnicity, which combines characteristics of culture, nationality, language, religion and race, single measures of ethnicity typically conflate dimensions inconsistently (Kautt 2010). Race is captured in high-level 'White' and 'Black' categories, although the former is then disaggregated by nationality (e.g. 'White-British') and the latter by region ('Black-African', 'Black-Caribbean'). 'Asian' is used to denote both race and continental origin, and is only disaggregated by South Asian nationalities (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi) in the CSEW and UK standardised measures.

Additionally, the conflation of the multiplicity of ethnicity (i.e. single or mixed/multiple ethnicities) with ethnic group membership, which represents different dimensions of ethnicity, leads to conceptual incoherence in what the categories are measuring. By 'lumping' together respondents from different ethnic groups into a singular category on the basis that they all identify with more than one ethnicity, and further categorising this alongside 'singular' ethnic groups, undermines the meaningful content of the 'ethnic group' variable (Kautt 2010). The UKHLS aligns with the UK standardised approach, although included additional questions in 2009/10 for coding 'mixed' respondents, asking "Do you come from, or have parents or grandparents from any of the following ethnic groups?". This approach would enable greater specificity in multiple ethnicities and a more accurate estimate of 'mixed' ethnic populations, which studies have shown are likely to be underestimated in survey data (Ahlmark et al. 2015).

As well as issues associated with the categories themselves, accessibility and useability of ethnicity data were also identified as posing several challenges. Following the 2011 Census which implemented several changes to ethnic categorisation, the 2012/13 CSEW introduced new ethnic groups for 'Arab' and 'Gypsy or Irish Traveller' and recategorized 'Chinese' from 'Chinese/Other' to 'Asian'. Since the release of the CSEW 2012/13, it removed the detailed ethnicity variable (16 groups) from the main dataset to the secure access datasets, significantly reducing researchers' access to ethnicity data and potentially making researchers more inclined to use the 5-grouped ethnic measure.

A further challenge in the useability of ethnicity data relates to the need for sufficient sample sizes of ethnic minorities, who not only each represent a small subset of the

population but also have higher non-response rates and barriers to accessing surveys and disclosure routes (Ahlmark et al. 2015), particularly in relation to violence (Femi-Ajao et al. 2020). In response to researchers' need for sufficient sample sizes for ethnic analyses and increased interest in ethnic disparities, the CSEW introduced an ethnic boost sample in 2001/02, yet challenges in comparability with the main population limited useability and it was discontinued in 2007/08. Reduced ethnic sample sizes resulting from the discontinuation of the ethnic boost sample in 2007/08 as well as the reduction of the overall sample size in 2012/13 restricted researchers' ability to analyse ethnic variation (see Bécares et al. 2020). In contrast, by significantly oversampling minoritised ethnic populations, the EVENS dataset enables much more detailed breakdowns of ethnic groups and mitigates the challenges of insufficient sample sizes (Finney et al. 2023). Whilst this approach also limits findings as less nationally-representative than the CSEW, it nevertheless offers a valuable counter-approach to addressing insufficient sample sizes prevalent in many national surveys. Although the CSEW provides more reliable and comparable estimates of violence victimisation, the EVENS dataset does include data on racially-motivated violence victimisation, including fear of violence, which, combined with a strong minoritised ethnic sample population, could contribute more specific and granular insights into ethnic disparities in victimisation.

In applying my methodological critique of the CSEW's standardised categorisation, I compared ethnic groups by regional origin to determine areas of heterogeneity and non-identification with categories. Based on this supportive quantitative analysis, I found high levels of Latin America and MENA-originating respondents[22] being categorised as 'Other', indicating a lack of appropriate categories which reflect respondents' self-identified ethnicity, particularly among 'Latinx/Hispanic groups'. Significantly, the ethnic identity of Latinx/Hispanic respondents is entirely excluded from current measures of ethnicity, preventing analyses of the risks, adverse experiences, and inequalities faced by this particular group. Further, whilst South Asian-origin respondents were comparatively well represented by the group 'Asian', respondents from ESEC Asian countries had higher rates of 'Other' categorisation and

[22] It should be noted that although the latter is partially addressed by the 2012/13 introduction of 'Arab' as a response option, this data is inaccessible to most researchers (current confined to the secure-access dataset) and the conflation of 'Arab' into 'Other' ethnicities in the high-level categorisation means that Arab respondents remain marginalised within the data.

there remains a lack of comparable data which distinguishes 'Chinese' from the 'Chinese/Other' category which arbitrarily segregates this group from other ESEC Asian ethnicities. The following sub-sections discuss these findings, based on both my methodological critique and supportive analysis, in relation to 'Mixed' ethnicities[23], and Latinx/Hispanic, Arab/MENA, and Asian ethnic groups.

ii. The Misrepresentation of 'Mixed' Ethnicities

A particularly contentious challenge we sought to address was the misrepresentation of respondents with mixed/multiple ethnicities, which has seen increased interest in the 21st century as one of the fastest growing (Song 2012) and most under- and mis-represented (Del Pinal et al. 2007; see also Goldstein and Morning 2000; Song 2012) ethnic minoritised populations. The UK's categorisation of 'mixed' ethnic respondents into a singular category alongside defined ethnic groups conflates two distinct dimensions of ethnicity: ethnic multiplicity/heterogeneity and ethnic group membership. Whilst other ethnic categories also conflate characteristics of ethnicity – race, nationality, regional origin – these collectively make up the bases of ethnic groups, that is, the characteristics that define a shared identity or community. The lack of conceptual coherence in using a single measure for both the multiplicity and group membership of ethnicity undermines the comparison between ethnic categories. The 'mixed' category is measuring something entirely different to other categories within the same measure, as well as to the measure itself.

Unifying 'mixed' ethnic respondents into a singular 'ethnic group' either produces a second 'miscellaneous' category devoid of meaningful information on ethnic group experiences, or assumes that 'mixed' individuals share equivalent commonalities (histories, identities, belongings) to other ethnic groups. For the latter, both academic studies and public discourse (Song 2010) widely dispute the notion that "there is 'a' mixed race group" (Song 2010; Woozeer 2022). Whilst 'mixed' ethnic groups may share some similar experiences (rejection by both ethnic groups, ambiguity in identity, intersecting oppressions), this does not represent a coherent ethnic identity or group to which they belong (Song 2010).

[23] Noting that the first section on 'mixed' ethnicities relies on my methodological critique, whereas the later sections use both my methodological critique and supportive quantitative analysis. This is due to the inapplicability of 'regional origin' to 'mixed' ethnicities since, as I argue, they do not represent a cohesive ethnic group, but rather a characteristic of ethnic identity and background.

Further, by recategorizing 'mixed' ethnic respondents into a singular group, this approach erases the very characteristic that this variable seeks to measure: ethnic groups. Whilst the low-level ethnic groups benefit from some distinction between combinations of ethnicities (e.g. 'White and Asian'), unlike most other countries' approaches (Morning 2015), they are recategorized into a singular 'mixed' group at the high-level, which is almost exclusively used in research. Given the importance of representation of ethnic group membership for respondents and of meaningful data on respondents' ethnic groups for researchers, the removal of this information means that 'mixed' ethnic groups are less represented in the data than 'single' ethnic groups, creating inequalities within the data itself.

iii. The Exclusion of 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an Ethnic Group

My analysis of ethnic variation by regional origin revealed a comparatively high proportion of respondents from Latin American regions identifying as 'Other' (22.7%), corresponding with the absence of 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an ethnic group. This aligns with similar findings in the US, where 47.9% of Hispanic respondents were classified as 'White' and 42.2% as 'Some other race', with most Hispanic respondents classified as the latter also giving 'Hispanic' as their race (Del Pinal et al. 2007). This further supports the inclusion of 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an ethnic group, since ethnicity is more than simply 'race', yet racial groups do not adequately capture Hispanic respondents without additionally specifying them as a group. It also demonstrates how perceptions of ethnicity, origin and race are perceived as overlapping, whereby 'Hispanic origin' is prioritised over pre-designated racial groups (Del Pinal et al. 2007). The introduction of 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an ethnic group in the UK has also been supported by civil society efforts (UK Parliament Petition 2021; CLAUK 2023), who argue that "We are not white, black, Asian, and certainly not 'other'" (UK Parliament Petition 2021), and highlight areas of inequality and discrimination specific to Latinx/Hispanic groups based on their distinctive ethnicity. The absence of quantitative data which identifies Latinx/Hispanic groups, based on their exclusion from ethnic categories, constitutes a significant barrier to knowledge production about this group. Policymakers, civil society advocates, and service providers are severely limited in their ability to mitigate the prevalence and impact of adverse social experiences which specifically or disproportionately affect Latinx/Hispanic groups due to a lack of evidence on their experiences. Efforts to address inequalities and disadvantages among this group are

forced to rely on small-scale qualitative studies or on statistics which generalise all ethnic groups as having similar experiences. Whilst ethnic categorisation may seem a comparatively small and technical process involved in quantifying ethnic differences, the choices involved in who is and is not represented in these categories carry significant implications for evidence-building, policymaking, and service provision for groups which are excluded from representation. In situating my empirical findings within a broader framework of critical knowledge production, I have demonstrated that the exclusion of specific ethnic groups from ethnic categorisation, as I have here demonstrated in the case of Latinx/Hispanic populations, constitutes a form of epistemic marginalisation by failing to represent their specific experiences in knowledge production and, as a result, deprioritises their experiences and needs in policymaking and service provision.

iv. Obscuring 'Arab' within 'Other' Ethnicities

Whilst 'Arab' was introduced as an ethnic category in 2012/13, issues of data accessibility and the merging of 'Arab' respondents into the broader 'Other' category resulted in this group being obscured from analyses and statistics on ethnic inequalities. Although the 2012/13 introduction was a significant improvement, it also highlights the issue of representation over time and the need to collect data on smaller ethnic groups in anticipation of demographic changes. The Arab population in the UK has grown significantly over the past two decades, with a particular increase following the Arab Spring and increased conflict in the Middle East. During this time, the UK has also seen a sharp increase in Islamophobic, anti-Arab, and anti-Middle Eastern discrimination, largely based on anti-terror discourses which fuelled prejudice and discrimination (Poynting and Mason 2007; Zunes 2017; Abbas 2020). Earlier inclusion of 'Arab' as an ethnic group would have enabled researchers and policymakers to monitor the prevalence and impact of social hostility towards this group, which could have informed measures to mitigate and counter their effect on Arab populations in the UK. In particular, whilst qualitative studies and service providers raised concern over the high levels of discriminatory violence, the lack of national estimates put Arabs at an epistemic disadvantage compared to other ethnic groups in terms of knowledge and policy building based on comparable, nationally representative evidence. Further, whilst noting the need for sufficient sample sizes for statistical analyses, the decision to include 'Arab' as a sub-group within 'Other' ethnicities meant that whilst the data

was collected, it was largely inaccessible to researchers and was not included in national statistical bulletins. This represents a continuing deprioritisation of this group in terms of mainstream knowledge production by obscuring them within the data.

v. The Conflation of 'Asian' Ethnicities

The broad categorisation of 'Asian' fails to account for variation in both asserted and assigned ethnicity. Individuals subject to discrimination based on their assigned 'Asian' ethnicity typically face different ethnic stereotypes and forms of discrimination based on their perceived affinity to 'East Asia' or 'South Asia', shaped by legacies of colonial and racial systems of inequalities in British history (e.g. Brooks 2019; Oh 2021). As Ulmer et al. (2009) note, "the Asian category blurs ancestry [i.e. ethnicity] distinctions and vast cultural and geographic diversity", potentially alienating respondents from various Asian-origin ethnicities (see also Holup et al. 2007; Laws and Heckscher 2002). Whilst ethnic categories often align with national demographics (i.e. sub-group specificity depending on Asian population sizes), it is notable that the 'Asian' ethnic group encompasses over half the global population, involving substantial internal ethnic variation compared to other standardised ethnic groups and regions. Demographic and migratory histories also influence perceptions of what 'Asian' means, for example, as more associated with South Asians in the UK and East Asians in the US.

Due to the high population of South Asians in the UK, compared to East Asians (ONS 2022a), research and policies referencing 'Asians' in the UK largely refer to those of South Asian ethnic or national descent. The form and character of discrimination and oppression against different Asian ethnic groups is significant, despite the lack of acknowledgement of this in UK research and policy. Just as lumping all 'non-white' ethnic groups into a singular category erases the significant differences between them, so too does lumping all 'Asian' ethnicities together erase the diversity in their experiences of racism and its intersections. Whilst social categorisation, particularly those used in quantitative analyses, necessarily involves 'lumping' distinctive groups together, this should nevertheless be avoided when not strictly necessary for analyses and where merging groups together erases important lines of difference, particularly in terms of being subjected to discrimination and harm. The use of stereotypes against specific ethnic groups, intersected with class, gender, and citizenship/migrant status is a particularly visible example of this.

The ONS category of ‘Asian’ was introduced following migration from former British colonies, particularly India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, to enable Government tracking of demographic changes. The specification of ‘Asian’ ethnicities as ‘Indian’, ‘Pakistani’, ‘Bangladeshi’ or (from 2001) ‘Asian-Other’, and the pre-2011 categorisation of ‘Chinese’ as ‘Chinese/Other’ rather than ‘Asian’, supports the argument that the category ‘Asian’ was designed to primarily capture South Asian rather than all Asian ethnicities. This is also reflected in respondent ethnic identification (table 6), with those from ESEC Asian countries having the third highest rate of ‘Other’ identification (9.0%).

ESEC Asians are currently only partially represented by a category which is designed to primarily capture ‘South Asian’ ethnic groups specifically, which insufficiently captures significant differences across ‘Asian’ ethnicities (Ulmer et al. 2009; Holup et al. 2007; Laws and Heckscher 2002). Similarly to the case of heightened violence against Arab and MENA-origin groups during the Global War on Terror period, the obscuring of ‘ESEC Asian’ respondents within the data meant that monitoring inequalities in violence during the Covid-19 period, which saw targeted violence against East Asian populations (Ha et al. 2020; Carr et al. 2022), was limited.

Preliminary Conclusions

In measuring inequalities by social group, how social categories are defined and applied is critical to representing where and how ethnicity matters. Measuring violence and inequalities not only includes capturing the experiences of marginalised groups, but capturing how they relate to their social location within systems of inequality. Quantifying individuals’ lived experiences necessarily involves applying boundaries around and between experiences to define and categorise violence and victims in ways where we can group, count, and compare them. Yet the practice of applying these boundaries has historically been, and continues to be, a way of constructing knowledge from the viewpoint of those in power, specifically those with epistemic authority and legitimacy to do so. Whilst the fundamental issues of sorting people into neat mutually-exclusive categories are unfortunately a necessary part of quantifying individuals and experiences, the way we do this can either obscure or reveal inequality patterns in violence based on how these categories are applied.

The use of hierarchical social classification is a powerful tool in justifying and practicing systems of power and inequality. Virtually all systems of power and inequality have at

some point in history been legitimised by flawed scientific assertions which claim epistemic authority (see Foucault 1973; 1980; 2013 [1969]). Despite the role of social classification in legitimising and entrenching power hierarchies based on sociological (more so, or even rather, than biological) differences, categorising individuals into social groups is an essential part of measuring, and thus addressing, inequalities. Whilst qualitative approaches may better capture the nuance and complexity of ethnic identities and positionalities, they lack the epistemic-discursive power of national statistics and their ability to provide broader knowledge claims about ethnic disparities, trends, and patterns at a macro-collective level. The question then, is how social categorisation is practiced. Shifting the balance of power and reorienting measures and categories towards research objectives geared towards revealing, rather than entrenching, inequalities is therefore necessary.

Conceptual coherence, representation of self-identities, and research application are important considerations for categorising social groups. Whilst the UK's standardised ethnicity categories benefit from comparability over time whilst relatively accurately capturing national demographic changes, I identified significant issues relating to conceptual coherence, self-representation, and research application. As evidenced through my comparative analyses, I show how the UK's standardised approach results in the misrepresentation of 'mixed' ethnicities, the exclusion and invisibilisation of Latinx/Hispanic groups, the obscuring of Arab groups, and the conflation of South and ESEC Asian groups. Conflating distinctive ethnic groups into single categories, such as 'Asian', 'Mixed', and 'Other' potentially obscures important ethnic differences in terms of the degree and character of discrimination, victimisation, and social disadvantage experienced by individuals and groups *based on* their ethnic identity and group membership. Excluding specific ethnic groups from categorisation, such as Latinx/Hispanic, renders their experiences *as Latinx/Hispanic* invisible. Subsuming them within a catch-all 'Other' category prevents researchers from distinguishing them as an ethnic group facing specific forms of discrimination based on their ethnic identity and group membership.

These exclusions and misrepresentations have particular consequences for understanding ethnic disparities in violence. In comparing the effects of standardised and my proposed alternative ethnicity categorisation as predictors of violence victimisation and fear of stranger violence, I found significant variations in ethnic

patterns based on the distinction between South and ESEC Asians, the recategorization of ‘mixed’ ethnicities, and the extraction of ‘Arab’ and ‘Latinx’ ethnic groups from ‘Other’ and ‘White’ ethnicities. My finding that South Asian respondents experienced significantly higher levels of fear of violence than ESEC Asian respondents further supports the need for disaggregating Asian ethnicities. ‘Mixed’ ethnicities reported a significantly higher prevalence of violence than all other groups, indicating that segregation of ‘Mixed’ respondents from specific ethnic groups may artificially be suppressing the prevalence of violence among minoritised ethnic groups. It also highlighted the intersecting risk-factors posed by both ethnic group membership and ‘mixed’ ethnicities for violence victimisation, which would benefit from additional policy and research attention. Further, whilst small sample sizes posed an issue for significance among Latinx/Hispanic and Arab/MENA respondents, I found that both groups had higher levels of violence victimisation and fear than ‘White’ or ‘Other’ ethnicities which they would otherwise be subsumed within. By comparing alternative approaches to ethnic categorisation to the study of ethnic disparities in violence victimisation and fear, my research demonstrates the impact of social categories on our understanding of disparities in violence. Although noting challenges in fully capturing the complexity of ethnicity and the need for increased sampling of ethnic minoritised populations, these results demonstrated the need to improve representativeness, meaningful categories, and methodological practicality in current standardised approaches to ethnicity. Given that the standardised measurement of ethnicity is prevalent across nearly all UK national surveys and government statistics, this analysis provides a significant insight into the potential implications of ethnic categorisation across a much broader range of policy and research areas, which may be expanded through future research on this subject.

In practice, all standardised measures of ethnicity face challenges in fully capturing the heterogeneity, multi-dimensionality, complexity, subjectivity, and fluidity of the concept and its meaning for individuals and societies. Despite these challenges, however, it is essential that such measures do not further contribute towards the omission, exclusion, or marginalisation of certain ethnic groups and that the measurement of ethnicity reflects the conceptual and individual meaning of ethnic groups as accurately as possible. The measurement and categorisation of ethnicity

plays a significant role our understanding of ethnic inequalities and the adverse experiences of marginalised ethnic groups.

c. Survey Design, Data Collection, and Translation: Barriers to Violence Disclosure and Victim Representation

As explored in previous sections, victims' specific positions within intersecting and interacting systems of inequality expose them to different challenges in whether and how their experiences are represented in data and evidence on violence. Whilst previous chapters investigated how inequalities shape knowledge-production at the conceptualisation and measurement stage, this chapter investigates how barriers to disclosure are shaped by inequalities at the data-collection stage. The process of disclosing violence is far from straightforward, and it is influenced by a myriad of contextual factors that either facilitate or hinder survivors' ability to share their experiences. This section discusses the key findings from my third empirical application (barriers to disclosure) by thematic area, supported by my findings on inequalities in disclosure reluctance and a brief discussion of additional factors relating to exclusion after disclosure.

i. Data Collection: Access and Exclusion from the Survey Sample and Self-Completion Module

Data is never perfectly nationally representative. Who is truly represented in nationally representative survey data depends on financial and time resources, the expected consequences of respondents' involvement, challenges reaching out to marginalised populations, and a range of other factors. The crucial, but often underappreciated, first step to disclosure is whether the victim is asked if they experienced violence. Who was approached for an interview? Who was asked questions about their experience? Who, in the CSEW particularly, participated and in what questionnaire modules? Whilst studies often summarily note who was or was not included in the data, often overlooked are the underlying logics and decisions through which these exclusions are made: who isn't counted can mean who doesn't count.

I identified several factors which may contribute towards the exclusion, omission, mis/under-representation of marginalised and vulnerabilised populations from the CSEW's sample population for both the face-to-face interview and self-completion

module: (1) household residence-based sampling methods excluding those living in non-standard residences; (2) under-sampling Black and ethnic minorities populations; (3) non-identification and expected under-sampling of insecure migrants; and (4) refusal or exclusion from the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence. I first evaluated the implications of the CSEW's sampling methodology and variables capturing inequality groups, before analysing disparities in access to the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence.

The exclusion of vulnerabilised populations not living in standard household residences

As a household victimisation survey, the CSEW only includes individuals living in standard residential households. I observed that due to this approach, populations living in institutional, non-registered, short-term and other non-standard residencies are not approached for interview, including those living in prisons, detention centres, medical and psychiatric institutions, care homes, refuges, University halls, residential hotels and hostels, as well as homeless people.

Marginalised populations are often over-represented among these resident groups as well as populations vulnerabilised to violence, both due to both inequality and environmental risk factors. Care home residents are disproportionately female (67%), particularly vulnerable to elder and carer-perpetrated violence and abuse, and face significant barriers to reporting (Nursing Home Abuse Centre 2020). Women and migrants are both over-represented among University students, who experience higher levels of overall and gendered violence, particularly sexual violence, and are also less likely to disclose victimisation (Phipps and Smith 2012). Prisons and correctional facilities have both disproportionately high minoritised ethnic populations and higher levels of violence victimization than non-prison populations, with not only higher levels of interpersonal violence but particularly high levels of institutional violence, with the latter disproportionately against minoritised ethnic prisoners (Jolliffe and Haque 2017; Robinson and Forrester 2023). Female prison populations are also more likely to have been victimized by domestic and sexual violence than non-prison populations (Rogers et al. 2023). Women and minoritised ethnic groups (mixed and 'other') are at higher risk of becoming homeless (Bramley and Fitzpatrick 2018, FEANTSA 2019), particularly women as a result of domestic violence (Hutchinson et

al. 2015), facing high levels of physical and sexual violence (Sanders and Albanese 2016).

The over-representation of marginalised groups in residence types excluded from the CSEW not only excludes them and their experiences from data, but when combined with a higher estimated prevalence of violence, particularly gendered violence, may also contribute towards an under-estimation of violence among these marginalised groups as a result of their exclusion. Further, whilst the CSEW does not explicitly ask about violence perpetrated by state authorities and professionals, the exclusion of populations from institutionalised residencies, such as prisons, detention centres, medical and psychiatric facilities, and care homes may further contribute towards under-estimating these types of violence. Obstetric violence, patient and care home abuse, and police and border force-perpetrated violence involve crossing boundaries from providing care and security to abusing power-imbalances between state actors and professionals, and those under their care and authority. These forms of violence are intertwined with gendered, racial and citizenship-migration power hierarchies, and disproportionately effect women, Black and ethnic minoritised and migrant populations, respectively.

The exclusion of non-standard residential populations is accompanied by challenges in accessing ‘hard to reach’ populations. Whilst targeted studies of these populations may help highlight the risk-factors and experiences of violence among vulnerabilised non-standard residents, these are rarely comparable with the wider population and often focus on violence specific to their target sample and social setting. These groups are often labelled as ‘hard to reach’ populations, which can often result in their deprioritisation as research subjects and overlook the role barriers to representation and how to mitigate them.

The exclusion and non-identification of migrants with insecure status

As a household victimisation survey conducted by the Home Office, it is unlikely that insecure migrants are well-represented in the sample population. Insecure migrants are more likely to be housed in hotels, hostels, processing and detention centres, and temporary accommodation. Migrants are also more likely to live in temporary or unregistered accommodation which is excluded from the sample, and in multi-occupancy dwellings and communal residences which have lower response rates

(ONS 2018; see also Ahlmark et al. 2015). The Home Office's involvement in the CSEW, as discussed in section 2.c.iv., likely poses a strong deterrent to insecure migrants' participation in the survey due to fears of data misuse and punitive surveillance. This is particularly the case for the SC module sample, which includes explicit mention of the Home Office's use of CSEW.

The Under-sampling of Minoritised Ethnic Populations

In relation to ethnic representation, I found that ethnic minoritised populations were under-represented in the CSEW survey sample compared to Census data, with CSEW only capturing around 60-70% of the ethnic minoritised population in England and Wales. This under-sampling of ethnic minoritised groups may be due to residential factors, distrust of the survey or state collection of data (see later discussion of confidentiality and trust barriers), or other non-response factors (Ahlmark et al. 2015).

Population and non-response weights and ethnic boost samples may mitigate the effects of under-sampling and barriers to survey participation. However, whilst the CSEW introduced an ethnic boost sample in 2002, this was discontinued in 2006. Whilst the CSEW has a comparatively large sample size, with approximately 35,000 respondents per year, quantitative analyses of ethnic variation require higher numbers of minoritised ethnic participants in order to achieve sufficient statistical power when working with small sub-populations on the basis of minoritised ethnic groups, which in total only represent 8.5% of the sample population. This issue is exacerbated when analysing low-prevalence outcomes, such as violence victimization (2.53%). Variation in statistical significance based on sub-population sizes (i.e. victims of violence from low-population ethnic groups) seemed to restrict several findings (e.g. violence against Arab and Latinx/Hispanic populations). The discontinuation of the CSEW's ethnic boost sample is therefore an important issue to address in order to alleviate the issue of insufficient ethnic minoritised sample sizes for analysis of ethnic variation, not least in relation to violence victimization.

