Talking About Violence:
Women Reporting Abuse in Brazil

Estefania Guimaraes

A thesis submitted for the award of Ph.D.

September, 2007

Author's Declaration

This is to certify that I am responsible for the work submitted in this thesis and that this original work is my own except as specified in acknowledgements, footnotes, or references. Neither the thesis nor the original work submitted therein has been submitted to this or any other institution for a higher degree

Estefania Guimaraes

Abstract

This thesis reports the findings of conversation analytic studies exploring women's experiences reporting abuse to the police and to professionals working in a care centre for abused women. The focus of the thesis is on the women's interactions with the police and, more specifically, on instances in which difficulties in reporting become apparent. Research suggests that only a minority of cases of violence against women are reported. Women's Police Stations were created in Brazil to address the problem of women not being taken seriously when reporting domestic violence and to encourage women to report. However, reporting rates of this violence are still low and the experience of reporting abuse has not become unproblematic. Drawing on a naturalistic data set of over 36 hours, this study contributes to the understanding of women's experienced difficulties in reporting their abusers, covering issues which range from them being denied a police report even when their case is considered to be 'policeable' (Chapter 4); difficulties regarding how the police interactions are conducted which reveal a problem about how women are not informed about the police procedures nor the consequences of their report (Chapter 5); and clashes of perspectives (between officers and complainants) and how those misalignments are addressed in interaction (Chapter 6). Moreover, it discusses methodological issues (such as translation and ethics) with the aid of fragments of actual instances of interactions (Chapter 2); shows culture is manifest in talk by presenting clashes between the 'world' presupposed in the official forms and the 'world' of the complainants (Chapter 2), and in the way that references to the abusers show the cultural understanding that women suffer violence at the hands of men in close relationships with them (Chapter 7). In technical terms, this thesis contributes to responses to Y/N Interrogatives in Brazilian Portuguese (Chapter 3) and to the study of repair and of technologies for dealing with misunderstandings and misalignments in interaction (Chapter 6). Overall, this thesis contributes to the understanding of problems of women reporting abuse in Brazil, to the services or abused women in Brazil by providing some suggestions to improving the interactions, and to conversation analysis.

Notícia de Jornal
(Luís Reis - Haroldo Barbosa)
Tentou contra a existência
Num humilde barracão
Joana de tal
Por causa de um tal João
Depois de medicada,
Retirou-se pro seu lar
Aí, a notícia carece de exatidão
O lar não mais existe
Ninguém volta ao que acabou
Joana é mais uma mulata triste que errou
Errou na dose
Errou no amor
Joana errou de João
Ninguém notou
Ninguém morou
Na dor que era o seu mal
A dor da gente não sai no jornal

Paper's News
(Luís Reis - Haroldo Barbosa)
Attempted against her life
In a humble shack
Jane Something
Because of some Jack
After medicated,
She withdrew into her home
There, the paper lacks precision
The home no longer exists
No one returns to what ended
Jane is another sad *mulata* who got it wrong
Got it wrong in the dose
Got it wrong in love
Jane got the wrong Jack
No one noticed
No one inhabited
The pain that did her harm
Our pain is not depicted in the papers

Table of Contents

Tables and Figures

Acknowledgments

To Maria Inez and Marcelo, my parents,
com todo o meu amor e minha gratidão.

Part of this thesis – a version of my 'Feminist Ethics' discussion, as shown in Chapter 2 - has been published as:

Guimaraes, E. (2007) "Feminist research practice: using conversation analysis to explore the researcher's interaction with participants", *Feminism & Psychology*, 17(2)149-161.

1
Violence Against Women

At every 15 seconds a woman is beaten or is forced to have sexual intercourse in Brazil (Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2001). Since the 1970s, women's groups have fought to combat and prevent this violence. They began by making society aware of the issue of violence against women as a social problem, and have worked more recently to further issues related to the criminalization of violence against women, their protection and State support. Although women's groups have developed alternative ways of protecting victims of violence such as the 'apitaço' (a superlative form of the word 'whistle'), which consists of women blowing whistles and leaving their houses towards the place in which a woman is being abused whenever they hear other women's cries for help, most of their efforts have been in terms of raising consciousness and pressing for State measures against violence against women. Although Brazilian legislation on domestic violence has advanced a lot in the last years, the State response to the issue has been mostly devoted to the creation of police stations that deal exclusively with crimes against women (the Women's Police Stations – WPSs). Those police stations still do not cover the whole country and the problem of underreporting of this type of violence remains an issue even in places in which those units are present. Moreover, although these police units were created to facilitate women's access to criminal justice and to guarantee that women are taken seriously when reporting violence, women's experiences of reporting violence are not always unproblematic (Ostermann, 2003a,

2003b; Santos, 2005) and reporting rates and punishment rates of 'domestic violence' are still low (Hautzinger, 1997; Human Rights Watch, 1995).

This research applies conversation analysis to interactions in which abused women are seeking help. This introductory chapter is divided in three parts: in the first part I present some issues regarding violence against women in Brazil to set the scene for the study, the second part presents the field of research on violence against women in an international context and in part three, I present a thesis outline with a summary of its chapters. Within part one I review Brazilian's feminist movements and the 'discovery' of violence against women as a social problem in Brazil; the incidence of what is called domestic violence over Brazil's female population and the strategies women and the State have adopted to combat such violence; discuss the State response to the feminist movements in terms of the creation of Women's Police Stations as well as some matters regarding Brazilian legislation on violence against women. In part two, the field of research on violence against women is discussed with special reference to the issue of underreporting of such violence – from the debate about recognizing and naming such experiences of violence as such, to other problems regarding women's help-seeking practices – I then present some gaps on the literature on women violence against women in this respect, outlining the context for the work reported in this PhD thesis. Part III puts this study in context as it provides an overview of the thesis with a summary of each chapter.

Part I - Violence Against Women in Brazil

1.1 Violence against women as a social problem in Brazil

Violence against women started to receive attention in international arenas such as the UN in the late 1970s, after feminists in countries such as the US and UK successfully raised attention to this matter as a social problem. A set of international statements condemning violence against women under any circumstances (Macaulay, 2000) replaced the understanding of the issue as 'private'. Up to that point, both domestic violence and sexual assault – common forms of violence against women – were 'regarded as off-limits for the application of the

universalist and normative principles of human rights instruments that followed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948' (Macaulay, 2000, p. 144).

During the same period, many Latin American countries began the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule. In this transition period women played important roles in grass-roots opposition to the military regimes, pressing their governments to take concrete actions to stop violence, while their countries committed themselves to international human rights instruments (Alvarez, 1990; Macaulay, 2000; Santos, 2005). Brazil was one of the first countries in Latin America to ratify international human rights instruments and to institute public policies to combat violence against women (Macaulay, 2000).

One of the most notable of those policies was the creation of the first *Delegacia de Defesa da Mulher* (DDM) in 1985, when the first civilian government took power. The DDMs are usually referred to as *Delegacias da Mulher* and will be referred hereafter as Women's Police Stations (WPS), as the 'closest' and most frequently used translation. The creation of this special police unit was met with both enthusiasm and scepticism in Brazil, but has been frequently considered an important achievement of the feminist movement (Nelson, 1996; Santos, 2005).

The responses to the creation of the Women's Police Stations were not the only contradictory aspects of the development of public policies to combat violence against women in Brazil. Both the feminist movement in Brazil and the government commitment to the international conventions turned out to be more complex than the description above may suggest. In the following sections I will consider the role of the feminist movement in Brazil and some of its internal contradictions, as well as the gap between legally recognized abstract principles and the struggle in making them effective in Brazil's day-to-day reality. As we shall see, signing international conventions and elaborating internal laws according to democratic principles has proven to be far easier than implementing practices to put those principles into practice (Barsted, 1994; Macaulay, 2000). There is still an enormous gap between formally recognized rights and actual practices in Brazil, where the State has not implemented effective public policies to prevent and eradicate violence (Barsted, 1994; Macaulay, 2000).

1.1.1 Women's movements in Brazil

Even though Brazil had women's movements and even what could be called feminist movements in the first half of the twentieth century (Saffioti, 1979; Barsted, 1994), it was in the second half of the century that feminism started to flourish. In the 1960s, during the military rule in Brazil, women started to organise themselves and to become more visible in the political spheres, fighting for democracy, justice and rights (Soares, 1998).

During the 1970s, then, women were part of important groups that challenged the authoritarian regime and contributed to the re-democratisation of the country (Soares, 1998). It was during the military dictatorship, when political prisoners were tortured, that the feminist movement produced a series of claims linking state violence to violence against women in the domestic sphere (Soares, 1998). Feminism grew then in Brazil with left-wing militants who fought for democracy (Soares, 1998).

While in the 1970s the feminist movement was starting to flourish in Brazil, it had already borne fruits in North-western countries, such as the USA and the UK. In this context, the efforts of international bodies such as the UN to include women's issues in human rights instruments was a response to those countries' feminist movements. While some factions of this feminist movement perceived such instruments as a risk of co-optation of the feminist movement (Barsted, 1994), in Brazil such recognition provided the incipient movement with the 'crack' in the system they needed to flourish (Barsted, 1994; Soares, 1998). In 1975, when the military regime strictly censured public demonstrations, the UN designation of 1975 as the 'International Women's Year' provided the Brazilian feminist movement with the opportunity to organize public events for women's rights with no fear of repression (Barsted, 1994; Soares, 1998).

The feminist movement was, however, part of a broader 'women's movement' in Brazil. Groups of women from small centres, rural areas and the outskirts of urban centres formed another part (Soares, 1998). In their social roles as mothers, sisters and wives of victims of the repression they started protesting against the military regime. They formed what was called by Alvarez (1990) a 'militant motherhood' and they were the leaders of important social movements in the late 1970s (Alvarez,

1990; Soares, 1998). Those 'militant mothers' fought for day nurseries, schools, housing and against the increase in the costs of living (Saffioti, 1979; Soares, 1998). It was through those movements that many women started to question gender relations and the inequality in their relations with their husbands, families and communities (Soares, 1998).

Another unusual aspect of the women's movement in Brazil was its connections with the Catholic Church. In the authoritarian rule, the Catholic Church was one of the very few spaces that allowed some kind of non-armed resistance to the military government (Soares, 1998). Progressive factions of the Church offered an organizational support for the opposition to the regime and gave it a sense of moral legitimacy (Alvarez, 1990; Soares, 1998). However, a significant part of the Church – and even of its progressive factions – were opposed to some demands of the feminists, especially the ones related to reproductive rights and sexuality (Soares, 1998).

The movement of women in Brazil was created in this both conflicting and sympathetic relationship between feminists and the women form the *Comunidades Eclesiasticas de Base* (Ecclesiastic Communities). In their organised fight for better conditions those militant women from the outskirts of urban centres got in touch with the feminists and formed a broad women's movement and they fought for day nurseries and better lives (Soares, 1998). One of the reasons why this union was possible was that the kind of feminism developed in Brazil, the 'leftist feminism' fought primarily against practical issues, such as high costs of living, and just secondarily for womens's rights (Saffioti, 1979).

What made a broad women's movement possible in Brazil was also part of another contradiction of the feminist movement: the Brazilian 'leftist feminism', born in the context of a strong opposition to the military rule faced some problems legitimising its claims in the political arena which helped it grow. Concerns with violence against women within the private sphere were considered an agenda of Northern-Western feminists, a form of cultural imperialism, and "deemed irrelevant to the real concerns of women in developing countries, i.e. poverty and lack of access to basic services" (Macaulay, 2000, p. 146). Despite the many contradictions, since the mid-1970s over 400 feminist groups emerged in Brazil (Alvarez, 1990). By the end of

the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, the feminist movement brought violence against women to public attention. Fighting the labels 'imported' and 'bourgeois' (Alvarez, 1990) feminist's local protests "led to several nationwide demonstrations to assert the movement's solidarity across racial, economic and geographic divides" (Nelson, 1993, p. 540).

The most active and visible organization, in this context, was the *SOS Mulher* (SOS Woman), an organization devoted exclusively to combating violence against women created in 1980, in São Paulo. As a response to a succession of murders[1] of women by their partners and/or ex-partners, 'in defence of the honour' or under 'violent emotion', feminists from the SOS launched the slogan "Quem ama não mata" – "Who loves does not kill/'Those who love don't kill'"-- which became the '*crie de coeur*' of the women's movement (Nelson, 1993, p. 540) and made an impact with public demonstrations of support and media attention (Nelson, 1996; Verardo, 1993a).

The life span of the SOS Mulher was very short: it closed down after two years of operation due to lack of resources and internal problems (Gregori, 1993; Nelson, 1996; Verardo, 1993). Nonetheless, the movement greatly influenced the creation of other services for women (Verardo, 1993) and many of its members continued to fight violence in other organizational capacities (Nelson, 1996).

In the 1980s, characterised by the re-democratisation of Brazil, the increasingly influential feminist movement 'acquired leverage during the political ferment associated with the first direct election for state governments in 1982' (Nelson, 1996, p. 135). Some leaders of the movement linked to the opposition party (PMDB; Partido Movimento Democrático Brasileiro – Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement) entered the new state apparatus in the advisory council *Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina* (CECF - State Council on the Statues of Women), established in 1983 (Nelson, 1996; Soares, 1998).

The council was designed to give voice to the women's movement inside the government, but had no executive power (Nelson, 1996). Even though the

---

[1] One of those famous cases was the murder of Eliane de Grammont. Eliane de Grammont was murdered by her ex-husband, the singer Lindomar Castilho, a few months after their separation in the early 1980s. Her story of violence influenced the mobilization of Brazilian women in opposition to violence against women.

appointed president of the movement was a well-known feminist (Dr. Eva Blay), many sectors of the movement were against the creation of the council and saw it as a state manoeuvre for its co-optation and a risk for the movement's autonomy (Nelson, 1996; Soares, 1998). It was in this context that in 1985 the first Women's Police Station was created in São Paulo as a pilot to be replicated, if successful.

1.2 Women's Police Station: their creation and some developments

In August 1985, after over 20 years of military rule, the first civilian government in Brazil created in São Paulo the first all-female police unit both in Brazil and in the world. It has variously been considered an act of political opportunism (Nelson, 1996), a victory for the feminist movement in Brazil (Nelson, 1996; Verardo, 1993), and/or an attempt to co-opt and control the feminist movement by the State (Barsted, 1994; Nelson, 1996).

The Women's Police Station (henceforth, WPS) was conceptualised as an all-female police station specializing in crimes against women. Staffed by female police officers, it was created to investigate and deal with crimes such as: threats, bodily harm, illegal constraint, indecent assault etc.

The WPSs were created to solve the problem that women's attempts to report abuse were received with hostility in ordinary police units. The creation of special police units for women was premised on the idea that women officers would 'naturally' understand women's complaints better (Hautzinger, 2002; Santos, 2005).

Since 1985 there has been a marked increase in the number of WPSs around the country. This 'accelerated expansion' has been attributed to the "extraordinary degree to which the DDMs [WPSs] had captured the public imagination" (Nelson, 1996 p. 139). Heavily publicised in the media, romantically portrayed in a popular TV show, and popular with voters (Nelson, 1996), the creation of WPSs has become a popular public policy around Brazil.

1.2.1 Women's Police Stations in Brazil today

The WPSs represent the main public policy against violence against women in Brazil and an important instrument in the process of de-naturalizing domestic violence and criminalizing actions which may put women's integrity at risk (Silva, 2001).

There are currently 307 Women's Police Units in Brazil, unevenly distributed around the country and covering fewer than 10% of Brazilian municipalities. In many States there is only 1 WPS, especially on the North and Northeast of the country, whereas over 40% of the WPSs in Brazil are in the State of São Paulo. The Brazilian Southeast makes for 61% of the WPSs in the country; including the percentage of WPSs from the South the number goes up to 79% of all WPSs, while the Northeast makes only 8% of the WPSs in the country (Silva, 2001).

It is not only the geographic distribution of those units that differs greatly around the country, but also their attributions, daily practices and work conditions. The power and practices of a WPS are defined by each State's *Secretaria de Segurança Pública* (Public Security Secretary). WPSs come, therefore, under the State government and legislation, as each State defines what comes under the power of its WPSs in official documents (such as decrees and laws), which also vary throughout the country (Silva, 2001). In a legal perspective, this means it is very difficult to enforce Federal laws in Brazil, as 'many of the practical aspects of implementing most of the social policies lie within the remit of the twenty-six state governments and the federal district' (Macaulay, 2000, p.150). At a more concrete level, this also means that the work routine of WPSs around the country vary greatly, as well as what is consider to be under the remit of the WPS, the services they provide and to whom they provide them.

A national research on the working conditions of Brazilian WPSs (*Pesquisa Nacional sobre as Condições de Funcionamento das Delegacias Especializadas no Atendimento às Mulheres* – National Research on the Working Conditions of the Police Stations Specialised in Assisting Women) carried out by the Brazilian government in 2001 evidences the huge differences in what the duties of WPSs around the States are. Almost all WPSs in the country declared that their duty was to attend women victims of violence and to make reports and file inquests of complaints but a variety of other reported duties (by WPS's chief commissioners) shows the discrepancy regarding what is considered to be under the remit of WPSs around the country: 69.66% of the WPSs have under their remit minors who are victims of violence; 42.70% declared it is their duty to promote conciliation and mediate conflicting parties who seek out the WPS's services; 37.83% said prevention of violence against

women was also their function; and 29.59% added to their other duties the provision of social and psychological services (Silva, 2001).

Even though 92.13% of the chief commissioners pointed to the need of hiring professionals who are able to deal with psycho-social demands in the WPSs, the presence of psychologists and/or social workers is still small. The table below shows the percentage of WPSs employing from 0 to 3+ social workers and psychologists[2]:

Table 1.1 Percentage of Units that count with 0 to 3+ social workers / psychologists as their staff

Num. of professionals	0	1	2	3+
social workers	60.00%	10.86%	0.23%	0.19%
psychologists	61.24%	11.98%	2.62%	0.23%
SOURCE: Silva (2001)				

The numbers on social and psychological services are not the total of 'extra-policial' activities performed by WPSs: 93.63% of the chief-commissioners reported performing some kind of 'counseling/'advice-giving' and 55.43% reported making school presentations, pointing out the moral role they perform as the State's primary agents in mediating conflicts (Silva, 2001, p.11).

Beyond the WPSs official duties, their practice shows that their services, in many cases, goes beyond violence against women and those units work with many cases of interpersonal violence: 90.64% of the units serve children and adolescents, 31.84% serve men who are victims of 'domestic' violence and 38.84% serve gay men who are victims of violence (Silva, 2001, p.12).

The study also shows that many of those stations are poorly equipped and are left behind in terms of the distribution of resources and that 77.15% of the WPSs are not open 24 hours a day and 76.40% of them close on weekends (Silva, 2001, p.21). Those working conditions have been pointed as contradictory to the evidence that most of the crimes against women happen during the weekends and between 18h00 and 08h00 (Silva, 2001; Nelson, 1996).

---

[2] Note that the percentage of employed social workers and/or psychologists does not add up to 100% in Silva (2001). This seems to be because the table has been constructed with information about the WPSs that answered this question about employing social workers/psychologists. So, 60% of the total of WPSs in Brazil answered they did not have social workers in their staff and just over 11% of them have responded they had social workers working for the WPS.

The immense variation between the work routines of WPSs around the country, as well as what is consider to be their duties, the services they provide and to whom they provide them, means that it is practically impossible to consolidate, understand and work with data of violence against women from the WPSs around the country (Silva, 2001).

It is not only the data on violence against women from the WPSs, however, that has been considered problematic. Most of the work on violence against women in Brazil and the basis for Brazilian policy-makers relies on a survey carried out in 2001 with just over 2,500 women, and other data on violence against women have been found to be problematic and/or to represent just part of the population. The section below will present the data available on violence against women in Brazil and some discussions concerning them.

1.3 Figures on violence against women in Brazil

It has been proposed that men's violence against women is constitutive of the Brazilian social organization of gender (Saffioti, 1994). Every day in Brazil, a woman is murdered by her male partner (Miranda & Magno, 2004). This may be the most apparent of an alarming number of cases of violence against women which are not always brought to the attention of the authorities. Research on violence against women shows that most of the instances of violence suffered by women are not reported to the authorities, as shown on the findings presented in the following paragraphs.

A national study on violence carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (FIBGE – Fundacao Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) concluded that women are most likely to be physically abused in their homes (63% of the women were abused in their homes) and that 65.8% of the people abused by relatives were women (Saffioti, 1994, citing data by FIBGE, 1990). One problematic aspect of this study is, however, the fact that it did not include sexual violence in its scope (Saffioti, 1994). Not only does it mean that a form of violence that affects women has been made invisible by the study, but it also means the percentage of violence inside the home and committed by relatives is likely to be substantially higher than the official figures reflect.

Research published by one important Brazilian newspaper claimed that, in Brazil, every 4 minutes a woman makes a report of physical violence to the police (Jornal da tarde, cited by Saffioti, 1994). According to the same study, 70% of the femicides are perpetrated by ex-husbands, ex-boyfriends and/or ex-partners who do not accept the separation and most of the perpetrators have a history of threats and/or abuse towards those women (cited by Saffioti, 1994, p. 162). Despite the seriousness of the situation, the study says that most of the victims do not report abuse to the authorities due to factors such as: emotional and/or financial dependence to their partners, concerns about their children and shame (cited by Saffioti, 1994, p. 159). Another important aspect of this situation of violence against women depicted by the research was that very few people know that bodily harm is a crime under the Brazilian Penal Code (p.160).

In São Paulo, the special police units for women registered 310,058 crime reports – Boletins de Ocorrência/ Occurrence Bulletins, normally referred to as BO, and Termos Circunstanciados de Ocorrência /Circumstanced Terms of Occurrence, normally referred to as TCO[3] – in 2000 (Pereira, 2003). Around 263,000 of these reported crimes were registered as 'BOs' and 80% of them were cases of violence committed in the privacy of their homes (Up, 2001). The number of police reports is indeed very high, but still shows just part of the violence suffered by women, according to the estimates of the Programa de Atenção às Vítimas de Abuso Sexual (Pavas, Programme of Attention to Victims of Sexual Abuse) which suggests that 30% of the women in São Paulo have suffered some kind of violence (Up, 2001), a number that would amount to over 1.8 million of abused women, only in the city of São Paulo.

The data above represent only the Brazilian Southeast, the richest region in the country and not at all representative of Brazil as a whole. While figures of violence in percentage terms may be similar, the possibilities of help-seeking are much greater in the Southeast, as the country's most developed region and the one with

---

[3] Literally: BO: Occurrence Bulletin, the 'equivalent' to a police report, usually followed by a police inquest; and TCO: A Detailed Term of the Occurrence, which is a 'weaker' version of the police report, where the event is described, but the subsequent action by the police is not as strong as the one subsequent to the making of a BO. TCOs were created to deal with 'less serious' cases of aggressions and are taken to Special Courts developed to deal with those less serious crimes quickly and in a non-punitive manner.

greater number of services to support abused women. Research by WHO (cited in Guimarães, 2004, p.107) shows that 40% of the women in São Paulo (São Paulo, SP) and 37% in the region of Zona da Mata (Pernambuco, PE) had some history of bodily harm, among which 36% were so injured they needed medical assistance. Also, 22% of the women in São Paulo and 20% of the women in Pernambuco had to stay in hospital overnight due to the abuse. In terms of help seeking, however, there were more differences in the two researched regions. In São Paulo, women most frequently sought assistance from: Police Stations (18%), Hospitals or Health Centres (16%), Spiritual Leaders (15%), Lawyers and Juridical Services (15%), WPSs (14%) and Law Courts (12%), whereas in Zona da Mata the services most sought after were: Hospitals or Health Centres (11%), Police stations (10%) and Spiritual Leaders (5%) (Guimarães, 2004).