In combination, the under-sampling of Black and minoritised ethnic populations and the discontinuation of the CSEW's ethnic boost sample (as well as, as discussed in section 2.c.vi., the effect of ONS weights on ethnic differences in violence victimisation) contribute towards significant underrepresentation of minoritised ethnic groups' experiences of violence. Reintroducing the ethnic boost sample would help

mitigate the current under-sampling of minoritised ethnic populations and enable a more detailed analysis of violence against minoritised ethnic victims, allowing more statistical power for in-depth and intersectional studies on the risks, experiences, harms, and responses to violence against marginalised and vulnerabilised groups.

Exclusion from the Self-Completion Module on Domestic and Sexual Violence

Having reviewed factors limiting the representation of marginalised and vulnerabilised groups in the CSEW's main questionnaire sample, I then examined barriers to inclusion in the CSEW's self-completion module. The self-completion module asks respondents more sensitive questions through a CASI design, including questions on domestic and sexual violence. Data from the self-completion module provides the best estimates of gendered violence prevalence, with detailed questions on annual and lifetime exposure to domestic and sexual violence, sexual harassment and stalking. Using a computer-assisted survey interview (CASI) method, the self-completion module provides higher levels of confidentiality and autonomy in answering these questions. Approximately one in ten respondents were excluded from the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence (table 9b) due to respondent refusal or exclusion due to interviewer completion. This rose to one in six for ethnic minoritised and migrant respondents, with minoritised ethnic migrant women having the highest rate of exclusion.

ii. Disclosure Rates and Reluctance

Disclosure of violence is a critical, and often necessary, aspect of knowledge production in terms of identifying, documenting, and understanding individuals' experiences of violence across various data collection contexts. Non-disclosure of violence victimisation poses a significant research problem whereby almost all estimates of victim numbers and victimisation rates are based on victims who have disclosed their experiences. Estimates can therefore only represent a sub-set of victims and incidents: those disclosed to data collectors. This not only results in underestimating violence, but significantly skews our perception of how violence is perpetrated, against whom, and in what forms. Existing evidence indicates that certain forms of violence, particularly domestic and sexual violence, and certain social groups, particularly ethnic minoritised and migrant women, face specific barriers to disclosure which inhibit data collectors from including their experiences.

Unlike the CSEW, most routes to disclosure in police, health, social services, and victim services data require victims to seek out support from services. Here, victims who are unwilling, unable, or reluctant to disclose their experiences are often rendered invisible in these datasets since both data collection and support rely on disclosure from the outset. The CSEW therefore offers a rare opportunity to capture victims who have not sought support from services and would otherwise not disclose their experiences to data collectors.

As well as capturing victims otherwise excluded from administrative data on violence, the CSEW's multi-stage questioning of violent experiences enabled me to code a proxy indicator for 'disclosure reluctance' which identified respondents who either initially withheld or subsequently withdrew disclosure as the questions progressed, or who responded 'don't know' or 'refused' to the questions on violence disclosure. Despite significant research on barriers to disclosure, I identified no quantitative studies which measured disclosure reluctance.

I found that nearly half (44%) of respondents who disclosed violence victimisation at some point in the survey did so reluctantly. This rose to 52% for ethnic minoritised respondents, 54% for women and migrants, and approximately 60% for migrant women. Based on screener-level reluctance, respondents were more reluctant to disclose domestic and sexual violence, corresponding with the prioritisation of research on barriers to domestic and sexual violence disclosure. While victims who never disclose their experiences, representing the most vulnerabilised and marginalised groups, remain uncaptured in most studies, the inclusion of reluctant disclosures allows for the representation of individuals who inconsistently share their experiences. Research has shown that victims, particularly of domestic and sexual violence, often disclose inconsistently, based on trauma responses, fear of disclosure-based risks, and the setting and approaches taken for data collection (Sorsoli 2010; Orbach et al. 2001; Brewin 2011).

Reluctance in disclosure represents the combined effect of both motivation to disclose and fear of disclosure. In particular, the interplay between increased fear of violence, the need for support, and fear of disclosure may contribute to higher reluctance rates among marginalised groups, particularly minoritised ethnic and migrant women, as well as victims of domestic and sexual violence. Not only capturing changes in

disclosure rates, but also indicators of reluctance, allows for a more nuanced understanding of the complex decision-making process that victims navigate when considering whether to share their experiences. As discussed in section X, I found that fear of violence is higher among marginalised groups and for discriminatory forms of violence. Qualitative studies have also identified increased risk factors for disclosure of violence and heightened support needs for gendered forms of violence (see Hulley et al. 2023; Gilligan and Akhtar 2006; Heron et al. 2021). While consistent and clear responses are important for avoiding the misidentification of victims, it is equally crucial to include victims who disclose reluctantly. These individuals, who are more likely to be from marginalised groups and experience specific forms of violence such as domestic and sexual violence, face significant barriers to support, increased harms, and experience vulnerabilisation to violence and marginalisation in knowledge production.

Having highlighted barriers to inclusion in the survey samples and the disproportionately high levels of disclosure reluctance among marginalised groups, the following sections iii-v discuss the context and implications of identified barriers to disclosure *within* the CSEW itself.

iii. Comprehension: English Language Barriers

Articulating experiences of violence is often challenging for victims of violence. The psychological and emotional impact of victimisation, fears of judgment or scepticism, and difficulties recalling complex memories of distressing events mean that disclosing victimisation is often not an easy or straightforward task (Orbach et al. 2001; Sorsoli 2010; see also Brewin 2011). Doing so in a secondary language compounds these challenges even further (Anitha 2008, 2010, 2011; Belur 2008; Gill 2004). Whilst some disclosure settings provide translators or translated texts for non-English speaking victims, the CSEW does not offer these provisions. Victim's ability to understand the questions being asked and communicate their experiences accurately in the survey is significantly hampered when the question and response options are posed in a language they do not understand. I found that respondents with English language difficulties were significantly less likely to disclose violence and, of those who did disclose, were more likely to do so reluctantly. In fact, English language difficulties had

the greatest effect[24] in decreasing disclosure rates and increasing reluctance for domestic and sexual violence specifically, with disclosure reluctance at the screener question 63-74 times higher than for English-speaking respondents.

Whilst the finding that migrant-status influenced English language difficulties across all respective sub-groups may be expected, it is notable that ethnic minoritisation increased the odds of English difficulties *specifically among women* when compared by respective sub-groups.[25] Whilst there is a lack of studies comparing men and women, qualitative studies have highlighted the specific challenges facing minoritised ethnic migrant women in learning English as a second language which may be further compounded by social isolation and lower education levels among women in specific ethnic-migrant communities (Darby et al. 2016).

English language difficulties not only influence respondent's ability to understand and respond to questions, but also may increase their reliance on external interference in terms of translation. Family members often play a vital role as translators for people which difficulties understanding English. Whilst necessary for participants to understand and respond to questions, this poses additional barriers to disclosure in terms of confidentiality and autonomy.

Although other routes to disclosure may provide translation for non-English speakers, this is heavily dependent on funding resources, availability of translators, and local practices. Police and specialised services tend to prioritise translators more than other routes, although each faces additional limitations in terms of police distrust by insecure migrants and highly variable local police practices, and the chronic underfunding of specialised services limiting resources for translation services.

Additionally, whilst introducing interpreters would ease the burden of translation on family members (see section 2.c.iv.) and enable better communication between interviewers and victims, qualitative studies have raised issues for interpreter usage in other survey settings. The higher proportion of male interpreters poses a challenge

[24] Compared to other barriers where analysis of effect on disclosure rates and reluctance was possible: other's presence, partner's presence, and interviewer sex.

[25] Although noting that the small sub-sample size for minoritised ethnic UK-born women experiencing English language difficulties (n=12) reduces the reliability of this finding. Comparisons to minoritised ethnic UK-born men were excluded due to sub-sample size <10. Data for English language difficulties was only available for 2012.

for women disclosing domestic and sexual violence (see section 2.c.iv.), and cases of interpreters misrepresenting victims' experiences to police add another layer of translation where experiences may be excluded, distorted, or minimized (Belur 2008).

English language difficulties play a dual role in both increasing the risk of victimisation, (Gostjev and Nielsen 2017), and decreasing the odds of disclosure (Anitha 2008, 2010, 2011; Belur 2008; Gill 2004). Language difficulties also pose barriers to employment, education, social integration, and access to services, all of which restrict victim's access to support and disclosure pathways (Condon et al. 2011: 71).

iv. Trust and Confidentiality: Was the respondent able to disclose in a safe, confidential and trustworthy environment?

Trust and confidentiality were a major theme identified among barriers to disclosure in the CSEW, reflecting existing literature on disclosure in service provider settings (Heron et al. 2021; Hulley et al. 2023). Victims, particularly in domestic and sexual violence cases, often carry deep-seated fears, shame, and self-blame, driven by cultures of victim-blaming, the minimisation and disbelief of women's experiences, and the risk of revictimization by perpetrators or third parties if disclosure is discovered (Heron et al. 2021; Hulley et al. 2023). Trusting relationships and confidential processes and settings are therefore essential for making victims feel safe and protected from retribution, judgement, or dismissal when disclosing their experiences. This section discusses four identified factors which may undermine trust and confidentiality in disclosure: (1) the CSEW's association with the Home Office; (2) interviewer characteristics; (3) the presence of others, particularly partners, during the interview; and (4) confidentiality-based fears restricting participation in the self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence.

The UK Home Office and the CSEW

Whilst the Office for National Statistics is responsible for the CSEW (conducted on their behalf by Kantar Public), the survey has a close association with the Home Office. The Home Office was responsible for the survey until 2012 and currently uses CSEW data as one of its main sources of information on crime in England and Wales, alongside police data. The Home Office is responsible for both immigration and policing policies in the UK, with the boundaries between the two becoming increasingly blurred (Bowling and Westenra 2020).

The Home Office has long represented a source of distrust, fear and insecurity among Black and minoritised ethnic, migrant and other marginalised groups in the UK (see, for example, Yuval-Davis et al. 2018; Goodfellow 2020), and plays a significant role in regulating violence and inequalities in British society. The advent of the Hostile Environment has entrenched and exacerbated this distrust through the misuse of data, intrusive and omnipresent surveillance, withdrawal of protections, and criminalisation of migrants and ethnic minoritised communities (Griffiths and Yeo 2021; Yeo 2018; McIlwaine et al. 2019; Tendayi Achiume 2019; Project17 2020).

Within this context, the CSEW association with the Home Office may act as a deterrent to both participation and disclosure of violence by migrant and ethnic minoritised populations. Online information introducing the CSEW to potential participants highlights the Home Office's involvement in the survey and usage of this data to inform policy responses to crime. In particular, the pre-amble to the survey's self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence is the only area of the survey which explicitly mentions the Home Office's involvement. Since conducting my methodological review which identified this issue, qualitative interviews with survivors on the CSEW's methodology flagged this as an explicit concern among survivors of domestic abuse who were either concerned about their immigration status or knew others with insecure status (Hester et al. 2023a; 2023b). Against the backdrop of public misuse of data on migrants and increased surveillance and restrictions against migrants, this inclusion could deter migrants from disclosing violence, particularly in cases where the victim or perpetrator may be an irregular migrant and in domestic violence cases.

Interviewer Characteristics and Trust

Interviewer characteristics have been found to influence response and disclosure rates, including when dealing with victims of gendered violence (Harling et al. 2019). Existing literature suggests that women are more comfortable disclosing violence, particularly domestic and sexual violence, to other women. This barrier to disclosure is one of the most commonly addressed factors in disclosure settings, with domestic and sexual violence victim services often implementing 'women only' spaces, and recommendations for best practice among police and health services typically including it. My analysis found that respondents were both significantly less likely to disclose violence, particularly domestic violence, and more likely to indicate reluctance in disclosing domestic and sexual violence if they had a male interviewer. This was a

particularly prevalent barrier to disclosure, with a majority (59%) of interviews being conducted by men, and significantly higher odds of having a male interviewer for ethnic minoritised and migrant groups. These findings support existing recommendations on how to facilitate disclosure of domestic and sexual violence.

Male authority figures are often subject to greater mistrust, particularly in the context of domestic and sexual violence. The Sarah Everard case, as well as subsequent revelations of male perpetrators of domestic and sexual violence in public services (Cunningham 2023; Mulvihill and Sweeting 2024), highlighted women's fear of men as perpetrators and state authorities and public service professions. In the context of disclosure, attitudes and behaviours from practitioners and authorities which dissuade disclosure are found in both women and men. Yet the particularly high prevalence of men as perpetrators of domestic and sexual violence adds an additional dimension of threat and distrust. Additionally, the perception and practice of behaviours among women which are more conducive to disclosure, such as active listening and empathy may also contribute towards greater trust in female interviewers (see, for example, Agenagnew et al. 2020).

I was unable to analyse other interviewer characteristics, such as ethnicity, as the CSEW does not record this information. However, existing literature debating the merits and disadvantages of interviewer selection based on shared characteristics with respondents (Condon et al. 2011: 72; see also Müller and Schröttle 2004) would benefit from empirical analyses similar to those conducted for interviewer sex in this chapter. Research shows that people are more likely to trust interviewers with similar characteristics, especially those indicating shared experiences and struggles, potentially due to reduced fears of stigmatisation and prejudice by the interviewer (Condon et al. 2011: 72). This is particularly important for marginalised groups, who face unique challenges and experiences which are routinely ignored, misunderstood or minimised by non-marginalised groups. In countering these pressures and exclusions and the resulting distrust of mainstream and state institutions and services, marginalised groups mobilise through shared support systems based on solidarity, visibility, and shared experiences. For example, the UK's 'by-and-for' victims services,

such as Imkaan[26] and Southall Black Sisters[27], are led by, and address the specific needs of, minoritised ethnic and migrant women.

Other's and Partner's Presence

As the CSEW is conducted in the respondent's home, it benefits from access to victims who may otherwise be isolated or not have access to other routes to disclosure, but also carries the risk of victims being questioned in front of perpetrators, enablers, or household members who they do not wish to disclose to. Additional measures are implemented to secure confidential interviews, including the use of CASI, yet the risk of exposure for victims remains a significant barrier to disclosure.

Respondents were significantly less likely to disclose violence if someone else was present, particularly sexual and domestic violence when a partner was present, and more likely to disclose domestic and sexual violence reluctantly. This was a common barrier to disclosure, with someone else or a partner present in 29% and 17% of interviews, respectively. Women, migrants, and ethnic minoritised groups, particularly minoritised ethnic migrant women, were all less likely to be interviewed alone.

Disclosure of victimisation carries significant risks for victims if others find out they have disclosed. Studies have found that adverse reactions from others are a prominent barrier to disclosure, with victims being reluctant to disclose due to feelings of shame and guilt and fears of stigmatisation, victim-blaming, and not being believed, particularly in cases of domestic and sexual violence. As noted above, these factors may be exacerbated for minoritised ethnic and migrant women. Perpetrators of domestic violence strategically seek to prevent victims from disclosing as a means of securing their control over the victim and preventing interventions, including by isolating and threatening the victim.

Confidentiality Concerns in the Self-Completion Module

The self-completion module provides greater confidentiality in responding to questions specifically on domestic and sexual violence, yet confidentiality concerns were cited as the reason for non-completion by 13% of those excluded from the module. This was particularly the case among women, Black respondents, and ethnic minoritised

[26] Imkaan is a Black Feminist umbrella organization representing local by-and-for services in the UK.
[27] Southall Black Sisters is a by-and-for specialized service provider for Black and minoritised women victim-survivors of abuse in the UK.

migrant women. This aligns with increased exposure to trust and confidentiality-related barriers to disclosure (section 2.c.iv.) as well as higher levels of fear (section 3.a.) among minoritised ethnic migrant women.

Condon et al. (2011) highlight the introduction of self-completion modules, the use of female interviewers and practices of interviewing respondents alone as key improvements to facilitating disclosure of violence against women (61). Norms around privacy and relationships, as well as household environments and living situations, influence barriers to confidentiality. Interview settings may influence whether and how respondents answer questions about their experiences and disclose sensitive information. For example, disclosure of domestic violence in the same setting it was perpetrated, or with the perpetrator present or nearby, will be particularly influenced by trauma responses, cultures of shame, fear of retaliation, security concerns, pressures to remain silent (from the perpetrator and family/household members). Minoritised ethnic and migrant women are particularly vulnerable to victim-silencing, with familial and community pressure not to report violence, particularly in South Asian communities.

v. Autonomy and Independence: Disclosing Violence without External Influence or Intervention

Victim's ability to independently and freely share and give testimony on their experiences is critical to knowledge production on violence, particularly for domestic, sexual, and discriminatory violence. The silencing and minimising of victim's voices is a prevalent issue in critical research and civil society efforts to including marginalised experiences of violence in research and policymaking. Particularly, although not exclusively, in cases of violence within abusive or exploitative relationships, perpetrators and their enablers have a vested interest in undermining victims' ability to disclosure violence. Opportunities to disclose violence without influence or interference from others are therefore critical in allowing victims to answer freely and in their own voice when asked about their experiences of victimisation. As a household-based survey conducted in people's homes, the CSEW poses a particular risk of interference or influence from other household members present, including potential perpetrators of domestic and sexual violence. The CSEW's self-completion module on domestic and sexual violence is designed to allow respondents to answer sensitive questions about their experiences without any influence, involvement, or

interference from either the interviewer or others present during the interview. Similarly to a lack of confidentiality, I found that women, migrants, and minoritised ethnic groups experienced significantly higher levels of interference in the SC module on domestic and sexual violence, with minoritised ethnic migrant women experiencing significantly higher interference levels than all other groups.

The context and reasons behind interference are important for understanding how it may hinder, or in some cases facilitate, disclosure of violence. These contextual factors and motives, such as translation needs, community and familial norms, and relations of control, are influenced by gendered and socio-cultural relations and systems of inequality. Interference from others present may be invited by the respondent or offered by others to support the respondent's ability to read and understand the questions, help them remember events and consider their answers, or navigate any computer issues. Language barriers are prominent among migrants and individuals from minoritised ethnic backgrounds, leading to reliance on external translation support, often provided by family members. Whilst necessary for participants to understand and respond to questions, this poses additional barriers to disclosure in terms of confidentiality and autonomy. As discussed previously, the act of translation also introduces opportunities for misinterpretation, as interpreters may unintentionally introduce their biases, assumptions, or inaccuracies. This misinterpretation can lead to misunderstandings or an incomplete representation of victims' experiences.

However, in addition to well-intentioned interventions by interviewers and household members, interference may also often be motivated by a lack of consideration of privacy and confidentiality, or, of particular concern for domestic and sexual violence victims, a desire to control and monitor victims and prevent them from disclosing by perpetrators and their enablers. Despite the SC module's enhancement of confidentiality, victims of domestic violence, who often experience high levels of control by their partners, may be further prevented from disclosing their experiences due to interference from the perpetrator or others.

vi. After Disclosure: Data Translation

A less visible and under-researched area of knowledge production is the recoding and management of data. These processes essentially involve translating knowledge

shared by the respondent to the interviewer into quantitative datasets used by researchers for statistical analyses and outputs. Rather than a 'technical process', as it is often viewed, the decision-making behind *what disclosure counts* has a significant impact on *whose experienced are counted*.

Recent studies have demonstrated how internal practices of data recoding in the CSEW have a significant effect in underestimating violence against women and gendered forms of violence. These include artificially suppressing the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence through practices of offence code hierarchies (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024) and incidence capping (Walby et al. 2014b, 2016), as well as the exclusion of most sexual violence from violence estimated due to offence code groupings (Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021).

Whilst inequality patterns in disclosure rates largely mirror those in offence-code-based victimization estimates, I noted that the differences in odds ratios by inequalities were smaller for disclosure than official measures, suggesting that women, minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents are less likely to have disclosed violence included in final counts used for statistics. This may be due to disclosure reluctance and withdrawal, offence code hierarchies (Pullerits and Phoneix 2024), or other factors influencing how disclosure data is interpreted. Whilst a more detailed investigation into further practices which exclude disclosed violence from CSEW measures and estimates of violence victimisation is beyond the scope of this thesis, I identified two additional factors which may contribute towards the underrepresentation of violence against marginalized groups.

First, the CSEW excludes disclosed violence victimisation if it occurred outside of the UK, but also only collected data from UK residents. This means that only incidents which occurred within the UK (in the past year) against UK residents are captured, excluding UK residents who were abroad at the time of the incident or survey contact period, and violence against non-UK residents. The population of these groups is significant: non-UK residents made 38 million visits to the UK and UK residents travelled abroad 86 million times in 2023 (ONS 2024b). As a result, violence against tourists and short-term visitors (including exchange students and overseas workers, for example), who are more likely to be non-UK nationals and from ethnic minoritised groups, are excluded. Further, violence against UK residents visiting other countries,

a significant proportion of whom are migrant populations visiting friends and relatives and are disproportionately from minoritised ethnic backgrounds (Amoah 2022), is also excluded. It should also be noted that gendered forms of violence including FGM, forced marriage, and sex trafficking, are often perpetrated overseas and disproportionately experienced by ethnic minoritised, migrant, and socio-economically disadvantaged women (see, for example, Matanda et al. 2023; Segrave and Pickering 2012; Gangoli et al. 2011).

Second, the CSEW's individual population weights reduce the estimated prevalence of violence victimisation among minoritised ethnic groups while increasing it for white respondents. The CSEW's weighting variable compensates for variations in address selection, non-response rates (including by urbanity), household size, and number of dwellings. Whilst the effect of weighting changes has been critiqued for deflating the number of victims in the sample (Hope 2015), there are no studies, or even available information, addressing the impact of weights on ethnicity measures. The CSEW's weights do not account for ethnic variation in terms of non-response rates, urbanity, or number of dwellings, although these factors may influence how weights influence minoritised ethnic samples. I found a significant disparity in violence prevalence by ethnicity when comparing weighted and unweighted results. Weighted results indicated higher prevalence rates and significantly higher odds of violence victimisation for white groups when compared to minoritised ethnic groups, whereas non-weighted results showed higher prevalence and significantly higher odds for minoritised ethnic groups. Despite reviewing the ONS' documentation on the CSEW's weighting methods and implications, I did not find any direct explanation as to why the weights would significantly decrease estimates of violence against minoritised ethnic groups. This issue adds yet another example of how often invisible 'technical processes' can significantly alter empirical evidence on ethnic disparities in victimisation and, more broadly, our understanding of inequalities in violence.

Preliminary conclusions

By taking a comparative approach using survey data, I show that minoritised ethnic and migrant women are more likely to encounter barriers within disclosure pathways which may exacerbate existing barriers related to cultural, psychological and systemic factors, and highlight specific groups and contexts particularly at risk. And further, that

barriers are prevalent across the wider population, with potentially additional axes of inequality and contextual factors at play.

While my findings support existing research focus on minoritised ethnic and migrant women as hidden victims, they also suggest that barriers to disclosure apply more widely. As noted above, most studies on barriers to disclosure use women-only samples, with intersectional studies largely taking an intra-categorical approach focusing on minoritised ethnic and migrant women. I found no studies on barriers to disclosure which examine the total population or overall violence (rather than domestic or sexual violence specific). I found that whilst marginalised groups (particularly minoritised ethnic and migrant women) had greater odds of exposure to barriers than white, UK-born, and male respondents, the effect of these barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance was significant for the total population and overall violence. The effect of these barriers may other marginalized groups (for example, based on class) and/or extend to the broader population. Significantly, I found that whilst the effect of these barriers on disclosure rated and reluctance was greater for domestic and sexual violence, they[28] also significantly reduced the odds of overall violence disclosure. This broader applicability of disclosure barriers indicates a need for a more comprehensive approach to understanding and addressing hidden victimization across various demographics and types of violence. The research points to the potential for uncovering new categories of hidden victims through further investigation into barriers to non-domestic and non-sexual violence. By expanding the scope of inquiry, we may identify factors contributing to the invisibility of victims not previously recognized in existing literature. This approach could lead to a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of barriers to disclosure, hidden victims, and violence victimization across society.

My findings also demonstrate the cumulative nature of barriers faced by hidden victims. Both disclosure of violence and representation of this disclosure in the data involve overcoming multiple hurdles, which each disproportionately challenge marginalised victims and hidden forms of violence. Overcoming these challenges requires a holistic approach to breaking down barriers, not only in terms of addressing

[28] All barriers subject to analysis of effect on disclosure rates and reluctance, except for English Language difficulties.

risk factors for victims, but in addressing how multiple methodological practices exacerbate existing and impose additional barriers to representing victimisation.

Driven by researchers and practitioners in the VAWG field, significant efforts have been made to facilitate the disclosure of domestic and sexual violence in certain areas. Feminist organisations and VAWG support services have implemented measures seeking to ease the burden and risk of disclosure on victims, increase feelings of trust and safety, and open multiple pathways to disclosure. For example, websites for domestic violence services typically include quick exit buttons on their page and advice on how to hide help-seeking actions from perpetrators as a means of avoiding the risk of revictimization and enabling confidential support and escape routes. VAWG services often provide women-only services, where victims are interviewed and counselled by other women, to avoid feelings of shame and distrust and to circumvent trauma-responses from male-perpetrated violence. VAWG researchers and service providers have also significantly contributed towards guidelines and improvements in handling disclosure through other pathways, such as the police, health services, education, and social services. In relation to the specific processes of disclosure and data collection, interview procedures have also seen improvements in terms of question wording, setting, and confidentiality. In addressing victim's aversion to labelling domestic and sexual violence as 'violence', particularly when associated with violent crime, respondents may be presented with a list of specific behaviours and actions which are not explicitly termed 'violence' (Thiara et al. 2011).

Addressing barriers to disclosure not only reveals new insights into the experiences of hidden victims but also challenges our current understanding of violence prevalence and impact. By recognizing the interacting and hidden nature of these barriers and the role of methodological practices in exacerbating or failing to mitigate them, improvements to multiple stages of knowledge production which address these barriers may provide more inclusive data and effective interventions.

d. Deconstructing Inequalities in Knowledge Production on Violence: Preliminary Conclusions

Knowledge production on violence, in the context of this thesis, may be understood as a process of translating individuals' lived experiences into national statistics. This process of translation is not neutral, but fundamentally transformative. Representations of individuals' experiences pass through various filters which may

exclude, transform, or carry across meaning from experiential knowledge to statistical knowledge. Every stage of this process of translation and transformation involves decisions and practices of in/exclusion, mis/representation, and de/prioritisation which are largely reflective of existing hegemonic knowledge and ways of knowing.

The ways we *measure* violence and inequalities can adversely entrench and exacerbate inequalities in violence. As explored in this thesis: focusing on physical violence neglects the impact and elevated experiences of fear of violence among marginalised groups; national surveys pose (and fail to fully mitigate) barriers to victim disclosure; the categorisation of ethnicity not only misrepresents and excludes certain minoritised ethnic group, but inhibits analyses of excluded groups as particularly at risk of violence victimisation; and the nature of declining trends in violence is challenged when disaggregating trends by inequalities.

As highlighted in the previous sections, multiple factors influencing exclusion, deprioritisation, and vulnerabilisation coalesce around so-called 'hidden' victims of violence which results in their marginalisation in knowledge production. Understanding who is 'hidden' within data and statistics requires accounting for the multiple and overlapping factors which contribute towards epistemic and social marginalisation in the context of violence. Whilst the literature largely focuses on the context of victimisation, this thesis addresses how practices of knowledge production, rather than a detached 'technical process', play a key role in further marginalising and vulnerabilising already disadvantaged victims of violence. Processes of knowledge production cannot be isolated from systems of power and inequalities nor the social context within which their object of study occurs.

Underestimating violence against marginalised groups may result in their deprioritisation in policy measures and resources allocated to support marginalised victims and reduce the perpetration of discriminatory violence. These implications are crucial as they highlight significant gaps and biases in current methodologies, which can distort our understanding of violence and inequalities. Accurate measurement is essential for formulating effective policies and interventions; without it, marginalized and vulnerabilised groups may remain underrepresented, perpetuating systemic inequities. The underrepresentation of minoritized ethnic and migrant respondents, for instance, results in an inaccurate representation of violence prevalence, which in turn

undermines efforts to provide targeted support and resources for excluded and underrepresented victims. Additionally, the gendered nature of violence necessitates nuanced measures to ensure that the disproportionate victimization of women is accurately captured and addressed. Evolving definitions and intersectional approaches are vital for reflecting the complexities of modern forms of abuse, such as coercive control. Moreover, aligning data collection with user needs emphasizes the importance of producing actionable insights over maintaining historical comparability. Ultimately, these implications underscore the need for more inclusive, precise, and intersectional research methodologies to inform policies that effectively address and mitigate violence and its disparate impacts on different populations.

3. Contributing New Knowledge: Understanding Inequalities and Violence and Revealing Hidden Victims, Violence, and Patterns

In addressing the second overarching aim of this thesis – contributing new knowledge on violence and inequalities – I draw on reconstructivist strategies within critical epistemological perspectives. Having set out the ways marginalised groups and their experiences of violence are excluded, misrepresented and deprioritised in national data and statistics from a deconstructivist perspective, this section demonstrates how alternative approaches to measuring violence, categorising ethnicity, capturing disclosure, and analysing trends produce new insights and evidence on violence and inequalities, particularly in revealing hidden victims, violence, and patterns, from a reconstructivist perspective. As well as contributing towards the broader literature on inequalities in knowledge production, this section also highlights how new insights and evidence gained from alternative approaches contribute towards specific areas of the literature on violence and inequalities.

First, I discuss my findings on the disproportionality of fear to victimisation by intersecting inequality dimensions and groups. In analysing the contextual factors and drivers underpinning these results, I discuss three compounding explanatory factors in relation to the underestimation of physical violence against marginalised groups; how processes of vulnerabilisation exacerbate the fear of violence; and the practice of fear-drive risk-mitigation strategies of marginalised groups which reproduce

inequalities in other aspects of their lives. These explanations raise concerns regarding the deprioritisation od policy measures for marginalised victims, health harms resulting from elevated and chronic fear, and victim-blaming narratives which neglect the significance of fear and individualise the onus of victimisation avoidance on marginalised groups in particular. In the second section, I highlight how inequality-saturated dimensions of violence (domestic, sexual, and racially-motivated violence) exacerbate experiences of fear and barriers to disclosure. By analysing inequalities in violence not only by victims' social group but also by form of violence, I found that the latter influences inequality patterns in the former. That is, by taking a multi-dimensional approach to inequalities in violence, my analyses revealed more nuanced and specific patterns in how violence is experienced along intersecting axes of inequality.

Third, I combine findings from multiple analyses which incrementally build a picture of hidden victims, violence, and inequality patterns, focusing particularly on ethnic disparities. Here, I highlight findings which would otherwise be obscured or invisible based on existing practices, particularly Latinx/Hispanic and Asian groups' experiences of fear, victimisation, and barriers to disclosure. Fourth, I demonstrate how applying an intersectional quantitative approach to analysing trends in violence reveals inequalities in the impact of Austerity and the Hostile Environment on declining violence. In particular, I found that violence against women increased relative to men in the context of Austerity, and that violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women increased relative to other groups in the context of the Hostile Environment. These findings not only demonstrate the importance of intersectional approaches to quantitative analyses, but significantly, they reveal a significant association between inequalities in violence trends and specific hostile policy regimes in the UK.

In bringing these together, I discuss how these findings contribute towards the existing literature on violence and inequalities through alternative conceptual and methodological approaches, and the implications of these contributions for future research, policy and practice. Here, I further develop my argument that epistemic marginalisation contributes towards violence vulnerabilisation, whilst also highlighting key opportunities for disrupting cycles of inequalities in knowledge production and violence. Whilst the previous section focused on critiquing existing practices of epistemic marginalisation, this section seeks to demonstrate what may be revealed

through alternative pathways to knowledge production and why this matters for research and policymaking on violence and inequalities.

a. The Inequalities Gap between Victimisation and Fear: Underestimation, Vulnerabilisation, and Behaviour Modification

In this section, I discuss key findings from my first empirical application in relation to my second thesis aim: contributing new knowledge and evidence on violence and inequalities. Here, I show how expanding and deepening the way we measure inequalities in violence beyond direct physical violence is not only important in the context of underestimating inequalities in physical violence, but also in understanding how systems of violence are shaped by inequalities and how this is experienced through multiple dimensions of violence. Whilst noting the limitations of physical violence measures, my findings indicate opposing effects of inequalities on direct victimisation and fear of violence. Women, minoritised ethnic, and migrant respondents experienced significantly higher levels of fear of violence, despite significantly lower odds of being directly victimized by physical violence. Further, minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents had significantly higher odds not only of fearing violence, but of anticipating violence. The odds of minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents believing that they would likely experience physical violence over the next year was twice that of white and UK-born respondents, respectively, despite the estimated odds of physical violence victimisation being significantly lower. Additionally, despite significantly lower odds of physical violence victimisation, women *anticipated* violence equally to men (no significant gendered difference). This gap in physical violence and fear disparities was particularly pronounced in analyses of intersecting inequalities, with minoritised ethnic migrant women experiencing significantly lower odds of physical violence and threat victimisation, but significantly higher odds of all types of fear, compared to all other sub-groups. They also had the second highest odds of anticipating violence victimisation in the next year (only lower than minoritised ethnic migrant men). Whilst barriers to disclosure may play a significant role in suppressing estimates of physical violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women, the consistent elevation of fear corresponds with existing studies on systemic vulnerabilisation of this group. Overall, fear and anticipation of violence were disproportionately high among these groups compared to their estimated risk of violence victimisation. This suggests a disproportionate sense of fear, threat and

vulnerability based on groups' marginalized positions within systems of inequality and violence.

i. Underestimating Inequalities in Violence through the Production of Knowledge

These findings provoke further questions regarding the underlying drivers of disproportionate levels of fear and anticipation of violence among marginalized groups, that is, the *inequality gap between victimisation and fear*. Potential explanations may focus on the underestimation of violence against marginalized groups (as discussed in section 2 of this chapter) driving down estimates of victimisation but not fear, on factors which increase the level of fear among marginalized groups, on the interacting effect of heightened fear in reducing victimisation through risk mitigation and behaviour modification, or a combination of these. In each explanatory case, the interactions between systems of violence and inequalities and the mechanisms through which they operate play a significant role.

As discussed in the previous section (V.2.), multiple factors contribute towards the undercounting of violence against women, minoritised ethnic and migrant populations, which may be artificially creating a disproportionately large gap between victimisation and fear compared to men, white and UK-born populations. However, whilst the underestimation of violence likely plays some explanatory role in this gap and improvements to violence measurement would likely decrease this gap, additional factors of fear escalation and behaviour modification are also likely to play a significant role in widening this gap.

ii. The Role of Vulnerabilisation in Elevated Fear and Anticipation of Violence

A further explanation may be the role of vulnerabilisation in disproportionately increasing fear and anticipation of violence through heightened risk-factors, inequal access to justice and support, and through shared discourses of vulnerability and threat. Women, ethnic minoritised and migrant groups are subjected to processes of vulnerabilisation across their life-course. Whilst national statistics indicate that racially-motivated and sexual violence are comparatively uncommon (Home Office 2023; ONS 2023d), there is a generalized sense of fear and threat which is imposed upon and shared within marginalized communities. Whilst individual incidents may

make headline news, often framed as exceptional events, the pervasive signalling of threat in cultural discourse and the combined personal and shared experiences of targeted violence. The #MeToo movement made publicly visible what was already often shared among women – experiences of sexual harassment, discrimination and violence as a part of everyday life (Clark-Parsons 2021). Women are also socialized to fear rape – as a threat which all men pose against them, particularly strangers, as something which holds a destructive meaning beyond physical harm due to the social 'valuing' of women's chastity and sexual 'purity', and as a threat which they invite upon themselves and deserve if they violate gendered norms of femininity and female sexuality (see, for example, Brownmiller 1993; Pryor and Hughes 2013). Transgressions and exploitations of women's bodies are routinely and symbolically used in society, as well as the framing of women being both helpless against violence and responsible for modifying their behaviour to avoid 'asking for it'. Kelly's 'continuum of sexual violence', ranging from sexist jokes to rape, captures the interconnectedness of 'minor' forms of discrimination and severe forms of sexual violence within patriarchal systems as a means of controlling women's behaviour (1987).

In addition to increased risk-factors and the failure of criminal justice and support services to equally support victims and criminalise perpetrators, marginalized groups face additional factors which exacerbate the perception of threat and vulnerability through discourse and socialization, particularly in relation to cultural and symbolic violence. Socialisation of marginalized groups within hostile social systems, and as distinct from other social groups, commonly involves shared histories of systemic oppression and victimisation, and legacies of imposed victimhood and vulnerability (but also resistance and resilience) (Collins 2019; 2023). For marginalized groups, a heightened awareness and experience of threat, in both a specific and generalizable sense, is embedded as an essential tool for navigating an often hostile social environment. The disproportionately elevated fear and anticipation of violence (when compared to victimisation rates) may not appear disproportionate from the perspective of those who experience countless micro-aggressions, barriers to protection, and everyday discrimination.

iii. Risk Mitigation through Behaviour Modification

The lack of attention and unequal protection against these forms of violence may also contribute towards the sense of threat and the need for behaviour modification. The

state does not equally protect its population from violence, as evidenced by a range of literature on inequalities in criminal justice responses and support service provisions, particularly for women, migrants, and ethnic minoritised groups (Lammy Review 2017; Hester et al. 2023c; Mulvihill et al. 2018; Chakraborti 2018; McPhee et al. 2022; Erez 2002; Belknap 2020; Harris 1999). Personal experiences, shared stories and public awareness of criminal justice failings and underfunded support services create a sense of the state's deprioritisation, or even abandonment, of certain forms of targeted violence and victim groups.

Existing studies evidence the range and specificity of risk-factors affecting violence against marginalised groups. Coupled with increased fear and anticipation of violence, marginalised groups may seek to mitigate perceived heightened risk and modify their behaviour in an attempt to off-set this risk. Ethnicity studies discuss the practice of 'masking' and 'performative whiteness' to try to deter discriminatory behaviour and counter 'threatening' tropes against minoritised ethnic groups (Sim et al. 2022). Different marginalised groups deploy different strategies of risk-mitigation and behaviour modification. Minoritised ethnic groups, particularly Black individuals, face harmful stereotypes of criminality, threat, and aggression, and may seek to counter this through self-regulatory behaviours based on other's prejudicial perceptions of them. For example, minoritised ethnic groups reported fear of wearing face masks during the Covid-19 pandemic, despite Government recommendations, for fear of being racially profiled, viewed as more threatening and therefore more at risk from violence (Kahn and Money 2022).

Feminist studies have highlighted how women shape their daily lives around the threat of violence, particularly sexual violence (Saker et al. 2024; Brownmiller 1993; Pryor and Hughes 2013; Yodanis 2004). Women often face contrasting stereotypes of inherent victimhood which is contradictorily applied as self-imposed through victim-blaming narratives and a deprioritisation of victimisation against women. Women strategise to defend themselves within limited means whilst also navigating accusations of 'asking for it' or 'risky behaviour'. A simple night out or walk home involves complex navigations of the pervasive threat of violence, as well as abuse and harassment (see, for example, Saker et al. 2024). Strategies may include sharing live locations, taking photos of taxi licence plates, covering drinks, safe words, and being escorted by male friends.

Yet whilst this generalized sense of vulnerability and precarity among marginalized groups is central to how violence shapes their lives, it is often obscured as a core component of marginalized groups' lives and only occasionally used to contextualise their experiences rather than feature centre stage. Periodically, this sense of collective vulnerabilisation incites civil society and public activism and mobilization which brings it to the foreground, but not without resistance from powerful actors within the system, which may be viewed in recent examples. In 2020, the 'Black Lives Matter' movement shone a harsh light on the scale and severity of police-perpetrated violence against Black people. Video footage of a series of individual cases (e.g. the infamous death of George Floyd) evidenced the injustices and targeted nature of police violence against Black people, but broadened into a wider conversation of fear, vulnerability and impotence to mitigate the risks of violence. Black individuals began sharing accounts of how the pervasive threat of police violence and assumptions of criminality rather than victimisation affected their daily lives. They also shared how they modified their behaviour to mitigate, as well as make visible, the risk of police violence against them, although studies have also highlighted the detrimental effect of such strategies. For example, filming police interactions with Black members of the public was used to mitigate the risk of police-perpetrated victimisation and spread awareness of police brutality, yet have also contributed towards collective traumatisation through the proliferation of images of violence against Black people (Cox et al. 2024).

The role of fear in modifying behaviour to reduce the risk of violence should not be viewed as a productive means of reducing violence risks, however, particularly in the context of disproportionate fear among marginalised groups. It is important to account for the damaging effect of fear itself, the costs of behaviour modification to human dignity and freedom, and the constricting and controlling effect it has in shaping people's lives through relations and systems of inequality.

Preliminary Conclusions

In addressing my empirical research question – *How do inequality patterns vary by different dimensions and measures?* – I analysed and compared inequality patterns in experiences of violence based on cross-cutting inequality dimensions of violence. Having critiqued the CSEW's narrow definition of violence and simplistic measures of inequality dimensions, I proposed an expansion of the definitional boundaries of violence and a deepening of inequality dimensions in terms of how violence is

measured. In terms of analysis, I implemented a comparative approach which sought to capture the multidimensionality of violence where dimensions do not exist in isolation, but overlap and intersect with one another. Through this approach, I found that marginalised groups fear and anticipate violence disproportionately to the risk of direct victimisation, and that the effect of marginalisation on fear relative to victimisation is compounded at the intersections of marginalisation by gender, ethnicity and migrant-status. By taking an intersectional quantitative approach, I was able to observe the consistency of this relationship and specify variations across and within inequality groups and intersecting sub-groups. Whilst the elevation of fear of violence among marginalised groups, particularly women's fear of sexual violence, is well-researched (see, for example, Brownmiller 1993; Saker et al. 2024; Pryor and Hughes 2013; Yodanis 2004), there is a lack of research which analyses multiple cross-cutting inequality dimensions of violence simultaneously. Studies tend to focus on existing links between marginalised groups, violence which specifically targets them, and experiences of fear, rather than analysing how these factors interact. In taking a comparative approach, I contribute new evidence on how social marginalisation based on gender, ethnicity, and migrant-status increases individuals' sense of fear and vulnerability across physical, racial, and sexual violence. More than associating fear of racial violence with ethnic minoritisation and fear of sexual violence with gender, my findings indicate a generalised sense of fear among marginalised groups. Further supporting this finding, my analysis showed that despite lower odds of victimisation, minoritised ethnic and migrant groups were more likely to believe they would be victimised over the next 12 months. This increased sense of impending victimisation, coupled with a generalised sense of fear and vulnerability, contributes towards a deeper understanding of how experiences of violence are shaped by inequalities beyond physical victimisation.

Consistent with critical and intersectional epistemologies' emphasis on social context for interpretation, I situated these findings within the broader context of systemic marginalisation and vulnerabilisation which shapes marginalised groups' lived experiences and navigation of society. In doing so, I identified three potential explanations for the inequalities gap in victimisation and fear: the underestimation of physical violence against marginalised groups obscuring and, in some cases potentially inverting, inequalities; processes of vulnerabilisation exacerbating specific

and generalised fear of violence based on social disadvantage, precarity and exposure; and increased drivers of fear inciting risk-mitigation and behaviour modification strategies among marginalised groups reducing the risk of violence, but not the harms resulting from fear and restrictive self-regulated behaviour. It should be noted that each of these explanations (which likely act in combination) reveals additional concerns relating to violence inequalities.

These explanatory factors bear significant implications for both understanding how violence shapes people's lives beyond physical victimisation and, importantly, for policy responses and service provisions addressing the prevalence and impact of violence. Chronic and elevated fear levels produce mental and physical health harms (see, for example, Maeng and Milad 2017; Ropeik 2004), which should not be deprioritised due to the lack of direct physical victimisation or dispersal across marginalised populations rather than individualised to direct victims. Neither should increased behaviour-modification among marginalised groups be viewed as a positive means of reducing violence risks, as these are often based on discriminatory narratives which displace the onus of violence reduction to marginalised victims rather than perpetrators or the systems which vulnerabilised them to violence. Behaviour modification also harms marginalised groups in terms of living more restricted lives, reinforcing victim-blaming beliefs, and enhancing the role of violence perpetration and regulation as a tool for social control in systems of inequality.

In addressing these harms, policymakers and service providers need to take fear of violence seriously as an integral part of how violence is experienced in society. Numerous case studies and reports have evidenced patterns of behaviour where public services and authorities dismiss the relevance and impact of fear and anticipation of violence, including Domestic Homicide Reviews and qualitative interviews with survivors, particularly in relation to marginalised groups' experiences. Challenging institutional cultures which too readily dismiss the validity and impact of fear of violence among marginalised groups may be supported by (1) incorporating fear and anticipation of violence in violence measures through a softening of definitional boundaries; (2) taking a more relational and systems-based approach to violence in national statistics and policymaking which account for the wider social contexts and relations of violence underpinning fear; and (3) building targeted evidence on inequalities in fear as the basis for policy measures and service provisions

which seek to tackle the root causes of fear, rather than suppress or ignore it. In this way, I demonstrate how disrupting cycles of epistemic marginalisation (through the exclusion of wider experiences of violence from national measures which disproportionately impact marginalised groups) and violence vulnerabilisation (where systemic inequalities create a generalised and targeted sense of fear and vulnerability) requires integrating marginalised experiences of fear into mainstream knowledge production on violence.

b. The Exacerbating Effect of Inequality-Saturated Dimensions on Fear and Disclosure: Gendered and Racialised Violence

This thesis analysed inequalities in violence not only by social groups, but also through inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, including racially-motivated, domestic, and sexual violence. By including and comparing different forms of violence across my empirical applications, I found that inequality-saturated dimensions of violence exacerbated the effects of social marginalisation on fear and significantly increased the effect of barriers to disclosure, particularly relating to trust and confidentiality. This section highlights and discusses key findings on the exacerbating effect of racially-motivated, domestic, and sexual violence on barriers to disclosure and fear, which contribute new evidence on cross-cutting patterns of inequalities and demonstrate how multiple dimensions of inequalities (form of violence and social group) create a compounding effect.

i. The Disproportionality of Fear to Victimisation: Racially-motivated and Sexual Violence

Whilst my findings that racially motivated violence is higher among minoritised ethnic and migrants, and that sexual violence is higher among women may not be surprising, and conform with existing knowledge on inequality dimensions, by investigating intra-group inequalities and comparing ratios of fear and victimisation by non/inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, I found several additional insights into the relationships within and across inequality groups and dimensions.

By comparing the difference in victimisation and fear rates for non-inequality-saturated (stranger-perpetrated) and inequality-saturated (racially-motivated and sexual) violence, I found that the gaps between rates of violence victimisation and fear were 3-4 times wider for inequality-saturated dimensions (racially-motivated and sexual

violence) than stranger-perpetrated violence for the total population (table 4). That is, fear of violence is disproportionately higher than the risk of victimisation in cases of violence which targets and disproportionately affects a marginalised group, with fear of stranger violence 21 times higher than the risk of stranger-violence victimisation, fear of racially-motivated violence 65 times higher than victimisation, and fear of sexual violence 92 times higher than victimisation risk.

The victimisation-fear gap persisted even in cases of inequality-saturated dimensions which did not correspond with the marginalized groups in question (e.g. women's experience of racially-motivated fear and victimisation). For racially-motivated violence, women had significantly lower odds of racially-motivated violence victimisation but significantly higher odds of fear of racially-motivated violence, compared to men. For sexual violence, minoritised ethnic and migrant respondents similarly had significantly lower odds of sexual violence victimisation but significantly higher odds of fear of sexual violence, compared to white and UK-born respondents, respectively. This suggests that the disproportionate levels of violence fear among marginalized groups is not only generalizable beyond inequality-saturated dimensions, but that inequality-saturated forms of violence disproportionately elevate fear in themselves. That is, both (1) respondents' position within systems of inequality, that is, the effect of respondent gender, ethnicity and migrant-status and their intersections, and (2) inequality-saturated dimensions of violence, that is, the targeted and discriminatory character of certain forms of violence, disproportionately increase fear of violence relative to direct victimisation.

In distinguishing between inequality-variating (such as fear) and inequality-saturated (racial motivation and sexual aspect) dimensions of violence, I also demonstrated the relationship between inequality dimensions and the significance of accounting for both individualised and systemic factors. I found that inequality-saturated violence incites disproportionately higher levels of fear compared to victimisation (particularly sexual violence) for marginalised groups, even in cases among marginalised groups which are not the corresponding target of such violence (e.g. white UK-born women and racially-motivated violence). This suggests that both the targeted and discriminatory nature of such violence and the generalised sense of vulnerability and threat among marginalised groups contribute towards elevated levels of fear relative to victimisation risk. This may be due to, for example, the communicative meaning of such targeted

violence in dehumanising victims based on their identities, increased power-imbalances between victims and perpetrators, or increased severity and psychological harms associated with such violence.

ii. Barriers to Disclosure of Domestic and Sexual Violence

As well as exacerbating inequalities in fear of violence, I found that the effect of barriers to disclosure relating to English language comprehension, interviewer sex, and others' and partners' presence in reducing disclosure rates and increasing reluctance was particularly high for domestic and sexual violence. In particular, English language difficulties had the greatest effect on domestic and sexual violence disclosure reluctance compared to all other barriers, with the odds of disclosure reluctance 63-74 times higher than respondents without language difficulties. Whilst reflecting the position of domestic and sexual violence as the prevailing focus of existing literature, my analysis provides the first statical evidence that domestic and sexual violence significantly increases the effects of barriers to disclosure. Additionally, whilst current research and practice emphasise confidentiality as a core concern, the particularly high impact of English language difficulties requires further attention. Existing studies which highlight the role of language difficulties lack empirical evidence and practices to address this issue remain limited. The application of quantitative analyses on barriers to disclosure in additional settings, as well as further analysis of additional characteristics of domestic and sexual violence as increasing the effect of barriers on disclosure, would further support comparative and nationally representative evidence aimed at identifying and addressing barriers to disclosure.

c. Ethnic Disparities in Victimisation, Fear, and Barriers to Disclosure

As well as identifying intersectional inequality patterns in violence, I found notable disparities in violence victimisation and fear as well as exposure to disclosure barriers among different ethnic groups. I found that Asian and Chinese/Other groups are particularly at risk of exposure to and the effect of barriers, and similarly experienced increased fear of violence. Further, by recategorizing ethnicity to reveal hidden and misrepresented ethnic groups, I found that Latinx/Hispanic and Arab/MENA groups experienced significantly higher levels of violence victimisation. These findings not only demonstrate the need to address issues of misrepresentation in the UK's approach to ethnic categorisation, but also contribute new evidence of increased

victimisation, fear, and exposure to barriers to disclosure among Asian, Latinx/Hispanic, and Arab/MENA populations. In particular, by introducing Latinx/Hispanic as a distinctive ethnic group, I contribute the first empirical study which suggests that Latinx/Hispanic may be disproportionately at risk of victimisation. Whilst noting the limitations of my proxy measure, I have demonstrated how enabling their representation in national data and statistics is critical for investigating and addressing this increased risk of violence.

i. Hidden Victims: The Latinx/Hispanic Population

The concept of "hidden victims" in violence research is particularly relevant when discussing Latinx/Hispanic populations in the UK. The exclusion of this group represents a significant gap in our understanding of violence prevalence and experiences, largely due to their categorization and representation in official statistics and research. As noted above, civil society campaigns (CLAUK 2023) and petitions (UK Parliament Petition 2021) have called for this group to be included in national statistics. By recoding ethnicity and regional-origin data to identify this group in the CSEW, my analysis found that Latinx/Hispanic respondents had the second highest rate of violence victimisation, second only to Arab/MENA groups. Whilst based on a proxy estimate of Latinx/Hispanic ethnicity, this finding represents the first estimate of violence prevalence among this group in the UK. Statistical evidence and quantitative studies on Latinx/Hispanic experiences and social outcomes are extremely limited, largely due to the exclusion of this group from the UK's standardised categorisation of ethnicity. Qualitative studies have highlighted areas of inequality and discrimination, although these have largely focused on Latinx/Hispanic migrant women in terms of domestic labour and socio-economic inequalities. These studies highlight exploitative working conditions, social isolation, and workplace abuses (Modern and Barbosa 2023). In a rare study examining Latinx groups' experiences of violence, KCL researchers found that 48% of Brazilian women in the UK had experienced gender-based violence in the UK, with a significant proportion of victimisation associated with their employment (McIlwaine and Evans 2018). Whilst indicating the role of intersecting gendered, socio-economic, and migration-based factors shaping Latinx/Hispanic women's experience of violence in relation to exploitation and deprivation, these studies are limited by the lack of quantitative data which distinguishes Latinx/Hispanic groups and the corresponding deprioritisation of this

group as worthy of study, and by implication, of support and protection. Visibility and representation, as I emphasise throughout this thesis, is a critical step in addressing the specific and disproportionate risks and experiences of violence among marginalised groups. Exclusion from knowledge production entrenches violence vulnerabilisation by undermining evidence-based policymaking and service provision which addresses the specific forms, extent, and impact of violence against already marginalised groups.

ii. Misrepresenting and Obscuring Asian Groups: Fear and Barriers to Disclosure

Exposure to Barriers to Disclosure

By comparing ethnic disparities in exposure to and the effect of barriers to disclosure, I found that Asian and Chinese/Other groups were particularly at risk of under-representation in the data. Most studies on barriers to disclosure which factor in ethnicity either group all ethnic groups together or take an Intracategorical approach (focusing on one ethnic group, rather than comparatively) (Bauer et al. 2021; McCall 2005). Asian victims had significantly higher odds of overall violence disclosure, with disclosure reluctance particularly pronounced for both Asian and Chinese/Other groups for domestic and sexual violence. Asian and Chinese/Other groups also had higher odds of others and partners being present, of exclusion from the self-completion module and interference during the module, as well as experiencing English language difficulties., these findings suggest that these groups face particular situational factors which are exacerbated in the CSEW and likely contribute towards their under-representation as victims in national statistics on violence, particularly domestic and sexual violence.