In terms of research efforts to depict violence against women at a national level, two comprehensive studies were carried out in Brazil in the last 25 years. The first one took place from January 1991 to August 1992, when a commission of members of the Brazilian parliament carried out a national inquiry on violence against women. The study was heavily criticised for publishing only its results and leaving both the methodology and the questionnaires' design unknown (Saffioti, 1994, p. 167). Nonetheless, 205,219 questionnaires were filled out across the country, reporting the following distribution of violence against women: 26.2% bodily harm, 16.4% threats, 3% crimes against the honour (defamation, calumny, insult), 1.9% seduction, 1.8% rape, 0.5% homicide, 51% 'other' crimes, such as violent moral outrage, abduction, private imprisonment, and racial discrimination (Saffioti, 1994, p. 170).

The most recent comprehensive national survey carried out throughout Brazil by the Fundação Perseu Abramo (henceforth FPA) in 2001 has become one of the most cited sources of data on violence against women in Brazil and is the basis for the most recent governmental actions against such violence[4]. The research 'A Mulher Brasileira no Espaço Público e Privado' (The Brazilian Woman in the Public and Private

---

[4] The Special Secretariat of Policies for Women (Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres) which has recently acquired the status of 'Ministry' has used FPA's research in its publications and proposals to combat violence against women in Brazil (see publications under the authorship of: Brasil. Presidência da República. Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres).

Spheres) was based on interviews carried out with a representative sample of women around Brazil, composed of 2,502 women over fifteen years old.

This research covered many aspects of women's lives and has presented significant figures on violence against women in Brazil. Approximately one in five Brazilians (approximately 19%) responded affirmatively to the question on whether they had ever suffered some kind of violence from a man: 16% reported physical violence, 2% psychological, 1% sexual harassment (FPA, 2001; see table 1.2, question 59: 'Changing the subject, at any given moment of your life, have you ever suffered some kind of violence by a man, known or unknown to you? What happened?').

When presented with options of different kinds of abuse 'that happen to women around the world' (FPA, 2001, question 60[5] - see table 1.3) and asked to answer if they had ever experienced any of them, the number of women victimized grew to 43%[6]. A third of the women reported to have been a victim of some kind of physical violence: 24% of which encompassed threats and constraint of freedom; 22% battering; 13% rape or sexual abuse; 27% suffered psychological abuse and 11% were sexually harassed.

Table 1.2: Question 59

Table 1.3: Question 60

Have you ever suffered violence by a man?	
Physical Violence	16%
Psychological Violence	2%
Sexual Harrassment	1%
Total	19%
SOURCE: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2001	

Q. 60: responses to a list of types of violence	
Physical Violence	33%
Psychological Violence	27%
Sexual Harrassment	11%
Total	43%
SOURCE: Fundação Perseu Abramo	

Partners were pointed out as the perpetrators of most of the aggressions. Husbands and/or partners were the perpetrators of 63% of the threats of battering, 53% of the cases of threats with firearms or knives; 56% of the cases of battering which resulted in sustained injuries, cuts and/or broken bones; 64% of the cases of slaps,

---

[5] Question 60: 'I am going to go through some kinds of violence which have happened to women around the world and would like you to tell me if any man has done some of those things to you:'
[6] This difference points to an important issue of victimization surveys: the difficulty in naming 'domestic' violence as violence and the risk of assuming that researchers and respondents share the same definitions of violence (among other topics). It also points to a problem in terms of reporting violence, if women's experiences are not recognized as such in the first place. The gap between reported violence when framed in questions 59 and 60 confirm Virginia Feix claim that, in Brazil, violence is common and women know it exists, 'but they don't know it is a crime, because culture tolerates it' (Anderson, not dated)

pushes and other kinds of 'lighter' physical violence; and 54% of forced sexual intercourse. This share increases even more when we consider that other commonly cited abusers are ex-partners, ex-husbands and ex-boyfriends. When put together in a group (ex)boyfriends, (ex)husbands and (ex)partners were the perpetrators of 85% of the threats of battering, 80% of the armed threats; 84% of the 'heavy battering', 88% of the lighter physical assaults, and 79% of the instances of forced sexual intercourse (see 'Sum' column on table 1.4)

Table 1.4: Type of Violence Suffered / Perpetrator

In cases of:	Perpetrators				
	husband/partner	ex-husband/partner	boyfriend	ex-boyfriend	Sum
Threats of battering	63%	19%	2%	1%	85%
Forced sexual intercourse	54%	15%	8%	2%	79%
Threats with firearms/knives	53%	21%	3%	3%	80%
Battery and sustained injuries	56%	21%	5%	2%	84%
'Light' physical violence	64%	17%	5%	2%	88%
SOURCE: Fundação Perseu Abramo					

Brazilian society has been said to tolerate much of this violence between women and male partners, which can be seen in some proverbs and aphorisms. The aphorism 'Em briga de marido e mulher não se mete a colher' ('In a fight between husband and wife there's no butting in') is considered to be still a legitimizing instrument of violence against women in Brazil (Saffioti, 1994, p.166). This and other proverbs that normalize violence against women (such as: 'mulher gosta de apanhar/*women like to be beaten up*', and 'tapa de amor não dói/*a love tap doesn't hurt*') are not uncommonly reproduced in Brazil, even by police officers (Santos, 2005).

As for the issue of reporting, FPA's study concluded that, in almost every kind of violence, more than half of the women do not seek help. Only in cases considered 'serious', such as threats with firearms and severe battering, did almost half of the victims (48% and 46% respectively) seek some kind of help. However, it is important to notice that help-seeking was very broadly defined as the question: 'Have you told it to someone or asked someone for help? Who?'. In this context, it's also worth noticing that 'mother' was consistently the most cited 'help source' in the research, whereas the police were seldom cited (FPA, 2001, P64).

Instances of public denunciation were significantly less frequent than the reported informal help seeking, but more frequent than the question of 'help-seeking' suggested. In those instances, common and women's police units, as well as unspecified 'police', were by far the most cited answers. See table 1.5 below:

Table 1.5: Type of Violence / Help-seeking

In cases of:	Help-seeking from:		Public Denunciation to:			
	Total	Police	Total	Police Station	Police	WPS
Threats of battering	39%	4%	19%	9%	5%	2%
Forced sexual intercourse	24%	1%	6%	2%	1%	1%
Threats with firearms/knives	48%	6%	31%	15%	9%	3%
Battery and sustained injuries	46%	4%	21%	9%	5%	5%
"Light" physical violence	38%	2%	9%	5%	3%	1%
SOURCE: Fundação Perseu Abramo						

Still, the data shows that most of the instances of violence are not reported to the authorities and that even those cases of violence considered to be 'serious', such as armed threats and battery which incurs sustained injuries, have low reporting rates (31% and 21%, respectively). Cases of 'forced sexual intercourse', an egregious crime by most standards, are reported only in 6% of the cases. It is also worth noticing that the research presented the issue as 'to be forced to have sexual intercourse when you do not want to" as one item of violence that happens to women (FPA, 2001, question 60), as the name 'marital rape' does not exist as a clear concept of a specific form of violence against women[7]. Not naming 'forced sexual intercourse' by partners as rape is even more significant in the context presented above, in which 79% of the instances of forced sexual intercourse are perpetrated by (ex)husbands, (ex)partners and/or (ex)boyfriends, and only 7% of those crimes are committed by men unknown to the victims.

Another important aspect of the 'invisibility' of sexual forced intercourse among partners as a crime is that women's unavailability for men's sexual desires has been pointed to as an increasing cause for 'domestic violence' (Saffioti, 1994, p. 153, citing data from the CPI 1992)

---

[7] Even though 'marital rape' is easily translated into Brazilian Portuguese words, they cannot be attributed the same meaning they have in English speaking countries where they form a concept and name women's experiences as violence. (For discussions on 'naming' experiences of abuse as a

Despite the reported problems in getting reliable and representative data on violence against women in Brazil as well as consolidating data from the WPSs throughout the country, the basic findings of the available research in Brazil's consistent with international findings on violence against women. That is, violence against women is usually committed by intimates (Brasil. Presidencia da República. Secrtaria Especial de Poliíticas para Mulheres, 2004; CEM, 2004), within family relations (Biagioni, 2000), inside their houses (CIAM, 2003; CEM, 2004; Up, 2001), being called 'domestic violence' and usually underreported (CAM, 2002).

Low reporting of violence against women is just part of the problem in the combat against violence in Brazil. Violence reported to the police has alarmingly low rates of prosecution and insignificant rates of punishment in Brazil (Hautzinger, 2002; Nelson, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 1995; Saffioti, 1994) Approximately a third of the cases of violence reported to WPSs is investigated and there are far fewer cases of prosecution or conviction (Nelson, 1996). According to Saffioti (1994) just over a tenth of the cases of violence reported to the police are judged in the courts and only 2% of them are found guilty (p. 161).

1.4 The legislation on violence against women and the police work

Since 1985, not only has there been a marked increase in the number of WPSs around the country, but also a marked increase in their legal duties and great changes in their status. In 1989, 'crimes against honour', such as calumny, injury, defamation and material abandonment, were included in the WPS's scope. Later, in the second half of the 1990s, important legal changes had an impact on the duties of the WPSs around the country: in 1995, the Law 9.099/95 established special courts for penal infringements considered not serious, such as most of the cases dealt by the WPSs; in 1996, homicides as well as crimes against minors were added to the WPS's responsibility in some States; in 1997, the Act N. 42.082 encouraged the transfer of male investigators to the formerly female only stations in some States.

The most important change to the work of such police units was, perhaps, a result of a change in the Brazilian legislation, with the Law 9.099/95, in September 1995. The Law 9.099/95 implemented an informal and consensual procedure in order to

---

crucial issue in understanding, conceptualising and combating violence, see: Kelly, 1988; Kelly & Radford, 1997/1996 and Thomas & Kitzinger, 1997).

enforce a more humane and less repressive system of justice. It was founded on principles of informality, speed and oral procedures aiming for conciliatory processes which repair the losses suffered by the victim and apply penalties that do not constrain the freedom of the offender as incarceration.

The Law 9.099/95 determined that the conciliation, judgment and execution of less serious penal infringements, such as those with penalties not in excess of one year, fell under the remit of Special Criminal Courts. That meant crimes such as sexual harassment, calumny, injury, defamation were under the authority of those courts, being subject to the elaboration of a document which register the occurrence (Termo Circunstanciado de Ocorrência - TCO) rather than police inquest and excluding the possibility of arresting the offender in the act of the crime.

In 2001, the Law 10.259/2001 broadened the definition of crime of low offensive potential, increasing the authority of those Special Courts to crimes to which the Law applies penalties not superior to two years, which means those crimes are also not subject to incarceration in the act of the crime nor to the elaboration of a police inquest, but to the TCO (Silva, 2004).

As a consequence of changes to the legislation due to the creation of the Law 9.099/95, the Judiciary and the offender have been benefited but the women have been made vulnerable, while the work of the Police was discredited and the impunity to the offender increased (Gifolli, 2004). This has happened because most of the cases of 'marital violence' are now under the Law 9.099/95 and not subject to a police inquest, but under the responsibility of those conciliatory Special Courts, which have been shelving most of the processes or punishing the abusers by making them pay a fee (Boselli, 2004; Fernandes, 2004). Such change in the legislation was considered a retrograde step in terms of women's legal achievements. Framing violence against women as a less serious crime, it did thereby a disservice to women (Boselli, 2004; Gifolli, 2004).

Feminist groups, organizations and political representatives kept fighting for a better response to the problem of violence against women and, in 2003, the problem of violence against women and the issue of 'despenalização / 'de-penalising' of such violence came to the centre of the Sate concerns via fiction. The soap 'Mulheres Apaixonadas (Women in Love)' depicted the problem of a woman

battered by her partner, and who finally reported him to a WPS (facing the report-making and the bodily exams from the Legal medical Institute) but was confronted then with the reality of her abuser not being punished for the crimes she reported. This generated a marked increase on the reports of violence in Brazil, massive media attention to violence against women and the lack of punishment for its perpetrators, and put in motion a series of governmental measures to fight domestic violence. The WPS that was shown on the soap had an increase of 40% of reports of violence just after the TV showed the abused character reporting her assailant (Knoploch, 2003) and in the State of Tocantins, the year of 2003 registered an increase of almost 70% of the cases reported in comparison with the previous year (Macedo and Meneses, 2005). This generated a lot of media attention to domestic violence, the problem of non punishment of the abusers and the increase of reportings of violence around the country. The federal government, then, launched a campaign against domestic violence, counting on support of the actors who performed the victim-abuser pair on TV (Zanetti, 2003), the senate promulgated 2004 as the 'Ano da Mulher / Women's Year', and later in 2004 the 'domestic violence' was included in the Brazilian Penal Code, with the promulgation of Law 10.886/04 in 2004. Such law, established a punishment of 6 months to 1 year of imprisonment for bodily injury inflicted to 'intimates' defined as:

> "ascendant, descendent, sibling, spouse, or partner, or someone one lives with or had lived with, or still, where the agent takes advantage of relations of domestic cohabitation or hospitality" (Presidência da República – Casa Civil, 2004)

In practical terms, this new disposition was very limited and did not change the situation of women, as it criminalized domestic violence only in the cases of bodily injury, excluding threats and other crimes. Most importantly, as the maximum penalty was still one year for light injuries, the processes were still referred to the Special Criminal Courts, under the Law 9.099/95 (Boselli, 2004). So, although the inclusion of the term 'Domestic Violence' generated a lot of media attention to the issue and was broadly advertised as the end of impunity for this violence (Miranda & Magno, 2004), in effect, this inclusion produced minor changes to women's rights. Feminist groups and activists kept working to increase punishment to the perpetrators of violence against women but it was only in the end of 2006 that they

achieved a significant improvement to the legislation, with the promulgation of Law 11.340/2006. This Law has been known as 'Lei Maria da Penha', a Brazilian woman left paraplegic by her husband's violence (which included shooting her and submitting her to electroshocks) who fought for 20 years to get him arrested. This law extended the types of violence that were covered as domestic violence, covering 5 forms of violence: physical, sexual, psychological, patrimonial and moral; and had implications not only to the penal code, but also to the civil, the work legislation; and also established measures to protect the victims from the abusers while guaranteeing their right of keeping their jobs over the period in which they had to be isolated from their regular activities (i.e. in the case of transferring the victims of abuse to shelters) (Neto, 2007).

While the increase of awareness regarding violence against women and the increased reporting of such violence occurred during the period of data collection of this thesis (see Chapter 2), the latest changes in the legislation were not captured in the data sets which compose this thesis. Although there was a remarkable change in the legislation, it is important to emphasise that the reporting procedures have remained the same. So, the recordings presented in this thesis still capture the report-making process as it is today.

Another important fact to point out is that when those Special Police Units for Women were created they differed from the other police units mainly for being staffed only by women, based in the essentialist idea that women would be more cooperative and understanding to other women (Boselli, 2004; Hautzinger, 2002; Santos, 2005). The Police Academy, did not however, prepare the police officers to deal with the specificities of domestic violence (Safiotti, 1993; Williams, Gallo, Maldonaldo, Brino & Bassol, 2000) and the initial connection the first WPSs in Brazil had with feminist movements weakened with subsequent changes in the authorities commanding the WPSs (Santos, 2005).

Previous researchers have documented how despite the efforts of implementing those special units, many of the prejudices suffered by abused women in the regular police units have been perpetuated in these WPSs (Boselli, 2004; Safiotti, 1993; Williams, 2000). For example, the commonsense discourse of women deserving or liking the battering is reproduced (Boselli, 2004; Williams et. al., 2000, Santos, 2005),

and violence against women is still not seen as a serious crime by many officers (Suarez & Bandura, cited by Silva, 2001; Santos, 2005). Also, those units work like most of bureaucratic organizations, with procedures defined by pre-established norms and a rigid attachment to the norms interfering in the aims of the organization. Abused women are faced with unprepared agents, concerned only about identifying the most recent crime and the abuser, disregarding a life of aggressions and focusing in the process of registering the last violent incident in 5-6 lines (Boselli, 2004). Officers have also been considered to have offered inadequate treatment to the victims (Williams et. al, 2000), and to have been often rude, aggressive and even patronizing to the complainants (Soares, 1998).

Despite the problems cited above and the low rates of prosecution and punishment of reported crimes against women (Hautzinger, 2002; Nelson, 1996; Saffioti, 1994), many Brazilian academics 'warn that judging the performance of the WPSs on the basis of prosecution alone is misleading and obscures the more subtle and complex factors that impinge upon their effectiveness.', as well as denying the services they provide to thousands of women annually (Nelson, 1996, p.139). Moreover, WPSs have been considered to play an important role in sensitising the population and rendering visible a problem that had been historically played down (Nelson, 1996).

In the next section, I will develop the issue of the 'role' of the WPSs in Brazil in accordance with some studies which have focused in the work of WPSs around the country through the 20 years of existence of this institution.

1.5 Critics of police work and other studies on violence in Brazil

Although the lack of punishment for perpetrators of violence against women in Brazil has been severely criticised (Boselli, 2004; Hautzinger, 2002), women who go to the WPS frequently reject criminalization of perpetrators as a solution (Brandão, 1998). Even though the numbers of women help-seeking at WPSs has increased throughout the years, the option of resorting to the WPS has not been necessarily connected to the filing of a police inquest (Brandão, 1998).

Saffioti (1994) points out that not everything that is in theory disapproved (such as the dropping of the complaints against abusers) turns out to be inadequate in Brazil. Given the lack of shelters and other structures to protect the women against

violence, both complainants and officers have to consider not filing a police inquest as a real possibility in a situation in which a woman has to go back to a house she shares with her abuser (Saffioti, 1994). Moreover, imprisonment has been considered to be not effective in those 'domestic' matters as women usually resort to the WPSs to 'make their abusers jump' (Silva, 2001; Brandão, 1998; Santos, 2005). Moreover, some authors suggest that what women want from the police units is "indemnity for material and moral losses and the means to restore a deteriorated relationship" (Soares, 1988, cited by Silva, 2001). It has been argued that women make use of the police as a resource to manage their marital/family crisis which pervades the abuses and/or threats they report (Brandão, 1998; Santos, 2005).

In this context, it has been suggested that the unique contribution of the WPS is its role as a mediator of conflicts. Women seem to resort to the WPS not to end their relationships or to punish their assailants, but to get the police authority in order to protect themselves against subsequent violence and/or to manage domestic crises (Brandão, 1998). It is in this sense that the success of the WPSs in Brazil cannot be measured only by the rate of actual punishment to perpetrators of violence against women (Brandão, 1998; Nelson, 1996).

Even though researchers do sometimes point out the importance of this role of the WPS and the way in which its officers can function as mediators, there has also been a marked awareness of how this precise feature of the WPS is derogated within the police academy (Macaulay, 2000; Nelson, 1996; Santos, 2005; Silva, 2001; Williams et al., 2000). The work of officers in a WPS is pejoratively considered by many officers (both inside and outside the WPS) as not real police work, but as some sort of social welfare provision, and officers are frequently allocated to the WPSs unwillingly (Macaulay, 2000; Nelson, 1996; Santos, 2005; Silva, 2001; Williams et al., 2000). Even some of the chief commissioners in WPSs are presented as sharing the representations that see their work as something less important than "regular" police work (Silva, 2001, p. 17).

Apart from those studies based on the observation of the work of the police in WPSs as well as questionnaires and interviews with complainants and police officers, many other studies on violence against women carried out in Brazil have focused on data extracted from police records. There are studies combining thematic

analysis of the police reports with statistical characteristics of alleged victims and abusers (Azevedo, 1985; Feiguin et. al., 1987) or with interviews with women about their experience of abuse and the role of care centres for women suffering violence (Gregori, 1993). They attempt to explain women's experiences of violence and/or help-seeking from the themes found in crime reports and retrospective interviews with them drawing on explanations about 'macro' social context, but not from the interactions themselves.

One noteworthy exception is a study conducted by Ostermann (2003a, 2003b) in which audio-recordings of actual police and counselling interactions with abused women form the basis of her linguistic study of women reporting violence in the Brazilian Southeast. Her findings have focused on the use of what she calls the formal and informal second person by the service providers (when talking to the complainants) and on the structure of the police work – as not flexible - in comparison to the counselling work (see Chapter 5 for further discussion on that).

There is, still, very little knowledge about women's actual experiences of reporting violence not only in Brazil, but also in an international context, as it will be examined in the next session.

Part II - Research on Violence Against Women in an International Context

The most common form of violence suffered by women, the one inflicted by intimates, inside their homes (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1981/1980, Stanko, 1988) in the 'sacred' institution of the family (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979), became a 'social problem' (and a research interest) in the USA and the UK in the 1970s with the creation of the term 'wife abuse', following 'child abuse' (Mardsen, 1979/1978; Straus et al, 1981/1980). It was only then that the relatively new term 'wife abuse' was used to describe those supposed unfamiliar accounts of abuse as a widespread practice (Dobash & Dobash, 1992) and 'wife abuse' came to public attention as a social problem (Straus et al, 1981/1980, Mardsen, 1979/1978).

The emergence of new terms like the one above has been widely accepted by researchers to be linked to wider socio-historical and cultural judgements for their meanings (Kelly, 1988, 1998; Straus et al, 1981/1980, Kitzinger & Thomas, 1995).

Such naming process has, therefore, implications that are not only vernacular, but that affect the understanding of previously unrecognised and unspoken practices as an issue, influence policy makers and researchers and are part of the meaning-making of women's experience of abuse (Kelly, 1988; Kelly & Radford, 1997/1996).

The naming of 'wife abuse' was no exception and the research on wife/partner abuse and domestic violence and has grown significantly since the 1970s, but there is still very little consensus among the researchers about how to define, study and even name such violence. As Mardsen (1979/1978) suggested, Erin Pizzey's creation of a refuge for women badly beaten by men and her best-selling book *Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear* spread the awareness of the issue of violence in marriage among officials and academics and prompted the funding of many researchers in a call for evidence of such violence, which produced a range of submissions with quite different definitions of the problem (Mardsen, 1979/1978, pp. 103-106).

1.6 The research on violence against women

The first attempts of Pizzey to give evidence to and explain the phenomenon of wife abuse linked the violence to individual characteristics, alcohol abuse and family history of battering (see Borkowski, Murch & Walker, 1983; Gayford, 1979/1978; Mardsen, 1979/1978). Such connections suited psychiatric explanations of the phenomenon, which were then wide spread, as initial evidences of wife battering were gathered in studies of violent populations, such as child murderers and alcoholics, which had been studied by criminologists and psychiatrists (Mardsen, 1979/1978). Psychiatrists such as Gayford (1979/1978) linked violence to childhood experiences and provoking factors, such as the men's alcohol consumption, jealousy and demand for sex followed by a refusal (p. 24), and to a man's personal (in)ability to tolerate frustration combined to a woman's personal level of provocation (pp. 25-26).

Early studies on domestic violence in the psychological arena have been heavily criticised by sociologists and feminists for ascribing the abuse to psychological characteristics, usually seen as abnormalities, of the abuser (Straus et. al., 1981/1980; Bograd, 1988). Abnormal behaviour, usually linked to substance abuse; or a history of abuse in the family of the abused women, have also been criticised for not providing sufficient explanation to the violence and for, not only excusing

the abusive behaviour, but also indirectly blaming the victim for the abuse (Bograd, 1988).

Psychological theory has also been considered oppressive for abused women, by psychologists who criticise: 1) biologically-based theories which encompass from genetic abnormalities producing violent behaviour to sex hormones linked directly to partner violence; 2) naïve psychological theories that see aggression as an instinct which helps survival; 3) theories that attend to human behaviour centred on parent-child bonding abnormalities leading to violence; 4) personality traits theory that tried to explain why some men are more violent than others, or the approach grounded in psychiatric thought suggesting that abused women suffered from psychological disorders; 5) theories which explained the abuse focusing on women's supposed learned helplessness and masochism. (See Lockley, 1999, pp. 36-37)

In the sociological arena, the study of the phenomenon was initially left mainly to sociologists in the functionalist tradition, as the family was regarded by major schools of thought in sociology as a subordinate element to the social structure (see Mardsen, 1979/1978). Functionalists tended to see the violence and discord as arising from mismatching backgrounds between spouses, lack of resources, stress and other disharmonic factors that could predict violence (Mardsen, 1979/1978, pp. 109-110). One of the most influential sociological attempts to study family violence was created, then, in the US by Straus in the attempt to modify functionalism and incorporate other specialisms, such as behaviourism with the emphasis on the physical violence learned at home (Mardsen, 1978/1979, pp. 111-112). This was later developed into a model to measure violence and a scale[8], which became both a reference to the study of violence and a focus of discord among researchers.