Drawing also on my findings on the importance of ethnic recategorization, development of the above findings requires differentiation between Asian and 'Other' groups' experiences and risk factors. Qualitative studies focusing on South Asian and Latinx women have highlighted specific barriers to disclosure based on intersecting inequalities, institutional factors, and situational contexts (Gilligan and Akhtar 2006; O'Neal and Beckman 2017). Overcrowding in Asian households (DLUHC 2022; see also Garrett et al. 2014), familial structures and relations, cultural values and norms (particularly around gendered, domestic, and intimate relations) (see, for example, Li

Yao 2022; Stopes Roe and Cochrane 1989) may contribute towards situational and relational factors which undermine confidential and independent disclosure in household-based data collection. Rather than taking a blanket approach to addressing barriers to disclosure, the specific contexts and experiences of victims, particularly already marginalised groups (as highlighted at the start of this section), need to be understood as the basis for building pathways to disclosure which mitigate and address barriers to disclosure and representation.

Disaggregating Asian Groups: Fear of Violence

As noted in section 2.b.v., the form and character of discrimination and oppression against different Asian ethnic groups are significant, despite the lack of acknowledgement of this in UK research and policy. Individuals subject to discrimination based on their assigned 'Asian' ethnicity typically face different ethnic stereotypes and forms of discrimination based on their perceived affinity to 'East Asia' or 'South Asia', shaped by legacies of colonial and racial systems of inequalities in British history (e.g. Brooks 2019; Oh 2021).

Whilst I found no significant difference in the odds of violence victimisation between South Asian and 'ESEC Asian' respondents, I found that South Asians were significantly more likely to fear violence. As highlighted in the following section, this may be due to underestimation of violence against South Asians (noting my findings of Asian respondents' increased exposure to barriers to disclosure), vulnerabilisation, behaviour modification, or likely a combination of these. Noting the lack of existing evidence in this area, further research is needed to identify differences in fear and barriers to disclosure between different Asian-based ethnic groups.

Similarly to the case of heightened violence against Arab and MENA-origin groups during the Global War on Terror period, the obscuring of 'ESEC Asian' respondents within the data meant that monitoring inequalities in violence during the Covid-19 period, which saw targeted violence against specifically East Asian populations (Ha et al. 2020; Carr et al. 2022), was limited. The distinction between different Asian ethnic groups would enable better monitoring of discriminatory violence based on ethnic stereotypes or group membership.

d. The Impact of Hostile Policy Regimes: Victimisation under Austerity and the Hostile Environment

My final empirical application took a particularly reconstructivist approach to addressing inequalities in knowledge production. In positioning this application within a wider cycle of inequalities in knowledge production, I reveal how monitoring trends in violence without accounting for inequalities hides the uneven progress of violence reduction which often deprioritises marginalised groups. Whilst previous empirical applications addressed inequalities in knowledge production through methodological practices of measurement, categorisation, and data collection within the CSEW, my final empirical application focused on how national statistics are used in monitoring violence trends and the impact of policy changes on violence against different groups. This section discusses the findings of my final analysis in the context of policy regimes of Austerity and the Hostile Environment, which, as my findings demonstrate, contribute towards the vulnerabilisation of women (particularly in the former) and minoritised ethnic migrant women (particularly in the latter) to violence victimisation.

i. Gendered Violence in the Age of Austerity

Supporting long-held criticisms of the gendered impact of Austerity, particularly on violence against women, I found gendered disparities in the rate of decline for violence during Austerity, with violence declining slower for women than men during this period. Whilst reducing violence against women remains a stated policy objective by the UK Government, persistent prioritisation of ideologically-driven economic policy approaches, despite evidence of the significant economic cost of gendered violence, undermines evidence-based approaches to reducing violence due to the interaction between these policy regimes. Whilst it may be argued that the gendered effects of Austerity and the hostile environment were largely due to the unintentional effects of 'gender-blind' policy-making and a lack of gender-balanced decision-making institutions, evidence suggests that the relationship between gender inequalities and these policy decisions was evident to the Government (Alston 2019; Yeo 2018; Keen and Crackwell 2017). Whether driven by a conscious deprioritisation of gender equality as a policy objective or the product of gender-blind policy approaches, the severity and persistence of Austerity based on gendered logics which disadvantaged and exploited women's roles in society not only exacerbated gendered economic inequalities, but, as my findings suggest, contributed towards a relative increase in

violence against women which undermines the reduction of gendered violence as a critical policy objective.

The advent of Austerity marked a decisive shift in the UK's economic and welfare policy regime, from a previously more Social Democratic trajectory under Blair's 'New Labour' to a markedly more Neoliberal one under a new era of Conservative governance. As a distinctive policy regime focused on the unequal redistribution of economic and social resources, Austerity was deeply gendered through the withdrawal of public services and welfare that had supported women's increased participation in the economy and public domain. Neoliberalisation of the UK's gender-economic regime influenced the withdrawal of Social Democratic strategies within the gender-violence regime through cuts to public and support services particularly for women, as well as exacerbating economic risk factors for violence victimisation, particularly for domestic violence. The severity and persistence of Austerity based on gendered logics which disadvantaged and exploited women's roles in society not only exacerbated gendered economic inequalities, but, as my findings suggest, contributed towards a relative increase in violence against women which undermines the reduction of gendered violence as a critical policy objective.

ii. Intersectional Violence Trends under the Hostile Environment

Of particular relevance to this thesis in terms of hidden inequalities in violence and the importance of intersectional analyses is my finding that whilst single-axes analyses found no significant difference in violence trends by migrant status or ethnicity during the Hostile Environment, by taking an intersectional quantitative approach, I found that violence against minoritised ethnic and migrant *women* increased relative to other groups during the Hostile Environment compared to previous trends. Without incorporating gender and intersecting inequalities, studies on the estimated effect of the Hostile Environment would likely find no significant association with changes in violence or violence trends based on ethnicity or migrant-status. Evidence-based policy-making relies upon critical research to make these inequalities visible and tangible. Whilst under-researched in academic scholarship, civil society actors have persistently argued for the racial, and in some cases gendered, impact of the Hostile Environment (see, for example, EVAW 2024; Liberty 2019). This empirical application not only provides much-needed evidence of the estimated effects of the Hostile Environment on violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women, but demonstrates

the importance of accounting for intersecting inequalities and interactions between policy regimes in research and policy-making. It provides a tangible basis for building further evidence on the inequal and discriminatory impact of the Hostile Environment and supports long-held arguments by civil society actors against the persistence of this policy regime based on ideological, not evidence-based, policy prioritisation.

Claims of racial and gendered discrimination through the Hostile Environment have largely focused on small-sample qualitative studies, individual cases, and policy critiques, with little evidence of the more widespread effects and cross-group comparisons. State justification for the introduction and persistence of the Hostile Environment relies upon its claimed targeting of undocumented migrants. Due to the CSEW sampling design likely excluding undocumented migrants and the low estimated proportion of undocumented migrants in the population, my findings are not based on the estimated effects of the Hostile Environment on undocumented migrants, the far broader population of migrants (as anyone not born in the UK), specifically minoritised ethnic migrant women. Physical interpersonal violence captured in the CSEW represents the most visible manifestation of violence regimes. My study did not include non-violent racist or anti-immigrant abuse and discrimination; institutional or state-perpetrated violence, such as by policy or border enforcement actors; or non-physical violence. It captures a specific type of violence that is part of a wider system of violence and inequalities which operates through gender and border regimes. Physical violence is a critical manifestation of this wider border-violence system which not only effects those it claims to target (undocumented migrants), but works through gendered, racial and migration-based systems of inequality to disproportionately effect wider groups who sit at the intersection of these systems – specifically minoritised ethnic migrant women.

In the wake of Austerity, the introduction of the Hostile Environment saw greater restrictions on access to social resources and infrastructure, including victim support services, which specifically targeted migrants. Whilst the policy claimed to target undocumented migrants, my findings suggest a far wider impact on migrants, particularly ethnic minoritised migrant women. The strategic exclusion of already vulnerabilised groups from basic state support systems and justice, as well as targeted surveillance, monitoring and restrictions affecting migrants' ability to equally navigate social institutions, represents a withdrawal and, in some cases, reversal of state

protection from violence. This empirical application demonstrated how the exclusion of vulnerabilisation groups from key social resources which mitigate the risk of victimisation extends beyond direct changes in violence policy, but is shaped by its wider system environment through policy regime shifts in areas of the economy and borders.

The past decade has seen a distinctive shift in the UK's economic and border policy regimes, with the introduction of severe Austerity measures in 2010 and the restrictive Hostile Environment immigration regime in 2014 deepening inequalities across society (Nunn 2016; Alston 2019; Durbin et al. 2017; Ginn 2013; Greer 2017; Oxfam 2013; Sands 2012; Women's Budget Group 2017; Bralo 2021; McIlwaine et al. 2019). I investigated the role of borders in the governance and prevalence of violence in society within the context of and in relation to Austerity, focusing particularly on the intersection of gender, migrant-status and ethnicity. Whilst violence has long been in decline (Ganpat 2020; see also Pinker 2012 [1954]; Elias 1994), this empirical application finds that not only have overall violence trends in the UK stopped declining over the past decade, but that violence against women has increased relative to men during Austerity, and, of particular interest to this thesis, that violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women has increased relative to all other groups (compared to the Austerity period and pre-existing trends). By using intersectional trend analysis of policy regimes, I demonstrate the significance of macro-level changes in border regimes for inequalities in violence trends at the intersection of gender, migrant-status and ethnicity.

4. Project Evaluation

This final discussion section outlines the main limitations of my research and evaluates my research project's theoretical-methodological approach.

a. Limitations, Challenges, and Adaptations

This section addresses the main limitations of my data, analyses, and key findings, as well as outlining how I adapted my approach to mitigate the challenges I encountered in this project. Here, I highlight limitations relating to (1) inconsistent and missing variables in the CSEW; (2) study period restrictions; (3) excluded populations; (4) the effects of weighting variables on ethnic disparities in violence and non-weighting for sample size variation; and (5) my approach to measuring the association between

policy regimes and changes in violence trends. Whilst this thesis has, in many ways, been *about* identifying the limitations of national survey and quantitative data, this section focuses on specific factors which posed limitations on my empirical findings. In the following section (b), I include additional challenges and limitations relating to my methodological approach.

First, whilst the CSEW largely benefits from stability in data collection over time, several variables were only available during certain years of the study period. This was due to several variables being temporarily discontinued from the questionnaire, restricted to the secure-access datasets, or were missing from the dataset for unknown reasons. In navigating this challenge, some analyses were excluded due to the absence of required variables, others were performed using a reduced sample size (as in empirical application 3), and, of those which were particularly necessary for wider analyses, a reduced study period was applied (as in empirical application 2).

In particular, my second empirical application (misrepresenting ethnicity) required access to the CSEW secure data files due to the removal of detailed ethnicity variables in 2012/13, as well as the lack of sufficient regional origin data in the main dataset. As previously noted, the removal of data on low-level ethnic groups restricts researchers' ability to specify ethnic groups and instead relies on the high-level categories, of which this study has highlighted several issues. Several years of detailed ethnicity data were also missing from both the non-secure and secure datasets, resulting in the combined data for this study being split across two time periods (2004-2007 and 2013-2019).

Second, the overall study period was defined based on data restrictions resulting from missing migration-related data and a survey mode change. The survey period was defined as 2003-2019, with the starting year determined by the introduction of questions on country of origin in 2003, which was necessary for my analyses of migrant respondents, and the ending year determined by the disruption of the Covid-19 pandemic in the CSEW's survey mode from face-to-face interviews to telephone interviews which prevented comparability of the data over this period. Whilst the initial research design for this thesis planned to examine the impact of Brexit on violence inequalities, the change in survey mode, as well as the disruptive impact of Covid-19 (which also made disentangling the effects of Brexit and Covid-19 a particularly challenging issue), meant that the data was only comparable until survey wave

2019/20. As a result, the research project shifted towards a focus on previous policy regime shifts in Austerity and Brexit and expanded its investigation into the measurement of violence and inequality through processes of knowledge-production.

Third, and as highlighted in this chapter, whilst the CSEW offers the most nationally-representative data on violence, specific marginalised populations are more likely to be excluded from the sample (see, section 2.c.i. in this chapter in particular). As the CSEW involves household-based face-to-face interviews, the survey sample excludes populations not living in standard residential households. This sampling approach means that individuals living in institutional, non-registered, short-term and other non-standard residencies are not included in the survey sample, such as those living in prisons, detention centres, medical and psychiatric institutions, care homes, refuges, University halls, residential hotels and hostels, as well as homeless people. Existing evidence suggests that these residency groups are more likely to face increased levels and targeted forms of violence, and that women, ethnic minoritised groups and migrants are often over-represented in these excluded residential settings (see chapter II, section 4.c.i.). Whilst this limitation is included in my critique of the CSEW, it also posed limitations for subsequent analyses of marginalised groups and specific forms of violence by, as I have shown, limiting their inclusion in the data.

Fourth, my use of the CSEW's individual weighting variable in my statistical analyses potentially limited my findings relating to ethnic disparities in violence. This was also raised as a potential concern for representing ethnic minoritised groups' experiences of violence (see section 2.c.vi. in this chapter), yet despite reviewing the CSEW's weighting methods and conducting exploratory analyses of the effects of weighting variables, I was unable to identify the specific reason for this effect. Whilst I considered abandoning the CSEW's weights due to this concern, I ultimately decided to use weighted data for analyses due to the lack of evidence on the cause and mechanisms underlying this effect. I did, however, note this concern as a potential limitation and caveated my findings on ethnic disparities in violence victimisation as a result.

Further, similar concerns may be raised in relation to the opaque practices and implications of weighting and social inequalities based on what is and is not considered in the ONS' weighting methodology. The Office for Statistical Regulation has highlighted a potential risk that 'systematic bias' in population estimates may pose a

risk for statistics which use these estimates in their weighting (OSR 2021b: 17). In particular, the exclusion of specific marginalised groups from population estimates introduced biases in how other statistics are weighted to the disadvantage of such marginalised groups. Whilst there has been some academic critique of using weights in relation to social inequalities, for example Gluschenko's (2018) critique of weighting implications for regional inequalities, the literature on this is relatively sparse in terms of directly challenging the use of ONS weighting techniques. In raising the issue of weighting for ethnicity data in the CSEW, although my evaluation of the CSEW's weighting techniques remains inconclusive, I hope to contribute towards an increasingly critical stance on weighting and its implications for capturing inequalities and marginalised experiences.

As well as posing potential issues for accurately capturing marginalised groups' experiences, particularly in relation to ethnic disparities, the use of ONS weights also carries implications for pooled data analyses. As noted in chapter III, section 1.b., the ONS weighting design does not account for variations in sample sizes between different survey waves (ONS 2018: 22-24). This means that in pooled analyses, results may be slightly skewed towards years which have larger sample sizes than others. In following the ONS' guidance and recommended use of C11IndivWgt to weight estimates and analyses of individual-level victimisation, my results are therefore not adjusted for sample size variations. This limitation may be mitigated in future research which both examines the complexities and implications of the ONS' weighting design for measuring inequality-based patterns across pooled years of data, and potentially further adjusting the data to account for any sample size differences across multiple years. For this research project, however, it was also important to maintain similar practices to ONS' recommended and standardised approach when critiquing and comparing particular methodological approaches. Whilst highlighting potential issues in ONS weighting techniques, I followed ONS guidelines to reflect standardised practices through which national statistics are produced. Additionally, my use of ONS weighting variables makes use of the most recommended and advanced adjustments for non-response and population representativeness, which benefited the applicability and generalisability of my findings, whilst noting their limitations and critiques.

Finally, I address the limitation of my findings on the association between violence trends and policy regimes, which relates more so to an adaptation in my approach to

measuring policy change and the resulting limitations for interpreting my findings. As noted above, earlier iterations of my research project intended to include Brexit as a policy regime, focusing particularly on its gendered, racial-ethnic, and antimigration dimensions. In accounting for the complexity and dispersal of policy changes involved in Brexit, I developed a policy measurement framework which sought to capture how policy regimes and their comprising measures and features affected different social groups. This framework was developed with the aim of its wider application to other policy regimes. However, due to the extensive time and resources required to perform additional qualitative analyses of policy documents using this framework, alongside the multiple quantitative analyses included in my project, I shifted my approach to measuring policy effects to a quantitative methodology. In analysing how disparities in violence trends changed during Austerity and the Hostile Environment, I adapted a statistical method traditionally used in health studies to analyse the effect of treatments on health outcomes. Using a series of difference-in-difference models, I was able to use periods of time as proxy measures for specific policy regimes and estimate how disparities in the rate of decline in violence changed following the introduction of Austerity and Hostile Environment measures.

However, as with many approaches to analysing policy effects, it should be noted that neither policy regime took place in a vacuum. Multiple additional factors, such as unrelated changes in criminal justice policies or social attitudes, may have affected disparities in the rate of decline. Given the potential for confounding factors and the complex ways in which policy regimes change over time, produce unexpected effects, and interact with their wider context, the principle that correlation does not equal causation is particularly relevant here. My results are therefore limited in terms of accounting for intervening and confounding factors, and should therefore be interpreted strictly as a significant association which provides an indication of, rather than proof of, the impact of these policy regimes on violence trends. Consideration of this limitation does not, however, undermine the value of my findings on inequalities in violence trends during these policy regimes. Given the challenges in measuring the effects of policy changes amidst numerous confounding factors and complex social and policy contexts, my approach seeks to mitigate this in part through an operationalisation of expansive policy regimes, which saturate their given policy landscapes. The Austerity regime represented more than a series of economic policy

changes, but rather a distinctive policymaking framework which affected all areas of policymaking (see chapter II.2.e.ii.). The Hostile Environment, whilst claiming to target 'illegal migrants' alone, transformed how migrants' lives were governed beyond direct areas of immigration, but more broadly areas of housing, travel, banking, employment, marriage, and healthcare (see chapter II.2.e.iii). By operationalising policy *regimes* in this way, I was able to analyse the relationship between hostile policy changes on violence trends at the macro-level of policy regimes and national victimisation rates. Further, my findings contribute critical evidence to the role of both Austerity and the Hostile Environment in changing rates of violence and inequalities. As noted previously (chapter II.2.e.), there is little quantitative evidence of the impact of Austerity on violence (notable exceptions being Ganpat et al. 2022 and Walby et al. 2014b; 2016), and no studies which have accounted for its intersectional effects. There is an even more pronounced absence of statistical evidence of the impact of the Hostile Environment more broadly, as well as no quantitative studies on its relationship to violence. Whilst accounting for the limitations of using time-period proxy measures of policy regimes, my approach both seeks to mitigate the effects of confounding factors by operationalising policy regimes and contributes important findings to a significantly under-evidenced area of social concern among a wide range of stakeholders (see also chapters II.2.e. and V.3.d.).

Having set out several limitations based on the data used and the scope of this thesis, as well as relevant caveats my findings and adaptations used to mitigate my limitations, the following section focuses on evaluation my methodological approach, noting both limitations and strengths.

b. Evaluating My Methodological Approach

As a research project primarily about how we produce knowledge, my methodological approach was a central part of my project as a whole. More than just a means to an end, I approached my methodological framework as a research contribution in itself. In developing my methodology, I grounded my approach in theoretical, epistemological, and methodological insights and approaches from the Sociology of Knowledge (SoK), Critical Epistemologies, and Intersectionality. In doing so, I sought to contribute towards the literature by putting key principles and perspectives into practice by not only making recommendations for improving knowledge production, but implementing them across my thesis as a means of empirically addressing my

second set of overarching research questions: *How can we better include, represent, and prioritise marginalised experiences of violence? What new insights can be gained by addressing inequalities in knowledge production?*

This section evaluates my methodological framework and practices, focusing on my de/reconstructivist approach and quantitative intersectional methodology. Here, I evaluate the strengths, limitations, and implications of these approaches, both in the context of my thesis and their wider application.

i. Bridging Re/Deconstructivist Strategies

In situating my methodological approach within critical epistemologies, I sought to address an underexplored gap in the literature arising from methodological and disciplinary divisions. These divisions largely centre around the dominance of quantitative approaches in mainstream violence research, as well as social science and policy fields more broadly, and the dominance of qualitative methods in critical epistemologies and inequality-focused fields of violence, such as the VAWG field. By distinguishing between (1) deconstructivist emphases on critiquing and challenging hegemonic knowledge systems and practices, particularly positivistic approaches to quantitative research, and (2) reconstructivist efforts to carve out counter-hegemonic pathways to knowledge, particularly qualitative approaches which emphasise marginalised voices and experiences, I have shown how epistemic lines of division based on disciplinary, epistemological, and methodological perspectives pose a significant challenge for addressing inequalities in knowledge production. Whilst qualitative research is essential to a reconstructivist project of producing counter-hegemonic knowledge from marginalised perspectives and alternative 'ways of knowing', the divide between quantitative and qualitative research along the lines of epistemic power contributes towards a methodological marginalisation of critical perspectives.

Knowledge production on violence and inequalities is largely divided into critical perspectives which provide conceptual critiques (deconstructivist) and detailed qualitative evidence (reconstructivist) on the one hand, and national statistics and quantitative studies which apply standardised measures and categories uncritically on the other hand. In bridging this gap, I implemented a joint de/reconstructivist approach through adapted and creative methods, including methodological evaluations

supportive by quantitative analyses, adapted quantitative intersectional analyses (see section ii.), and ethnic recategorization (see section iii.).

This thesis sought to demonstrate how de/reconstructivist strategies may be integrated into critical analyses of inequalities in knowledge practices. In my first empirical application, I not only critiqued how the CSEW measures violence and captures dimensions of inequality, but also proposed and implemented an alternative approach which softened the definitional boundaries of violence measures to include wider experiences and accounted for both inequality-saturated and inequality-variating dimensions of violence. Whilst noting the limitations of dimensions included in my thesis, both due to a lack of data collection (e.g. ethnic dimensions) and the scope of my study, I found new evidence on how victimisation and fear are experienced by taking a cross-cutting approach to analysing multiple dimensions of violence. Rather than just critiquing the CSEW's measurement of violence and inequality dimensions, I also situated these within a wider pattern of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of marginalised experiences of violence and implemented by own expanded approach to better account for inequalities in how violence is experienced and shapes people's lives.

My second empirical application demonstrates particularly well how deconstructivist and reconstructivist approaches work collaboratively in building a more convincing argument for addressing inequalities in knowledge production. In doing so, it makes two successive contributions to the existing literature. First, whilst most literature on ethnic categories base their arguments on conceptual critiques, my research provides empirical quantitative evidence of increased risks of exclusion and misrepresentation. I not only provided evidence of misrepresentation, but was able to provide estimates for which specific groups were more likely to be excluded of misrepresented within the data. Second, rather than limiting my argument to a critique of existing practice, or even just proposing adaptations which may improve current measures, I took my analysis further by recoding the data to construct proxy measures of ethnicity using my proposed recategorization and compared ethnic disparities in experiences of violence based on the standardised and proposed approaches. This approach required a careful balancing of practicality and complexity in seeking to improve a challenging aspect of critical quantitative approaches: aligning quantitative methods with the complexity of ethnic identity and group membership. Whilst discussing the

challenges, limitations, and strengths of this approach further in sub-section iii. below, I discuss how my methodological approach demonstrates the strengths of taking a joint de/reconstructivist approach to improving measures of social groups and inequalities.

My final two chapters each take a more deconstructivist and reconstructivist approach, respectively. In analysing barriers to disclosure, I focused on critiquing and revealing inequalities in practices of data collection and recoding by demonstrating how disparities in exposure and the effect of barriers on disclosure rates and reluctance contributes towards an underrepresentation of violence against minoritised ethnic and migrant women, particularly in domestic and sexual violence cases. In analysing inequalities in violence trends, I focused on contributing new knowledge through a quantitative intersectional approach to monitoring uneven progress on violence reduction, particularly during hostile policy regimes. Taken separately, they each contribute new evidence to their respective research areas. However, when taken together, they contribute towards a wider pattern of knowledge production which excludes and obscures experiences of violence among marginalised groups, particularly minoritised ethnic and migrant women.

Implementing this approach often requires creative solutions in bringing together critiques of existing knowledge and implementing adapted approaches. For example, my analysis of ethnic misrepresentation involved recoding ethnicity using proxy measures where data was not collected on proposed ethnic groups, such as Latinx/Hispanic (see sub-section iii. below). Using the same data which is under critique to then demonstrate how it could be improved is a particularly challenging approach. Whilst my implementation of this approach through creative methods is a strength of this thesis, it also poses limitations for results (see, for example, sub-section iii. below) and challenges for wider implementation. Despite these challenges, I argue that the broader initiative of implementing a more inclusive and collaborative approach to deconstructing and reconstructing systems and practices of knowledge production would open new avenues and opportunities for addressing inequalities in knowledge production.

ii. Quantitative Intersectionality

In this thesis, I propose and implement an approach to quantitative intersectional analysis which improves the specificity of inequality-focused results and accounts for multiple axes of inequalities in a more comprehensive way. My adapted intercategorical approach, using rotating referent groups across a series of models, sought to improve the specificity of results by intersecting inequalities, tested the consistency and patterns within and across groups for inequality effects, and identified hidden patterns and nuances in the results otherwise obscured by single-axes approaches.

Through the practical application of my theoretical and epistemological framework, I have shown how an intersectional approach to quantitative research is not just beneficial but necessary for producing equitable and comprehensive knowledge. By integrating qualitative and quantitative methods, addressing institutional roles, engaging in epistemic resistance, and situating research within its broader contexts, we can create a more inclusive and just knowledge production system. This approach not only enhances the validity and reliability of research findings but also ensures that the voices and experiences of marginalized groups are adequately represented and addressed.

In terms of its wider application, this approach faces some limitations. Particularly when analysing marginalised and minoritised populations by multiple intersections, a particularly large sample is required in order to insure sufficient statistical power when analysing small sub-groups. This approach is therefore best suited to nationally collected data and will most likely (as in this thesis) require the pooling of multiple years. Further, this approach does not enable more detailed explorations of intersecting inequalities possible in qualitative data which is able to explore multiple intersections and nuanced approaches to identity and experiences of multiply-marginalised groups and individuals. It also does not further debates and insights into power relations which is a prevalent subject in intersectionality literature.

However, despite these limitations, this approach to quantitative intersectional analysis offers new insights into the specific and interacting effects of multiple inequalities using national data generalisable to the population. It enables researchers to be more specific in their results and avoid ‘lumping’ together diverse populations by

single-axes measures which do not sufficiently account for internal variations and more nuanced patterns in inequalities. It integrates intersectional perspectives into one of the core building blocks of social research and evidence-based policy making – quantitative analyses of national data, which otherwise significantly lacks the necessary specificity and nuance offered by more detailed analyses of inequality patterns.

I argue that this approach should be deployed collaboratively, and in support of, intersectional qualitative research which forms the meaningful content and context of intersectional quantitative research and evidence. Quantitative Intersectionality, as I have applied in this thesis, is best practiced through a joint de/reconstructivist approach which lends a powerful voice to a counter-hegemonic knowledge project, alongside intersectional qualitative research which more directly attends to the voices and lived experiences of marginalised groups.

iii. Reflecting on Methodological Choices: Ethnicity Recoding

Finally, I reflect on the methodological choices involved in proposing and implementing new ways of producing statistics on violence and inequalities, focusing on my recategorization of ethnicity, and with a particular emphasis on the challenging choices involved in recategorizing 'mixed' ethnicities. I first highlight limitations and justifications for my approach to measuring and categorising ethnicity, before reviewing my approach to 'mixed' ethnicities in more detail.

My approach to recategorizing ethnicity drew on key insights from other national measures (e.g., US and New Zealand) and studies of ethnicity, research on the need for balance and consideration of how ethnicity measures are constructed and implemented, and critiques of specific elements in standardised measures of ethnicity (Del Pinal et al. 2007; Ahlmark et al. 2015; Morning 2015; Greil et al. 2011; Song 2012; CLAUK 2023; Holup et al. 2007). The categorisation of 'Mixed' ethnicity, alternative response approaches (e.g., write-in boxes, list break-downs, hierarchal structures), 'Asian' group distinctions, and the exclusion of certain groups, such as Latinx/Hispanic, have been identified as posing limitations and challenges for ethnic representation in the CSEW through my critical evaluation of its methodology. Whilst some challenges require changes to sampling (e.g., re-introducing the ethnic boost sample), my recommendations focus on recategorising ethnicity to address

conceptual coherence, representation and inclusion, and revealing hidden violence and victims in the data which would otherwise be excluded or obscured based on current measures.

In demonstrating how my recategorization impacts our understanding of ethnic disparities, I found evidence supporting the need for inclusion of 'Latinx/Hispanic', a group with is explicitly excluded from measurement. Whilst meaningful analysis of this group would require further methodological improvements to address insufficient sample sizes, my finding of disproportionately high levels of violence victimisation among Latinx/Hispanic populations demonstrate the importance of representation in uncovering hidden inequality patterns and victims. As noted previously, these results should be taken as indications, rather than proof, that this group may experience disproportionately high rates of victimisation, due to their reliance on proxy measures and limited sample sizes.

It should also be noted that whilst additional marginalised groups may have been considered, such as 'Eastern European' (as recommended in Nazroo et al. 2006; and included in the EVENS survey, Finney et al. 2023), including these may further exacerbate issues of insufficient sample sizes, without improving representation in the high-level ethnic categorisation. By prioritising groups which do not align with any high-level categories and are over-represented as 'Other' (unlike 'Eastern European' which is predominantly white), I have sought to avoid excessively breaking down ethnic groups where misrepresentation is less prevalent based on our comparative analysis (see table 6).

This methodological approach has sought to account for the challenges in balancing conceptual complexity, individual meaning, and methodological practicalities, and proposed several key recommendations for improving the measurement and categorisation of ethnicity which both accounts for these competing factors whilst prioritising measures which avoid unnecessary exclusions and omissions, reveals hidden inequalities in the data, and better represents minoritised ethnic groups in UK national surveys and government statistics.

Challenging Choices: Categorising 'Mixed' Ethnicities

As described and discussed in my research design and discussion chapters (III.2.b.ii. and V.2.b.ii.), I propose recategorizing 'mixed' ethnicity as a separate dimension of

ethnicity rather than segregating ‘mixed’ ethnic respondents as a homogenous ethnic group. However, a key challenge in this proposed approach is that it involves a prioritisation of respondent’s minoritised ethnic group membership over, in many but not all cases, their white ethnic identity. It may therefore be contested that in attempting to resolve the erasure of any ethnic group identity, it incorrectly privileges one identity over the other and ignores the importance of ethnic heterogeneity among individuals. It also risks repeating and at worst legitimising racial logics of ‘whiteness’ as the default and ‘pure’ ethnic group, such as the ‘one drop’ rule used to discriminate against any affiliation with ‘non-whiteness’ regardless of the individual’s asserted ethnicity or sense of group membership (Khanna 2010). However, in defence of this proposal, it may be countered that ethnic measures already apply this logic by categorising all ‘Mixed’ ethnicities as Black and minoritised ethnic or ‘non-white’ in binary measures of ethnicity which are commonly used in analysing differences in outcomes by ethnicity and is derived from the standardised five-group ethnic measure in most UK survey datasets. This existing binary measure not only groups mixed white and minoritised ethnic respondents as ‘non-white’, but also incorrectly groups mixed white respondents (i.e., respondents who identified as ‘Mixed—Other’ with both ethnicities being as white, such as British-Finnish or Irish-Croatian) separately from ‘White-Other’.

By distinguishing separate variables for ‘single/mixed’ and ‘ethnic’ group, we are able to examine the effect of multiple ethnicity without erasing important information on ethnic group membership, as well as allowing for analysis of the interaction between them, rather than relying on an incomplete and inconsistent measure for both simultaneously. Rather than a prescribed replacement of the standardised approach, I use this alternative approach as a means of testing the implications of different categorisations of ethnicity, with the aim of opening discussion on how to address the complexities and inconsistencies involved in wrestling such a multi-dimensional and subjective concept into standardised measures which are statistically meaningful for researchers.

In seeking to address particular challenges and inadequacies of the standardised approach to ‘Mixed’ ethnicity, my alternative approach in turn faces a new set of challenges and limitations. I argue that enabling researchers to determine which categorisation of ‘Mixed’ best suits their research needs would be a significant

improvement, providing an approach which better distinguishes between dimensions of ethnicity relating to heterogeneity and group membership.

Strengths and Reflections

In evaluating this methodological approach to ethnic categorisation, several strengths and contributions should also be highlighted. Whilst there has been significant discussion and debate on the conceptualisation and categorisation of ethnicity, there are very few studies which practically engage with this subject through quantitative analysis, particularly regarding the implications of misrepresentation on specific outcomes. I have found no studies which have analysed the implications of ethnic measures and categorisation on study outcomes relating to experiences of violence, despite growing literature on the implications of how we measure violence itself (Pullerits and Phoenix 2023; Walby et al. 2016; Cooper and Obolenskaya 2021). My research contributes both towards existing critiques of standardised ethnicity measures and speculated potential implications, and, most notably, takes this further by practically applying these critiques to a specific dataset and implementing its recommendations through an alternative measure. This approach provides tangible evidence on how the way we measure ethnicity shapes our understanding of inequalities in the experience of violence in marginalised populations.

Whilst there are risks involved in measuring ethnicity and categorising people into distinctive groups, particularly in relation to race (Williams and Husk 2013), we cannot aim to reduce inequalities if we cannot see where they lie, what effect they have, and who they affect. Measuring ethnicity is therefore both equally challenging and necessary. By focusing on balancing the conceptual complexity and practical needs of measuring ethnicity, in particular by addressing some of the core issues relating to representativeness (respondent recognition of themselves within categories), conceptual coherence, (meaningful information conveyed through measures), and methodological practicality (useability of data for meaningful analyses), significant improvements to the ways we measure and categorise ethnicity may be made. Alongside specialised ethnicity-focused surveys which deploy innovative survey methods to better capture and represent marginalised experiences (Finney et al. 2023), my approach to recoding ethnicity both contributes towards a wider body of work on ethnicity surveys, but also specifically challenges issues of ethnic

representation which are deeply embedded in national surveys which dominate the evidentiary landscape on violence and inequalities. Much work remains in revealing the intricate and expansive ways that systems of racial and ethnic inequalities operate and affect individuals and societies, not least in relation to violence. Improving the quality and representativeness of ethnicity data is a critical starting point to revealing hidden victims, characteristics, and outcomes at the intersection of violence and inequality.

VI. Conclusion

This thesis has investigated how inequalities are embedded in systems and practices of knowledge production on violence. Within a diverse and expansive field of research and policymaking on violence, disciplinary and methodological divisions and hierarchies have contributed towards the marginalisation and segregation of critical theoretical and epistemological perspectives on violence which centralise the role of inequalities. Despite the proliferation of critical research which demonstrates the scale, severity, and impact of inequalities in violence, policy measures and resources dedicated to addressing the specific experiences of marginalised groups, including women, ethnic minoritised communities, and migrants, remain limited and under-prioritised within the sphere of violence reduction. The positioning of violence against marginalised groups as peripheral to 'mainstream' violence is in large part driven by systems and practices of knowledge production which disproportionately exclude, misrepresent, and deprioritise their experiences. Recentring these experiences in how we produce knowledge on violence through quantitative research and national statistics is essential to addressing inequalities in violence across society.

In addressing my core research questions - *How do inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence? How can we better include, represent, and prioritise marginalised experiences of violence?* – I took a critical intersectional approach to investigating the SoK's assertion that knowledge is socially constructed by centralising intersecting inequalities in my understanding of knowledge pathways and practices in national statistics. The SoK opened space for critical and intersectional scholars to challenge hegemonic systems of knowledge as socially constituted, and develop alternative pathways to knowledge production which reconstruct and reimagine ways of knowing that better capture the experiences and voices of marginalised groups.

In demonstrating how inequalities in knowledge production are produced, their effects, and ways of addressing them, I applied a joint de/reconstructivist approach and quantitative intersectional methodology to critiquing and reshaping practices of knowledge production within the CSEW. I analysed how practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation are embedded across multiple stages of knowledge production in the CSEW. Through four empirical applications, I investigate

the role and effect of inequalities at distinctive stages of knowledge production, focusing on measuring violence and inequality dimensions, categorising ethnic groups, navigating barriers to disclosure, and monitoring inequalities in violence trends.

As the UK's most reliable data source on violence and the central provider of national statistics used in policymaking on violence, my focus on the CSEW seeks to both disrupt assumptions of neutrality and objectivity in hegemonic systems and practices of knowledge production. Rather than focusing on more contentious data sources where inequalities in knowledge production are more visible, I chose the CSEW as the best defence of dominant approaches to knowledge production. By demonstrating how even national statistics from the CSEW involve widespread exclusions of marginalised experiences of violence, despite its well-earned accolades as the 'gold standard' and 'best estimate' of violence in the UK (Maguire and McVie 2017; Flatley 2014: 199; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2), I presented a substantive case for how inequalities are both deeply entrenched in dominant systems and practices of knowledge production and rendered largely invisible under the guise of authoritative, neutral, and 'objective' knowledge production. Whilst the CSEW's data producers themselves acknowledge its limitations in capturing marginalised experiences of violence (see, for example, ONS 2018), my research has demonstrated that these limitations and their implications run far deeper. Further, whilst caveating these statistics is an important acknowledgement of who is excluded and underrepresented in the data, caveats are often quickly forgotten in how these statistics are used in research, policymaking and service provisions.

The role of inequalities, such as gender, race, and class, in how violence is perpetrated, experienced, and governed is well-evidenced in the literature, yet the role of inequalities in shaping *knowledge* on violence is often overlooked and underappreciated. Efforts to address inequalities in violence heavily rely on evidence-building to reveal the scale, character, and distribution of the problem through comprehensive evidence building. Within the diverse network of knowledge pathways, national statistics and quantitative methods dominate the heart of evidence-building and policymaking on violence (Babones 2016; Parra Saiani 2018; Natow 2022). The CSEW, a nationally representative household victimisation survey providing large-scale quantitative data and national statistics on violence (Kantar Public 2020) and

considered the ‘gold standard’ for measuring violence (Flatley 2014: 199), is the primary data source used by government departments, such as the Home Office, in guiding policymaking on violence (Pullerits and Phoenix 2024: 382; Davies et al. 2024: 1-2; see also, for example, Allen and Harding 2018; Heeks et al. 2018). However, as I seek to demonstrate in this thesis, the processes and practices of knowledge production involved in translating lived experiences into quantitative data and national statistics are deeply intertwined with systems and relations of power and inequalities, focusing on gender, ethnicity, migrant-status and their intersections. In building a critical intersectional approach to the SoK as my theoretical framework, and applying an intersectional quantitative methodological approach to secondary data analysis of the CSEW, I analyse how practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation are embedded across multiple stages of knowledge production in the CSEW. Through four empirical applications, I investigate the role and effect of inequalities at distinctive stages of knowledge production, focusing on measuring violence and inequality dimensions, categorising ethnic groups, navigating barriers to disclosure, and monitoring inequalities in violence trends. In doing so, this thesis aims to reveal how inequalities are embedded in national statistics on violence and contribute new evidence on inequalities in violence by addressing the exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of marginalised groups’ experiences of violence.

This concluding chapter brings together my key contributions within a joint de/reconstructivist perspective, arguing that epistemic marginalisation and violence vulnerabilisation underpin cycles of inequalities in knowledge production on violence. Here, I demonstrate how my methodological and empirical contributions address my two thesis aims and overarching research questions. I situate these contributions within the literature on inequalities in knowledge production and violence, including how my approach and findings addressed research problems, challenges, and gaps in the literature. I also discuss the implications of my key findings and recommendations for research and evidence-building, data production and interpretation of national statistics, and policymaking and service provision on violence and inequalities.

1. Revealing Inequalities in Knowledge Production on Violence: Epistemic Marginalisation through Exclusion, Misrepresentation, and Deprioritisation

In addressing the first set of overarching research questions, I focused on identifying, deconstructing, and challenging epistemic and methodological practices across four key stages of knowledge production in the CSEW. Applying a deconstructivist approach through a critical intersectional lens, I immersed myself in the CSEW's vast datasets and methodological processes and practices in my investigation of: *How do inequalities shape the production of knowledge on violence? Whose experiences are excluded, misrepresented, or deprioritised in knowledge production on violence? What impact does this have on how violence is understood and responded to?* In addressing these questions, I critically examined how inequalities are embedded within knowledge production on violence through processes and practices of defining, measuring, categorizing, collecting data, and analysing violence and inequalities. Grounded in a critical deconstructivist approach, I focused on how epistemic marginalisation operates through these practices and outcomes, influencing multiple stages in the cycle of knowledge production. This section situates my key contributions within the context of these research questions. Here, I seek to demonstrate how my findings on epistemic marginalisation in the CSEW address key gaps, challenges, and research problems in the literature, and their implications for research and policymaking on violence and inequalities.

The production of national statistics is the cumulative effort of multiple knowledge-producers, technical processes, and methodological practices. Transforming knowledge based on individuals' lived experiences of violence into quantitative data and national statistics is essentially a process of filtering, translating, and reimagining knowledge. Knowledge is converted from memories and words to numbers and statistics, from the individual to the collective, from subjective experiences to 'objective facts'. Complex individual experiences are slotted into standardised measures of violence, with impermeable boundaries between what is and is not violence. Individuals' self-identities and positionalities within intersecting systems of inequalities are similarly slotted into neat, mutually exclusive social categories. Personal stories of victimisation navigate competing motivations and fears of disclosure, where the settings, processes and practices of data collection conversely pose opportunities and

challenges for carrying forward these stories. Quantified records of these stories then pass through additional filters of recoding, analysis, and interpretation, where the quantitative representations of individual experiences are merged into a collective whole from which new knowledge is extracted and presented as representative of generalised experiences of violence. Each stage not only draws further distance between victims and researchers, but acts as a filter, allowing some experiences to pass through, and others to either be filtered out or reimagined in a way which allows them to pass through. Drawing on critical epistemological perspectives and insights from lived experience accounts, I attempted to close this distance, even a little, and understand how technical processes and practices matter for representing marginalised groups' experiences of violence. Immersing myself in the questionnaires, datasets, and methodological practices, I explored the multiple ways in which practices of measurement, categorisation, data collection, recoding, and statistical analysis, largely overlooked or hidden from view, incrementally contributed towards the specific and disproportionate exclusion of marginalised experiences of violence. Overall, I found that women, ethnic minoritised groups, and migrants faced significant challenges for including their experiences of violence in the CSEW's national statistics. These groups were more likely to experience forms of violence not included in the CSEW's measures of violence and more likely to experience a range of barriers to disclosure. By accounting for intersecting inequalities, I found that minoritised ethnic and migrant women's experiences were particularly underrepresented based on narrow measures of violence and compounding barriers to disclosure. Additionally, I found that ethnic categorisation resulted in the exclusion and misrepresentation of specific ethnic groups, for example, in the exclusion of 'Latinx/Hispanic' as an ethnic group and the misrepresentation of 'mixed' ethnicities as representing a cohesive group rather than a characteristic of ethnicity.

In combination, these empirical applications reveal a pattern of knowledge-production which insufficiently accounts for the complex and deeply entrenched role of inequalities in the experience of violence in society. Whilst measures of violence which seek to capture experiences across the population are almost by their nature limited in their ability to fully represent the complexity and diversity of marginalised victims and forms of violence, the impact of these challenges should not be underestimated, nor should the need to address them. Neglecting the impact of how processes of

knowledge-production reproduce inequalities through exclusions, misrepresentations and deprioritisations undermines efforts to reduce violence inequalities and acts to reproduce these exclusions and deprioritisations in policy-making and resource distribution.

National statistics are used in both sociological research and policymaking evidence to understand and address the role of inequalities in violence. Yet the most reliable and nationally representative estimates of violence victimisation, the CSEW, is fraught with challenges in equally representing violence against marginalized groups. Multiply-marginalised populations are under-represented or excluded, forms of violence which specifically or disproportionately affect marginalized groups are unrecorded (such as police-perpetrated violence, sex trafficking and female genital mutilation, and violence in institutionalized settings), marginalised victims face numerous barriers to disclosure which diminish report rates, and methodological practices contribute to undercounting disclosed violence disproportionately for marginalised groups. The production of knowledge is not neutral, but shaped by systems of inequality in determining which victims and forms of violence count. These methodological challenges not only contribute towards the underestimation of violence against marginalised groups, but in doing so, obscures our understanding of inequalities in violence victimisation across the population. Whilst specialised studies focusing on inequalities offer more detailed insights into marginalised groups' experiences of violence, for example by using specialised services data, qualitative studies, and focused samples of victims of specific forms of violence or from 'hard to reach' populations, they lack the ability to comparatively analyse populations at a national level and are underutilised in national statistics and evidence addressing violence inequalities. Understanding the role of inequalities in the production of knowledge is therefore critical to addressing limitations in national data which informs our understandings of inequalities in violence victimisation and how best to tackle them.

2. Disrupting Inequalities in Knowledge Production and Contributing New Evidence on Violence and Inequalities

In addressing my second set of overarching research questions, I focused on adapting and implementing alternative approaches to knowledge production and contributing new knowledge and evidence on violence and inequalities across four key stages of knowledge production. Applying a reconstructivist approach through quantitative

intersectional analyses and creative methodological strategies, I sought to improve practices of knowledge production within existing dominant frameworks from the inside out. This section addresses the second set of overarching research questions – *How can we better include, represent, and prioritise marginalised experiences of violence? What new insights can be gained by addressing inequalities in knowledge production?* – in relation to my key empirical and methodological contributions and proposals aimed at improving knowledge production on violence.

In addressing these overarching research questions, I first proposed and implemented several methodological adaptations as a means of both supporting my deconstructivist critiques, and demonstrating how alternative practices of knowledge production may be used to address issues of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation in knowledge production on violence. Rather than simply proposing solutions, however, I further sought to demonstrate the implications of adapting the way we measure and analyse violence and inequalities. By taking an intersectional quantitative approach to my analyses, as well as implementing adaptations to ethnic categorisation and measures of inequality dimensions of violence, I was able to demonstrate the effect of different approaches on representing hidden victims, relations, and trends in violence and contribute new evidence on violence and inequalities.

First, I proposed an expansion and restructuring of violence measures to better reflect wider experiences and the multidimensionality of inequalities in violence. Building on my critique of the CSEW's narrow measure of violence, which limited violence to its physicality and criminality, I proposed a softening of the definitional boundaries of violence to include non-physical and non-criminal violence, as well as wider experiences of fear, anticipation, and threats. Rather than suggesting that fear *is* violence, I have shown that in order to address how wider relations and systems of violence are experienced, particularly in relation to mechanisms of marginalisation and vulnerabilisation, national statistics should expand beyond physical acts. In implementing these proposals, I integrated wider experiences of violence into my analysis, and took a cross-comparative approach to analysing the multidimensionality of violence. Through this approach, I found that marginalised groups fear and anticipate violence disproportionately to the risk of direct victimisation, and that the effect of marginalisation on fear relative to victimisation is compounded at the intersections of marginalisation by gender, ethnicity and migrant-status, as well as

through inequality-saturated dimensions of racial motivation and sexual aspect. In situating these findings within my broader thesis and social contexts, I revealed how systems of violence and inequalities created a generalised fear among marginalised groups through relations and contexts of vulnerabilisation, which are exacerbated through the targeted nature of racially-motivated and sexual violence and a lack of adequate protection and support.

Second, building on my critique of the CSEW's categorisation of ethnicity, I proposed an adapted approach which introduced Latinx/Hispanic as a new ethnic group, distinguished 'Arab/MENA' from 'Other' ethnicities, differentiated between 'South Asian' and 'ESEC Asian' groups, and positioned 'mixed' ethnicity as a characteristic of ethnicity rather than a distinctive ethnic group in itself. By comparing ethnic disparities in violence victimisation and fear using the CSEW's standardised approach and my proposed adaptation, I found notable variations in my results. By making otherwise 'hidden' (e.g. 'Latinx/Hispanic'), obscured (e.g. 'ESEC Asian' or 'Arab/MENA'), or misrepresented (e.g. 'Mixed') groups visible in the data, I emphasise the importance of revealing inequalities and countering marginalisation through representation. For example, by introducing 'Latinx/Hispanic' as a distinctive ethnic group, I was able to reveal hidden inequalities and risks of violence among this group which would otherwise have been subsumed within 'White' or 'Other' experiences, which indicated lower levels of fear and victimisation of violence. In seeking to reduce the categorisation of individuals in ways that provide little meaningful insights into disparities across ethnic groups (e.g. 'Other' or 'Mixed'), I have sought to improve how ethnic categories provide representation and meaningful information on experiences of marginalised groups.

My final empirical application focused particularly on contributing new knowledge on violence and inequalities through a quantitative intersectional approach. Whilst previous empirical applications addressed inequalities in knowledge production through methodological practices of measurement, categorisation, and data collection within the CSEW, this application focused on how national statistics are used in monitoring violence trends and the impact of policy changes on violence against different groups. Whilst violence has long been in decline (Ganpat 2020; see also Pinker 2012 [1954]; Elias 1994), my analysis found that not only have overall violence trends in the UK stopped declining over the past decade (2014-2020), but that violence

against women increased relative to men during Austerity, and that violence against minoritised ethnic migrant women has increased relative to all other groups during the Hostile Environment (compared to both the Austerity period and pre-existing trends). These findings not only contributed new knowledge on the associations of Austerity and the Hostile Environment, but also demonstrated how, by taking an intersectional approach, otherwise hidden inequalities in violence trends were revealed in relation to minoritised ethnic migrant women's experiences of violence during the Hostile Environment. In positioning this application within a wider cycle of inequalities in knowledge production, I have shown how monitoring trends in violence without accounting for inequalities hides the uneven progress of violence reduction which often deprioritises marginalised groups.