This sociological line of study has been strongly rejected by many feminists who accused it of abstracting violence from its sociohistorical context and, therefore, attributing it to structures that can neither grasp the differences in forms, uses and consequences of the violence, used as means of controlling women (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979), nor the empirical reality that women as wives are the most

---

[8] The Conflict Tactic Scale, applied in a national survey in the US (see Straus et.al., 1981/1980), became an important reference for the field and an important part of a heated debate in the field and will be discussed in more detail later.

frequent target of physical abuse (Bograd, 1988; Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, 1988, 1992; Saunders, 1988; Eliasson, 2003).   Feminists have also severely criticised the line of work fostered by the first National Family Violence Survey conducted by Straus and his colleagues in 1975 (Straus et. al., 1981/1980). Although Straus and his colleagues stated some limitations in the use of the scale applied in their studies – the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS) – and emphasised that: 1) their scale did not make a distinction between violence and self-defence, 2) nor took into account the consequences of violent acts, which victimised women in a much larger scale; their studies have supported further researchers claims about the issue of 'battered husbands' as an issue as serious as battered wives. The proposed concern with 'battered husbands' as a social issue, however, has been argued to have grown from incomplete tables and projections of few cases (Saunders, 1988), but lead to a marked decrease on governmental aid to women's shelters and other supporting agencies (Lupton & Gillespie, 1994).   A huge body of the feminist literature on violence against women has criticised and questioned the validity of the CTS for (I) not taking the context in which the violence took place into account, (II) for defining violence in a behavioural level – by counting the occurrences of individual violent acts such as 'pushings' and 'shovings' – and (III) for not including sexual assaults, threats and coercion, which are common forms of violence against women and tend to be underreported (Russell, 1982; Stanko, 1988), as well as (IV) for not differentiating offensive and defensive acts (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, 1988, 1992; Eliasson, 2003; Russel, 1988; Yllo & Bograd, 1988; Saunders, 1988). Further, several researchers have argued that women are the most frequent targets of serious spouse aggression and that most of the violence committed by women should be counted as acts of self-defence (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, 1988, 1992; Kelly, 1997/1996; Saunders, 1988), and differentiated from men's aggression, which is usually used as a means of exercising control over women (Bograd, 1988; Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, 1988, 1992; Kantor & Jasinski, 1998; Saunders, 1988;). Despite these criticisms, more than 20 years later the CTS is still widely applied in violence studies (Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Murty, Peek-Asa, Zwerling, Stromquist, Burmeister & Merchant, 2003) and yet heavily criticised (Eliasson, 2003) for failing to grasp the reality as shown by the critics above.

Critics of feminist studies, in their turn, resist feminist definitions of violence and abuse, derived from more open-ended questions, on the grounds of being not objective or scientific (Radford, Kelly & Hester, 1997/1996, citing the critics of Gilbert, 1991 and Howitt, 1992). Feminist explanations of violence against women have also been criticised (Borkowski et al., 1983). Borkowski and his colleagues say that the explanation (endorsed by the Dobashes and favoured by feminists) that men resort to violence when they cannot "fulfil their cultural expectations of superior patriarchal status" cannot explain how socio-cultural factors interact with individual behaviour (Borkowski et al., 1983, p.56; McLeod, 1980, cited by Borkowski et al., 1983). They suggest further that this difficulty in explaining how social structural factors interact with personality may incline policy makers, practitioners and researchers to favour individual explanations that are easier to grasp, though not necessarily correct (Borkowski et al., 1983).

Such scenarios contributed to ongoing heated debates about how to name and define the field, which has had implications for how researchers approach the problem. Some researchers have positioned their studies as family/domestic violence, linking it to other forms of violence such as child abuse (Martin, 1979/1978), and/or used neutral labels such as 'marital', 'partner' or 'spouse' abuse (Straus et. Al, 1981/1980; Jasinski & Williams, 1998), focusing their analysis in the violent home; while other researchers and activists – mostly feminists - have used the term 'wife abuse' to position women as the most vulnerable side of what was proposed to be a mutual conflict by the First National Family Survey (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, 1988, 1992; Yllo & Bograd, 1988), or 'sexual abuse' (Kelly, 1988) to place violence as a gendered phenomenon, within the context of patriarchal social relations (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, Hester, Kelly & Radford, 1997/1996)[9].

1.7 Low reporting rates of crimes against women

One important reason attributed to low rates of reporting of serious crimes is how 'private' individuals feel the dispute is (Stanko, 1988). It is probably not surprising, then, that women underreport acts of violence against themselves when they are more likely to be physically abused and assaulted, as well as killed in their own

homes or near them (Stanko, 1988; Straus et. Al, 1980) and half of all female homicide victims are killed by their husbands or boyfriends (Kantor & Jasinski, 1998, citing Kellerman & Mecy 1992, on US data; CEM, 2004, on Brazilian data).

Other contributors to women's underreporting of violence include: guilt at violating loyalty to a partner (Dobashes, 1980/1979, 1988); fear of further victimization (Martin, 1979/1978; Stanko, 1988), concern that police will not take their problems seriously (Hester, Kelly & Radford, 1997/1996; Stanko, 1988); problems when help-seeking (Borkowski et. al., 1983) as they receive inadequate response from the agencies and professionals to whom they turn for help (Borkowski et. al., 1983; Foley, 1994); difficulty in seeing domestic violence as legal assault (Straus, 1981/1980); and difficulty in naming violence as such (Kelly, 1988, 1997/1996) being caught up in mainstream definitions of violence as something that happens outside the home and is committed by a stranger (Stanko, 1988, 1997/1996; Kelly 1997/1996). In the Brazilian context, researchers have identified a few more reasons for such underreporting, namely: poverty and economic dependence of the abuser as well as nowhere to go to (Williams, 2003); impunity, which makes abusers more aggressive when they realise there is no punishment for their acts (Saffioti, 1994; Hautzinger, 1997) as well as a social endorsement of violence which makes it hard to see abuse as a crime (Nelson, 1996; Santos, 2005).

Naming the violence not only as a social problem but also on an individual level becomes an important issue. Kelly points out (1988, 1997/1996) the name has to be known in order to the 'unspeakable' become visible but this is not sufficient, the name has to be seen as applicable to one's own experience. Violence committed by intimates is usually rendered visible after some time, when it becomes serious and frequent and the women are able to 'rename' it as serious. The complexity of recognizing and naming men's actions as abuse is, therefore, one important but neglected reason why many women do not seek outside support and stay with abusive men. It is not that women accept or expect abuse, but that it takes them 'a long time' to name what is happening to them as violence (Kelly & Radford, 1997/1996, p. 28). In the same line, mainstream definitions of aggression –

---

[9] In this study, I chose to use the term 'violence against women', in order to refer to this violence often perpetrated by partners (but not limited to this kind) which affects women (as women), in order to be consistent with the kind of violence which is under the remit of most Brazilian's WPS.

'battering' as frequent and 'serious' physical violence, 'real rape' as committed by a stranger on a street, as well as the idea that the home is a safe sanctuary, 'the myth of the safe home' – contribute to the difficulty women have in naming their experiences as abuse, or in seeing themselves as 'battered wives' or rape victims/survivors[10] no matter how serious their cases are (Stanko, 1988). The literature proposes, then, that naming violence as such is a problem that accompanies the history of violence women suffer for years and that help-seeking can be a problem in itself when women have problems with institutions they turn for help (Police, GPs etc.) and have to go back to their homes.

Most of the research presented above has been based on questionnaires and interviews with abused women. Although a few of them have also involved big ethnographic studies which involved observation of the police work together with interviews and questionnaires and archival research (Brandão, 1998; Hautzinger, 1997, 2002; Santos, 2005), very little has been published about actual interactions of abused women reporting the violence they suffer.

Actual (audio-recorded) interactions of women in domestic violence counselling have been used to discuss the moral dilemmas of feminist counselling in a discursive perspective (Kurri & Wahlström, 2001). Also, narrative analysis of actual (audio-recorded) instances of 'latinas' applying for restraining orders against their abusers in the US have shown the clash of perspectives between service providers and the life-history perspective of the victims (Trinch, 2003). Moreover, one directly relevant study of actual (audio-recorded) instances of women reporting violence in a WPS and in a care centre for abused women was carried out by Ostermann (2003a, 2003b), as mentioned in Part I. Those cases are, however, a very small minority in the research of violence against women and very little is known about the actual difficulties women face when reporting their abusers and the abuse they suffer.

Researchers, as we have seen above, have proposed that many women do not seek help in cases of 'domestic violence' and have tried to explain underreporting in

---

[10] The presentation of 'victims/survivors' refers to the debate on how to name abused women; some authors argue that to label them as 'victims' means to assume some passivity and helplessness (that would be pejorative) and choose to call them 'survivors' of such abuse; while others, still, claim that abolishing the use of 'victims' may render invisible the abuse they suffer.

terms of women's reported difficulties in help-seeking, using interviews and questionnaires. This is not unproblematic. "The problem, for researchers, with interview talk as 'second-hand' data is that what people say in interviews may not accurately reflect the reality of their lives" (Kitzinger, 2006, p. 155). One alternative to *asking* people about their experiences is to *observe* them going through them (Kitzinger, 2006). However, as seen above, very few studies presented here have been based on actual instances of women reporting abuse. Although surveys and questionnaires are important in terms of investigating the extent to which women are exposed to violence, the proportion of them who seek help and where they seek help from; although interviews with abused women have their use in illuminating important issues concerning women's reasoning about domestic violence and their experience of help-seeking; although ethnographic studies are important in terms of presenting how institutions which provide support to abused women work, they all fail to address how women actually go about reporting their experiences of abuse, how they present themselves and their abusers and the interactional work involved in doing so in the specific institutions that offer support to those women. Conversation analysis of actual interactions of women reporting abuse to professionals provides an empirical ground for discussing not only the minuteness of the interactions but also wider cultural issues involved in the process of reporting violence by careful observation of actual talk-in-interaction. In the following chapter I discuss the use of conversation analysis in order to understand those instances of women reporting abuse.

Part III – Thesis Outline

In this thesis I explore how women go about reporting abuse they suffer to the police and some difficulties they face in doing so. I also count with data from another institution (a care centre for abused women) and a few recordings of ordinary conversation to aid some of the analysis presented here. The main body of this thesis consists of the following 7 chapters:

Chapter 2 presents research issues I faced in the process of doing this research. It covers the choice of conversation analysis as my methodological approach to data analysis, the studied sites, ethics, issues related to data collection and the presentation of the data and the world of the interactants and translation.

Chapter 3 is a technical chapter which arose from the translation issues as discussed in chapter two and became a chapter in its own right. It presents Yes/No interrogatives (YNIs) in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and some use of 'Sim', literally 'yes' in BP, as a response to YNIs. This 'technical' chapter in terms of the use of 'Sim' is not only relevant in terms of CA research, but is useful for further understandings about misalignment in police interactions as developed in Chapter Six (presented below).

Chapter 4 presents women's failed attempts to report their abusers in the WPS and discusses the issue of dismissed cases. These cases are analysed in terms of how they are accomplished, what they reveal about the requirements for making a police report, and what the limitations of the work of the WPS mean to women's access to criminal justice.

Chapter 5 presents the structural organization of the police interactions. It shows the phases of the police interactions in terms of two different report-making strategies adopted by police officers; the ways in which complainants can actively influence the course of the interactions and even control the report-making strategy used in their report-making; and draws some suggestions about how to improve police interactions vis-à-vis the analysis of practices adopted in the 'Casa' care centre.

Chapter 6 presents misalignments (mostly) between complainants and police officers, exploring some problems women face when reporting abuse and some ways in which those misalignments are managed in interaction, both in terms of their technology and the actions they perform.

Chapter 7 presents how abusers are referred in the WPS (mostly in terms of the first references to them) and the cultural understandings they reveal about perpetrators of violence against women.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis with an overview of its findings and contributions to the field of violence against women, to the services for abused women in Brazil and to conversation analysis. Moreover, it discusses the strengths and limitations of this thesis and suggests some future research topics related to the topics covered by this thesis.

2

Research Issues: Methodology, Ethics and Translation(s)

'God is in the details' Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

This chapter covers a range of issues related to the research process involved in this thesis. I start by addressing the question "Why conversation analysis", and discuss my choice of conversation analysis (CA) as the methodological approach to the analysis of the interactions of women reporting abuse. In the next section, "My data sets" I outline my three data sets and present some background information about the organisational settings in which I collected women reporting abuse. Having set the stage for the study, I go on in the next section, "The Data Collection Process" to consider some issues regarding the data collection process, with special emphasis on ethical issues that I faced as a researcher present during the recording of the interactions between abused women and service providers. I then go on to examine some issues regarding the presentation of my data. In the section "Traduttore Traitore", the issue of presentation is taken from the perspective of a language translation, that is, in terms of my need to translate the original interactions in Brazilian Portuguese into English; in the following section, "Translating Worlds", the issue of 'translation' is developed in terms of presenting the 'worlds' of most of the women I researched to the reader. The last section, "Clash of Worlds" presents instances of 'miscommunication' between women reporting abuse and service providers, presenting how the world of many complainants escapes a 'foreign' (say, British) sense of reality, and how it is also elusive to the underlying order that structures the forms which are filled during the report-making process.

2.1 Why Conversation Analysis?

Using conversation analysis (CA) to examine the actual recorded practices of interactions involving reporting violence to the police and counselors and/or social workers this study contributes to the understanding of abused women's experience of help seeking and the job of those who serve them. In this section I discuss some general principles of CA and the advantage of using naturalistic interactions in order to analyse women's reports of abuse. I will begin by discussing the use of CA in terms of its basic methodological principles; then I will discuss the use of CA as a methodology for studying political (feminist) issues, aligning my research within the field of feminist conversation analysis.

2.1.1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis is an approach to the study of social life, developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977), which "treats talk and other conduct in interaction as a site for social action and analyses it to identify members' methods for producing social life." (Kitzinger, 2007, p. 133)

The central goal of conversation analytical research, according to Heritage and Atkinson (1984, p. 1) is "the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction", via an analysis that does not depend on speculation about what participants take their interactions to be, but on analysis that "emerge from observation of the conduct of the participants" (Heritage and Atkinson 1984, p.1). So, as an "observation-based science of actual (verbal and non-verbal) behaviour, which uses audio and video recordings of naturally occurring interactions as the basic form of data" (Drew, 2003, p. 134), CA provides empirical grounds for the inductive understanding of social interactions in terms of how they are organized, while avoiding subjective interpretations:

> "CA's method is an observational science: it does not require (subjective) interpretations to be made of what people mean, but instead is based on directly observable properties of data (e.g. of turn design), and how these affect the interactional uptake by the other participant. Hence, these properties can be shown to have organized,

patterned and systematic consequences for how the interaction proceeds." (Drew, Chatwin, Collins, 2001, p. 67).

This, which has been called an "insistence on the use of materials collected from *naturally occurring* occasions of everyday interactions" (Heritage & Maynard, 1984, p. 2) means conversation analysis privileges the study of practices that routinely take place in the social world and are actual instances of a studied phenomenon, rather than reports of this phenomenon as recalled and reproduced in a research-generated interaction. Research-initiated data, such as interviews, surveys and questionnaires often take retrospective self-reports about experiences to be the experience itself, which means much qualitative research takes *voice* to be the *experience*, a problem which is sidestepped by naturalistic research (Kitzinger, 2003). One advantage of using naturalistic data is, in this respect, that it allows the researcher to have access to 'the experience itself ... directly, at first hand' (Kitzinger, 2003, p. 126). This is why rather than interviewing women about their experience reporting violence, this research is based on the study of actual instances in which women report abuse to professionals from institutions that offer help to them. The recordings of women reporting abuse can be analysed, then, for what they show in terms of how those instances are structured and some difficulties they pose to women help seeking, while details of the interaction which could be lost in retrospective reports about such experience are preserved and taken into account in the process of understanding such interactions.

However, the study of naturalistic data does not define, per se, conversation analysis. Researchers working with discourse analysis (DA) and discursive psychology (DP) have also used naturalistic data (Benneworth, 2007, 2006; Potter, 2003; Potter & Hepburn, 2005) and defended the use of naturalistic data as 'ideal' (Potter & Hepburn, 2005) because of the richness of such materials which are 'both powerful and analytically tractable' and the 'difficulty of achieving the desired *activity*' through interviews (Potter & Hepburn, 2007, p. 278). These claims for the preferential use of naturalistic data have been challenged by some authors (Griffin, 2007a, 2007b, Henwood, 2007). In particular, feminist psychologist Christine Griffin (2007a) has questioned the claim that researcher noninvolvement in the data is 'ideal'. She brings her experience as a researcher interacting with her volunteers under analysis to argue for some advantages of researchers being active

participants in their own data. In my section on 'Feminist Ethics' I discuss and develop this aspect of research involvement and analyse my own conduct as a researcher interacting with my research volunteers in the course of my data collection. Although this thesis is based on the analysis of naturally occurring interactions, rather than researcher-generated data (e.g. Griffin's data), my presence during the recording of the interactions raised the need of a reflection about my own research practice, especially as a feminist researcher.

While experimental limitations regarding study design, the role of the interviewer, and the gap between voice and experience are avoided with the study of actual interactions – as they give the researcher some access to the *action* studies – CA also "contrasts with observational studies in which data are recorded in field notes or with the use of precoded schedules" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p.3). The emphasis on the analysis of recorded interactions not only controls "the limitations and fallibilities of intuition and recollection" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p.4), but also "enables *repeated* and *detailed* examination" of events (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p.4). This also offers the advantage of making data available for "public scrutiny" and for reuse in a variety of investigations (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p.4).

Although recordings of interactions are the basis for CA analysis, CA research is presented and also partially constructed with the use of transcripts. CA transcripts, as developed by Jefferson (see Jefferson 1983, 2004), are an important method for presenting the data (see Appendix C for transcription keys and my section entitled 'Tradutore Traitore' for a discussion on presentation of languages other than English in CA). They also make accessible details of interactions which are elusive to memory, pre coding processes etc. Another feature of the use of transcripts, as Clift and Holt (2007) point out, is that they make the data "available for repeated inspection and analysis", which "allows for methodological transparency" and "enables the collection of multiple examples of the same phenomenon", which in turn makes it possible to reveal the "systemacities" of the interaction in terms of what is observable in the data, rather than speculations (Clift & Holt, 2007, p. 9).

Those observable features of recorded interactions which are systematically analysed in CA can bring the details of interactions to the forefront of analysis, as

they are studied in their own rights, but CA's systematic analysis can also contribute to the study of political issues, as seen below.

2.1.2 Feminist Conversation Analysis

The choice of CA as the methodology for understanding violence against women and its under-reporting may not initially appear self-evident. Some previous studies of women's police stations in Brazil have been criticized for privileging a micro-level analysis and for "neglecting to examine how macro-political process shape the social interactions between feminists, policewomen, and complainants" (Santos, 2005, p.6), as well as for having "overlooked the interconnections of race, class, gender, and/or sexual orientation as the basis for granting women the right to live without violence" (Santos, 2005, p.6).

At a more general level, CA, along with approaches that focus on micro level interaction, has been criticised for not attending to broader contextual issues such as the historic context and the socio-economic structure in which interactions are produced. Some analysts have argued that CA is essentially a-political (Billig, 1999) claiming a need to go 'beyond' what is in the talk to explain it, that is, a need to draw on social theory and external knowledge about, say, a culture's heterosexism, sexism, racism etc (Billig, 1999; Wetherell, 1998). This criticism rests on the idea that micro analysis is insufficient to deal with political issues, so macro analysis should be added in order to construct what could be seen as a full understanding of the world. This need for 'adding' macro and micro has been, however, criticised by some ethnomethodologists who see a flaw in this proposition for assuming that there are two perspectives that can be added (Wowk, 2007, drawing on Sharrock and Coulter, 2003; Sharrock and Watson, 1988; Watson, 1992). Ironically, however, this criticism by Wowk (2007) has been directed to feminist conversation analysis, which has fought against this very claim that the analysis of talk needed to be supplemented by an analyst's external knowledge about the world.

Wowk (2007) has proposed that feminist CA forces 'macro' concepts (derived from a feminist agenda) to member's routine usage of language and has criticised feminist CA for its "*methodological* consequences for the *doing* of CA" (Wowk, 2007, p. 132), in terms of presenting a risk of undermining CA integrity (Wowk, 2007). This claim has disregarded the findings of a growing body of research which has

successfully applied CA to feminist concerns (as discussed below) and has been strongly refuted by Kitzinger (unpublished), who presents how her feminist conversation analysis shows not only strong adherence to CA principles, but also how feminist work in conversation analysis can contribute to CA.

Despite the criticisms cited above about the use of CA in politically engaged research, since the late nineties an increasing amount of feminist work using CA has been published and feminists have turned to CA as a method for doing feminist research:

> "Gender and sexuality researchers are increasingly turning to CA as a method for understanding the routine reproduction of sexism, heterosexism and other forms of power, and of resistance, at the mundane level of everyday life." (Kitzinger, 2007, p. 133)

Some of those feminist works using CA include themes such as: women's experiences of saying no to unwanted sex in contrast to pseudo-empowering campaigns to 'Just say no' (Kitzinger & Frith, 1999), the unveiling of how heterosexual normativity is produced in talk (Kitzinger, 2005) and how such heterosexist presumptions are – and are not – challenged in everyday interaction (Land & Kitzinger, 2005) – just to mention a few examples of a growing body of work on conversation analysis within a feminist framework (as proposed by Kitzinger, 2000 and developed in Guimaraes & Kitzinger, 2007; Kitzinger, 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Kitzinger & Jones, 2007; Kitzinger & Rockford, 2007; Land and Kitzinger, 2005; Land and Kitzinger, 2007; Shaw and Kitzinger, 2007; Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007 ; Stockill & Kitzinger, 2007).

Rather than being a weakness, CA's cautious approach to data analysis in terms of what can be *demonstrated* to be happening in interactions makes CA a strong tool for studying broader cultural issues, as they are produced and reproduced in talk. CA's approach in terms of detailed analysis of the data in order to understand the interaction and 'its endogenous constitution' as well as what it is for the parties involved enables analysts to see 'what political issue if any it allows us to address' (Schegloff, 1997, p. 168). Close attention to the data enables a conversation analyst to unveil taken-for-granted practices of a given culture in the interaction and according to the understanding of the participants (Kitzinger, 2005, 2006; Schegloff, 1997). It is because people's knowledge about their culture is displayed in their talk

-speakers and recipients invoke and reproduce mundane understandings of what is normative for their culture" (Kitzinger, 2006, p.75) – that cultural presuppositions can be demonstrated with CA analysis without the resource of a supposed 'insider's knowledge' which would be, in fact, 'external' to the interaction.