The 'intersectional turn' in critical theories, as well as the wider social sciences, offered a critical breakthrough in understanding the nature of, and relations between, systems of power and inequalities as mutually-shaping and fundamentally interactive. However, in line with the broader critical epistemological movement, intersectional research has predominantly focused on theoretical and conceptual developments and qualitative analyses. At the same time, its proliferation in mainstream research and policy spheres has largely been as a buzzword rather than through substantive engagement with its theoretical principles (Romero 2023; Bilge 2013, 2014; Alexander-Floyd 2012; Davis 2008). The emergence of quantitative intersectionality, as I have demonstrated throughout my research project, offers a productive way forward by simultaneously enhancing the use of quantitative methods to produce knowledge on inequalities, as well as 'speaking the language of power' as a counter-hegemonic knowledge strategy. By utilising methods which hold authority in national evidence-building and policymaking, and adapting them to reveal, rather than obscure, intersecting inequalities and marginalised experiences, I position quantitative intersectionality as a particularly effective reconstructivist strategy for addressing inequalities in knowledge production. Inclusive approaches not only improve the accuracy and representativeness of the data and national statistics, but also enable researchers to identify and analyse otherwise excluded victims who, as my findings suggest, are more likely to experience intersecting forms of inequality and vulnerabilisation within wider systems of violence.

3. Revealing and Disrupting Cycles of Inequalities in Knowledge Production on Violence

Gendered, racialised and immigration systems of inequality, marginalisation, and vulnerabilisation not only shape the contexts within which violence occurs, but also inform the contexts and processes through which knowledge is produced. In taking an intersectional approach to the SoK's assertion that knowledge is socially constructed, this thesis centralised gendered, ethnic, and migration-based inequalities in its examination of epistemic marginalisation in national statistics on violence through the CSEW. By combining the core premise and holistic approach of the SoK and a de/reconstructivist critical epistemological approach within an Intersectional framework, I applied a more integrated and multi-stage approach to understanding how inequalities are embedded in methods and practices of statistical knowledge production, and further, how we may address them. In doing so, this project centred around two core objectives: (1) understanding inequalities in knowledge production on violence and (2) revealing new insights into violence and inequalities. In addressing the former, I focused on distinctive stages of knowledge production through the CSEW's application of definitional boundaries and dimensions of violence; ethnic categorisation; barriers to disclosure; and inequalities in violence trends during hostile policy regimes. Taking a deconstructivist approach, I revealed how epistemic marginalisation operates through practices of measurement, categorisation, data collection, and analysis, whereby marginalised groups' experiences of violence are incrementally filtered out through exclusions, misrepresentations, and deprioritisations at multiple stages of knowledge production. In addressing the latter, I took a reconstructivist approach to revealing new knowledge and evidence-based on alternative and adjusted methodological approaches, as well as recommendations for future practices which may better include, represent, and prioritise marginalised groups' experiences of violence and better capture the complexity and multidimensionality of violence and inequality relations.

Each of my empirical applications contributed new insights into the relationship between violence and inequalities through a critical and intersectional lens, from estimating the prevalence of violence against Latinx/Hispanic populations to evidencing the role of inequality dimensions in the relationship between fear and victimisation. However, by situating my contributions within a broader critical

intersectional framework on knowledge production, my findings represent more than the sum of their parts. Taken together, I have demonstrated how inequalities are not only embedded in systems and experiences of violence, but in wider systems and practices of knowledge production on violence. Rather than focusing on singular methodological challenges and data limitations in isolation, my research spanned multiple stages of quantitative knowledge production and demonstrated the depth and breadth of epistemic marginalisation in the production of national statistics on violence, which lie at the heart of evidence-building and policymaking to reduce violence in society.

In taking these approaches and contributions together, I have demonstrated that the relationship between inequalities and knowledge is not linear, but cyclical, where systems of power and inequalities and systems of knowledge are mutually-shaping and mutually-reinforcing. Epistemic marginalisation, whereby already marginalized groups' experiences are excluded, misrepresented, and deprioritized in knowledge production, creates gaps and distortions in knowledge which renders the experiences of marginalized groups partially or entirely invisible in national statistics, evidence-building, and policymaking on violence. Throughout the research process, from measurement and sampling to analysis and interpretation, various dimensions of inequality manifest. These include the selection of violence dimensions, ethnic categorizations, and consideration of disclosure barriers. The implications of epistemic marginalization extend beyond academia, influencing policy, practice, service provision, and resource allocation, thereby contributing to violence vulnerabilisation. Power relations between the knower and the known significantly impact the processes of knowledge production. Inequalities are deeply embedded in multiple stages of this process, from conceptualization to interpretation and implementation. This necessitates a holistic approach that addresses the multiple hurdles facing representation and inclusion. It is crucial to recognize that data is not neutral; it is shaped by wider knowledge systems and processes, with inequalities influencing each stage and perpetuating systemic inequalities. Addressing the cycle of epistemic marginalization and violence vulnerabilisation requires a critical examination of knowledge production processes and a commitment to inclusive, representative research practices. By recognizing and actively working to counteract these reinforcing cycles of inequality, we can strive towards more equitable knowledge production and,

consequently, more effective violence prevention and support for all victims, particularly those from marginalized communities.

Data is never neutral. Whilst this assertion is rarely disputed, it is often overlooked due to the underlying assumption of representativeness and enhanced reliability among national statistics and quantitative studies. Rather than a minor caveat of 'data limitations', I have demonstrated that epistemic and methodological practices of exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation are widespread and deeply-entrenched within knowledge production on violence, with significant implications not only for how marginalised experiences and violence-inequality relations are understood, but also how they are positioned and addressed in research and policymaking. 'Data limitations' do not exist in a vacuum, but rather, they are part of wider social processes of epistemic marginalisation which privileges some knowledge over others. The translation of individuals' lived experiences into national statistics is more than a technical process or a series of methodological practices. Rather, it is a deeply social process shaped by existing and reinforcing systems and practices of power and inequality. Each individual's lived experience of violence may be represented or excluded from powerful statistics on violence based on the role of inequalities in their own lives and experiences of violence. That is, the social position of victims and the form of violence they experience influences whether their experience is counted in national statistics or not. The production of knowledge is not separate from social forces and systems of power and inequality, but shapes, and is shaped by, these systems. Whether processes of knowledge production are operationalised to reinforce or challenge inequalities rests upon our understanding of the social construction of knowledge and the disruption of assumptions of neutrality in national statistics and quantitative methods. By first disrupting assumptions of representativeness by revealing how marginalised groups' experiences of violence are excluded from and marginalised within quantitative data and national statistics, we can then further disrupt cycles of epistemic marginalisation by carving out new pathways and practices which recentre marginalised experiences of violence in knowledge production. My research has therefore not only contributed new knowledge to the field of violence and inequalities, but has critically disrupted the ways in which knowledge is produced by evidencing the practices and effects of epistemic marginalisation and revealing new pathways to knowledge production which mitigate, rather than entrench,

violence vulnerabilisation. In this way, this thesis goes beyond challenging statistics. By situating specific and systemic practices of epistemic marginalisation in the CSEW within a broader theoretical and methodological framework, it reveals how intersecting inequalities are deeply embedded within knowledge production on violence and the implications of this for disrupting cycles of violence and inequalities. National statistics hold power in the creation and implementation of policies and distribution of resources aimed at addressing violence in society. The exclusion, misrepresentation, and deprioritisation of marginalised experiences of violence in the production of national statistics not only distorts out understanding of the character, scale, and relationship between violence and inequalities, but further vulnerabilises these victims by marginalising their experiences and needs in policymaking and resource distribution. Disrupting this cycle of epistemic marginalisation and violence vulnerabilisation is therefore not only essential for developing our understanding of violence and inequalities, but in effectively tackling violence and inequalities as a core societal problem.

Appendices

Appendix A: Full tables (A-J) for ethnicity and intersectional results (Empirical Application 1)

Table A1: Logistic Regression Model for Physical Violence Victimisation by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.914	0.246	1.692	0.000	1.280	0.000	1.838	0.000
Mixed	1.094	0.246	1	n/a	1.852	0.000	1.401	0.000	2.011	0.000
Asian	0.591	0.000	0.540	0.000	1	n/a	0.757	0.000	1.086	0.414
Black	0.781	0.000	0.714	0.000	1.322	0.000	1	n/a	1.436	0.001
Chinese/Other	0.544	0.000	0.497	0.000	0.921	0.414	0.697	0.001	1	n/a

Table A2: Logistic Regression Model for Physical Violence Victimisation by Intersecting Groups[29]

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White UK-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.368	0.000	1.431	0.000	1.609	0.000	1.639	0.000	2.266	0.000	2.147	0.000	2.902	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.731	0.000	1	n/a	1.046	0.590	1.176	0.052	1.197	0.005	1.656	0.000	1.569	0.000	2.121	0.000
White migrant men	0.699	0.000	0.956	0.590	1	n/a	1.124	0.136	1.145	0.019	1.583	0.000	1.500	0.000	2.027	0.000
BME migrant men	0.622	0.000	0.850	0.052	0.890	0.136	1	n/a	1.018	0.752	1.408	0.000	1.335	0.000	1.804	0.000
White UK-born women	0.610	0.000	0.835	0.005	0.874	0.019	0.982	0.752	1	n/a	1.383	0.000	1.311	0.000	1.771	0.000
BME UK-born women	0.441	0.000	0.604	0.000	0.632	0.000	0.710	0.000	0.723	0.000	1	n/a	0.948	0.565	1.281	0.011
White migrant women	0.466	0.000	0.637	0.000	0.667	0.000	0.749	0.000	0.763	0.000	1.055	0.565	1	n/a	1.351	0.001
BME migrant women	0.345	0.000	0.472	0.000	0.493	0.000	0.554	0.000	0.565	0.000	0.781	0.011	0.740	0.001	1	n/a

[29] Note: cells are colour coded to indicate respective sub-group comparisons as follows: yellow = resective sub-group comparisons by ethnicity; green = by migrant-status; and blue = by gender

Table B1: Logistic Regression Model for Violent Threat Victimisation by Ethnicity (5 groups)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.952	0.610	1.245	0.000	1.287	0.000	1.305	0.002
Mixed	1.050	0.610	1	n/a	1.307	0.012	1.351	0.009	1.370	0.014
Asian	0.803	0.000	0.765	0.012	1	n/a	1.033	0.682	1.048	0.637
Black	0.777	0.000	0.740	0.009	0.968	0.682	1	n/a	1.014	0.897
Chinese/Other	0.767	0.002	0.730	0.014	0.954	0.637	0.986	0.897	1	n/a

Table B2: Logistic Regression Model for Violent Threat Victimisation by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.000	0.995	1.253	0.000	1.166	0.012	0.961	0.071	1.099	0.195	1.150	0.009	1.673	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.000	0.995	1	n/a	1.252	0.018	1.165	0.105	0.961	0.596	1.099	0.355	1.149	0.122	1.672	0.000
White migrant men	0.798	0.000	0.799	0.018	1	n/a	0.931	0.390	0.767	0.000	0.878	0.159	0.918	0.275	1.335	0.001
BME migrant men	0.858	0.012	0.858	0.105	1.075	0.390	1	n/a	0.824	0.001	0.943	0.522	0.986	0.859	1.435	0.000
White UK-born women	1.041	0.071	1.041	0.596	1.304	0.000	1.213	0.001	1	n/a	1.144	0.064	1.197	0.001	1.741	0.000
BME UK-born women	0.910	0.195	0.910	0.355	1.140	0.159	1.060	0.522	0.874	0.064	1	n/a	1.046	0.608	1.521	0.000
White migrant women	0.870	0.009	0.870	0.122	1.090	0.275	1.014	0.859	0.836	0.001	0.956	0.608	1	n/a	1.455	0.000
BME migrant women	0.598	0.000	0.598	0.000	0.749	0.001	0.697	0.000	0.575	0.000	0.657	0.000	0.687	0.000	1	n/a

Table C1: Logistic Regression Model for Any Violence Fear by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.660	0.000	0.370	0.000	0.484	0.000	0.511	0.000
Mixed	1.516	0.000	1	n/a	0.561	0.000	0.734	0.000	0.774	0.000
Asian	2.701	0.000	1.781	0.000	1	n/a	1.307	0.000	1.379	0.000
Black	2.067	0.000	1.363	0.000	0.765	0.000	1	n/a	1.055	0.293
Chinese/Other	1.959	0.000	1.292	0.000	0.725	0.000	0.948	0.293	1	n/a

Table C2: Logistic Regression Model for Any Violence Fear by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.506	0.000	0.795	0.000	0.324	0.000	0.471	0.000	0.246	0.000	0.403	0.000	0.198	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.978	0.000	1	n/a	1.573	0.000	0.640	0.000	0.931	0.100	0.486	0.000	0.797	0.000	0.392	0.000
White migrant men	1.257	0.000	0.636	0.000	1	n/a	0.407	0.000	0.592	0.000	0.309	0.000	0.507	0.000	0.249	0.000
BME migrant men	3.089	0.000	1.562	0.000	2.457	0.000	1	n/a	1.455	0.000	0.760	0.000	1.245	0.000	0.612	0.000
White UK-born women	2.124	0.000	1.074	0.100	1.689	0.000	0.687	0.000	1	n/a	0.522	0.000	0.856	0.000	0.420	0.000
BME UK-born women	4.067	0.000	2.056	0.000	3.234	0.000	1.316	0.000	1.915	0.000	1	n/a	1.638	0.000	0.805	0.000
White migrant women	2.482	0.000	1.255	0.000	1.974	0.000	0.803	0.000	1.169	0.000	0.610	0.000	1	n/a	0.491	0.000
BME migrant women	5.051	0.000	2.554	0.000	4.017	0.000	1.635	0.000	2.379	0.000	1.242	0.000	2.035	0.000	1	n/a

Table D1: Logistic Regression Model for Violence Anticipation by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.612	0.002	0.352	0.000	0.387	0.000	0.504	0.000
Mixed	1.634	0.002	1	n/a	0.575	0.001	0.632	0.010	0.823	0.319
Asian	2.840	0.000	1.738	0.001	1	n/a	1.098	0.354	1.430	0.006
Black	2.586	0.000	1.583	0.010	0.911	0.354	1	n/a	1.302	0.060
Chinese/Other	1.986	0.000	1.216	0.319	0.699	0.006	0.768	0.060	1	n/a

Table D2: Logistic Regression Model for Violence Anticipation by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.609	0.000	0.661	0.000	0.375	0.000	0.999	0.977	0.522	0.000	0.620	0.000	0.445	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.643	0.000	1	n/a	1.085	0.590	0.616	0.000	1.641	0.000	0.857	0.321	1.018	0.893	0.731	0.016
White migrant men	1.513	0.000	0.921	0.590	1	n/a	0.568	0.000	1.512	0.000	0.790	0.105	0.938	0.607	0.673	0.001
BME migrant men	2.665	0.000	1.623	0.000	1.761	0.000	1	n/a	2.662	0.000	1.391	0.007	1.652	0.000	1.186	0.048
White UK-born women	1.001	0.977	0.609	0.000	0.662	0.000	0.376	0.000	1	n/a	0.522	0.000	0.621	0.000	0.445	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.916	0.000	1.167	0.321	1.266	0.105	0.719	0.007	1.914	0.000	1	n/a	1.188	0.182	0.852	0.192
White migrant women	1.613	0.000	0.982	0.893	1.066	0.607	0.605	0.000	1.611	0.000	0.842	0.182	1	n/a	0.717	0.001
BME migrant women	2.248	0.000	1.369	0.016	1.485	0.001	0.843	0.048	2.245	0.000	1.173	0.192	1.394	0.001	1	n/a

Table E1: Logistic Regression Model for Stranger Violence Victimisation by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.756	0.009	1.234	0.001	1.186	0.043	1.443	0.002
Mixed	1.322	0.009	1	n/a	1.632	0.000	1.568	0.001	1.908	0.000
Asian	0.810	0.001	0.613	0.000	1	n/a	0.961	0.699	1.169	0.240
Black	0.843	0.043	0.638	0.001	1.041	0.699	1	n/a	1.217	0.173
Chinese/Other	0.693	0.002	0.524	0.000	0.855	0.240	0.822	0.173	1	n/a

Table E2: Logistic Regression Model for Stranger Violence Victimisation by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.247	0.008	1.204	0.009	1.266	0.001	2.654	0.000	3.075	0.000	2.160	0.000	2.746	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.802	0.008	1	n/a	0.965	0.736	1.015	0.884	2.128	0.000	2.465	0.000	1.731	0.000	2.201	0.000
White migrant men	0.831	0.009	1.036	0.736	1	n/a	1.052	0.596	2.205	0.000	2.555	0.000	1.794	0.000	2.281	0.000
BME migrant men	0.790	0.001	0.985	0.884	0.950	0.596	1	n/a	2.096	0.000	2.428	0.000	1.705	0.000	2.168	0.000
White UK-born women	0.377	0.000	0.470	0.000	0.454	0.000	0.477	0.000	1	n/a	1.159	0.234	0.814	0.017	1.035	0.722
BME UK-born women	0.325	0.000	0.406	0.000	0.391	0.000	0.412	0.000	0.863	0.234	1	n/a	0.702	0.015	0.893	0.452
White migrant women	0.463	0.000	0.578	0.000	0.557	0.000	0.586	0.000	1.229	0.017	1.424	0.015	1	n/a	1.271	0.050
BME migrant women	0.364	0.000	0.454	0.000	0.438	0.000	0.461	0.000	0.967	0.722	1.120	0.452	0.787	0.050	1	n/a

Table F1: Logistic Regression Model for Fear of Stranger Violence by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.770	0.000	0.495	0.000	0.570	0.000	0.602	0.000
Mixed	1.299	0.000	1	n/a	0.643	0.000	0.740	0.000	0.781	0.000
Asian	2.020	0.000	1.556	0.000	1	n/a	1.151	0.000	1.215	0.000
Black	1.756	0.000	1.352	0.000	0.869	0.000	1	n/a	1.056	0.279
Chinese/Other	1.662	0.000	1.280	0.000	0.823	0.000	0.947	0.279	1	n/a

Table F2: Logistic Regression Model for Fear of Stranger Violence by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.677	0.000	0.841	0.000	0.415	0.000	0.473	0.000	0.308	0.000	0.422	0.000	0.238	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.476	0.000	1	n/a	1.241	0.000	0.613	0.000	0.698	0.000	0.455	0.000	0.622	0.000	0.352	0.000
White migrant men	1.190	0.000	0.806	0.000	1	n/a	0.494	0.000	0.562	0.000	0.367	0.000	0.502	0.000	0.283	0.000
BME migrant men	2.409	0.000	1.632	0.000	2.025	0.000	1	n/a	1.139	0.000	0.743	0.000	1.016	0.681	0.574	0.000
White UK-born women	2.116	0.000	1.433	0.000	1.779	0.000	0.878	0.000	1	n/a	0.652	0.000	0.892	0.000	0.504	0.000
BME UK-born women	3.244	0.000	2.198	0.000	2.727	0.000	1.346	0.000	1.533	0.000	1	n/a	1.368	0.000	0.773	0.000
White migrant women	2.372	0.000	1.607	0.000	1.994	0.000	0.985	0.681	1.121	0.000	0.731	0.000	1	n/a	0.565	0.000
BME migrant women	4.197	0.000	2.844	0.000	3.528	0.000	1.742	0.000	1.984	0.000	1.294	0.000	1.770	0.000	1	n/a

Table G1: Logistic Regression Model for Racially-Motivated Violence Prevalence (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.248	0.000	0.205	0.000	0.198	0.000	0.350	0.000
Mixed	4.038	0.000	1	n/a	0.829	0.347	0.801	0.296	1.413	0.180
Asian	4.870	0.000	1.206	0.347	1	n/a	0.966	0.815	1.704	0.010
Black	5.040	0.000	1.248	0.296	1.035	0.815	1	n/a	1.764	0.010
Chinese/Other	2.858	0.000	0.708	0.180	0.587	0.010	0.567	0.010	1	n/a

Table G2: Logistic Regression Model for Racially-Motivated Violence Prevalence by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.236	0.000	0.720	0.081	0.191	0.000	2.331	0.000	0.501	0.000	0.743	0.146	0.485	0.000
BME UK-born men	4.234	0.000	1	n/a	3.047	0.000	0.808	0.192	9.869	0.000	2.123	0.001	3.144	0.000	2.053	0.000
White migrant men	1.389	0.081	0.328	0.000	1	n/a	0.265	0.000	3.239	0.000	0.697	0.149	1.032	0.903	0.674	0.071
BME migrant men	5.240	0.000	1.238	0.192	3.771	0.000	1	n/a	12.215	0.000	2.627	0.000	3.891	0.000	2.541	0.000
White UK-born women	0.429	0.000	0.101	0.000	0.309	0.000	0.082	0.000	1	n/a	0.215	0.000	0.319	0.000	0.208	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.994	0.000	0.471	0.001	1.435	0.149	0.381	0.000	4.649	0.000	1	n/a	1.481	0.134	0.967	0.880
White migrant women	1.347	0.146	0.318	0.000	0.969	0.903	0.257	0.000	3.139	0.000	0.675	0.134	1	n/a	0.653	0.066
BME migrant women	2.062	0.000	0.487	0.000	1.484	0.071	0.394	0.000	4.807	0.000	1.034	0.880	1.532	0.066	1	n/a

Table H1: Logistic Regression Model for Fear of Racial Violence by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.260	0.000	0.124	0.000	0.163	0.000	0.193	0.000
Mixed	3.844	0.000	1	n/a	0.477	0.000	0.626	0.000	0.743	0.000
Asian	8.054	0.000	2.095	0.000	1	n/a	1.311	0.000	1.556	0.000
Black	6.145	0.000	1.599	0.000	0.763	0.000	1	n/a	1.188	0.001
Chinese/Other	5.175	0.000	1.346	0.000	0.642	0.000	0.842	0.001	1	n/a

Table H2: Logistic Regression Model for Fear of Racial Violence by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White UK-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White UK-born men	1	n/a	0.164	0.000	0.459	0.000	0.108	0.000	0.612	0.000	0.103	0.000	0.353	0.000	0.087	0.000
BME UK-born men	6.105	0.000	1	n/a	2.805	0.000	0.658	0.000	3.736	0.000	0.628	0.000	2.157	0.000	0.534	0.000
White migrant men	2.177	0.000	0.356	0.000	1	n/a	0.234	0.000	1.332	0.000	0.224	0.000	0.769	0.000	0.190	0.000
BME migrant men	9.286	0.000	1.521	0.000	4.266	0.000	1	n/a	5.682	0.000	0.955	0.350	3.281	0.000	0.812	0.000
White UK-born women	1.634	0.000	0.268	0.000	0.751	0.000	0.176	0.000	1	n/a	0.168	0.000	0.578	0.000	0.143	0.000
BME UK-born women	9.721	0.000	1.592	0.000	4.466	0.000	1.047	0.350	5.948	0.000	1	n/a	3.435	0.000	0.850	0.001
White migrant women	2.830	0.000	0.464	0.000	1.300	0.000	0.305	0.000	1.732	0.000	0.291	0.000	1	n/a	0.248	0.000
BME migrant women	11.431	0.000	1.872	0.000	5.252	0.000	1.231	0.000	6.994	0.000	1.176	0.001	4.039	0.000	1	n/a

Table I1: Logistic Regression Model for Sexual Violence Prevalence (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.595	0.022	2.471	0.000	1.685	0.010	1.815	0.048
Mixed	1.682	0.022	1	n/a	4.156	0.000	2.834	0.000	3.052	0.003
Asian	0.405	0.000	0.241	0.000	1	n/a	0.682	0.177	0.734	0.392
Black	0.593	0.010	0.353	0.000	1.467	0.177	1	n/a	1.077	0.835
Chinese/Other	0.551	0.048	0.328	0.003	1.362	0.392	0.928	0.835	1	n/a

Table I2: Logistic Regression Model for Sexual Violence Prevalence by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White UK-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White UK-born men	1	n/a	1.928	0.150	2.307	0.029	2.898	0.032	0.211	0.000	0.279	0.000	0.247	0.000	0.376	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.519	0.150	1	n/a	1.196	0.756	1.503	0.535	0.109	0.000	0.144	0.000	0.128	0.000	0.195	0.001
White migrant men	0.434	0.029	0.836	0.756	1	n/a	1.256	0.708	0.091	0.000	0.121	0.000	0.107	0.000	0.163	0.000
BME migrant men	0.345	0.032	0.666	0.535	0.796	0.708	1	n/a	0.073	0.000	0.096	0.000	0.085	0.000	0.130	0.000
White UK-born women	4.749	0.000	9.158	0.000	10.954	0.000	13.761	0.000	1	n/a	1.323	0.137	1.174	0.265	1.786	0.001
BME UK-born women	3.589	0.000	6.921	0.000	8.278	0.000	10.399	0.000	0.756	0.137	1	n/a	0.887	0.602	1.350	0.223
White migrant women	4.045	0.000	7.801	0.000	9.330	0.000	11.721	0.000	0.852	0.265	1.127	0.602	1	n/a	1.521	0.049
BME migrant women	2.659	0.000	5.127	0.001	6.132	0.000	7.704	0.000	0.560	0.001	0.741	0.223	0.657	0.049	1	n/a

Table J1: Logistic Regression Model for Fear of Sexual Violence by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.712	0.000	0.588	0.000	0.615	0.000	0.711	0.000
Mixed	1.405	0.000	1	n/a	0.827	0.003	0.864	0.032	0.999	0.986
Asian	1.700	0.000	1.209	0.003	1	n/a	1.045	0.290	1.208	0.000
Black	1.626	0.000	1.157	0.032	0.957	0.290	1	n/a	1.155	0.011
Chinese/Other	1.407	0.000	1.001	0.986	0.828	0.000	0.866	0.011	1	n/a

Table J2: Logistic Regression Model for Fear of Sexual Violence by Intersecting Group