Apart from allowing us to see what is culturally normative in terms of what can be demonstrated through talk, the attention to what can be demonstrated by careful observation of actual interactions is fundamental in order to provide recommendations about how to better the interactions between service providers and women seeking help. For example, writing about midwives' postpartum debriefing Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2007) point to the difficulty of getting a sense of what actually happens in those interactions from reading the literature, where what is meant by 'debriefing' changes according to the study in question and where descriptions of counseling are "generalized and non-specific [and] provide minimal directions for ... counseling models" (Gamble and Creedy, 2004, p. 213, quoted in Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2007, p. 256). This scenario makes it hard (if not impossible) for researchers to propose recommendations for improving the practices of service providers. It is important, therefore, to ground possible recommendations for service providers in actual practices and their consequences, which makes CA, as shown above, well suited for such endeavours. As Drew and his colleagues put it:

"If recommendations are to be made about which communicative practices are most likely to be efficacious in principle ('best practice'), or specifically to facilitate patient participation, these need to be founded upon information about the interactional consequences of adopting a given practice. The methodology of CA has the potential to provide that information." (Drew et al., 2001, p. 67)

Rigorous analysis of human interactions can be associated with the feminist goal of ameliorating the experience of women in distress and CA can provide the grounds for building recommendations to practitioners who deal with them (see Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2007). CA can, therefore, contribute to feminist research and practice while feminist researchers doing conversation analysis can contribute to CA, building what is understood to be 'feminist CA' according to Kitzinger (unpublished):

"My understanding of 'feminist conversation analysis' is that it is research that contributes to feminist theory and/or practice by building on, and sometimes contributing to, these cumulative empirical findings of conversation analysis." (Kitzinger, unpublished)

Conversation analysis, the methodology employed in this study, can be seen to contribute to feminist research on violence against women in a number of ways. First, the topic of the research, the studied settings and the research questions were designed to be of value to women. As shown in Chapter 1, actual instances of women reporting abuse are under-researched and this research will contribute, in particular, to our understanding of women's help-seeking experiences in a Women's Police Station. Although the State has created in Brazil a space for women to report the violence they suffer, in practice, however, women do not find it easy to report such abuse. This research shows some of the problems women face when reporting their abusers, as well as some of complexities of state response to issues raised by feminist movements in terms of providing support to abused women in the form police assistance, contributing to our understanding of some shortcomings of this response in terms of what such police work entails. In addition, this study contributes to ongoing (feminist) research on violence against women and its underreporting by showing some problems Brazilian women face as they navigate their way into reporting their abusers. So, using conversation analysis, I analyse interactions between women seeking help and professionals from the services they turn to in order to understand the problems that arise in them, especially those that may lead to under-reporting of violence, to lack of help for abused women, or to complaints being dismissed. This research also aims to show how issues of concerns to abused women can be furthered and promoted in services that offer help to them in terms of recommendations for service providers.

2.2 My Data Sets

The audio-recordings of women reporting abuse collected for this research came from two different institutions: a Women's Police Station in the Northeast of Brazil and a Care Centre for Abused Women in the Southeast of Brazil. There is no overlap between the women recorded at the WPS and at the Care Centre. Although this thesis started with the ambitious project of carefully looking at those two

institutions, I had to limit the focus of this thesis to the WPS interactions due to time and space limitations of the PhD research,. This does not mean that the thesis deals exclusively with WPS data, but that the WPS interactions constitute its main focus.   Additionally, it became necessary to collect some data from ordinary conversation in BP in order to explore specific communicational practices (such as the use of 'sim' in BP – Chapter 3). I have also drawn on the care centre interactions in order to offer a comparison with some aspect of the police interactions (e.g. the openings in the care centre provide a useful comparison with the openings in the WPS – see Chapter 5). However, the WPS data is the main corpus used in this thesis, with the care centre and the ordinary conversations used as support data to the analysis of women reporting abuse developed here.

2.2.1 The WPS Data Set

The police data presented here were collected in the Women's Police Station in Maceió, Alagoas, in the northeast of Brazil. This unit is open 24 hours, 7 days a week and staffed by both male and female agents who work directly with the complainants.

I have 36 audio-recorded interactions between women and police officers in the reporting room. They last on average 32 minutes (the shortest is just over 2 minutes and the longest just over 1 hour and 9 minutes) making a total data set of just over 19 hours of interaction. These interactions involve 34 different complainants (2 are returns of previously dismissed cases) and 9 different police officers.

In the majority of the cases women are reporting violence (or threats of violence) against themselves (n=31) from a man (n=29) referred to as a husband or partner (or ex-husband/ex-partner) (n=23), i.e. 'intimates'.

The remainder involve reports of violence against women other than the complainant (in each case her daughter, n=3), violence from men other than partners (brother, n=2; mother's partner, n=1; a known man, n=2), or female assailants (in 3 cases the assailant is female and 2 cases involve both male and female assailants).

2.2.2 The Care Centre Data Set

I have 20 audio-recorded interactions between women and counsellors/ social workers in a care centre for abused women, Casa Eliane de Grammont. They last on

average 47 minutes (the shortest is just over 19 minutes and the longest just over 1 hour and 11 minutes) making a total data set of over 15 hours and a half of interaction. These interactions involve 20 different women help-seeking and 8 different counsellors and social workers (3 psychologists, 2 trainees in psychology, 1 social worker, 2 trainees in social work).

Figure 2.1: The Studied Settings

Data: audio-recordings of 36 interactions in a WPS (in Maceio, AL), 20 interactions in the care centre for abused women (in São Paulo, SP), and 6 telephone conversations between members of a Brazilian family from the Southeast of Brazil.
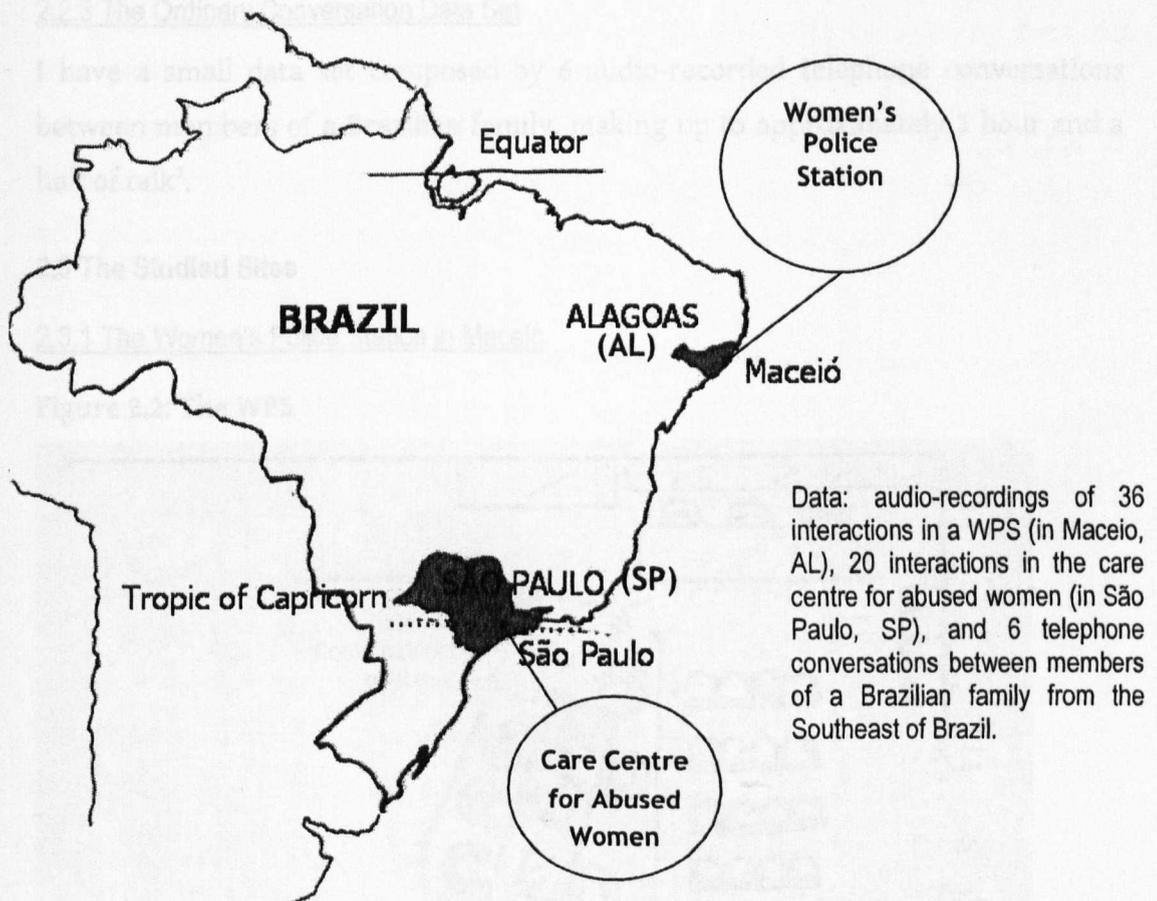
The shortest case was about a legal problem involving separation and child custody, and was not really within the scope of the assistance offered by the 'casa', even though the woman's ex-partner had allegedly started a legal process to get the custody of their child based on false accusations against the woman. In the majority of the remaining 19 cases women are reporting violence (or threats of violence) predominantly against themselves (n=17) – some cases also have mentions of violence against their children – and in the remaining two cases the women reported violence against themselves and another woman, their daughters. In those cases, the daughters are the centre of the interaction: one of the daughters was

with her mother and had been abused by her mother's partner, and the other case involved a mentally ill non-present daughter who had been gang raped and had her life threatened. The reported cases of violence were committed by males (n=19) referred to as a husband or partner (or ex-husband/ex-partner) (n=17), only one case was about violence from a man other than a partner (a son, n=1) and another case which involved a gang of approximately 5 men.

2.2.3 The Ordinary Conversation Data Set

I have a small data set composed by 6 audio-recorded telephone conversations between members of a Brazilian family, making up to approximately 1 hour and a half of talk[1].

2.3 The Studied Sites

2.3.1 The Women's Police Station in Maceió

Figure 2.2: The WPS
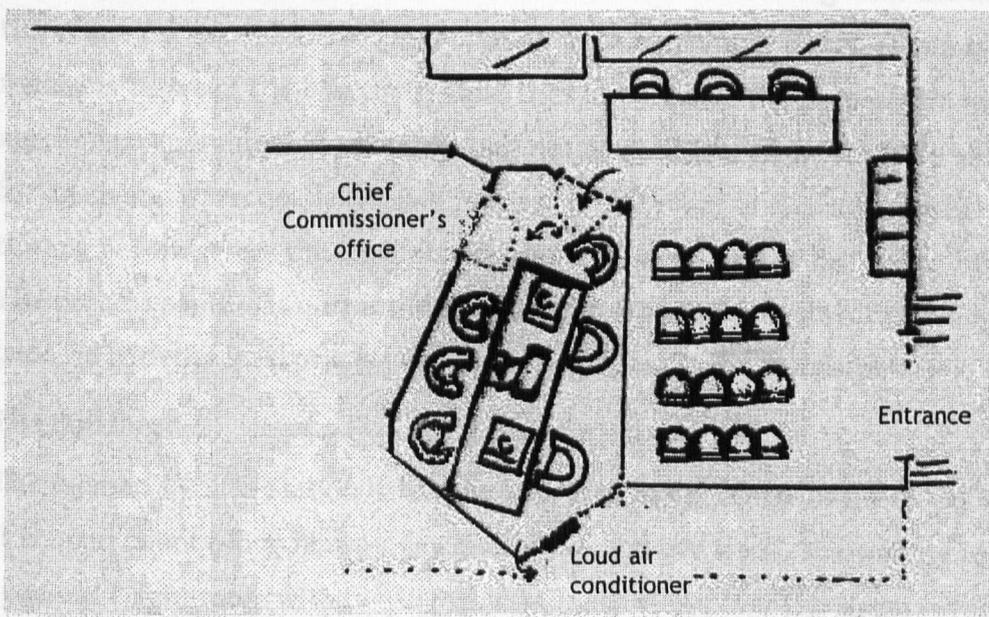
When a woman arrives at the WPS she talks briefly to a police agent responsible to assess the nature of her problem and, depending on the matter, she:

---

[1] I decided to get some ordinary conversation data during the process of learning CA, based on American English data. I started studying Sequence Organization and got interested in investigating how BP ordinary phone conversations were structured (basically because I was often asked if things were 'the same' in Portuguese and I thought they were and I said they were, but I did not have evidence of this being the casa). What started as a 'peripheral' interest proved to be of great relevance when I started to study YNIs and 'Sim', due to translation issues (see Chapter 3). This helped me to show that verb repeats were not characteristic of the institutional environments I was studying, but that they were also 'default' in ordinary conversation.

1) is taken to a room to report the alleged crime to an investigator; 2) is taken to the chief commissioner directly[2]; 3) is told to go somewhere else if the problem is not within the remit of the WPS.

The crime report is registered in a computer network so the agents have to fill out a form in the computer. In this form, the officers have to write: 1) the woman's personal details (name, identity, address, education, profession), 2) the abuser's details (same information as above[3]) and 3) some information regarding the (last) occurrence that prompted the complaint: (i) when it happened (date and time), (ii) with what kind of instrument (i.e. a belt, a knife, clenched fist, in case of aggression), (iii) where it happened, (iv) if the abuser was drunk (and/or under the influence of some other type of substance), and then (v) how it happened (the details of the story).

After the woman reports the alleged crime, the agent sets a date for the woman to go back to the police station to have a conciliation meeting with the author of the crime (in case of known authorship). In this meeting, the chief commissioner mediates between the two parties and tries to persuade the perpetrator to sign an agreement guaranteeing that they will not commit the crime they are answering for again and to reconcile the two parties. In the event of civil agreement between the parties involved, the legal action is extinguished as if it had never happened. The process continues only if the complainant expresses unequivocal willingness to proceed with the legal process and presses charges against the perpetrator.

The Building

The Women's Police Station in Maceió is located in the centre of the city of Maceió. It is open twenty-four hours a day and seven days per week. The waiting room is a spacious bright room with two big windows with views over the street (which were open during the days in which the data collection took place).

By contrast, the statement room is a small room, strangely angular and narrow and practically fully occupied by two tables with computers and some chairs. The

---

[2] There wasn't any case like that when I went to collect my data there.

[3] There is a peculiar aspect of the work of the researched police unit in Maceió: they do not make a report of the offence unless they have the complete address of the perpetrator and can find them to notify them to go to the police for the conciliatory meeting. This seems also to be the case in other WPSs in Brazil, but is a feature that can only be *shown* here regarding the work of the WPS in Maceió. This issue is discussed in Chapter 4 in more detail.

room has two doors, one connecting it to the waiting room and other connecting it to the chief commisssioner's office and one small window which was kept closed during the period I was there leaving ventilation to a loud air conditioning system which kept the room quite cold, specially in comparison with the waiting room and the outside temperature (which in December, when the data collection took place, was above 30ºC). The difference in temperatures was so remarkable it figured in the talk of officers and some complainants in my data. (WPS 10, WPS 27, not shown).

The officers

The WPS in Maceió was staffed by both female and male officers who did not seem to have gendered job descriptions. Both male and female officers interacted with complainants, took statements and did external jobs such as notifying alleged abusers to go the WPS. The officers did not wear regular police uniforms in the WPS. Some of them, however, wore a police bullet-proof vest on top of their clothes and a belt with guns, which clearly identified them as police officers. Other officers, however, were not externally identifiable as such and circulated around the WPS in casual attire such as denim trousers and shirts.

Some officers worked in 24-hour duties and then had 3 days off; other officer worked regular hours. During the data collection, over 15 officers were on duty in the WPS: apart from the chief commissioner and the deputy chief commissioner, there were 9 officers taking statements, 2 other officers called 'writers' who were responsible for guaranteeing that the technical formalities of legal aspects of the police job were fulfilled, and other support officers, who were not taking statements but were working with the screening and doing external jobs and coming to the WPS sporadically.

The complainants

The complainants formed a heterogeneous group ranging from illiterate, bare-footed, shantytown inhabitants to upper class, university degree holders sent to the police by their lawyers. The former group with its variations in education from none to low and slightly different degrees of social exclusion and poverty formed the great majority of the complainants, while the latter was a very small group. The age variation was also big: from twelve-year old girls represented by their mothers to older women with grandchildren.

Education and exclusion are relevant here in a number of ways. First, there were forms of exclusion visible to co-interactants (such as no shoes and dirty clothes) - features that are not 'visible' to the reader of a PhD thesis reliant on audio-recordings. These visible forms of exclusion were, however, part of the interaction for the participants, so I mention them here. Secondly, lack of formal education is usually made visible through verbal expression and communication but may not be easily 'translatable' across languages and contexts; so it is not always effectively 'translated' in the transcripts here and, yet, worth mentioning. On the other hand, some fields involved in the form-filling process make some of those aspects relevant: such as education, address, etc. Although these questions are often 'unproblematic' to those with clear addresses and some education, the form-filling requirements mark those issues as relevantly 'absent' for those who live in shantytowns and do not have clear addresses and/o have no education. So, illiterate complainants when asked about schooling have to say they do not have any schooling and are illiterate, and the same 'not having' relevance is repeated during requests for telephone numbers, house numbers (in case of shantytown inhabitants) and often in perhaps unexpected ways for those who (like myself and the reader) do not share the world of those interactants, such as in their inability to provide straight answers to questions like their partner's full name and/or date of birth, their relatives' full names and perhaps even their own birthdays and names.

In order to present this reality, some of those instances in which the world of the complainants clashes with the underlying world depicted in the forms and what is 'expected' to be routine for officers and for the report-making will be shown in the 'Clash of Worlds' section.

2.3.2 The Care Centre for Abused Women

The care centre for women who have experienced violence, *Casa Eliane de Grammont (House Eliane de Grammont)*, is a governmental institution linked to the Secretary of The Government of the São Paulo Municipality. The 'House', as its members call it, was named after the singer Eliane de Grammont, murdered in the early 1980s by her ex-husband a few months after their separation and whose story of violence influenced the mobilization of Brazilian women in opposition to violence against women. It was created in March 1990, as a centre for reference and attention to

women in cases of domestic and sexual violence and was the first public service of
the kind in Brazil.

As a public service, the 'house' offers free psychological and social assistance to
abused women and orientation on the social and juridical aspects of their problem,
building an assistance network with other services (such as shelters and legal
bodies) that has become a model for the creation of similar services in other
municipalities.

A recent 'promotional' leaflet of the care centre presents the institution as a
space for women to feel welcome and free to express their most painful
experiences, doubts and anxieties (Cordenadoria Especial da Mulher, no date).
Moreover, the leaflet presents the care centre's aims to be: to offer distinctive social
and psychological care with specific attention to women's entire history of violence
and with respect for their wishes and, at a later stage, to empower the women so
that they can recognize and recover their potential to regain control over their own
story (Coordenadoria Especial da Mulher). Moreover, the 'house' works as a centre
for research and education about violence against women, which enables
professionals to work with women in violence. (Coordenadoria Especial da Mulher).

2.3.4 How the 'house' works

As a rule, appointments with a psychologist or a social assistant have to be
scheduled beforehand (usually by phone) and 'drop in' unscheduled appointments
are possible only if a consultant is available on the day. The first appointment
consists of a meeting with a psychologist or a social worker, where the woman's
case is assessed. In this first meeting the woman is invited to talk about how she
found out about the service, why she decided to go to the institution and to talk
about her situation in general. Then, the responsible psychologist or social worker
offers some guidance on how to approach the woman's situation; refers her to other
appropriate institutions, such as juridical bodies, shelters etc; and offers to give
psychological and/or social assistance to the woman in further appointments.

Figure 2.3: The Care Centre
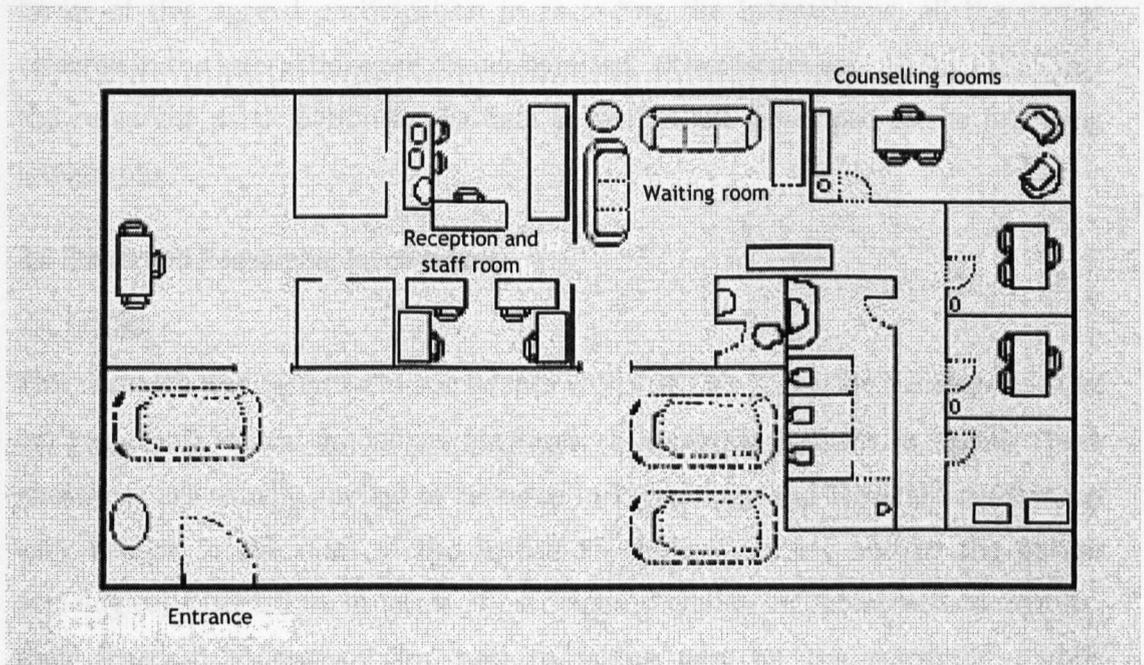
2.4 Data Collection and Presentation

The period of data collection for the different data sets varied a lot: the WPS data was collected in 4 days, of which 3 consecutive days made up for the whole recording of the cases studied (from 17/12/2003 to 19/12/2003); the care centre data was collected during a period of almost a year (from 15/09/2003 to 25/08/2004, with data collection in: Septermber 2003, January, March, April, July and August, 2004); the (ordinary) telephone conversations were recorded during the months of November and December in 2004. The whole corpus is composed exclusively of audio-recordings. I have only audio-recordings of interactions involving co-present participants, because I was limited by the authorisation I received from the institutions in which the interactions were recorded. This feature of the data makes in some respects "less than ideal", but as Kitzinger says (2007, unpublished), "As conversation analysts we work with the data we have - and some of it is less than ideal for a variety of reasons ... We continue, for good reasons, to work with such data, while acknowledging their limitations." Some of these limitations are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Transcripts of the data are presented in this thesis following the transcription convention developed by Gail Jefferson (as discussed above) and modified for non-English data (see section 'Traduttore Traitore'). In order to protect the

confidentiality of the people who took part in this study, as guaranteed by the terms of this agreed participation in recording the interactions, all the names referred in the interactions are pseudonymized. Other issues concerning ethics and the researchr participation in the data collection are developed in the following paragraphs.

2.5 Ethics and Researcher Involvement

2.5.1 Ethics

This research was designed in accordance with CONEP's (Conselho Nacional de Ética em Pesquisa[4]) ethical guidelines for research involving humans in Brazil. Those guidelines are usually applied to research in Psychology and Medical Sciences and very similar to the ones of the British Psychology Society and to the British Sociological Association, in terms of participants' well being, preserved anonymity, their freedom to consent (or not) to taking part on the research – while understanding what was involved in their participation – and having guaranteed rights to withdraw their participation during the process (see 'BSA *Statement Of Ethical Practice*' and the BPS '*Ethical Principles for conducting Research with Human Participants*').

The reports were recorded with the consent of the co-interactants and in the presence of the researcher, who informed the participants about the terms of their participation in the research, both in the WPS and in the care centre. The participants were informed about the research before they started their reports and received an explanation about the research from the researcher and some times also from the professional in charge of the reporting. Among the issues covered in their informed consent, the participants were informed that: (i) their participation was optional and that it would not interfere with the kind of service provided by the institutions they had contacted, (ii) that there were no risks involved in taking part in the research, (iii) that their anonymity would be preserved in any of use of their data and in publication of the study, (iv) that they would have the right to stop the recording at any moment, without having to explain why (v) that their

---

[4] The CONEP (National Committee for Ethics in Research) is part of the Conselho Nacional de Saúde (CNS) National Health Council.

interactions would be erased from the record if they wanted to withdraw from the study.