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.510	0.000	0.834	0.008	0.323	0.000	0.107	0.000	0.071	0.000	0.103	0.000	0.060	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.962	0.000	1	n/a	1.637	0.000	0.634	0.000	0.209	0.000	0.138	0.000	0.203	0.000	0.118	0.000
White migrant men	1.198	0.008	0.611	0.000	1	n/a	0.387	0.000	0.128	0.000	0.084	0.000	0.124	0.000	0.072	0.000
BME migrant men	3.094	0.000	1.577	0.000	2.582	0.000	1	n/a	0.330	0.000	0.218	0.000	0.320	0.000	0.186	0.000
White UK-born women	9.372	0.000	4.776	0.000	7.820	0.000	3.029	0.000	1	n/a	0.661	0.000	0.969	0.268	0.565	0.000
BME UK-born women	14.184	0.000	7.229	0.000	11.836	0.000	4.585	0.000	1.513	0.000	1	n/a	1.467	0.000	0.855	0.001
White migrant women	9.670	0.000	4.928	0.000	8.069	0.000	3.125	0.000	1.032	0.268	0.682	0.000	1	n/a	0.583	0.000
BME migrant women	16.597	0.000	8.458	0.000	13.849	0.000	5.364	0.000	1.771	0.000	1.170	0.001	1.716	0.000	1	n/a

Appendix B: Timeline of Changes to the CSEW's Measurement and Categorisation of Ethnicity (Empirical Application 2)

1982	The CSEW (then the British Crime Survey) is launched (core sample size approx. 10,000). Interviewers record the observed 'race' of respondents as: (1) 'white', (2) 'Black (West Indian or African)', (3) 'Indian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi', (4) 'Other non-white', or (5) 'Mixed/uncertain'.
1984	Ethnic boost sample introduced (not present in 1998 and after 2007). 'Mixed/uncertain' category replaced with 'Other'.
1988	Interviewer assigned race is discontinued. Respondents are now asked "Which of the groups on this card best describe you?": (1) 'white', (2) 'black', (3) 'Indian', (4) 'Pakistani', (5) 'Bangladeshi', (6) 'Chinese', (7) 'Other Asian', or (8) 'Other', with write-in options for the latter two.
1992	Expanded ethnic categories: distinction between 'Black - Caribbean', 'Black - African' and 'Black - Other'. Removed 'Other Asian' category.
1994	Question now asks respondents "To which of these groups do you consider you *belong*?" [emphasis added]. The variable now references 'ethnicity' instead of 'race'.
2000	Mixed race' category added.
2001	Expanded ethnic categories and introduced high and low-level categorisation; amended question to align with 2000 Census; added a variable (Ethnic1) for 'other' ethnic groups to specify 'English', 'Scottish', 'Welsh' or 'Other (specify)' background; amended category names to allow 'British' identifiers in other groups (not only 'White').
	Respondents asked to "choose one answer on this card to indicate your *cultural background*" [emphasis added] (low-level categories): (1) 'White - British', (2) 'White - Irish', (3) 'White - Other White Background', (4) 'Mixed – White and Black Caribbean', (5) 'Mixed – White and Black African', (6) 'Mixed – White and Asian', (7) 'Mixed – Any Other Mixed Background', (8) 'Asian or Asian British – Indian', (9) 'Asian or Asian British – Pakistani', (10) 'Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi', (11) 'Asian or Asian British – Other Asian Background', (12) 'Black or Black British – Caribbean', (13) 'Black or Black British – African', (14) 'Black or Black British – Other Black Background', (15) 'Chinese', or (16) 'Other ethnic group'.
	Introduced a derived variable for high-level categories based on low-level responses: (1) 'white', (2) 'Mixed', (3) 'Asian', (4) Black', and (5) 'Other'.
2007	Ethnic boos sample discontinued.
2011	Relabeled categories to align with 2011 Census wording which allows for non-White ethnicities to also be 'British' (e.g. 'Black' changed to 'Black/Black British')
	Recategorised 'Chinese' as a high-level ethnic group (previously subsumed within 'Chinese/Other')
	Low-level ethnicity variable moved to the secure access dataset.
2012	Introduced low-level ethnic groups "White - Gypsy or Irish Traveller' (within the 'White' high-level group) and 'Arab' (within the 'Other' high-level group)

Appendix C: Regional Origin Groupings (adapted from ONS regional categorisation; Empirical Application 2)

Region	Countries/Territories
UK-born	UK
Europe (excluding UK)	Albania; Andorra; Austria; Belarus; Belgium; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bulgaria; Croatia; Cyprus; Czech Republic; Denmark; Estonia; Finland; France; Germany; Gibraltar; Greece; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Italy; Kosovo; Latvia; Liechtenstein; Lithuania; Luxembourg; Malta; Moldova; Monaco; Montenegro; Netherlands; North Macedonia; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Romania; Russia; San Marino; Serbia; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; Ukraine
North America	Bermuda; Canada; Greenland; United States of America
Caribbean	Anguilla; Antigua and Barbud; Aruba; Bahamas; Barbados; British Virgin Islands; Cayman Islands; Cuba; Curaçao; Dominica; Dominican Republic; Grenada; Guatamala; Haiti; Jamaica; Martinique; Puerto Rico; Saint Kitts and Nevis; Saint Lucia; Saint Vincent and the Grenadines; Trinidad and Tobago; Turks and Caicos Islands; United States Virgin Islands
Latin America	Argentina; Belize; Bolivia; Brazil; Chile; Colombia; Costa Rica; Ecuador; El Salvado; Falkland Islands (Malvinas); French Guiana; Guatamala; Guyana; Honduras; Mexico; Nicaragua; Panama; Paraguay; Peru; Suriname; Uruguay; Venezuela
Africa (excluding North Africa)	Angola; British Indian Ocean Territory; Burundi; Cameroon; Central African Republic; Chad; Comoros; Congo; Djibouti; Eritrea; Ethiopia; French Southern Territories; Kenya; Madagascar; Malawi; Mauritius; Mayotte; Mozambique; Réunion; Rwanda; Seychelles; Somalia; South Sudan; Uganda; United Republic of Tanzania; Zambia; Zimbabwe
Middle East & North Africa (MENA)	Algeria; Armenia; Azerbaijan; Bahrain; Egypt; Georgia; Iran; Iraq; Israel; Jordan; Kurdistan; Kuwait; Lebanon; Libya; Morocco; Oman; Palestine; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syria; Tunisia; Turkey; United Arab Emirates; Western Sahara; Yemen
South Asia	Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Bhutan; India; Iran; Maldives; Nepal; Pakistan; Sri Lanka; Kashmir
East, South East & Central (ESEC) Asia	Brunei; Cambodia; China; East Timor; Hong Kong; Indonesia; Japan; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Laos; Macao; Malaysia; Mongolia; Myanmar; North Korea; Philippines; Singapore; South Korea; Taiwan; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Thailand; Uzbekistan; Vietnam
Oceana/Other	American Samoa; Australia; Cook Islands; Fiji; French Polynesia; Guam; Kiribati; Marshall Islands; Micronesia; Nauru; New Caledonia; New Zealand; Palau; Papua New Guinea; Samoa; Solomon Islands; Tonga; Tuvalu; Vanuatu

Appendix D: Detailed Ethnicity Tables for Regression Analyses (Empirical Application 2)

Table K1. Odds ratios from logistic regressions of violence victimisation using standardised ethnicity and regrouped ethnicity as predictors (controlling for age, migrant status, sex and social-economic class, and for model 2, 'Mixed'), pooled data (waves 2004-2007, 2013-2019), sample 1 (N=415,361)

	Set of Models 1: Violence by standardised ethnicity (5 groups)				
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (5 groups)				
	1	2	3	4	5
Standardised Ethnicity (5 groups)					
1. White	*Ref*	0.839†	1.577***	1.081	1.483**
2. Mixed	1.192†	*Ref*	1.880***	1.289*	1.768***
3. Asian/Asian British	0.634***	0.532***	*Ref*	0.686***	0.940
4. Black/Black British	0.925	0.776*	1.459***	*Ref*	1.372*
5. Chinese/Other	0.674**	0.566***	1.063	0.729*	*Ref*

	Set of Models 2: Violence by regrouped ethnicity (7 groups), controlling for 'Mixed' ethnicity						
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (7 groups)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ethnic regrouping (7 groups)							
1. White	*Ref*	1.132	0.893	1.584***	1.641***	0.833	1.211
2. Black/Black British	0.884	*Ref*	0.789	1.400***	1.450**	0.736	1.070
3. Arab/MENA	1.120	1.267	*Ref*	1.774*	1.838*	0.933	1.356
4. South Asian	0.631***	0.714***	0.564*	*Ref*	1.036	0.526**	0.765†
5. ESEC Asian	0.609***	0.690**	0.544*	0.965	*Ref*	0.508**	0.738†
6. Latinx/Hispanic	1.200	1.358	1.072	1.902**	1.970**	*Ref*	1.454
7. Other	0.826	0.934	0.737	1.308†	1.355†	0.688	*Ref*
Mixed Ethnicity (Ref = Not mixed)							
Mixed / Multiple Ethnicities	1.492***						

Notes: † p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table K2. Odds ratios from logistic regressions of fear of violence using standardised ethnicity and regrouped ethnicity as predictors (controlling for age, migrant status, sex and social-economic class, and for model 2, 'Mixed'), pooled data (waves 2004-2007, 2013-2019), sample 2 (N=169,440)

	Set of Models 3: Fear of violence by standardised ethnicity (5 groups)				
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (5 groups)				
	1	2	3	4	5
Standardised Ethnicity (5 groups)					
1. White	*Ref*	0.798***	0.508***	0.612***	0.690***
2. Mixed	1.253***	*Ref*	0.637***	0.766***	0.864†
3. Asian/Asian British	1.967***	1.570***	*Ref*	1.203***	1.357***
4. Black/Black British	1.635***	1.305***	0.831***	*Ref*	1.128†
5. Chinese/Other	1.450***	1.158†	0.737***	0.887†	*Ref*

	Set of Models 4: Violence by regrouped ethnicity (7 groups), controlling for 'Mixed' ethnicity						
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (7 groups)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ethnic regrouping (7 groups)							
1. White	*Ref*	0.599***	0.572***	0.507***	0.576***	0.663**	0.784***
2. Black/Black British	1.670***	*Ref*	0.956	0.846***	0.962	1.107	1.310***
3. Arab/MENA	1.747***	1.046	*Ref*	0.885	1.007	1.159	1.371*
4. South Asian	1.974***	1.182***	1.13	*Ref*	1.137*	1.309†	1.548***
5. ESEC Asian	1.736***	1.040	0.993	0.880*	*Ref*	1.151	1.362***
6. Latinx/Hispanic	1.508**	0.903	0.863	0.764†	0.869	*Ref*	1.183
7. Other	1.275***	0.763***	0.729*	0.646***	0.734***	0.845	*Ref*
Mixed Ethnicity (Ref = Not mixed)							
Mixed / Multiple Ethnicities	0.743***						

Notes: † p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Appendix E: Migrant-Only Sample Regression Results Tables
Empirical Application 2

Table L1. Odds ratios from logistic regressions of violence victimisation using standardised ethnicity and regrouped ethnicity as predictors for Migrant-Only Sample, pooled data (waves 2004-2007, 2013-2019), sample 3 (N=49,283)

	Set of Models 5: Violence by standardised ethnicity (5 groups)						
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (5 groups):						
	1	2	3	4	5		
Standardised Ethnicity (5 groups)							
1. White	*Ref*	0.561**	1.413***	0.916	1.734***		
2. Mixed	1.783**	*Ref*	2.519***	1.633*	3.092***		
3. Asian/Asian British	0.708***	0.397***	*Ref*	0.648***	1.228		
4. Black/Black British	1.092	0.613*	1.543***	*Ref*	1.894***		
5. Chinese/Other	0.577***	0.323***	0.815	0.528***	*Ref*		
	Set of Models 6: Violence by regrouped ethnicity (7 groups), controlling for 'Mixed' ethnicity						
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (7 groups):						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ethnic regrouping (7 groups)							
1. White	*Ref*	0.949	0.838	1.453***	1.716***	0.859	1.608*
2. Black/Black British	1.054	*Ref*	0.884	1.532***	1.809***	0.905	1.695*
3. Arab/MENA	1.193	1.132	*Ref*	1.733*	2.047*	1.025	1.918*
4. South Asian	0.688***	0.653***	0.577*	*Ref*	*Ref*	0.591*	1.107
5. ESEC Asian	0.583***	0.553**	0.488*	0.847	1.181	0.500**	0.937
6. Latinx/Hispanic	1.164	1.105	0.976	1.692*	1.998*	*Ref*	1.872*
7. Other	0.622*	0.590*	0.521*	0.904	1.067	0.534*	*Ref*
Mixed Ethnicity (Ref = Not mixed)							
Mixed / Multiple Ethnicities	2.102***						

Table L2. Odds ratios from logistic regressions of fear of violence using standardised ethnicity and regrouped ethnicity as predictors for Migrant-Only Sample, pooled data (waves 2004-2007, 2013-2019), sample 4 (N=24,310)*

	Set of Models 3: Fear of violence by standardised ethnicity (5 groups)				
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (5 groups)				
	1	2	3	4	5
Standardised Ethnicity (5 groups)					
1. White	*Ref*	0.637***	0.467***	0.504***	0.613***
2. Mixed	1.570***	*Ref*	0.732**	0.791*	0.962
3. Asian/Asian British	2.143***	1.365**	*Ref*	1.080	1.314***
4. Black/Black British	1.983***	1.264*	0.926	*Ref*	1.216**
5. Chinese/Other	1.631***	1.039	0.761***	0.823**	*Ref*

	Set of Models 4: Fear by regrouped ethnicity (7 groups), controlling for 'Mixed'						
	Changing reference category for ethnicity (7 groups)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ethnic regrouping (7 groups)							
1. White	*Ref*	0.496***	0.518***	0.468***	0.492***	0.622***	0.727***
2. Black/Black British	2.016***	*Ref*	1.044	0.943	0.992	1.254	1.467***
3. Arab/MENA	1.931***	0.957	*Ref*	0.903	0.950	1.200	1.404*
4. South Asian	2.137***	1.060	1.107	*Ref*	1.051	1.329*	1.554***
5. ESEC Asian	2.033***	1.008	1.053	0.951	*Ref*	1.264	1.478***
6. Latinx/Hispanic	1.608***	0.798	0.833	0.753*	0.791	*Ref*	1.170
7. Other	1.375***	0.682***	0.712*	0.643***	0.676***	0.855	*Ref*
Mixed Ethnicity (Ref = Not mixed)							
Mixed / Multiple	0.857						

Appendix F: Crosstabulation Tables for Exposure to Barriers to Disclosure by Social Group and Barriers to Disclosure by Disclosure Rates and Reluctance (Empirical Application 3)

Table M1. Crosstabulations of Barriers to Disclosure (face-to-face interview) by Inequality Group: Frequencies and Weighted & Unweighted Percentages, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	English Difficulties			Interviewer Sex (Male)			Others Present			Partner Present		
Inequality Group	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Gender												
Men	590	3.79	4.25	187,567	60.63	60.74	85,926	27.77	31.13	60,198	19.45	20.05
Women	709	3.75	4.33	213,091	57.22	57.37	112,705	30.25	34.72	56,131	15.07	17.33
Migrant-status												
UK-born	498	1.65	1.51	351,337	58.14	58.02	170,919	28.27	31.89	102,209	16.91	18.50
Migrant	801	18.38	20.06	49,321	63.70	64.80	27,712	35.77	39.23	14,120	18.23	19.53
Ethnicity												
White	783	2.50	2.65	365,369	58.33	58.25	178,037	28.41	32.10	107,663	17.18	19.01
Minoritised Ethnic	516	16.61	16.64	35,289	63.77	64.78	20,594	37.19	39.51	8,666	15.65	15.95
Mixed	13	4.05	5.00	3,430	63.74	63.88	1,589	29.51	30.98	534	9.92	10.26
Asian	328	21.91	20.74	16,627	63.27	64.29	11,155	42.41	43.51	5,212	19.82	18.67
Black	83	9.26	9.01	10,080	66.15	66.80	4,662	30.58	33.21	1,372	9.00	10.42
Chinese/Other	92	23.47	23.37	5,091	61.15	63.81	3,164	37.98	40.77	1,537	18.45	18.84
Intersecting sub-groups												
White UK-born men	244	1.84	1.58	159,237	59.76	59.25	72,680	27.27	30.61	52,724	19.78	20.77
BME UK-born men	8	2.02	1.70	5,084	64.44	66.15	1,981	25.09	27.04	732	9.27	7.70
White migrant men	146	15.65	18.35	11,258	65.91	66.93	5,108	29.89	32.76	3,381	19.78	20.07
BME migrant men	192	19.43	20.55	11,988	66.93	67.77	6,157	34.36	36.89	3,361	18.76	18.90
White UK-born women	234	1.47	1.42	181,126	56.53	56.30	92,989	29.02	33.09	48,000	14.98	17.36
BME UK-born women	12	2.23	2.13	5,890	61.56	61.77	3,269	34.13	36.92	753	7.86	7.88
White migrant women	159	12.70	14.04	13,748	61.21	62.04	7,260	32.31	36.31	3,558	15.83	17.98
BME migrant women	304	25.68	26.64	12,327	61.73	62.50	9,187	45.97	49.94	3,820	19.11	21.18
Total	1,299	3.77	4.29	400,658	58.77	59.01	198,631	29.13	32.97	116,329	17.06	18.65

Table M2. Crosstabulations of Barriers to Disclosure (self-complete module) by Inequality Group: Frequencies and Weighted & Unweighted Percentages, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

	SC Access (Exclusion)			SC Refusal due to Confidentiality Concerns			SC Interference (graded)	
Inequality Group	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*Mean*	*Wgt Mean*
Gender								
Men	898	8.90	8.33	65	7.24	7.36	0.94	1.02
Women	1,115	9.06	8.76	196	17.58	17.63	1.09	1.16
Migrant-status								
UK-born	1,444	7.61	6.85	184	12.74	12.79	0.97	1.04
Migrant	569	16.63	16.70	77	13.53	12.36	1.32	1.37
Ethnicity								
White	1,571	7.98	7.26	189	12.03	12.09	0.99	1.05
Minoritised Ethnic	442	16.29	16.08	72	16.29	14.12	1.30	1.32
Mixed	29	9.70	7.64	5	17.24	16.11	1.03	1.12
Asian	238	18.17	17.95	38	15.97	13.68	1.52	1.48
Black	111	14.70	14.23	27	24.32	22.67	1.01	1.01
Chinese/Other	64	18.34	18.45	2	3.13	1.64	1.38	1.43
Intersecting sub-groups								
White UK-born men	627	7.66	6.76	49	7.81	7.76	0.91	0.99
BME UK-born men	36	9.09	8.19	3	8.33	14.63	0.77	0.81
White migrant men	83	11.71	10.78	2	2.41	1.55	1.10	1.20
BME migrant men	152	18.93	19.40	11	7.24	7.06	1.24	1.31
White UK-born women	740	7.50	6.84	123	16.62	17.36	1.03	1.10
BME UK-born women	41	7.71	7.06	9	21.95	16.21	1.03	1.11
White migrant women	121	13.05	12.79	15	12.40	14.96	1.13	1.18
BME migrant women	213	21.69	22.12	49	23.00	19.93	1.78	1.79
Total	2,013	8.99	8.55	261	12.97	12.65	1.02	1.09

Table M2 (Cont). Crosstabulations of Barriers to Disclosure (self-complete module) by Inequality Group: Frequencies and Weighted & Unweighted Percentages, pooled data (waves 2003-2019)

SC Interference (grouped)

	Completed SC alone			Alone, but interviewer assisted			Others present, no interference			Others present & interfered		
Inequality Group	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Gender												
Men	6,592	71.71	69.64	211	2.30	1.77	2,064	22.45	24.86	325	3.54	3.73
Women	7,450	66.55	64.64	237	2.12	1.92	3,158	28.21	30.02	350	3.13	3.41
Migrant-status												
UK-born	12,235	69.77	68.02	327	1.86	1.42	4,507	25.70	27.81	466	2.66	2.75
Migrant	1,807	63.36	62.39	121	4.24	4.12	715	25.07	25.48	209	7.33	8.01
Ethnicity												
White	12,606	69.58	67.81	357	1.97	1.54	4,627	25.54	27.56	526	2.90	3.09
Minoritised Ethnic	1,436	63.23	62.78	91	4.01	3.81	595	26.20	26.71	149	6.56	6.71
Mixed	182	67.41	64.88	7	2.59	2.09	75	27.78	30.44	6	2.22	2.58
Asian	627	58.49	59.1	46	4.29	4.33	307	28.64	28.55	92	8.58	8.02
Black	444	68.94	69.73	29	4.50	3.89	147	22.83	22.12	24	3.73	4.26
Chinese/Other	183	64.21	62.83	9	3.16	2.80	66	23.16	24.45	27	9.47	9.91
Intersecting sub-groups												
White UK-born men	5,455	72.20	70.12	156	2.06	1.41	1,712	22.66	25.37	232	3.07	3.10
BME UK-born men	277	76.94	75.92	5	1.39	1.16	68	18.89	19.95	10	2.78	2.96
White migrant men	441	70.45	68.50	17	2.72	2.00	127	20.29	21.98	41	6.55	7.51
BME migrant men	419	64.36	62.21	33	5.07	5.31	157	24.12	25.58	42	6.45	6.90
White UK-born women	6,172	67.61	65.64	159	1.74	1.48	2,583	28.29	30.44	215	2.36	2.45
BME UK-born women	331	67.41	64.56	7	1.43	1.06	144	29.33	32.72	9	1.83	1.66
White migrant women	538	66.75	65.77	25	3.10	3.10	205	25.43	25.82	38	4.71	5.31
BME migrant women	409	53.19	53.70	46	5.98	5.78	226	29.39	28.20	88	11.44	12.32
Total	14,042	68.88	67.13	448	2.20	1.85	5,222	25.61	27.45	675	3.31	3.57

Table M3. Crosstabulations of Disclosure Barriers by Disclosure Rates and Reluctance (Empirical Application 3)

	Disclosure								
	Overall Violence			Domestic Violence			Sexual Violence		
Barriers	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Comprehension (2012 only)									
No English Difficulties	1,072	3.23	3.56	227	0.68	0.60	77	0.23	0.24
English Difficulties	43	3.31	3.29	3	0.23	0.17	2	0.15	0.07
Trust and Confidentiality									
Interviewer Sex									
Female Interviewer	10,568	3.76	4.14	2,044	0.73	0.64	764	0.27	0.30
Male Interviewer	13,993	3.49	3.84	2,403	0.60	0.52	1,054	0.26	0.29
Whether others present									
No others present	17,429	3.61	4.05	3,009	0.62	0.57	1,284	0.27	0.30
Others Present	7,157	3.60	3.81	1,445	0.73	0.59	535	0.27	0.28
Whether partner present									
No partner present	22,119	3.91	4.35	4,161	0.74	0.64	1,716	0.30	0.34
Partner Present	2,467	2.12	2.30	293	0.25	0.28	103	0.09	0.09

Table M3 (Cont). Crosstabulations of Disclosure Barriers by Disclosure Rates and Reluctance (Empirical Application 3)

	Disclosure Reluctance								
	Overall Violence			Domestic Violence			Sexual Violence		
Barriers	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*	*N*	*Un-Wgt %*	*Wgt %*
Comprehension (2012 only)									
No English Difficulties	437	44.23	45.28	5	0.02	0.02	11	0.03	0.03
English Difficulties	18	41.86	38.04	20	2.23	2.83	34	2.62	3.18
Trust and Confidentiality									
Interviewer Sex									
Female Interviewer	4,267	44.39	43.78	234	0.12	0.13	292	0.10	0.12
Male Interviewer	5,475	43.30	44.38	412	0.15	0.21	549	0.14	0.20
Whether others present									
No others present	6,954	44.04	44.47	156	0.05	0.06	290	0.06	0.06
Others Present	2,799	43.12	43.38	491	0.28	0.37	552	0.28	0.38
Whether partner present									
No partner present	8,684	43.27	43.56	349	0.10	0.13	555	0.10	0.13
Partner Present	1,069	48.33	48.84	298	0.26	0.35	287	0.25	0.35

Appendix G: Full tables (N-S) for ethnicity and intersectionality results for Violence Disclosure

Table N1: Logistic Regression Model for Any Violence Disclosure by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.896	0.105	1.593	0.000	1.279	0.000	1.651	0.000
Mixed	1.117	0.105	1	n/a	1.779	0.000	1.429	0.000	1.843	0.000
Asian	0.628	0.000	0.562	0.000	1	n/a	0.803	0.001	1.036	0.676
Black	0.782	0.000	0.700	0.000	1.245	0.001	1	n/a	1.290	0.005
Chinese/Other	0.606	0.000	0.543	0.000	0.965	0.676	0.775	0.005	1	n/a

Table N2: Logistic Regression Model for Any Violence Disclosure by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.276	0.000	1.347	0.000	1.497	0.000	1.358	0.000	1.840	0.000	1.703	0.000	2.288	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.784	0.000	1	n/a	1.055	0.470	1.173	0.031	1.064	0.286	1.442	0.000	1.335	0.000	1.793	0.000
White migrant men	0.743	0.000	0.948	0.470	1	n/a	1.112	0.119	1.008	0.869	1.367	0.000	1.265	0.000	1.699	0.000
BME migrant men	0.668	0.000	0.852	0.031	0.899	0.119	1	n/a	0.907	0.050	1.229	0.008	1.138	0.054	1.528	0.000
White UK-born women	0.736	0.000	0.940	0.286	0.992	0.869	1.103	0.050	1	n/a	1.355	0.000	1.254	0.000	1.685	0.000
BME UK-born women	0.543	0.000	0.693	0.000	0.732	0.000	0.814	0.008	0.738	0.000	1	n/a	0.926	0.314	1.243	0.007
White migrant women	0.587	0.000	0.749	0.000	0.791	0.000	0.879	0.054	0.797	0.000	1.080	0.314	1	n/a	1.343	0.000
BME migrant women	0.437	0.000	0.558	0.000	0.589	0.000	0.654	0.000	0.594	0.000	0.804	0.007	0.745	0.000	1	n/a