Only a minority of the participants were given a written informed consent due to some unexpected difficulties faced by the researcher: most of the women involved in the study were illiterate or had very basic grasp of written Portuguese. The fact that they had to sign a piece of paper was perceived as intimidating by the participants and there were cases in which their illiteracy became an extra source of embarrassment in the process of taking part in the research. Even some women with a better grasp of written Portuguese expressed some difficulties understanding the formal terms of the ethical clearance.

From the experience of recording the first interactions, I started getting oral consent from the participants, most of which were fully audio-recorded. The oral form of ethic consent also included some concerns women expressed during the data collection process, such as a concern that their stories should not be broadcast by TV or radio programmes. My difficulty in getting written consent from my participants was quite similar to the one encountered by Santos (2005), who did not get any *written* permission from women who searched for help in WPSs in Sao Paulo, as required by the institution in which she did her PhD in the US. Trying to apply laudable, standardised, research practices adopted by academics in terms of ethic clearance in formal terms that give participants a clear idea about their rights in taking part on research, Santos (2005), like me, faced the problem of illiteracy and intimidation from people who were happy to talk about their situation to researchers and make verbal agreements that were more accessible to them than the terms of a written informed consent to take part on research.

The difficulty of making academic procedures understood and presenting the research to women reporting abuse was not the only ethical concern I faced in my research. In most research using naturally occurring data the researcher is removed from the research scene[5], which sidesteps a lot of ethical concerns raised in the feminist literature: researchers who never meet their research participants tend not to worry about their relationship with them. By contrast, the gatekeepers

---

[5] Researchers frequently provide recording devices to participants leaving them to do their own recordings (e.g. Shaw and Kitzinger, 2007, Land and Kitzinger, 2007) and/or use data collected by other researchers (e.g. Kitzinger, 2005b).

in both my research environments requested my presence throughout the data collection process: in order to seek ethical clearance from each of the women recorded, to operate the recording equipment, and to witness the interactions at first hand. Although my participation was supposed to be restricted to getting the participants' consents to record their interaction, it turned out that I became increasingly involved in the interactions I was recording. In the next section I discuss some of the problems I faced as a researcher present during the recordings of (naturalistic) interactions for my research.

2.5.2 The Role of the Researcher: CA and Feminist Ethics

Apart from situating my work within the CA framework, I have also positioned my work within feminist political commitments. In my experience of collecting data with women reporting abuse, those commitments generated some ethical concerns which are discussed here.

Feminist researchers generally agree that there is not a singular feminist method (Kelly et al., 1994; Kirsh, 1999; Kitzinger, 2003, Maynard & Purvis, 1994), but many propose that - whatever the method employed - what makes research 'feminist' is, in part, an underlying research ethic (Kirsh, 1999) of 'integrity' and 'responsibility' in the research process (Maynard and Purvis, 1994). Particularly since Oakley's[6] (1981) influential work argued that the traditional, detached, protocol of conducting research/interviews was 'morally indefensible' (p.41), and that researchers should engage with their participants and be responsive to (rather than seek to avoid) respondents' reactions to the interview, as a way to promote a 'sociology for women' (p.48), research has been understood as 'relational practice' and a form of 'connecting with others' (Gergen and Davis, 1997:97). In the field of violence against women, for example, Hydén (2005:174), who interviewed women in a shelter for battered women in Sweden, reports having a 'basic commitment ... to emphasiz[ing] the importance of knowledge gathering as a personal activity, in which the researcher and the researched are recognized as in relation to one another'. It is fairly common for feminist researchers (at least *qualitative* researchers) not only to report their findings but also to reflect upon their own

---

[6] See Finch, 1984; Kirsh, 1999; Letherby, 2006 for diverging feminist views on researchers' interactions with participants.

research conduct and to consider their own role in the research process (see Maynard and Purvis, 1994).

This section contributes to the debate on the ethics of carrying out feminist research, based on the analysis of my personal involvement during the data collection phase of the research. Moreover, it contributes in three key ways to the field of feminist research ethics. First, it is based on analyses of *recorded* interaction, rather than on field notes or on recollections of incidents after the event, whereas most feminist researchers reflect on their research practice without having (or making reference to) recordings of what they actually did or didn't do in the course of their interactions with their research participants (for some exceptions see Franklin, 1997; Grønnerød, 2004). Second, it is based on a thorough analysis of these interactions using the tools of CA to understand small but significant features of my interaction with research participants (such as a few seconds of silence and/or actual talk) which could not possibly have been remembered or analysed without their actual recordings. Third, unlike most of feminist research, which is based on interviews or focus groups, my research uses naturally occurring data, i.e. the talk between the women and the professionals helping them was not set up for research purpose. As mentioned earlier, my participation during the recording of the interactions, although supposed to be restricted to getting the participants' consents to record their interaction, turned out to change during the recording process, so that my recordings of women reporting abuse have turned out to be also recordings of my research practice and an opportunity of a self-reflective study about it although I was not aware, when recording those interactions, that my practice would become a matter of interest. Hence my own study is unusual in contributing to the study of feminist research practice as an analysis of a researcher's interactions with her participants in a naturally occurring environment.

I began the data collection process with two competing models of research practice. One was my feminist commitment to research that engaged with the realities of women's lives and would be helpful in challenging violence against women. The other - taken from discursive psychology and notions of objective science - dictated that I should try not to influence the data or to engage with my research participants as human beings, since this would 'contaminate' the data.

One value of collecting and analysing naturally occurring data is that (usually) the researcher is not there directing the interaction in any way. When this is the case researchers pass the 'dead social scientist test' (Potter, 2003): that is, they have no impact on the studied interaction, which would happen even if the researcher were dead. Even though I was recording interactions that would happen even if I were not collecting them as data I worried that I would fail the dead scientist test because I had to be present during the recording. This meant that, although I had every intention to be as 'imperceptible' to my participants once they had agreed to have their interactions recorded, I could not be physically removed from the scene. In fact, my research participants saw no reason to ignore my presence. Both the abused women and the professionals involved with them engaged me in conversation, and the issue of how to engage with participants became crucial for me. I will show two extracts from my recordings: an early interaction between myself and a complainant that reflects my hope for 'uncontaminated' and objective data, and a later one that reflects my abandonment of that as a priority, and an attempt to do what I could for the complainant right there and then.

Extract 1, recorded on my first day in the WPS, shows my uneasiness with the fact that complainants sometimes interacted with me despite my desire for their interactions with the police to be as little 'contaminated' by my presence as possible. My fear of contaminating my research made me not very responsive to a woman's sharing of her pain with me. Bianca had brought her 12 year old daughter (allegedly a victim of sexual abuse) to the police station and the police officer had asked the girl to sit next to her and tell her the details of the story. While the officer was talking (in the same room) to the daughter, Bianca began to talk to me. She told me, with some anxiety, that the alleged abuser had been pursuing the girl (in her grandmother's house) with the intention of running away with her. Bianca's dramatic telling is not, however, met with more than minimal responses by me, as shown below:

#1 – WPS 11

```
08   Bia:    Ele >F:oi na casa de minha mãe<=que eu extava
              he   went  in the house of my  mother  that I  was
              He >W:ent to my mother's house<=cuz I was

09            aqui: né? Ontem. Aí ele chegou lá atrás dela
              here no? Yesterday. Then he  arrived  there behind her
              he:re right? Yesterday. Then he went there after her
```

```
10                   >né=querendo iludi ela- pra levá ela.
                     no+is wanting    to delude her  to    take  her
                     >right=wanting to delude her- to take her.

11          →        (1.0)

12   Bia:   Né? Agora (ele assi:m) chegou na casa da
            No+is? Now  (he like)        arrived in+the house of+the
            Right? Now (he like) he got to

13          minha mae=num pediu ela prá namorá, (.)
            my  mother no asked    she to    date
            my mother's house=didn't ask to date her, (.)

14          s:ó falou assim dá roupa (.) dá sa-
             only  said like  give  clothes   give
            j:ust said like he'll give clothes (.) give r-

15          som dá televisão.=Isso é o que:?=
            sound give television    This is what
            radio give television.=What does it mea:n?=

16          =Ele tá querendo seduzi ela.
            He   is   wanting    to seduce she.
            =He wants to seduce her.

17          →        (0.8)

18   Bia:   Né?
            No+is
            Right?

19          →        (3.0)

20          Ele num tá sabendo nã:o.=Que=eu vim pra cá: não.
            He   no is   knowing  no That I  came  to here    no
            He doesn't kno:w.=That=I came he:re no:.
```

I was aware of the importance of validating women's experiences of abuse in their reports, but although I did my best not to disregard the complainant and made sure I paid attention to what she said, looking at her and nodding in response to her telling, that was all I did. The fact that my responses may not have been 'good enough' is not only an afterthought about something I felt, but can be seen by the relevance of my silences for the teller, who tries repeatedly to get more than non-minimal responses from me. The arrows on lines 11, 17 and 19 show those places in which a response to Bianca's telling was made relevant but where I remained silent. Line 11 is placed after Bianca tells me with some moral indignation that her child's alleged abuser had pursued her daughter and wanted to take her with him. Line 17 is after the man's actions are presented and rounded up with the story's punch line: he wanted to seduce her daughter. My minimal nods were clearly not taken as an appropriate response as Bianca pursues a more adequate response from me ('right?' 19) - something like 'How terrible' perhaps. What can be seen, then, is my lack of engagement (beyond minimal non-verbal

responses like nodding or smiling) when I could have responded more empathetically.

It was difficult, at the time, to know how to respond in this institutional context. To Bianca, who met me in the police room as a researcher sitting through the report making and asking for permission to record the interaction, my 'incapacity' to respond was probably not evident: she met me 'with' the police when searching for help and she did not know that day was also a first for me in the WPS and that I did not know how or if I could help. I did not know much about the police work or how to help her and I did not feel I had any capacity to respond to her report. As a friend I could have empathised with her or expressed outrage, as a psychologist I could have pursued her feelings, as a police officer I could have used her story as a reportable matter – but I was not there in any of those capacities. As a researcher collecting naturalistic interactions I wanted to have no impact on the interactions and definitely not to encourage people to talk to me. I also wanted to listen to and record the interaction between Bianca's daughter and the officer and I was aware that Bianca's talk directed to me would be picked up by my microphone and obscure the girl's disclosure of the abuse.

As a researcher concerned about violence against women and women reporting violence, I felt a debt to the women who let me record their interactions with the police. Listening to their stories of abuse often left me feeling powerless and disturbed while I hoped my research could give something back to women and the researched institutions in the future. Over the course of data collection, I progressively learned more about the police work and the police interactions with abused women, and I also became more comfortable in that environment. In this context, the debt I felt towards the complainants who had trusted me and took part in my research became more important than passing the dead scientist test when I was clearly not dead, but there and listening. Having accompanied many reportings for a few days, I had a lot more to work on, not only in terms of the number of cases I had already recorded, but also because I learned what to expect from the police and the interactions. I knew, then, who did what in the police station. I knew they performed tasks I was previously unaware of and I had established some rapport with some officers who were getting used to my presence and with whom I was feeling more comfortable. The second extract I will show was

the 33rd case in my corpus, recorded on my last day at the WPS and after accompanying lots of cases. So, contrary to my first example in which I do not really respond to a complainant's effort to involve me, in this second example I actively interfere and step in to help a woman, Rosa, when I didn't think her complaints were being depicted in the report in accordance with her best interests.

Rosa reported multiple forms of violence which culminated in a serious incident of battery in which her partner had attempted to strangle her with a belt. She had managed to escape and run away from their house when the belt broke and slipped from her abuser's hand while he tightened it around her neck, but after a period away – in which she took care of her mother who was in hospital – she found most of her belongings thrown out of her house and the lock to her house changed, so that she had no longer access to it. After about 35 minutes of interaction, the police officer (Po6) read to Rosa the statement, which dealt only with the physical abuse Rosa had suffered and did not mention the fact that she had no access to her house, and asked her if that was 'all'. Although Rosa's first response agrees with it being 'just that', she later raises 'other things' i.e. things not included in the report such as not being able to get into the house she had with her partner and her rights to the property. Those complaints which had already been 'dismissed' by Po6 as not 'policeable'[7] matters are blocked again as she says they should be discussed later with the chief commissioner in a meeting they would schedule for almost a month later. What follows is depicted in Extract 2: line 01 shows Po6 reading to herself part of the statement as she continues finishing the report. Again, Rosa tries to re-open the sequence checking if she really couldn't talk to the 'doctor', i.e. 'the chief commissioner' on that very day (03). Rosa's request (her fourth attempt to talk to the 'doctor') gets at most a head shake (04) so she quits pursuing the matter and asks when her abuser will be summoned by the police. After responding (07) and closing the sequence, Po6 resumes working on the report for approximately 18 seconds. It is then that I, the researcher ('Est'), interfere not directly upon the officer's work, but by informing Rosa about what to do (09-10).

---

[7] 'Policeable' means a concern worthy of police attention (see Chapters 4 and 5 for further discussions).

My advice to Rosa quickly prompts her to address the officer, bringing her inability to enter her house into the matter. This is taken up by Po6 and, after a small debate regarding what Rosa needs to get in her house, Po6 says (33-34) that they can talk to the chief commissioner about Rosa's problem. Rosa continues talking about her situation and Po6 says again they will bring Rosa's concerns to the chief commissioner and asks to finish the report (38). While Po6 finishes the report I intervene again giving some advice to Rosa regarding what she could get from the police in order to take the next step and get legal help. In my talk (starting on 41) I engage in multiple self-repair instances as I try to explain to her what the legal procedure would entail. I later remark on the relevance of her mentioning that she had not abandoned her house in terms of protecting her rights to her property (56-58), which again prompts Rosa to address Po6 to make sure that it is made clear in the report that she had not abandoned her house. Po6 asks, then, if Rosa wants it to be stated which she confirms. At this point (65-66) I address Po6 for the first time regarding the importance of registering the fact that Rosa could not get into her house. Po6 agrees to state it (68) and I present the reason for it as being to avoid the constitution of home abandonment (69). Later, Rosa talks about her situation while Po6 keeps working on the report and, on line 78, addresses me by making reference to my research and a 'lot of things' I could get for it in the WPS, with which I agree.

#2 - WPS 33

```
01   Po6:    °o citado cidadão° ((to herself, reading the report))
             The cited citzen
             °The mentioned citzen°

02           (1.2)

03   Wom:    >>Por hoje eu num posso falá com a doto:ra né:.<<
             By today I no can   talk with the doctor(F) no is
             >>Today I can't talk to the do:ctor ri:ght.<<

04           (2.2)

05   Wom:    >>Esse-=essa intimação vai pra ele qua:ndo.<<
             This(M) this(F) notification will go to him when
             >>This-=this notification goes to him whe:n.<<

06           (1.8)

07   Po6:    Eu acho que pra sema:na.
             I think that to the week
             I think in a wee:k.

08           (18 sec)

09   Est:    °°°A senhora (pode/deve explicá-) seria ú:tchil assim
```

```
                          The ma'am will/should explai would be useful like
                          °°°You ma'am (can/should explain-) it would be u:seful like
10                que ele (num deu/ mu: dou) (a            )casa=°°°
                  that he (no gave/ changed) the    house
                  that he (hasn't given/ cha:n ged) (the    )house=°°°

11   Wom:         =Olhe! Mas ele não deixa eu entrá dentro de ca:sa.
                   Look! But he no let me enter inside of house
                  =Look! But he doesn't let me go into the ho:use.

12                (1.0)

13   Po6:         Si::::m. Você qué- você qué i:=em ca:sa- a
                  Yes. You want- you want go in house the
                  Ri::::ght. You wa- You want to go:=into the ho:use- the

14                casa é su:a,=
                  house is yours
                  the house is yo:urs,=

15   Wom:         = E  [de:le.=E]
                  And  his. A(nd)/H(is)
                  =And [hi:s.=An]

16   Po6:              [E de:le.=A]í tuas coisas tão tuda-
                       And his Then your things are all
                       [And hi:s.=t]hen your things are all-

17   Wom:         Umas coisas minha ele jogô: mas (viu)
                  Some things mine he threw but (saw)
                  Some of my things he threw awa:y but (see)

        --- 15 lines ommited: the officer and the complainant talk
     about what is still in the house and what the woman wants
        to get there in order to establish the next action ---

33   Po6:         [Pro:n]to. Aí a gente falá com a delega:da.=
                   Ready. Then we talk with the chief commissioner
                  [Ri:g]th. Then we talk to the chief commi:ssioner.=

34                =Tá ce:rrt[u.]
                   Is right.
                  =Alri:gh[t.]

35   Wom:                  [Po]rrque=eu fa:ço¿=Né:.=Bijuteria
                           Because I do/make¿ No+is. Costume Jewellery
                           [Be]cause=I ma:ke¿=Ri:ght.=Costume jewellery

36                pra vendê.=Que eu tenho tudo dentro de ca:sa
                  to sell.=That I have all inside of house
                  to sell.=Which I have all seized up inside the

37                pr[e:so.]
                  emprisioned.
                  ho[:use.]

38   Po6:              [A gente] fa:la viu. T- terminá aqui: tá:.
                       We    talk saw. O-finish here is.
                       [We'll] sa:y it see. O- I'll finish he:re oke:y.

39   Wom:         Tá:.
                  Is.
                  Oke:y.

40                (0.5)

41   Est:         °°(Name) Depois cê pedje uma indicação pra eles
```

		(Name) After/later you ask a indication for them °°(Name) Later you ask for a referral for them
42		encaminharem você pra defensori:a¿°° *direct/guide you to (defence place)* to direct you to the legal a:id¿°°
43	Wom:	°°Uhum. (S:i::m).°°
44	Est:	°°Que é pra justi::ça¿ °° °°*That is for ju::stice¿*°° °°That is to ju::stice¿°°
45		(0.2)
46	Est:	°°Pra você podê pedi a separação de be[:n]s= *For you to be able to ask the separation of property* °°To enable you to ask for the separation of pro[:p]erty=
47	Wom:	[mm]
48	Est:	=e a separação (judicial).°° *and the separation judicial* =and the (judicial) separation.°°
49		(.)
50	Est:	°°Esse j:- esse:- fazê- (pra você/sabe assim) *This j:- thi:s- to do- (for you to/you know like)* °°This j:- thi:s- to do- (for you to/you know like)
51		(uma) separação no pape:l, ( ) é um *a separation on paper ( ) is a* (a) separation on pa:per, ( ) is a
52		negocinho do Esta:do:, (.) cês vão-(tiveram) os *little thing/business of the State, you(pl) will(had) the* Sta:te ma:tter, (.) you will-(had) the
53		bens (então) vai ter que pedi a separaça:o, *property (so) will(you sing) have to ask the separation* property (so) you'll have to ask for the separa:tion,
54		(.) e a divisão dos be:ns, (.) pra:=num- *and the division of the property for no* (.) and the division of pro:perty, (.) fo:r=not-
55		pra você:: podê regularizá a situaça:o.=Pra ele *for you to be able to regularize the situation. For him* for yo::u be able to regularize the situa:tion.=For him
56		não ficá com a ca:sa. É bom que cê colocô: (.) *no stay with the house. Is good that you put* not to keep the ho:use. It's good that you sta:ted (.)
57		(essa aqui de) que você não *(this here of) that you no* (this here of) that you didn't
58		(abandonou- fala) que cê não abandonou a ca:sa.°° *abandoned say that you no abandoned the house* (abandon- say) that you didn't abandon the ho:use.°°
59	Wom:	Sinhora, eu- só deixa claro aí que eu não *Ma'am, I- only let clear there that I no* Ma'am, I- just make it clear there that I didn't
60		abandonei a casa vi:u. *abandoned the house saw .*

```
                  abandon the house se:e.

61  Po6:   Cê qué que eu colo:que.
           You want that I put(subj)
           Do you want it sta:ted.

62  Wom:   Que eu não abandonei a ca:sa.=Porrque eu não
           That I no abandoned the house. Because I no
           That I didn't abandon the ho:use.=Because I didn't

63         abandone:i. Foi ele que jogô as minhas #(coisa)
           abandoned. Was he who threw the my   thing
           aba:ndon it. It was him who threw my #(things)

64         pra fo:ra.#
           to out
           awa:y.#

65  Est:   É bom colocá que ela num pode entrá em- na
           Is good put  that she no can enter in in the
           It's good to state that she cannot go into- into the

66         casa.
           house.
           house.

67  Wom:   É:. Ele não deixa entrá, trocô o cadea:do,
           Is. He no let enter    changed the lock
           Ye:h. He doesn't let me in, changed the lo:ck,

68  Po6:   Tá cerrto. Eu vou colocá.
           Is right. I will put.
           That's right. I'll state it.

69  Est:   Porque senão configura abando:no.=Num é i:sso.
           Because otherwise constitutes abandonment.
           Because otherwise it consitutes aba:ndonment.=Doesn't i:t.

70         (.)

71  Wom:   É:. Porque ele jogô minhas coisa fo:ra. E
           Is. Because he threw my things out. And
           Ye:h. Because he threw my things wa:y. And

72         porque trocô o cadea:do¿=Porque eu tou
           because changed the lock¿ Because I am
           because he changed the lo:ck¿=Because I am

73         aqui com a chave: da po:rta e o cadea:do mas
           here with the key of the door and the lock but
           here with the ke:y to the do:or and padlo:ck but

74         só que ele trocô.
           just that he changed.
           he changed it.

75         (±10)

76  Wom:   Ele é muito estúpido. Desafora:do.
           He is very rude. Insolent.
           He is very rude. I:nsolent.

77         (.)

78  Po6:   Tem muita coisa pra você né doto:ra.
           Has much thing for you no+is doctor
           There are lots of things for you right do:ctor.

79  Est:   Tem.
```

Has.
Yes.

80   (.)

My agreement about there being lots of things for me to research in the police unit covered the cases and the police attention but did not include, back then, my own participation in the interactions. I look at this interaction now as an important and interesting one for my analysis, but I thought of it back then as a 'lost case'. In my concern for uncontaminated data I assumed I would 'ruin' (for research purposes) any case I decided to actively take part in it. In this instance, however, I had simply felt that I could not remain silent in the name of generating 'uncontaminated' data and in the hope of producing some future knowledge that could help women in similar situations. I could only hope that whatever action derived from my research results could help other women in the future but I knew that my research itself would not be able to retrospectively help that specific complainant, at that very moment. Also, during most of the time I recorded their statements I felt so powerless and so sad about their problems that the thought of doing something that could help and/or be empowering was too attractive to be disregarded. Apart from all the hopelessness I had felt, that was a moment in which I could at least do something that would definitely help someone and have an impact on her life. So, I was happy to lose a research case to try to rescue a woman's case. As other feminist researchers have reported (Oakley, 1981; Kirsch, 1999) I felt I had a moral obligation to interact with officers and complainants if I thought I could help and being quiet in the name of 'uncontaminated' research would have felt like 'holidaying' on someone's misery (to use McRobbie's comparison presented by Ganguly, 1992). In speaking, I betrayed the principle which guided my behaviour towards a minimum exposure to preserve action as it 'would have been' without my presence. It was another kind of principle that made me step in: *my commitment to my research being not only about women reporting abuse, but also for women reporting abuse.*

The fact that the research process itself was being recorded together with the police interactions was crucial for this self-reflection. Without the data I would probably remember that I interfered with case WPS 33, but it would be hard for me to question what I did (and didn't do) in interactions such as WPS 11. Though my behaviour in WPS 11 as a researcher and someone new to the police station is

absolutely understandable, it is hard to listen – and to present – this data without feeling that what I did back then was not good enough. Although my intervention on WPS 33 cannot show what women generally experience when reporting abuse to the police (because generally I am not there to interfere) its recording is well suited for a reflection on the ethics of data collection, changes in research practices, the research role in interactions and the issue of involvement with the researched.