Table O1: Logistic Regression Model for Domestic Violence Disclosure by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|
White	1	n/a	0.839	0.226	2.157	0.000	1.147	0.254	3.626	0.000
Mixed	1.192	0.226	1	n/a	2.572	0.000	1.368	0.092	4.323	0.000
Asian	0.464	0.000	0.389	0.000	1	n/a	0.532	0.000	1.681	0.027
Black	0.871	0.254	0.731	0.092	1.880	0.000	1	n/a	3.160	0.000
Chinese/Other	0.276	0.000	0.231	0.000	0.595	0.027	0.316	0.000	1	n/a

Table O2: Logistic Regression Model for Domestic Violence Disclosure by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|	OR	P>|z|
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.386	0.108	1.481	0.027	2.457	0.000	0.375	0.000	0.434	0.000	0.683	0.000	0.803	0.076
BME UK-born men	0.722	0.108	1	n/a	1.069	0.800	1.773	0.046	0.270	0.000	0.313	0.000	0.493	0.001	0.579	0.017
White migrant men	0.675	0.027	0.936	0.800	1	n/a	1.659	0.061	0.253	0.000	0.293	0.000	0.461	0.000	0.542	0.003
BME migrant men	0.407	0.000	0.564	0.046	0.603	0.061	1	n/a	0.152	0.000	0.177	0.000	0.278	0.000	0.327	0.000
White UK-born women	2.669	0.000	3.698	0.000	3.953	0.000	6.558	0.000	1	n/a	1.157	0.178	1.823	0.000	2.143	0.000
BME UK-born women	2.306	0.000	3.195	0.000	3.415	0.000	5.666	0.000	0.864	0.178	1	n/a	1.575	0.002	1.851	0.000
White migrant women	1.463	0.000	2.028	0.001	2.168	0.000	3.596	0.000	0.548	0.000	0.635	0.002	1	n/a	1.175	0.287
BME migrant women	1.245	0.076	1.726	0.017	1.845	0.003	3.061	0.000	0.467	0.000	0.540	0.000	0.851	0.287	1	n/a

Table P1: Logistic Regression Model for Sexual Violence Disclosure by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.630	0.027	2.072	0.000	1.343	0.099	1.492	0.089
Mixed	1.588	0.027	1	n/a	3.291	0.000	2.133	0.005	2.371	0.005
Asian	0.483	0.000	0.304	0.000	1	n/a	0.648	0.068	0.720	0.246
Black	0.745	0.099	0.469	0.005	1.543	0.068	1	n/a	1.112	0.715
Chinese/Other	0.670	0.089	0.422	0.005	1.388	0.246	0.900	0.715	1	n/a

Table P2: Logistic Regression Model for Sexual Violence Disclosure by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.694	0.117	1.390	0.304	2.506	0.009	0.253	0.000	0.299	0.000	0.271	0.000	0.375	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.590	0.117	1	n/a	0.821	0.662	1.479	0.407	0.149	0.000	0.177	0.000	0.160	0.000	0.221	0.000
White migrant men	0.719	0.304	1.218	0.662	1	n/a	1.802	0.203	0.182	0.000	0.215	0.000	0.195	0.000	0.270	0.000
BME migrant men	0.399	0.009	0.676	0.407	0.555	0.203	1	n/a	0.101	0.000	0.119	0.000	0.108	0.000	0.150	0.000
White UK-born women	3.953	0.000	6.696	0.000	5.496	0.000	9.906	0.000	1	n/a	1.182	0.297	1.070	0.588	1.483	0.008
BME UK-born women	3.344	0.000	5.664	0.000	4.649	0.000	8.379	0.000	0.846	0.297	1	n/a	0.905	0.610	1.254	0.286
White migrant women	3.695	0.000	6.259	0.000	5.137	0.000	9.260	0.000	0.935	0.588	1.105	0.610	1	n/a	1.386	0.078
BME migrant women	2.665	0.000	4.515	0.000	3.706	0.000	6.679	0.000	0.674	0.008	0.797	0.286	0.721	0.078	1	n/a

Table Q1: Logistic Regression Model for Overall Disclosure Reluctance by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.767	0.057	0.592	0.000	0.833	0.095	0.641	0.005
Mixed	1.304	0.057	1	n/a	0.772	0.114	1.086	0.639	0.836	0.392
Asian	1.690	0.000	1.296	0.114	1	n/a	1.407	0.014	1.083	0.660
Black	1.201	0.095	0.921	0.639	0.711	0.014	1	n/a	0.770	0.172
Chinese/Other	1.560	0.005	1.197	0.392	0.923	0.660	1.299	0.172	1	n/a

Table Q2: Logistic Regression Model for Overall Disclosure Reluctance by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.626	0.000	0.678	0.000	0.523	0.000	0.455	0.000	0.338	0.000	0.325	0.000	0.350	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.597	0.000	1	n/a	1.083	0.609	0.835	0.245	0.727	0.009	0.540	0.000	0.519	0.000	0.559	0.000
White migrant men	1.475	0.000	0.923	0.609	1	n/a	0.771	0.068	0.672	0.000	0.498	0.000	0.479	0.000	0.516	0.000
BME migrant men	1.913	0.000	1.198	0.245	1.297	0.068	1	n/a	0.871	0.185	0.646	0.008	0.622	0.001	0.669	0.008
White UK-born women	2.196	0.000	1.375	0.009	1.489	0.000	1.148	0.185	1	n/a	0.742	0.023	0.714	0.001	0.768	0.025
BME UK-born women	2.960	0.000	1.853	0.000	2.007	0.000	1.547	0.008	1.348	0.023	1	n/a	0.962	0.813	1.035	0.841
White migrant women	3.076	0.000	1.926	0.000	2.086	0.000	1.608	0.001	1.401	0.001	1.039	0.813	1	n/a	1.076	0.630
BME migrant women	2.859	0.000	1.790	0.000	1.939	0.000	1.495	0.008	1.302	0.025	0.966	0.841	0.930	0.630	1	n/a

Table R1: Logistic Regression Model for Domestic Violence Disclosure Reluctance by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.465	0.078	0.129	0.000	0.339	0.000	0.126	0.000
Mixed	2.151	0.078	1	n/a	0.278	0.004	0.729	0.506	0.271	0.005
Asian	7.728	0.000	3.592	0.004	1	n/a	2.618	0.000	0.973	0.881
Black	2.952	0.000	1.372	0.506	0.382	0.000	1	n/a	0.372	0.000
Chinese/Other	7.941	0.000	3.691	0.005	1.028	0.881	2.690	0.000	1	n/a

Table R2: Logistic Regression Model for Domestic Violence Disclosure Reluctance by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.496	0.135	0.157	0.000	0.091	0.000	0.982	0.903	0.478	0.193	0.102	0.000	0.068	0.000
BME UK-born men	2.016	0.135	1	n/a	0.316	0.019	0.184	0.000	1.979	0.148	0.964	0.959	0.207	0.001	0.138	0.000
White migrant men	6.375	0.000	3.162	0.019	1	n/a	0.580	0.013	6.257	0.000	3.047	0.058	0.653	0.054	0.435	0.000
BME migrant men	10.982	0.000	5.448	0.000	1.723	0.013	1	n/a	10.780	0.000	5.250	0.003	1.126	0.477	0.750	0.052
White UK-born women	1.019	0.903	0.505	0.148	0.160	0.000	0.093	0.000	1	n/a	0.487	0.208	0.104	0.000	0.070	0.000
BME UK-born women	2.092	0.193	1.038	0.959	0.328	0.058	0.190	0.003	2.053	0.208	1	n/a	0.214	0.007	0.143	0.001
White migrant women	9.756	0.000	4.840	0.001	1.530	0.054	0.888	0.477	9.576	0.000	4.664	0.007	1	n/a	0.666	0.008
BME migrant women	14.641	0.000	7.263	0.000	2.297	0.000	1.333	0.052	14.371	0.000	6.999	0.001	1.501	0.008	1	n/a

Table S1: Logistic Regression Model for Sexual Violence Disclosure Reluctance by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.360	0.002	0.123	0.000	0.311	0.000	0.123	0.000
Mixed	2.778	0.002	1	n/a	0.340	0.001	0.864	0.685	0.341	0.002
Asian	8.158	0.000	2.937	0.001	1	n/a	2.539	0.000	1.003	0.986
Black	3.214	0.000	1.157	0.685	0.394	0.000	1	n/a	0.395	0.000
Chinese/Other	8.135	0.000	2.929	0.002	0.997	0.986	2.531	0.000	1	n/a

Table S2: Logistic Regression Model for Sexual Violence Disclosure Reluctance by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.413	0.016	0.189	0.000	0.103	0.000	1.062	0.649	0.440	0.056	0.140	0.000	0.078	0.000
BME UK-born men	2.419	0.016	1	n/a	0.458	0.048	0.250	0.000	2.569	0.010	1.064	0.909	0.340	0.004	0.190	0.000
White migrant men	5.283	0.000	2.184	0.048	1	n/a	0.545	0.004	5.611	0.000	2.324	0.063	0.742	0.162	0.414	0.000
BME migrant men	9.688	0.000	4.004	0.000	1.834	0.004	1	n/a	10.288	0.000	4.261	0.001	1.360	0.058	0.760	0.047
White UK-born women	0.942	0.649	0.389	0.010	0.178	0.000	0.097	0.000	1	n/a	0.414	0.040	0.132	0.000	0.074	0.000
BME UK-born women	2.274	0.056	0.940	0.909	0.430	0.063	0.235	0.001	2.414	0.040	1	n/a	0.319	0.009	0.178	0.000
White migrant women	7.122	0.000	2.944	0.004	1.348	0.162	0.735	0.058	7.563	0.000	3.133	0.009	1	n/a	0.558	0.000
BME migrant women	12.755	0.000	5.272	0.000	2.414	0.000	1.317	0.047	13.544	0.000	5.610	0.000	1.791	0.000	1	n/a

Appendix H: Full tables (T-Z) for ethnicity and intersectionality results for Exposure to Barriers to Disclosure

Table T1: Logistic Regression Model for Interviewer Sex (male) by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.801	0.000	0.782	0.000	0.695	0.000	0.802	0.000
Mixed	1.248	0.000	1	n/a	0.976	0.523	0.867	0.000	1.000	0.999
Asian	1.278	0.000	1.024	0.523	1	n/a	0.888	0.000	1.024	0.435
Black	1.439	0.000	1.154	0.000	1.126	0.000	1	n/a	1.154	0.000
Chinese/Other	1.248	0.000	1.000	0.999	0.976	0.435	0.867	0.000	1	n/a

Table T2: Logistic Regression Model for Interviewer Sex (male) by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.756	0.000	0.721	0.000	0.694	0.000	1.126	0.000	0.918	0.001	0.894	0.000	0.873	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.323	0.000	1	n/a	0.954	0.177	0.918	0.012	1.489	0.000	1.215	0.000	1.182	0.000	1.155	0.000
White migrant men	1.387	0.000	1.048	0.177	1	n/a	0.962	0.153	1.561	0.000	1.274	0.000	1.239	0.000	1.210	0.000
BME migrant men	1.442	0.000	1.090	0.012	1.039	0.153	1	n/a	1.623	0.000	1.324	0.000	1.288	0.000	1.258	0.000
White UK-born women	0.888	0.000	0.671	0.000	0.640	0.000	0.616	0.000	1	n/a	0.816	0.000	0.794	0.000	0.775	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.089	0.001	0.823	0.000	0.785	0.000	0.755	0.000	1.226	0.000	1	n/a	0.973	0.375	0.950	0.102
White migrant women	1.119	0.000	0.846	0.000	0.807	0.000	0.776	0.000	1.260	0.000	1.028	0.375	1	n/a	0.977	0.325
BME migrant women	1.146	0.000	0.866	0.000	0.826	0.000	0.795	0.000	1.290	0.000	1.052	0.102	1.024	0.325	1	n/a

Table U1: Logistic Regression Model for Others Present by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	1.133	0.001	0.669	0.000	1.042	0.056	0.743	0.000
Mixed	0.883	0.001	1	n/a	0.591	0.000	0.920	0.045	0.656	0.000
Asian	1.494	0.000	1.693	0.000	1	n/a	1.556	0.000	1.110	0.001
Black	0.960	0.056	1.088	0.045	0.642	0.000	1	n/a	0.713	0.000
Chinese/Other	1.346	0.000	1.525	0.000	0.901	0.001	1.402	0.000	1	n/a

Table U2: Logistic Regression Model for Others Present by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.286	0.000	0.927	0.000	0.792	0.000	0.914	0.000	0.819	0.000	0.802	0.000	0.521	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.778	0.000	1	n/a	0.721	0.000	0.616	0.000	0.711	0.000	0.637	0.000	0.624	0.000	0.405	0.000
White migrant men	1.078	0.000	1.386	0.000	1	n/a	0.854	0.000	0.985	0.467	0.883	0.000	0.865	0.000	0.562	0.000
BME migrant men	1.262	0.000	1.623	0.000	1.171	0.000	1	n/a	1.153	0.000	1.034	0.303	1.013	0.619	0.658	0.000
White UK-born women	1.095	0.000	1.407	0.000	1.015	0.467	0.867	0.000	1	n/a	0.897	0.000	0.878	0.000	0.570	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.221	0.000	1.570	0.000	1.132	0.000	0.967	0.303	1.115	0.000	1	n/a	0.979	0.508	0.636	0.000
White migrant women	1.247	0.000	1.603	0.000	1.156	0.000	0.988	0.619	1.139	0.000	1.021	0.508	1	n/a	0.650	0.000
BME migrant women	1.919	0.000	2.468	0.000	1.780	0.000	1.520	0.000	1.754	0.000	1.572	0.000	1.540	0.000	1	n/a

Table V1: Logistic Regression Model for Partner Present by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	1.412	0.000	0.790	0.000	1.653	0.000	0.728	0.000
Mixed	0.708	0.000	1	n/a	0.560	0.000	1.171	0.009	0.516	0.000
Asian	1.265	0.000	1.787	0.000	1	n/a	2.091	0.000	0.922	0.027
Black	0.605	0.000	0.854	0.009	0.478	0.000	1	n/a	0.441	0.000
Chinese/Other	1.373	0.000	1.938	0.000	1.085	0.027	2.269	0.000	1	n/a

Table V2: Logistic Regression Model for Partner Present by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.980	0.000	0.895	0.000	0.957	0.053	1.318	0.000	1.965	0.000	1.084	0.000	0.848	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.505	0.000	1	n/a	0.452	0.000	0.483	0.000	0.666	0.000	0.992	0.901	0.548	0.000	0.428	0.000
White migrant men	1.118	0.000	2.213	0.000	1	n/a	1.070	0.032	1.473	0.000	2.196	0.000	1.212	0.000	0.948	0.081
BME migrant men	1.045	0.053	2.069	0.000	0.935	0.032	1	n/a	1.377	0.000	2.053	0.000	1.133	0.000	0.886	0.000
White UK-born women	0.759	0.000	1.503	0.000	0.679	0.000	0.726	0.000	1	n/a	1.491	0.000	0.823	0.000	0.643	0.000
BME UK-born women	0.509	0.000	1.008	0.901	0.455	0.000	0.487	0.000	0.671	0.000	1	n/a	0.552	0.000	0.431	0.000
White migrant women	0.922	0.000	1.826	0.000	0.825	0.000	0.883	0.000	1.215	0.000	1.812	0.000	1	n/a	0.782	0.000
BME migrant women	1.180	0.000	2.335	0.000	1.055	0.081	1.129	0.000	1.554	0.000	2.318	0.000	1.279	0.000	1	n/a

Table W1: Logistic Regression Model for English Language Difficulties by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.448	0.018	0.108	0.000	0.313	0.000	0.077	0.000
Mixed	2.231	0.018	1	n/a	0.240	0.000	0.699	0.318	0.173	0.000
Asian	9.282	0.000	4.161	0.000	1	n/a	2.907	0.000	0.718	0.046
Black	3.193	0.000	1.431	0.318	0.344	0.000	1	n/a	0.247	0.000
Chinese/Other	12.923	0.000	5.793	0.000	1.392	0.046	4.047	0.000	1	n/a

Table W2: Logistic Regression Model for English Language Difficulties by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.876	0.752	0.064	0.000	0.056	0.000	1.121	0.312	0.605	0.181	0.089	0.000	0.056	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.142	0.752	1	n/a	0.073	0.000	0.064	0.000	1.280	0.556	0.691	0.497	0.102	0.000	0.063	0.000
White migrant men	15.621	0.000	13.681	0.000	1	n/a	0.880	0.390	17.517	0.000	9.457	0.000	1.398	0.029	0.867	0.314
BME migrant men	17.752	0.000	15.548	0.000	1.136	0.390	1	n/a	19.907	0.000	10.747	0.000	1.588	0.001	0.986	0.910
White UK-born women	0.892	0.312	0.781	0.556	0.057	0.000	0.050	0.000	1	n/a	0.540	0.100	0.080	0.000	0.050	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.652	0.181	1.447	0.497	0.106	0.000	0.093	0.000	1.852	0.100	1	n/a	0.148	0.000	0.092	0.000
White migrant women	11.176	0.000	9.788	0.000	0.715	0.029	0.630	0.001	12.533	0.000	6.766	0.000	1	n/a	0.621	0.000
BME migrant women	18.010	0.000	15.773	0.000	1.153	0.314	1.015	0.910	20.196	0.000	10.903	0.000	1.611	0.000	1	n/a

Table X1: Logistic Regression Model for SC access (exclusion) by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.744	0.195	0.349	0.000	0.490	0.000	0.317	0.000
Mixed	1.344	0.195	1	n/a	0.470	0.002	0.659	0.108	0.426	0.002
Asian	2.862	0.000	2.130	0.002	1	n/a	1.403	0.026	0.907	0.594
Black	2.040	0.000	1.518	0.108	0.713	0.026	1	n/a	0.646	0.035
Chinese/Other	3.156	0.000	2.349	0.002	1.103	0.594	1.547	0.035	1	n/a

Table X2: Logistic Regression Model for SC access (exclusion) by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.632	0.038	0.541	0.000	0.281	0.000	0.937	0.335	0.670	0.049	0.438	0.000	0.294	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.583	0.038	1	n/a	0.857	0.545	0.445	0.001	1.483	0.075	1.061	0.840	0.693	0.133	0.466	0.001
White migrant men	1.848	0.000	1.167	0.545	1	n/a	0.519	0.000	1.731	0.000	1.239	0.375	0.809	0.238	0.544	0.000
BME migrant men	3.560	0.000	2.248	0.001	1.926	0.000	1	n/a	3.334	0.000	2.386	0.000	1.559	0.004	1.048	0.739
White UK-born women	1.068	0.335	0.674	0.075	0.578	0.000	0.300	0.000	1	n/a	0.716	0.098	0.468	0.000	0.314	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.492	0.049	0.942	0.840	0.807	0.375	0.419	0.000	1.398	0.098	1	n/a	0.653	0.061	0.439	0.000
White migrant women	2.284	0.000	1.442	0.133	1.236	0.238	0.642	0.004	2.139	0.000	1.530	0.061	1	n/a	0.672	0.007
BME migrant women	3.397	0.000	2.146	0.001	1.838	0.000	0.954	0.739	3.182	0.000	2.277	0.000	1.488	0.007	1	n/a

Table Y1: Logistic Regression Model for SC Confidentiality Concerns by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	1.034	0.952	0.899	0.654	0.536	0.035	9.802	0.002
Mixed	0.967	0.952	1	n/a	0.870	0.811	0.518	0.283	9.479	0.014
Asian	1.112	0.654	1.150	0.811	1	n/a	0.596	0.135	10.900	0.002
Black	1.867	0.035	1.930	0.283	1.679	0.135	1	n/a	18.296	0.000
Chinese/Other	0.102	0.002	0.105	0.014	0.092	0.002	0.055	0.000	1	n/a

Table Y2: Logistic Regression Model for SC Confidentiality Concerns by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	0.663	0.535	6.357	0.015	1.160	0.712	0.439	0.000	0.717	0.507	0.556	0.088	0.355	0.000
BME UK-born men	1.508	0.535	1	n/a	9.586	0.020	1.748	0.439	0.663	0.517	1.081	0.920	0.839	0.798	0.535	0.340
White migrant men	0.157	0.015	0.104	0.020	1	n/a	0.182	0.036	0.069	0.000	0.113	0.012	0.088	0.002	0.056	0.000
BME migrant men	0.862	0.712	0.572	0.439	5.482	0.036	1	n/a	0.379	0.009	0.618	0.400	0.480	0.100	0.306	0.004
White UK-born women	2.276	0.000	1.509	0.517	14.468	0.000	2.639	0.009	1	n/a	1.631	0.304	1.266	0.449	0.807	0.380
BME UK-born women	1.395	0.507	0.925	0.920	8.869	0.012	1.618	0.400	0.613	0.304	1	n/a	0.776	0.638	0.495	0.156
White migrant women	1.797	0.088	1.192	0.798	11.426	0.002	2.084	0.100	0.790	0.449	1.288	0.638	1	n/a	0.638	0.200
BME migrant women	2.819	0.000	1.869	0.340	17.919	0.000	3.268	0.004	1.239	0.380	2.020	0.156	1.568	0.200	1	n/a

Note: cells highlighted in pink indicate that regression results in these columns and rows were based on at least one cell count of n<10 and were therefore not included in my results.

Table Z1: Logistic Regression Model for SC Interference by Ethnicity (5 grp)

referent group	White		Mixed		Asian		Black		Chinese/Other	
comparison group	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White	1	n/a	0.949	0.728	0.694	0.000	1.175	0.121	0.759	0.062
Mixed	1.053	0.728	1	n/a	0.731	0.057	1.237	0.235	0.799	0.280
Asian	1.441	0.000	1.368	0.057	1	n/a	1.693	0.000	1.093	0.586
Black	0.851	0.121	0.808	0.235	0.591	0.000	1	n/a	0.646	0.014
Chinese/Other	1.318	0.062	1.251	0.280	0.915	0.586	1.548	0.014	1	n/a

Table Z2: Logistic Regression Model for SC Interference by Intersecting Groups

Inequality Sub-group (referent group):	White Uk-born men (ref)		BME UK-born men (ref)		White migrant men (ref)		BME migrant men (ref)		White UK-born women (ref)		BME UK-born women (ref)		White migrant women (ref)		BME migrant women (ref)	
(comparison group):	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**	**OR**	**P>|z|**
White Uk-born men	1	n/a	1.474	0.009	0.867	0.216	0.699	0.000	0.804	0.000	0.824	0.090	0.798	0.015	0.473	0.000
BME UK-born men	0.678	0.009	1	n/a	0.588	0.004	0.474	0.000	0.545	0.000	0.559	0.001	0.541	0.000	0.321	0.000
White migrant men	1.153	0.216	1.700	0.004	1	n/a	0.806	0.140	0.927	0.509	0.950	0.745	0.920	0.555	0.546	0.000
BME migrant men	1.430	0.000	2.108	0.000	1.240	0.140	1	n/a	1.149	0.153	1.178	0.256	1.140	0.307	0.677	0.003
White UK-born women	1.244	0.000	1.834	0.000	1.079	0.509	0.870	0.153	1	n/a	1.025	0.826	0.992	0.930	0.589	0.000
BME UK-born women	1.213	0.090	1.789	0.001	1.052	0.745	0.849	0.256	0.976	0.826	1	n/a	0.968	0.815	0.574	0.000
White migrant women	1.254	0.015	1.848	0.000	1.087	0.555	0.877	0.307	1.008	0.930	1.033	0.815	1	n/a	0.593	0.000
BME migrant women	2.113	0.000	3.115	0.000	1.833	0.000	1.478	0.003	1.699	0.000	1.742	0.000	1.686	0.000	1	n/a

Appendix I: List of methodological document sources reviewed in the methodological evaluation of the CSEW (including document references and links)

Year	Questionnaire	Technical Report	User Guide
1982	Wood 1984		Budd and Mattinson 2000
1984	NOP 1985		
1988	NOP/SCPR 1989		
1992	SCPR 1992		
1994	White and Malbon 1995		
1996	SCPR 1996		
1998	Hales and Stratford 1998		
2000	Hales et al. 2000	Hales et al. 2000; NCSR/ONS 2000	
2001	Bolling et al. 2002		
2001/02	RDSD 2002	Bolling et al. 2002	
2002/03	Bolling et al. 2003		
2003/04	Bolling et al. 2004b	Bolling et al. 2004a, 2004c	
2004/05	Grant et al. 2006b	Grant et al. 2006a, 2006c	
2005/06	Grant et al. 2005	Grant et al. 2006d	Home Office 2007
2006/07	Bolling et al. 2006	Bolling et al. 2007a; 2007b	
2007/08	Bolling et al. 2007c	Bolling et al. 2008a; 2008b	Home Office 2008
2008/09	Bolling et al. 2008c	Bolling et al. 2009a; 2009b	Home Office 2009
2009/10	Bolling et al. 2009c	Bolling et al. 2010a; 2010b	Home Office 2010
2010/11	Fitzpatrick 2010	Fitzpatrick and Grant. 2011; Fitzpatrick 2011	Home Office 2011
2011/12	TNS-BMRB 2011	TNS-BMRB 2012a	ONS 2012
2012/13	TNS-BMRB 2012b	TNS-BMRB 2013a	ONS 2013
2013/14	TNS-BMRB 2013b	TNS-BMRB 2014a	ONS 2014
2014/15	TNS-BMRB 2014b	TNS-BMRB2015a	ONS 2015; 2016
2015/16	TNS-BMRB 2015b	TNS-BMRB 2016a	ONS 2017
2016/17	TNS-BMRB 2016b	TNS-BMRB 2017a	
2017/18	Kantar Public 2017	Kantar Public 2018a	ONS 2018; 2019a
2018/19	Kantar Public 2018b	Kantar Public 2019a	ONS 2019b
2019/20	Kantar Public 2019b	Kantar Public 2020	

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1994 (White and Malbon 1995)

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