In sum, I propose that there is a lot to be gained by close analysis of one's own recorded interactions with participants which goes beyond impressions, memories and field notes. Detailed analysis of the data collection process can provide insights into research practice by revealing some of its blind spots and helping to raise questions (and perhaps solutions) for some issues about *doing* research which are not covered by abstract debates about research ethics and researcher involvement. Conversation analysis of my recorded interactions made that possible.

2.6 Traduttore, traitore: translating words and betraying worlds?

2.6.1 A personal anecdote

I first appreciated how delicate was the translation work required for my Brazilian Portuguese data in my attempting to translate the word 'delegada' into English. A 'delegacia de polícia', police station, has this name due to the fact that a police station must, obligatorily, be directed by a career police officer, whose position is called 'Delegado(a) de Polícia', whose exercise demands that such police officer has a degree in law (Lei nº 3.586, of 21/06/2001 *"Atribuições básicas dos agentes de polícia no Estado do Rio de Janeiro"*, in (Wikipedia)). In Brazilian Portuguese – and in Brazil in general – the word 'delegado(a)' is used to designate the highest authority in a police unit. The 'delegado(a)' is a common character in popular songs and stories in Brazil and is easily understood as representing this authority figure by people from every age and social class. The 'chief commissioner', however, as the closest English 'equivalent' to 'delegada', does not seem to be generally known. As a PhD student, I faced this problem in my first year when translating a fragment of an interaction in which a complainant mentioned the fact that the 'delegada' had told her she (the delegada) couldn't do anything about the complainant's problem. I spent days asking every English speaking PhD student I knew (and many other people) what I first thought to be a simple question: 'who is the highest authority in a police unit?'

and no one seemed to know the answer to my question. In the end I asked a lawyer and got the magic answer: 'I think that the Chief Commissioner is the highest police officer?', which I then checked with another lawyer who confirmed it. OK, I had the right word. But even though I could then assume it translated the 'job title', it did not translate the social situation. In translating the Portuguese such that the women in my study appeared to be talking about the 'chief commissioner', I presented them as if they were knowledgeable about the juridical/police jargon and, probably therefore by extrapolation, about their rights, whereas in fact they were using an easily accessible word/job description, equivalent to 'dentist' in Brazilian Portuguese. This was just one case in which translating a word did not translate the correct situation and the understanding of the 'world' in which it was used.

The issue of translation should be considered in this work in which data in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) is the basis for a doctoral thesis written in English not only due to the transparent 'foreignness' of the two languages, but also due to some methodological issues that concern CA in a more general way.

2.6.2 The Task of Translating Words and Worlds

It is probably easy to accept that part of a language's 'spices' are lost in translation: rhythm, alliterations, puns (intentional and otherwise), and other more 'poetic' features of language. This is a concern not only for translations of works of art, but also for CA, which is equally concerned with capturing the nuances of the interaction, as a tradition of analysis which takes pride in attending to the details of talk-in-action.

There is more to be lost, however, as can be seen from the anecdote above. I am not trying to argue for a need of good translation nor opposing it to a bad translation that would compromise the understanding of a conversation. Even a 'good' translation, I want to point out, faces obstacles when translating not just words, but different realities. Realities constructed not only from, say, the material conditions of one's lives, but also from structural constraints to communication built in a language's grammatical system and turn projectability, which are crucial for the understanding of features of interaction in the micro level of analysis of CA.

The following paragraphs will tackle the issue of translation both in terms of problems faced (and to be avoided) in translating languages and in terms of solutions to those potential problems. The ways in which conversation analysts have approached the issue of working with languages other than English will deserve special attention in this discussion.

2.6.3 A Task for Translators

In his famous work on the task of the translator, Walter Benjamin says "all translation is only a somewhat provisional way of coming to terms with the foreignness of languages" (Benjamin, 1977/1955, p.75). Despite this indelible *'foreignness'* Benjamin also talks about a 'greater language', of which original and translation are fragments:

> "a translation, instead of resembling the meaning of the original, must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's mode of signification, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel" (Benjamin, 1977/1955, 78)

From a very different perspective, researchers working with CA have been faced with some dilemmas associated with translations and cross-cultural aspects of communication. The development of CA in a variety of languages and the implications for the understanding of what Benjamin has called 'greater language' will be analysed below.

CA was developed as an approach to data analysis and a field of study per se in the United States of America and has been mostly developed in English, most notably Anglo-American English. It has been shown however that most of the core principles of CA, such as the organisation of turn-taking (Sacks, Scheglof & Jefferson, 1974), are not specific to one language or culture (see Lerner & Tagaki, 1999). Other structural aspects of conversation discovered in English have also been shown to be applicable in several studied languages: for example, structural properties of repair have been replicated in German by Egbert (1996, 2002, 2004) and Selting (cited by Egbert, 2004); the socio-grammatical use of compound TCUs has been shown to exist both in English and in Japanese (Lerner & Tagaki, 1999). Principles of person reference have been analysed in languages such as Yéli Dnye

(Levinson, 2007), Lao (Enfield, 2007), the Mayan languages: Yucatec, Tzeltal and Tzotzil (Hanks, 2007; Brown, 2007; Haviland, 2007, respectively), Korean (Oh, 2007) and Kilivila (Senft, 2007).

For conversation analysts grammatical practices are recognizable forms of cultural organisation and turn constructional features of languages are relevant for the actions accomplished in interaction (Lerner & Tagaki, 1999). Therefore, understanding what could be called 'universal' and/or human features of communication in contrast to 'local' cultural-linguistic aspects, becomes one appealing possibility of using CA.

Apart from what can be gained from the commonalities among different languages and interactional practices, we can also learn from features of talk that are not shared among all languages, but are particular to certain languages. For example, we know that differences in grammar make turn projectability quite different in Japanese than in English (Tanaka, 2000). Even though there are great differences in turn organisation between those languages according to Tanaka (2000), it is clear that to talk about differences in turn organisation point to the fact that there is, in fact, a turn organisation in both languages. The core principles of CA remain valid then, as the turn organisational principles (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) are not challenged, but are just accomplished in a way adapted to grammatical and linguistic variations between languages. Cross-linguistic regularities as well as variations help us in the unveiling of what could be general communicative practices of this 'greater language' of human communication.

The common practice in CA in dealing with non-English talk for English-language readers is to use the transcription convention developed by Gail Jefferson modified for non-English data (see Bolden 2004, Egbert, 2004; Hacohen & Schegloff, 2005; Heinemann, 2005; Lerner & Tagaki, 1999; Oh, 2007; Tanaka, 2000). That is, in the transcripts, there are usually two additional lines below each 'original' line in the original language: the second line in the transcript shows a 'literal', word-by-word rendering of the original, and the third line presents an idiomatic English translation.

What is actually gained from this form of data presentation? This question will be answered by the presentation of some shortcomings of translations that do not attend to the sense produced or that 'covers' the original language, making original

words disappear. I propose, then, that the two translation lines for conversation make it possible to solve the translator's dilemma, because it allows one to attend to the fidelity of both meaning and syntax.

In the presentation of the tasks of the translator, Benjamin warns against the problem of preserving the form at the cost of compromising the sense: "great fidelity in reproducing the form impedes the rendering of the sense" (Benjamin, 1977/1955, 78). He argues, therefore, for a translation to "incorporate the original's mode of signification" (Benjamin, 1977/1955, 78), in order to make the original and the translation recognizable as part of this previously mentioned 'greater language' of human communication and meaning. The task of the translator as Benjamin presents it to be is, then, to capture the intended effect of the original upon the language they translate it into, or in his words:

> "The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect [Intention] upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original." (Benjamin, 1977/1955, 76)

This problem is solved with the 3rd line presented in CA transcripts. The third line presents an idiomatic rendering of the original, attending to the sense created and the kind of action being done, rather than to the actual words deployed in the making of this specific sense. This third line involves, therefore, some analytical work by the translator, in order to produce compatible 'modes of signification' between the original language and the translation. The effort to capture the 'intended effect' means the translator needs to understand what is being done by the words in terms of actions and that means being able to analyse the talk or text.

Therefore, 'fidelity' to the original is not defined in terms of fidelity to individual words, as they can almost never capture the meaning of the original (Benjamin, 1977/1955). However, the other problem presented by Benjamin was exactly the loss of the original ways of producing the sense, and the risk of making the original opaque, lost in the translation:

> "A real translation is transparent; it does not cover the original, does not black its light, but allows the pure language, as though reinforced by its own medium to shine upon the original all the more fully. This may be achieved, above all, by a literal rendering of the syntax which proves

words rather than sentences to be the primary element of the translator." (Benjamin, 1977/1955, 79)

This is what the second line does: it makes the original ways in which turns are designed transparent. The second line allows the reader to 'read' a language's mechanisms through which the sense produced in the third line is accomplished. This second line can also make evident to the reader what kind of structural features of this language may allow participants to *do* things interactionally. That is, with the literal rendering of something not quite 'translatable' into every language in terms of structural possibilities (something that would be lost in a perfectly understandable idiomatic translation), the two-line system of presenting translated data in CA allows the reader to understand what is being done (in line 3) and exactly how it is being done (line 2).

This means that a person who doesn't know Hebrew, for example, may be able to understand how double person references (that is, references done in the tensing of the verb and also with a proterm) are used in disagreement sequences (Hacohen & Schegloff, 2005). An idiomatic translation would (and should) both lose those features that are not possible in English and make them invisible in the service of producing something that would be understood as a disagreement, rather than as a speaker's speech's deficiency. The idiomatic line should be closely connected to how the original action (produced in the original language) would be done in the language of the translation, otherwise it would give the impression of some kind of 'special', 'accountable' action. It is the absence of a second line that could be problematic here, as it would cover the ways in which the original sense is accomplished. In conjunction with the second line the third line makes the original readable in a way that satisfies the need for 'transparency' and 'fidelity to sense' in a translation.

It is because of those issues and in the service of making the original transparent and meaningful that the three-line transcript is used in this thesis. The data were transcribed based on the transcription conventions of CA (see the transcription conventions in the appendix) modified for non-English data, as presented above. The first line presents the original constructions in BP. The second line presents a 'literal' translation, a word-by-word rendering of the original Portuguese version. It also includes some annotations of features that are not

visible in an English translation but may be relevant to the understanding of the interaction, such as the gender and number of articles, nouns and adjectives, as well as some features of verb tenses. The third line presents a more idiomatic translation into English and incorporates some features of talk such as sound elongations and stress based on the BP original.

One example of features from BP that could be lost in the 'idiomatic' English translation is the gender of pronouns, articles and adjectives. In the example below we have the speaker, Po3, engaging in self repair, repairing the use of a masculine demonstrative pronoun into a feminine one. The idiomatic translation into English cannot show that the gender of the noun projected after the demonstrative pronoun (see below) changes from a masculine one to feminine one in the production of this self-repair. Because articles and demonstrative pronouns do not have inbuilt gender in English they cannot be present in the idiomatic translation line, but this feature of the original language is made visible with the second line.

#3 – WPS 33

```
Po3:   É num desses- dessas- (.) dessa:s
       Is in+one(M) of those(M)  of those(F)   of those(F)
       It's in one of those- of those- (.) of tho:se
```

The presentation of the interactions in that form should allow the reader to follow the meaning of interaction from the idiomatic translation, at the same time that it enables the reader to follow the original details of the interaction and the ways in which the details of the interaction contribute to that from the combination of the three lines translation.

While the grammatical and lexical features of the original are made apparent in this system of presentation of the data and the two lines of translation, there are still some features of talk that tend to become invisible in the translations, such as accents and possible cultural inferences about class and education, for example, available for native speakers of the language. Some of those peculiarities were 'lost in translation' as well. Regional accents, common grammar or pronunciation mistakes, and other small things that usually give away some information about education and/or class position were most of the time impossible to translate into readable English. The choice made here was to provide a readable third line and resort to footnotes when features of talk not captured in the translation may prove to be relevant to the analysis. Some difficulties involved here, had to do with the

translation of what could be considered bad, ungrammatical Portuguese into understandable but not fully improved English versions of it.

Additionally, I would draw attention to what could at first be considered an inconsistency in translation. Some of the repeated words from my data in Portuguese were translated into English in apparently inconsistent ways, as the words used in different instances were not the same. This apparent inconsistency was actually the product of a conscious effort to make create sentences that were closest in meaning and in the way they were produced to English. That effort meant that any and every word was analysed and translated according to the context of its production, which incurred in some instances of the data where one Portuguese word is translated differently into English throughout this work.

One example can be seen in WPS 26 when the noun 'marca'/'mark' is once translated as 'mark', in terms of physical mark of aggression, but later, a word with the same root, the participle of the verb 'marcar' is used in the sense of 'scheduling a date' when referring to dates, is translated as 'specific date' and 'marca' disappears:

#4 – WPS 36 (15:09-10)

```
09  Po4:            [Quer dizer ele não FAZ assim]=
                     Wants to say  he    no  does  like
                    [That's to say he doesn't DO it like]=
10                [=pra deixá]  marrca¿=[Nã]o né?
                   to    leave  mark      No  no is?
                  [=to   leave] mark¿=[No] right?
```

#5 – WPS 36 (16:15-16)

```
15 Wom:    [°£T(h)em que(h) t](h)e uma da:ta
             Has      to        to have one   date
           [°£T(h)ere's go(h)]t t(h)o be a
16           marc(h)ada.£°
            marked/scheduled
             speci:(h)fic date.£°
```

Another example of apparent inconsistency could be taken from words that could be translated into English with a word that would seem very close to the original language, but are not the words used in the idiomatic translation. One of those words is the word most used by the women in my data to tackle the violence experienced by them: the noun 'aggression' (agressão) and the verb from the same root 'agredir', 'to agress', which in English is only used in sports contexts and even

so not in a very broad way. The 'best' translation into English would be 'assault', but that translation is not unproblematic. Not only does it fail to capture the nice coherence of the usage of nouns and verbs in Portuguese, but it also does not encompass an important use that is possible in Portuguese, the 'verbal aggression'. It is possible to use the verb 'agredir' in Portuguese to refer to both verbal and physical violence/aggression/abuse. Although 'agressão' is often used (and understood to) mean physical abuse, which makes 'assault' a suitable translation, 'agressão' can also be used in the context of verbal abuse, whereas 'assault' does not capture this verbal aspect. Abuse, therefore, has been chosen as a better word to capture the instances of physical and verbal aggression, even though it seems to, in principle, produce a weaker sense of physical danger than aggression and/or assault. There are cases, however, in which words from the 'family' of 'aggression', such as the adjective 'agressivo' were maintained as 'aggressive'.

Moreover, the effort to translate not only words but to produce turn constructional units (TCUs) that gave the most similar 'feel' for the talk meant that awkward constructions in Portuguese were translated into somewhat awkward English TCUs, while trying to make them still intelligible, whereas straight-forward, everyday produced sentences in Portuguese had the same English feel, even if the literal translation presented on the transcript seems to be very different to the idiomatic translation.

The fragment below, for example, shows the social worker presenting the procedural features of the interaction she is starting with a new complainant. Even though this is presented in a way in which there could be an apparently closer English version to the original 'é o seguinte' as 'is the following', such presentation would be more formal in English than it is in Portuguese. The third line, then, presents a translation in which the procedural aspect is kept as well as the degree of formality of the talk, even though at first the third line seems to be quite different than the literal rendering of the second line:

#6 – Casa 10

```
07  Mel:     Bo:m,  (.)  Ivanildes é o segui:nte,=
             Good        Ivanildes    is  the following
             Ri:ght,  (.)  Ivanildes here's what we'll do:,=
```

There is one particular word not discussed in this section that caused major translation concerns because of the action associated with its use. This is the word

'sim', which has a dictionary translation as 'yes' (Dicionario Prático Ingles Portugues, Portugues Ingles HarperCollins, 2001; The New Barsa Dictionary of the English and Portuguese Languages, 1968). The quest for the 'equivalent' word here had little to do with the dictionary translation of the word, but was concerned with the way in which a 'default', preferred answer to a Yes/No question is answered in BP. Contrary to English (Raymond, 2000, 2003), 'Yes/No' questions answered with 'sim' are rare in Brazilian Portuguese and it is the use of verb repeats which does what 'yes' does in English. In that case, which will be carefully examined in Chapter 3, what is proposed here to be the correct translation of a verb repeat in the SPP of a 'Yes/No' question is 'Yes' and not a repeat of the verb, which (in English) would be doing something special. 'Sim', however, is sometimes produced in the context of YNIs (as well as in first and third positions – the latter analysed in Chapter 6), which generated another translation problem: how to capture the actions accomplished by the use of 'sim' in BP and how to translate it into English (see Chapter 3).

As mentioned above, translating realities can be hard sometimes, even with the use of three lines in transcripts, two of them being destined to doing the job of translating form and meaning of the original. Some translations of 'realities' are relevant for the reader and are the topic of the following sections.

2.7 Translating Worlds: From 'Brasil' to Brazil

2.7.1 The Brazilian Northeast

Brazil has long been described as a "land of contrasts" (Bastide, 1959/1955). Such synthesis of Brazil is still relevant and widely used (see Peixoto, 2000) to refer to its multitude of races, cultures, religions so deeply marked by social and geographical divisions and polarizations. Brazilian social inequality inspired the economist Edmar Bacha to create, in the 1970s, the term 'Belíndia' to refer to the fact that a minority of the population lived like the rich in Belgium while the majority of the country lived like the poor in India. The validity of such description is still attested nowadays in Brazil's wealth distribution, considered to be (according to some indexes) the second worst in the world (Ribeiro, 2005). In 1999, the richest 10% of the population accumulated 47,4% of the Brazilian net worth while the richest 1% had around 13% of the net worth and the 50% poorest which had 14% of Brazilian networth (Araújo, 2002). This is still true nowadays when the 1% of the richest – 1.7

million people – have a net worth practically equivalent to the 50% poorest – 86.5 million people – in the country (Ribeiro, 2005).

The Northeast is the region with the worst wealth distribution in Brazil (Araújo, 2002), and also the region most castigated by poverty. Its hinterlands have been gloomily described as "600,000 square miles of suffering" (Castro, 1969, cited in Scheper-Hughes, 1993/1992: p.31), and a "concentration camp for more than thirty million people" (Galeano, 1975; 75, cited in Scheper-Hughes, 1993/1992: p.32).

Figure 2.4: The Brazilian Northeast
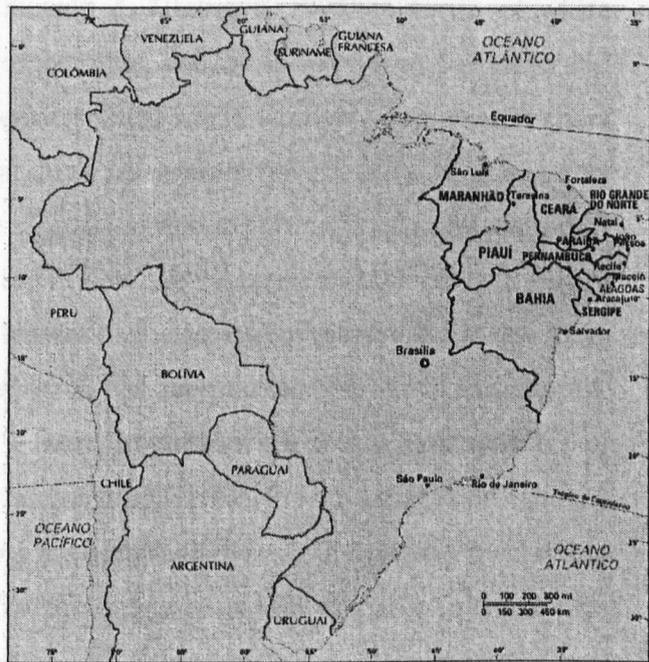
The region is also marked by: high child mortality – "the Nordeste contributes a quarter to all Latin American child mortality" (Aguiar 1987, cited by Scheper-Hughes, 1993/1992; p.31); and high illiteracy rates: "At present 47.2 percent of the population of 40 million people spread among the nine states that constitute the region remain illiterate" (W.H.O. 1991; PAHO 1990, cited by Schepher-Hughes, 1993/1992; p.31) and one of the highest rates of wealth concentration in Brazil.

The existence of a better-established infrastructure and a broader urban middle class in the South has led some authors to say that the "Northeast seems almost a separate country from the South", which forms a sense of abandonment to the people in the Northeast (Rebhun, 2001, p.38). Such sense of abandonment "is ratified by official statistics that show that, with a population of 25% of the country, the region concentrates half of the national population below the poverty line" (Taddei, 2006 - unpublished). The State of Alagoas – site of this research on women reporting violence to the police – is the Brazilian state with highest rates of poverty, as 62.3% of its population are classified as poor (Ribeiro, 2005).

2.7.2 This is 'Brazil': Some Concerns Regarding Representation

The issue of representing Others and the feminist ethical concern regarding how do 'we' (the researchers) represent 'them' (the researched) in writing up our findings has been widely discussed (e.g. Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1995) in terms of white women representing black women, for example, and/or western (i.e., European and North American) researchers representing 'third world women'. Some researchers (e.g. Patai, 1991) have concluded that such research is never really 'ethical'. This section does not aim to further the discussion about 'ethical' representation, but rather to discuss some issues connected to how the research and the researched are presented when there is a 'foreign' element to the research/researched in question. Part of the 'foreign' element of my research has been tackled earlier in this chapter regarding some translations issues I faced in presenting words and realities of Brazilian Portuguese data in English language as well as the advantages CA (and CA transcripts) offer in terms of *presenting* the data it analyses and carefully translating data fragments so that research in foreign language is still readable to those who may not speak the language. In dealing with those issues I positioned myself as a native speaker of BP and as 'local' to the context in which the interactions were produced. My position in relation to the researched is, however, more complex and this will be briefly discussed here, in order to introduce a section in which I use CA to show how not only my world as the researcher and the world of women reporting abuse in the WPS clash, but how their worlds also clash with officers' expectations as well as the 'world' of the forms they have to fill out in order to make a police report.

In my case, there seem to be ways in which I can be positioned as 'same' in relation to my researched volunteers, and ways in which a sense of 'otherness' cannot be avoided. In the same manner that researchers in Britain, for example, do not feel the need to expand on how exotic it is to do research in the UK (at least not on grounds of nationality), the 'Brazilian' national identity I shared with the co-participants in my data was not problematic in those interactions but, although it gives ground for a claim of 'sameness', it does not reduce the interaction to this level. Still, as soon as I present my research in the UK, it is hearable as research about 'third world women', about 'Brazilian' women by a Brazilian researcher. Then again, although most of my 'subjects' fit the "average 'Third World' object of

research: nonwhite and/or poor." (Patai, 1991, p. 137), I do not. My own relative privilege sometimes becomes relevant when I present myself in terms of being in some aspects 'the same as' but often 'Other' to the women who took part in my research. Although the fact that I am a native speaker of BP means I have privileges in terms of understanding what is said and it helps me to avoid serious misunderstandings and misconstructions I have found on writings about women in the Brazilian Northeast (e.g. Scheper-Hughes 1993; Rebhun 2001), this does not easily position me as the 'Same' as the people I am researching. I may have the "privilege of being within Brazilian culture(s)" (Santos, 2005, p. 211), but like Santos (2005, p. 211) I am aware of the fact that "to reclaim an epistemological privileged position on the basis of a national identity – without taking into account class, race, gender, sexual orientation, regional and cultural differences – is a dangerous methodological and political mistake". My sameness from a national identity level quickly disappeared in face of pronounced differences in terms of social class, education and in some cases the separation between researcher – researched was strikingly obvious to the point of being the divide between someone who's got shoes on (the researcher) and someone whose poverty leaves her barefoot (the researched).

The next section aims to present this sense of 'otherness' as it is manifest in the interactions. In the absence of visual images which could give a sense of the marked poverty and 'otherness' of most of the researched women, the following section aims to introduce the reader to those women whose realities are quite distant to the one the reader is likely to be 'local' to. This is not to say that what is visible to interactants is necessarily interactionally relevant – nor to endorse any type of listing of 'visible' characteristics of complainants and officers which might (or might not) have impacted on the interaction. What is relevant here is to acknowledge that there are elements that are visual that cannot be inspected for their relevance given some of the limitations of the recordings I have; while also acknowledging that there are moments in which what can be called *Otherness* was made relevant in the talk and those instances are likely to be relevant to a reader who has not witnessed those interactions. So, the fragments presented in the following section are instances in which complainants' responses to requests for information which are treated as 'ordinary' by the officers are 'problematic' for the

complainants and marked as *different than expected*. In the next section, then, I use CA to show how the worlds of the researched often position them as 'others' in relation not only to the researcher and the readers, but also (and most importantly) to the officers who 'interview' them and the reality presupposed by the forms which are involved in the report-making process.

2.8 Clash of Worlds

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, complainants and officers do not necessarily share the same 'world' – and the mandatory forms that must be completed in the course of making a police report may reflect and constitute yet another 'world'. In this section, I use CA to show how the presuppositions of the police form and the questions officers ask to complainants can sometimes clash with the 'world' of the complainants.

There is a kind of 'culture-clash' between the world taken-for-granted by the police officers (and their official forms) and the lived experience of the complainants. Some questions which are treated as 'routine questions' by officers – such as the full names and birth dates of partners and relatives – are not infrequently problematic in the WPS and complainants often display some difficulties in answering them, as shown in the extracts presented below. Fragment 7 (WPS 04) shows a woman who did not have an I.D. – a document which every citizen should not only have but also carry at all times in Brazil. The subsequent examples (#8 - WPS 26 and #9 -WPS 34) show complainants who have problems in responding to a request for the name of their fathers.

#7 - WPS 04

```
01  Pol:   Cê me dá sua identida:de.=Dona (    ).
            You me give your identity.=Miss ( ).
            Give me your I:D:.=Miss (    ).

02  Wom:   Minha identida:de num tirei nã:o. Eu ia tirá
            My   identity       no took no.      I was going to take
            I:D: I haven't got one at a:ll. I was going to get

03          essa semana num consegui:.=Mas=eu truxe o
            this week      no  managed/achieved. But I brough the
            it this week and co:uldn't.=But=I brough the

04          resigstro.
            register.
            birth certificate.
```

#8 - WPS 26

```
15   Po6:    E o nome do s:eu pa:i.
             And the name of your father.
             And your fa:ther's na:me.

16            (.)

17   Wom:    Meu pa:i (eu num sei não)
             My father (I no know no)
             My fa:ther's (I don't know)
```

#9 - WPS 34

```
01   Po6:    Nome do pai:.
             Name of+the father.
             Father's na:me.

02   Wom:    Não tenho.
             No     have.
             I don't have one.

03   Po6:    É falecido ou não é registra:da.
             Is deceased   or   no is registered.
             Is he deceased or are you not re:gistered.

04   Wom:    Não sou registra:da.
             No am  registered
             I'm not re:gistered.
```

The cases above show requests for information which fit Boyd and Heritage (2006, p. 164) *'principle of optimization'*, that is, the officer's questions are designed so that an answer which fits the 'no problem' outcomes (knowing names and dates of birth of partners/relatives, knowing how to read an write, having a telephone etc) aligns with the embodied presuppositions and preferences of the officers' questions.   Complainants' responses, however, often reveal that officers' presuppositions are wrong as they cannot produce answers for requests for information that can be as simple as their father's name (WPS 26 WPS 34), and sometimes they have to engage in 'extra work' in denying the scenario outlined by the officers. Excerpt #7 (extracted from WPS 04) is on of such cases. In WPS 04 the officer requests the complainant's I.D. (line 01), the complainant, however, not only marks her impossibility of giving her I.D. to the officer there and then (as required by the law[8]), but rather produces a negative on a higher level: not having one I.D. at all and then an account in which she claims to have tried to get one I.D. but not succeeding at doing so, in an attempt to minimize her fault (Drew, 1998). WPS 34

---

[8] In Brazil the ID is mandatory: a Brazilian citizen must be officially registered with the State's Secretary of Defense and must carry it at all times. Although not carrying the ID is more frequent than one might expect (about half of the complainants were not carrying their ID when they went to the WPS), not having an ID is illegal and 'unexpected'. Yet, some complainants do not have IDs and some of them report assailants who do not have IDs.

shows a similar situation as, when enquired about the name of her father, which assumes that the complainant had (a known) one, the complainant presents a negative from having a father in the first place (line 02). This generates a non-minimal post expansion, with candidate understandings about what 'not having a father' meant: him being dead or not having been registered by a father and not having a legal father (line 03), the latter being the actual case. These cases of dispreferred responses not only produce a negative to a FPP (like WPS 26, in which the name of the father is not known, but the existence of a father is not denied), but they also deny the presupposition embodied in the FPP.

Many of these sequences in which complainants present some problem in producing responses to the officers questions lead to post expansions in which officers make negative observations about what complainants do not have, which "by doing so in effect lodges a complaint" (Schegloff, 2007, p.160) about the complainant's inability to provide relevant information. Other post-expansions include observations about how things should be done, or are built as repair that "[raise] problems of hearing/understanding or adequacy/ acceptability of the second pair part" (Schegloff, 2007, P. 162).

Before examining the cases of post-expansions which also allow to see these interactions as somewhat problematic, I will show 2 fragments regarding the complainants' education. The fragments presented below show how officers, despite often presenting questions with embodied presuppositions that are not fitted to the complainants world, are often aware of those 'world' differences and promptly treat problems of understanding questions about 'Schooling/Education' as 'no education'. Officers, then, repair their questions in a way that substantially lowers the presupposition of the question presented at first, getting 'closer' to the world of the complainants. The 2 fragments show that from a request for information about 'education' (which, again, presupposes at least some education) at line 01, which after no prompt response and/or a repair initiation to the officers' turn, are re-done as to check for illiteracy. This is never done, however, presenting 'illiterate' as the option, but with an enquiry about the complainant being able to write, which prefers a positive response. While in case WPS 27 the response is restricted to 'a little', WPS 28 gets a 'sei/yes' (line 05) as a response after a 0.5 gap. Subsequently, the understanding of the question is checked, to mean to know how

to sign one's name (line 07), so that the 'yes' response is valid and this understanding is confirmed to be the case by Po7 (line 08).

#10 - WPS 27

```
01  Po7:    Escolarida:de,
             Schooling/Education
             Educa:tion,

02  Wom:    Uh?

03  Po7:    Sabe escrevê.
             Know   to write.
             Do you know how to write.

04  Wom:    Pouqui:nho.
             Few(dim).
             A li:ttle.
```

#11 - WPS 28

```
01  Po7:    Escolaridade da senho:ra.
             Schooling    of+the ma'am.
             Your education ma:'am.

02          (0.2)

03  Po7:    Sabe escrevê:.
             Know   to write.
             Do you know how to wri:te.

04          (0.5)

05  Wom:    Se:i.
             Know
             Ye:s.

06          (.)

07  Wom:    Assiná (o nome) né?
             To sign   the nave no+is
             To sign (the name) right?

08  Po7:    É. °Sabe assiná.°
             Is   Know to sign.
             Yes. °Sign the name.°

09          (.)

10  Po7:    A senhora (sabe    )
             The ma'am  knows.
             You ma'am (know    )
```

The examples presented next show cases in which the difficulties complainants display in providing requested documents and/or information are remarked upon by officers in post-expansions. The two examples below show cases in which a complainant does not have an ID (WPS 04), and another in which the abuser reported by the woman does not have an ID (WPS 24). Both cases show complainants producing dispreferred answers which negate the embedded presupposition of the questions (that a person would, in fact, *have* such documents

rather than simply that they could respond by handing and ID in to the office, or produce someone's national insurance number). Moreover, they show officers producing understanding checks about this lack of ID (lines 11-12 and line 03, respectively)[9] and either remarking about the need of having one (WPS 04), or producing a pro-repeat and some sort of astonishment about that with a negative observation (WPS 24).

#12 - WPS 04

```
01  Pol:    Cê me dá sua identida:de.=Dona (    ).
            You me give your identity.=Miss ( ).
            Give me your I:D:.=Miss (    ).

02  Wom:    Minha identida:de num tirei nã:o. Eu ia tirá
            My   identity      no  took no.   I was going to take
            I:D: I haven't got one at a:ll. I was going to get

03          essa semana num consegui:.=Mas=eu truxe o
            this week    no  managed/achieved. But I brough the
            it this week and co:uldn't.=But=I brough the

04          resigstro.
            register.
            birth certificate.

05          (0.8)

06  Pol:    Tem quantos a:nos você:.
            Have how+many years you.
            How o:ld are yo:u.

07  Wom:    Eu tenhu: vinte e tre:s.
            I   have   twenty and three
            I a:m twenty three:.

08          (0.2)

09  Wom:    Aí eu ia tirá essa semana=aí eu fui tirá:
            Then I was to take this week   then I went take
            Then I was going to take it this week=then I went to take

10          quinta-fe:ira a >identidade< [(              )]
            Thursday    the    identity
            Thu:rsday the > I. D.<        [(              )]

11  Pol: →                               [Só tem o registro]
                                         Just/only has the register
                                         [You only have the]
```

---

[9] One important thing to have in mind then, is how clashes in talk can be *treated* as problems of understanding:

"one basic way that humans have of dealing with disagreement and conflict is to treat it as a problem in hearing or understanding, and try to "fix" that problem. Not then that misunderstanding breeds conflict; but that conflict is handled by trying to treat it as a problem of misunderstanding. And the instruments for so treating it are the practices of repair." (Schegloff, 2007, p. 151)

So, "other-initiated repair sequences often serve as vehicles for the expression of disagreement, or for introducing its relevance" (Schegloff, 2007, p.151)

```
12              do nascimento voce é:.
                of+the birth          you is.
                birth certificate is that ri:ght.

13    Wom:      Eu tenho só o resigstro e a carteira de
                I  have  only  the register  and the card   of
                I only have the birth certificate and the

14              trabalho.
                register.
                work license.

15              (19 sec)

16    Pol:  →   Tem que tirá isso viu.
                Has that take this saw.
                You have to take it right.

17    Wom:      É eu vou tirá.
                Is I will take.
                Yes I'll take it.
```

#13 - WPS 24

```
01    Po6:      Sabe o CPF dele:.
                Know(3ps) the (national insurance number) of+his
                Do you know his national insurance nu:mber.

02    Wom:      Ele não tem documento.
                He no has  document.
                He doesn't have a document.

03    Po6:  →   E é:?=Nem identida:de, na:da.
                And is? Not+even identity, nothing.
                Is that so:?=Not even an ID:, no:thing.

04    Wom:      Tem nada.
                Has nothing.
                No:thing.
```

The extracts above provide evidence that having an ID is *treated* as normative by officers (rather than being just an external claim from someone who knows the culture). There are other types of 'missing' information that officers treat as complainables. Sometimes officers display some impatience with complainant's difficulties in answering questions that officers treat as 'trivial'. In WPS 24, for example, Po6 displays impatience with the complainant's difficulty in presenting such 'ordinary' information. In the extract below Po6 asks if the complainant knew her abuser's date of birth (line 01), it is important to notice that although this question prefers a 'yes', it does not embody the same presupposition of this being necessarily 'known' as a straightforward request for a date of birth. This seems to reveal that the officer 'entered', to some degree, into the reality of the woman in front of her, in a similar way shown by the questions about 'schooling/education' which when not responded promptly are re-designed as something like 'being able

to write'. As a response, the complainant produces only an interjection, which is treated by Po6 as a negative, as she produces a post-expansion checking on this response in terms of what was 'not known' (line 04). Later, Po6 produces a remark about what the complainant does not know. As seen earlier, negative observations are often used to 'lodge complaints' about something expected but not done. The fact that she remarks upon the complainant 'not knowing' the details of an abuser which turns out to be her brother shows her expectation of this kind of information to be known by the complainant.

#14 - WPS 24

```
01  Po6:      Sabe a data de nascimento de:le.
              Know the date of   birth         of+his.
              Do you know his date of bi:rth.

02            (.)

03  Wom:      E:itcha.
              (interjection).
              Oh de:ar.

04  Po6:  →   Sabe- num sabe na:da.
              Know- no know  nothing.
              Do you know- don't you know a:nything.

05  Wom:      heh hehh

06  Po6:      Sabe quantus anu ele te:m.
              Know  how many year he has
              Do you know how old he i:s.

07  Wom:      (Sei. Vinte a:nus)
              know (1ps). Twenty years.
              (Yes. Twenty years o:ld)
```

          (... approximately 1 min and a half later ...)

```
08  Po6:  →   Oh (mulher) ele é teu irmão e tu não sabe
              Oh (woman) he   is  your brother and you no know.
              Oh (woman) he is your brother and you know

09        →   quase nada de:le.
              almost nothing of+him
              almost nothing about hi:m.

10  Wom:      Num se:i.
              No know
              I do:n't.
```

Another example of a complaint lodged by a post-expansion negatively framed checking some information as 'missing', can be seen below. In WPS 26 Po6 mocks a complainant who turns out not to know her own date of birth, or better, her year of birth. It is important to notice however, that her first response (lines 02-03) to the request of her date of birth (line 01 – which carries the presupposition that this

information is known) seems to reveal that she knows less that she actually does, as her first response just reveals that she was thirty years old, but did not know her date of birth. The officer, then, redesigns her question, asking about the day in which the woman had her birthday (line 05), which is something the complainant turns out to be able to respond to. Later, however, Po6 tries repeatedly to get another officer's attention to her remark of the complainant not knowing her date of birth (as the complainant had said in her first response, when in fact she just did not know the year in which she was born and that was easy to calculate). Again, this negative observation in effect produces a complaint (with indignation) about the complainant's inability to produce her own date of birth.

#15 – WPS 26

```
01  Po6:    Me dê a data de nascime:nto.
            Me give the date of birth.
            Give me your date of bi:rth.

02  Wom:    (                    ) trinta a:nos. Mas a
                                     Has nothing.
            (                    ) thirty years o:ld. But the

03          data de nascimento eu num se:i.
            date of  birth        I  no  know.
            date of birth I don't kno:w.

04          (0.2)

05  Po6:    Como- qual é a data que ce completa a:nu.
            How- which is the date that you complete  year.
            How- when is the date in which you have your bi:rthday.

06          (.)

07  Wom:    Completo dia (   ) seis de ju::nho.
            Complete (1ps) day (   ) six of June.
            I have my birthday on the day (   ) six of Ju::ne.

08  Po6:    Uh?

09  Wom:    Ju:nho.
            June
            Ju:ne.

10  Po6:    Ju:nho.
            June
            Ju:ne.

11          (.)

12  Po6:    Ju:nho.
            June
            Ju:ne.

13          (.)

14  Po6: →  Cê num lembra não a da:ta °de junho não°.
            You no remember no the date  of June no.
            You don't remember the da:te °of Ju:ne don't you°.
```

```
15   Wom:    °°Mm se:is de ju:nho.°° >(No ca:so) só tem no
             Mm  six  of    June   (in+the case) only has in+the
             °°Mm si:x of Ju:ne.°° >(In this ca:se) it's just in the

16           cartã:o. Huh huh
             card
             ca:rd. Huh huh

17   ?       [(                    )]

18   Po8:    Oi?

19   Po6: →  Ela num lembra nem a da:ta que nasce:u.
             She no   remembers not+even the date that born
             She doesn't even remember the da:te in which she was bo:rn.

20           (gap)

21   Po6: →  Huh huh Só sabe que tem trinta a:nos.
                     Just knows that has  thirty years.
             Huh huh She just knows she's thi:rty.

22           (1.2)

23   Po8:    ((cough))

24           (1.2)
```

It is important to notice that Po6 fails to get Po8 to join her in producing some indignation regarding the complainant's lack of knowledge about her own date of birth. Although this kind of attempt to make 'absences' relevant to other officers is rare in my corpus, post-expansions with negative observations about 'missing' information and other initiated repairs revealing problems with a prior response abound in the WPS corpus, so the examples shown above are just a quick illustration of a common problem interactants face during the report-making process. The problems complainants face are not only restricted to 'not knowing' the right information. Another common type of problem has to do with how families are defined and presented by interactants in terms of vernacular and official use.

Both officers and complainants orient to the fact that the 'vernacular' use of terms such as 'married', 'husband', 'wife', etc. do not match the one of official forms. Understanding checks regarding what is actually meant in 'marital' status' terms abound in those interactions. Family definitions often do not match the form. Marital status, for example, is the kind of information that is often checked by complainants and officers in terms of what it actually means. It seems for the regularity in which those 'checks' are built in the WPS, that officers have come to expect that the complainants' (and their own) definitions of 'married' are different from those of the legal system. Complainants themselves orient to these difference

and those orientations can be seen when they initiate repair clarifying if the answer belongs to the 'paper world' or their definition. See below WPS 26 for an officer's initiation of repair and WPS 08 for a complainant's and an officer's combined effort to define what 'world' is being actually referred to:

#16 - WPS 26

```
01   Po6:    Estado civil
             Married  civilly
             Marital status.

02   Wom:    Eu sou separa:da.
             Married  civilly
             I am separa:ted.

03   Po6: →  No pape:l.=Separada no papel é.
             Married  civilly
             On pa:per.= Separated on paper is it.

04   Wom:    Nã:o. Só de amiza:de.
             No. Only of friendship.
             No:.   Only unofficially.

05           (0.5)

06   Po6:    Uhm?
             Huh?

07   Wom:    Só de amiza:de só.
             Only of friendship only.
             Only unofficially.
```

#17 - WPS 08

```
01           (Keyboard)

02   Po1:    Solteira? Solteiro ele?
             Single (2ps-F)? Single(2ps-M) he?
             Are you single. Is he single.

03           (.)

04   Wom:    No papel el- assim ele convivia com
             On+the paper he- like    he   lived   with
             On paper h- like he used to live with

05           uma mulher. Por tres anos.
             a woman.      For  three  years.
             a woman. For three years.

07   Po4: →  Casado civilmente?
             Married  civilly
             Legally married?

08   Wom: →  É no papel que a senhora [tá falando?
             Is on+the paper that the ma'am    is    talking
             Is it on paper that you ma'am [are talking about?

09   Mom:                             [É, se ele é casado.
                                       Is if he    is married.
                                      [Yeh, if he's married.

10           (.)
```

```
11  Mom:     Com ela.
             With her
             To her.

12  Wom:     É não.
             Is no
             He isn't.

13  Pol:  →  É não né?
             Is no no+is?
             He isn't right?

14  Wom:     Ele mora [só com
             He  lives   only/just with
             He just   [lives with

15  Pol:               [Ele e' solteiro.
                         He is single.
                        [He's single.

16                  (.)
```

The complainant's reply to the question about marital status (line 04) already displays some effort to define what kind of 'status' is being defined: the one of 'fact' – living as husband and wife –or the one of the official papers. So, on line 04 the complainant starts her turn by presenting the 'on paper' definition, which she abandons in favour of presenting his status as having lived with (convivia) with another woman. Pol produces a post-expansion with a repair initiation about the civil status of this union (line 07). On line 08, then, the complainant initiates a repair on the officer's request for confirmation on the marital status of her abuser, with a candidate understanding 'it is on paper' + a version of 'y'mean': 'that you're talking about'. The woman's repair initiation places the repairable in a clear way as a check if 'legally married' is intended to be understood as 'on paper'. The repair solution is provided not by the officer (who, it must be noted, could also have provided a non-verbal response) but by the complainant's mother who comes in overlap with the woman's turn saying: 'Yes, if he's married', which has no uptake and, after a micro-gap gets an increment 'to her'. This repair solution, then, gets a response (line 12) , which is checked again by the officer on line 13.

As seen above, even before getting to report their experiences of violence, women reporting abuse may encounter problems in presenting their world in a way that it fits the official requirements and definitions of the police procedures. This type of clash between bureaucratized official routines and poor people's struggles to respond to trivial 'details' in those circumstances has been already registered by research on the Brazilian Northeast. Scheper-Hughes talking about a register-

officer dealing with peopleof the 'Alto' shanty-town reporting the death of their babies is a sharply described example of those types of problems:

> "if provoked, she could be gruff and dismissive, especially if the relative was uncertain of basic "details", such as the name of the child, the complete name of the child's parents, the marital status of parents, or the exact time and location of the death. Many of theses seemingly obvious and necessarily bureaucratic details were anathema to the people of the Alto and had little relevance to their everyday lives. (...) Explaining where one lived in response to the bureaucratic question "Street and house number?" could be taxing. There were no official house numbers and only descriptive and informal nicknames for many of the dirt paths and hillside ledges on which *moradores* had built their homes on the Alto do Cruzeiro. Living arrangements were often informal, and couples frequently did not know each other's surnames."
> (Scheper-Hughes, 1992, p. 293)

The bureaucratization of those interactions and the way in which they fail to include the world of most women who report abusive relationships to the police is just part of the difficulties women reporting abuse experience when searching help from a WPS. This section aimed to show how the world of (most of) complainants who seek the WPS is markedly different from not only the one of the readers (with whom they do not share a nationality) but is also markedly different from the underlying assumptions of the forms officers must fill out and from the preferences carried by the officers' questioning designs. The way in which the forms are designed to represent 'standard' families does not conform to many of the complainants' realities and interactions can be seen to display such mismatch in many regards which have to do with filling out 'basic' information.

The issue of how the form and some procedural aspects of the interaction can produce an apparent 'insensitivity' to the violence women report and block women's access to justice is developed in Chapter 4, while the routinization of procedures is analysed in Chapter 5, where a sense of women being 'processed' as cases is discussed. Other types of 'miscommunication' in the interaction between complainants and officers – in terms of different perspectives and misalignments – are examined in Chapter 6. The following chapter, Chapter 3, develops a concern

which involved a problem of translation, in terms of words and actions, rather than 'worlds' but this is relevant for the understanding of BP and some aspects of the interactions.

3

Sim: saying yes in Brazilian Portuguese?

As mentioned in the previous chapters, this chapter started off as a section from the translation part presented in Chapter 2, but grew to become a full chapter. In the police environment Yes/No Interrogatives (YNIs) abound, so the issue of translation became relevant vis-à-vis the matter of type-conformity as developed by Raymond (2000, 2003). The interest in this matter grew from 'translation' to a deeper investigation, however, and from the study of 'default' responses to YNIs and their translations in terms of reflecting 'default' responses in English, I also went on to study non-conforming responses with 'sim' (literally 'yes' in Brazilian Portuguese[1]) as 'sim' itself became a matter of interest in this research in the context of its production being associated to misalignment contexts in different positions (see Chapter 6). So, although this chapter provides a break on what Chapters 1 and 2 have adumbrated: a thesis on women reporting abuse in a WPS, the matters developed here are relevant to understanding responses to YNIs in Brazilian Portuguese and, therefore, also in a police environment, and it also deals with the use of a word ('sim') which is important to matters presented later. As this chapter will show, my analysis of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) data demonstrates that, in BP, there is a preferred, 'uneventful' format for answering YNIs in its affirmative form and an 'eventful' alternative to it. The default answer (that is, the most common type of answer, uneventful, non-expansive and not done for any special cause) is

---

[1] "Sim (si) adv yes; creio que ~ I think so; isso ~ that's it! pelo ~ pelo nao just in case ; dar ou dizer o ~ to consent, say yes." HarperCollins English Portuguese/Portuguese English Dictionary (2001, p. 324)

composed in BP by a repeat of the verb used in the FPP. Contrastingly, the use of 'sim' is uncommon and done for cause in BP, being found in contexts in which: 1) an agreement is avoided and people produce confirmations rather than an agreement to the proposed first; 2) when there is some problem with the next action implicated in the FPP to which 'sim' is less than the fully desired relevant next and 3) when there is some kind of misunderstanding and/or misalignment and a previous negative response is fixed.

Part I. Type-Conforming and Non-Conforming Responses to Yes/No Interrogatives

3.1 Introduction

Turn-taking (as explored by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and the organization of adjacency pairs (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) have been considered to be "the bedrock upon which conversation analysis stands" (Heritage & Maynard, 2006, p.9). The study of Yes/No Interrogatives (and its responses) is connected to these two aspects of conversation as questions function in a way that the speaker (the questioner) selects the next speaker by asking a question to a person, allocating the next turn to this person (Sacks et al. 1974). Moreover, questions are part of an adjacency pair, a first pair part that makes a specific type of second pair part – a response – relevant (see Schegloff, 2007), in other words, "the occurrence of a first pair part ... makes some types of second pair part relevant next" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 20). The idea of relevant 'next' is important here as the issue of 'nextness', or, the relationship of adjacency between turns is such that "next turns are understood by co-participants to display their speaker's understanding of the just-prior turn and to embody an action responsive to the just-prior turn so understood" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 15). Apart from this issue regarding displayed understanding of a prior turn, adjacency pairs also limit possible second pair parts, in Schegloff words:

"A first pair part projects a prospective relevance, and not only a retrospective understanding. It makes relevant a limited set of possible second pair parts, and thereby sets some of the terms by which a next turn will be understood -- as, for example, being responsive to the constraints of the first pair part or not. And, as we shall see, the adjacency pair relationship

invests a specially indicative import in the relationship of contiguity between first and second pair parts" (Schegloff, 2007, p.16)

There are constraints to the possible second pair parts once a first pair part is produced because the components of an adjacency pair are "pair-type related", meaning, "adjacency pairs compose pair *types*; types are exchanges such as greeting-greeting, question-answer, offer-accept/decline, and the like. To compose an adjacency pair, the FPP and SPP come from the same pair type." (Schegloff, 2007, p.13)

While a question as an FPP makes an answer relevant as a SPP, there are further constraints to responses to YNIs (as examined below). The study of YNIs is relevant, according to Raymond (2003), as part of the organization of action in interaction:

"this grammatical form maximally exploits the agenda-setting (and subsequent conduct constraining) potential of action in first position. Seen in this light, we can appreciate how YNIs are adapted to the contingencies of organizing action in interaction (i.e., a normative environment organized through sequences of actions). Given the ubiquity of these conditions of action, it is not surprising that grammatical forms comparable to YNIs have emerged in virtually every language, since the contingencies managed by YNIs do not appear to be limited to specific occasions or people." (Raymond, 2003, p. 963)

The most important work on YNIs has been carried out by Geoffrey Raymond (2000, 2003), using American and British English data. His key finding is that there are grammatical constraints "embodied in the grammatical form of the YNIs" (Raymond, 2003, p. 944) that make a choice between alternative tokens 'yes' or 'no' relevant (Raymond, 2003, p. 943). Moreover, such grammatical structure embodies a preference structure in which *type-conforming* responses (the ones performed by yes/no or equivalent tokens[2]) are preferred and nonconforming ones dispreferred (Raymond, 2003, p. 947). In practical terms this means that "type-conforming responses are the default response form, while nonconforming responses are produced as noticeable and eventful alternatives" (Raymond, 2003, p. 947).

---

[2] Equivalents token are: "'mmhmm," "mmm," "uh huh,"'yep," "yup," "yeah," "nah hah," "nuh uh," "hah eh," "huh uh," "nope," etc.' (Raymond, 2003, p. 946)

The production of type-conforming or nonconforming responses is interactionally distinct as those two possible responses take up different stances towards the FPP they respond to and have different sequential consequences (Raymond, 2000). Type-confirming answers are the 'default' ones and the most common type of answer to YNIs, whereas nonconforming responses are made 'for cause' (Raymond, 2000, p.100, drawing on Schegloff). Nonconforming responses are, therefore, alternatives 'introduced when circumstances mandate such departure' (Raymond, 2000, p.117) from the terms established by the FPP and such departure conveys some trouble with the design/terms of the FPP (Raymond, 2000, 2003). Not only does a YNI make relevant the production of a yes/no token, but it also makes it relevant in turn initial position (Raymond, 2000) such that "any departure from the 'yes' or 'no' made relevant in the first position of a SPP will indicate some departure and, almost invariably, trouble" (Raymond, 2000, p.118). This means that it is not only the absence of yes/no tokens that is problematic, but also any delay in their production and I will be examine this situation more carefully in section 3.2, when I talk about non-conforming positive responses to YNIs in English.

Departures from the preferred conformity to YNIs are also felt sequentially, as nonconforming responses are sequentially expansive and sometimes derail the course of action the interrogative they respond to aimed to accomplish (Raymond, 2000). The criteria for establishing the 'default' and 'preferred' response to YNIs is based, then, in what is most frequent, unproblematic/uneventful, non-expansive (sequentially) and not made 'for cause' (i.e. a response that does not embody a resistance to its FPP)[3], while nonconformity to such preference is less frequent, problematic (as it manages some kind of trouble) and eventful, sequentially expansive and made 'for cause'.

The work presented here aims first to expand the summary above by presenting some data and associated findings regarding responses to YNIs in

---

[3] The idea of an action done "for cause" was developed by Schegloff (2002). Basically, actions done "for cause" make a claim on their recipients and embody some kind of problem. So, a summon-answer sequence may be used "when there is reason to expect non-hearing or non-analysis of a prospective first utterance...to address the problem of availability" Schegloff (2002, p.333). When talking about responses made 'for cause', such as responses to YNIs analysed here, it can be said that a response made 'for cause' is an SPP that, in its departure from a 'default' format, embodies some trouble and/or resistance to its FPP.

English (section 3.2 "Conforming and non-conforming responses to YNIs in English). Then I will present my BP data, first looking at conforming negative responses to YNIs (section 3.3) then at conforming positive responses (section 3.4). My key findings are shown in two different parts. In Part I, I show that the default, preferred response to YNIs which get a positive[4] answer is the repeat of the verb used in the FPPs, as this type is the most frequent, unproblematic/uneventful, non-expansive (sequentially) and not made 'for cause'. In Part II, I analyse the cases in which 'sim' responses (literally 'yes', in English) are produced as a response to a YNI and show that they are infrequently produced in BP and that their use is eventful and made for some specific cause (Sections 3.5 to 3.8).

Before moving on to analysing the responses to YNIs it is important to notice something about the grammatical form of the interrogatives in the first place. In Portuguese declarative and interrogative sentences have the same word order, so what makes them distinct is the prosody used in producing the same words as a declarative or as an interrogative. This makes Portuguese (as well as other romance languages such as Spanish) different from Japanese, where a particle 'ka' is added to the end of a sentence turning it into an interrogative (Ogihara, 2007, unpublished) and from English, where declaratives and interrogatives have different grammatical forms. This is important because YNIs in Portuguese take the form of what has been called, in English, YN/Declaratives (Raymond, 2007, in press) and/or B-event statements (see Robinson, 2006) which are associated with scenarios in which the respondent has primary rights over the matter. According to Raymond (2007) YN/Declaratives, differently from YNIs, treat the matter in question as 'known' make *confirming* relevant rather than *answering*. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that this distinction between questions formulated in an interrogative form or a declarative form is not present in Portuguese where declaratives and interrogatives have the same form. I will further the discussion about YNIs in Portuguese in section 3.3, after briefly presenting some findings about YNIs in English (section 3.2).

---

[4] By positive answer I mean a preferred response to a FPP that is *not* negatively framed, in which case a (grammatically) preferred response would be a negative response. When I talk about negative responses I am also referring to questions positively framed, to which the negative is dispreferred. A positive response is, therefore, a preferred response to a positively framed YNI, and this is the focus of the analysis here.

3.2 Type-Conforming and non-conforming responses to YNIs in English

In this section I will present some fragments of both type-conforming and type-nonconforming responses to YNIs in English. This will enable me to compare them with Brazilian data and to show the existence of a different model for displaying conformity to YNIs in Brazilian Portuguese.

3.2.1 Negative Responses: Conforming Examples in English

The following two data extracts illustrate how a dispreferred SPP can be designed to conform with the FPP (see arrowed lines: 1: 65; 2:7).

#1 HG.II.hyla&nancy [1: 64-65]

```
64 Hyl:                    [.t #w Does it- look all marked u:p?=
65 Nan: →  =nNo:, it's awr- it's a'right, jist'nna couple places b't I
```

#2 Mark and Bob (from Raymond, 2003)

```
1 Mar:     .hhhh Oh:.((vl))hhhhmhhhh Wudje talk about.hh
2 Bob:     Oh I don't remember no[:w,
3 Mar:     [.hhhhhhh=
4 Bob:     =.hh hhheh-heh-[heh
5 Mar: I→              [W'l dih you talk aboutcher future?hh
6          (0.2)
7 Bob: R→ No:. [Nothing so intricate.h
8 Mar:        [Oh.
9 ???:     .hhhhhhh
10 Mar:    Oh[(it-)
11 Bob: R→ [En what future.
12 Mar:    Jis surface.
```

3.2.2 Negative Responses: A Non-Conforming Example in English

The following data extract illustrates how a dispreferred SPP can be designed to conform with the FPP (line 29) or non-conformity with it (3:32)

#3 Trip to Syracuse [1: 26-33]

```
26          (0.2)
27 Ile:    .hhh So yih not g'nna go up this weeken'¿
28 ( ):    (hhh)/(0.2)
29 Cha:    Nu::h I don't think so.
30 Ile:    How about the following weekend.
31             (0.8)
32 Cha:→ .hh Dat's the vacation isn'it?
33 Ile:    .hhhhh Oh:. .hh ALright so:- no ha:ssle,
```

The examples shown above illustrate the claim that:

> "type-conforming responses accept the design of a YNI—and the action it delivers—as adequate, while nonconforming responses treat the design of a YNI—and the action it delivers— as problematic in some way. This is most

simply expressed by noting that while type-conforming responses choose from the response options made relevant by a YNI, nonconforming responses reflect the respondent's attempt to avoid the action that either a "yes" or "no" would deliver in the sequence." (Raymond, 2003, p. 949)

While examples 1 and 2 present conforming 'No' answers, example 2 makes it evident how a conforming answer treats the terms and presuppositions of the interrogative as adequate: whereas Bob's second response to Mark's question ('En what future', line 9) problematises the presupposition of a 'future', his first response, the type-conforming 'no' (line 7), simply answers the question negatively with no orientation to the presupposition of a 'future' being in any way incorrect (see Raymond, 2003 for a complete analysis). By contrast, we see in example 3 how a conforming 'no' is avoided. In this case, the action avoided is the production of bad news, which would have been conveyed by a straightforward 'no' in second position, thereby communicating to Ilene that Charlie was not going to take her to Syracuse the following weekend as she hoped. 'How about the following weekend' (line 30) is a YNI in its sequential context, i.e. in conjunction with the YNI which precedes it at line 27. The YNI at line 27 had already received a conforming 'no' token response (line 29), a 'no' which had not only been postponed by the 0.2 gap that bridged the interrogative and the actual response, but had, in fact, been avoided from the outset of the call, the purpose of which was to convey the bad news that the trip to Syracuse and, therefore, Ilene's ride was cancelled. Ilene's interrogative (line 27) actually spells out the bad news, to which Charlie produces a 'no' to on 29. When at line 30, then, Ilene enquires about the following weekend, Charlie avoids the production of a conforming negative in a dispreference implicative sequence: a long gap followed by a statement + tag which 'checks' the following weekend as being the vacation. It is Ilene then who once again receipts the news with an acceptance 'Oh' plus a receipt and then clearly produces the negative with her 'no hassle', which clearly takes the bad news with it.

The examples above show different type-conforming and non-conforming responses to YNIs – both in format and interactionally – when speakers produce negative responses to an interrogative. The case of positive responses will be examined below:

3.2.3 Positive Responses: Conforming Examples in English

The following three data extracts illustrate how a preferred SPP can be designed to conform with the FPP (see arrowed lines: 4:09; 5:05; 6:36).

#4 HG.II.hyla&nancy [7: 07-10]

```
07  Hyl:     .p=
08  Nan: I→  =You'll come abou:t (.) eight.Right?=
09  Hyl: R→  =Yea::h,=
10  Nan:     =Okay.
11           (0.2)
12  Nan:     Anything else to report,
```

#5 Rahman 4 (from Raymond, 2003)

```
01  Mat:     `lo Redcah five o'six one?,
02  Ver:     Hello Mahthew is yer mum the:hr love.
03  Mat:     Uh no she's, gone (up) t'town,h
04  Ver: I→  Al:right uh will yih tell'er Antie Vera rahn:g then.
05  Mat: R→  Yeh.
06  Ver:     Okay
```

#6 Power Tools [NB:VII: 9: 34-40]

```
34  Edn:           [W(h)i:r-hh] Oh:: jih-
35  Edn: I→  What's eh- What's her birthday.the dni:nteenth?
36  Mar: R→  Y:eah, [of A : : ]pr'l.
37  Edn:           [of April.]
38  Edn:     Well my niece's'z the sev'nteenth.[so.
39  Mar:                                       [Is tha:t ri:ght,
40  Edn:     Uh huh,
```

Fragments 4 to 6 show how the 'yes' responses made relevant by the interrogatives that precede them take place in unproblematic environments, accepting the terms of those interrogatives, and do not lead to expansion. In examples 4 and 5 the sequences are closed shortly after the production of the 'yes' responses, showing how unproblematic this production is. Example 6 shows how the production of 'yes' agreeing with the FPP comes even before the presentation of the month of the birthday they talk about. The added information about the month does not cause any disruption to what had been said and what comes next just follows smoothly. Non-conforming cases, however, point to some problem with what precedes them rather than produce an agreement, as shown in the examples 7 to 9 presented below.

3.2.4 Positive Responses: Non-Conforming Examples in English

The three following data extracts illustrate how a preferred SPP show non-

conformity to the FPP.

#7 Ger and Shir 8: 20-25 – No production of a 'yes' token

```
20  Shi:      beciz she fee:ls ez though, .hh yihkno:w her mother is
21            in: such agony now that w'd only make it worse.=
22  Ger:      =.hh Wul will the remaining three yea:rs uhm see her in
23            pai:n,
24  Shi:  →   .hhh She already is in a great deal of pain.,
25            (0.7)
26  Shi:      C'she has the chemotherapy the radiation.
```

In line 22 of the excerpt above Gerri requests some information regarding a woman who has got cancer in the form of YNI. Whereas a 'yes' token would agree that the following years would see a person in pain, the actual response by Shirley clearly shows that there was a problem with Gerri's question given that pain would not only be part of the woman's future, but was something she was already struggling with. In this sense, Gerri's turn at line 22 was problematic and the non-conforming response it gets manages the interactional problem of providing a response while withholding agreement with its inaccurate presupposition.

Raymond's technical analysis of this fragment shows that, in this case "both the action-type preference and polarity of this FPP—a request for information—align in their preference for 'yes'" (Raymond, 2003, p. 946). Shirley's response, however, "confirms the matter raised by Gerri's question, thereby producing a preferred response relative to the FPP's action-type, while also departing from constraints embodied in its grammatical form" (Raymond, 2003, p. 946). Non-conforming responses, as the grammatical departure presented above, have been shown by Raymond (2003) to be alternatives speakers deploy when managing some trouble or misalignment in interaction. In Raymond's own words, they "indicate some trouble with, or resistance to, a FPP", so speakers only produce them "for cause", when "'cause' largely pertains to some deficiency or problem with the design of an interrogative" (Raymond, 2003, p. 950). In this sense, while "type-conforming responses accept the terms and presuppositions embodied in a YNI" (Raymond, 2003, p. 949), nonconforming responses are resources for "managing trouble with, or misalignments between speakers regarding, the particular situation of choice posed by a YNI in its sequential context" (Raymond, 2003, pp. 948-949).

In fragment 7 the production of a 'yes' token is avoided altogether. In the following excerpts, we can see that not only the absence of a 'yes' token but also its delayed production points to some problem and is a way second speakers avoid simply agreeing with a FPP.

#8 NB.II.2 4: 22-29 - Oh prefaced response following a non-conforming response

```
22   Emm:                        ['Uh huh']
23   Nan:   .hhh[hh
24   Emm:       [Are you th:e ol:dest one the cla:ss?
25   Nan:→'Oh: w- by fa:r.'
26   Emm:   ↑Are yih rill[y¿↑
27   Nan:→              ['Oh: ya:h.'
28   Emm:   Didju learn a lo:t'n cla[:ss¿
29   Nan:                           [There were:
```

#9 Power Tools [NB:VII: 6: 26-31] - Delayed production of the 'yes' token:

```
26   Edn:   Gad it wz in the  pa:per[::.
27   Mar:                           [Mhm w'l tha:t's Larry's  story.
28          (0.5)
29   Edn:→Is that  LERRYISS?
30   Mar:→'At wz Larry's story yeah. [He wrote it,]
31   Edn:                            [A_h : ' l l ] be da::rned=
32   Edn:   =cuz [Lynch wentuh S]an F'nci:sco with's'nd uh(b) to Me:xico::.
33   Mar:        [(          )]
34   Mar:   ' Ye::-ahh.
35   Edn:   On the fli:ght yihknow o[n the:se uh] Merit awa:rd thi:ng?
36   Mar:                           [Y e : : h .]
37   Mar:   Ye:ah[::.
38   Edn:        [.hhhhh
```

Fragment 8 is an example of a delayed production of a delayed 'yes' token by the use of an 'Oh' preface. Oh prefaced turns show that 'the matters enquired into a FPP' (Raymond, 2000, p.226) are already known either by virtue of prior talk or antecedent contexts of joint understanding (Raymond, 2000, pp. 226-227). In any case, the FPP is inapposite, as it enquires about facts that should be known. Such explanation fits extract 8 well, as Nancy conveys that Emma should know for a fact that she was the oldest one in the class, and that it was an obvious thing, given that she was the oldest by far. Emma, however, treats Nancy's turn as news, and therefore not obvious, as she produces an 'astonished' 'Are you really?' check. On line, 27, then, Nancy produced an 'Oh prefaced' yes token which treats the issue as obvious and Emma's surprise as not appropriate.

In fragment 9, line 26, Edna talks about a story that was in the paper just to be followed by Margy's announcement that the story was Larry's. Margy shows herself, then, not only to know about the story in the paper, but also about its

authorship: Margy has privileged knowledge about this matter as her husband, Larry, was the author of the referred piece. After a 0.5 gap Edna produces, then an astonished YNI FPP: 'I s that Larry's?' producing surprise. Margy, who had just told Edna that the story was Larry's confirms Edna's FPP with a 'Type-conforming positionally adjusted transposed repeat', a 'PAT repeat' + the yes token (Raymond, 2000, p.261). Such production of repeats in turn initial position is proposed to confirm explicitly what previous turns convey implicitly (Raymond, 2000, p.261), as repeats have been shown to be used by speakers to confirm that what is being agreed with was alluded before (Schegloff, 1996). There is not, however, any implicit element to Margy's assertion on line 27 to be checked by Edna and then confirmed explicitly by Margy. Still, by producing a repeat both of Edna's FPP and of her own prior turn, Margy conveys that such information required by Edna's FPP had already been given and that, Margy 'has special rights to the matters raised in the sequence: for example she asserts that although she is talking in second position, [Edna] is agreeing with her rather than vice versa' (Raymond, 2000, p.263). Apart from the work to secure her 'ownership' of that knowledge, Margy produces a 'yes token' in the second part of her response and by doing so she responds to 'the relevancies mobilized by the grammatical form of [Edna's] FPP' (Raymond, 2000, p. 264). Such production of a 'yes' responds to the 'genuine' aspect of the question, which in this case, where things were stated explicitly, could be the fact that Edna produces a surprise reaction token (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2005) after checking on Margy's information as a YNIs FPP and Margy responds to that aspect with the relevant 'Yes', after having secured her rights in the production of that 'knowledge'.

Now that the way in which non-conforming and conforming responses to YNIs operate in American and British English has been displayed, I will turn to the analysis of responses to YNIs in Brazilian Portuguese data.

3.3 Default Responses to YNIs in BP

In Portuguese, YNIs are often called 'global' or 'total' interrogatives in contrast to 'partial' interrogatives, which would be the English 'wh' interrogatives. As mentioned in the opening of this chapter, what makes an interrogative different from a declarative in Portuguese is their prosody. So, although there are variations to the prosody of statements and interrogatives depending on other features of talk

(such as irony, disbelief, emphasis as well as the action they perform, e.g. a warning
a request etc), as proposed by Moraes (2006, 2007) the two basic forms of producing
a statement/declarative and an interrogative are presented in the graphs below[5]:

Figure 3.1 Melodic Contour in BP Intonation: Statement

1a Nuclear low fall (statement)

(Source: Moraes, 2007)
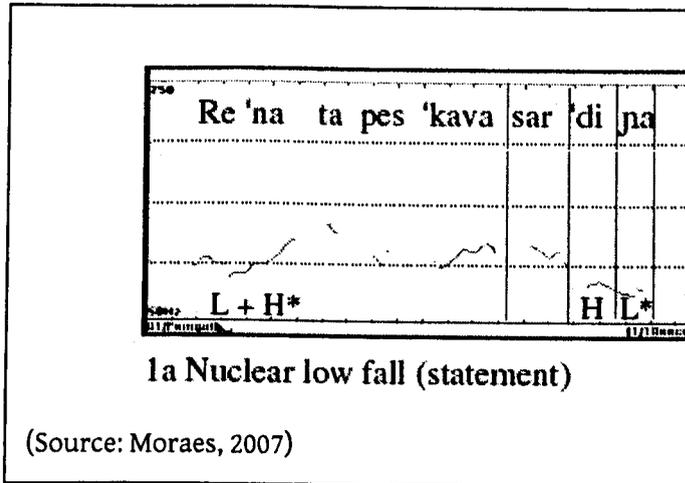
Figure 3.2 Melodic Contour in BP Intonation: Y/N Interrogative

4 Nuclear rise-fall (yes/no question)

(Source: Moraes, 2007)
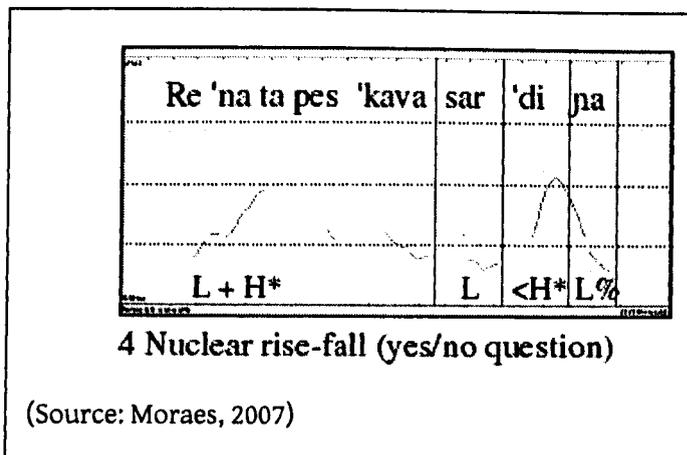
Very little work has been published about responses to YNI in Portuguese, but
there are a few studies that discuss null-subject maters which include a discussion
about responses to YNIs in Portuguese. Although there seems to be no agreement
regarding Brazilian Portuguese being (or not) a null-subject language, the studies
take as 'given' what we call here verb repeats as standard answers to YNIs. For
example, Magalhães and Santos (2006) argue that the null-subject is selective in PB
by presenting verb repeats to YNIs as an example of null-subject instances in BP

---

[5] The transcripts presented in this thesis have not been based on a phonetic analysis of the
interactions and certainly do not reflect the details shown in figures 3.1 and 3.2. The figures are only
used to illustrate a feature of BP intonation which is clearly meaningful and used/understood by
speakers but that escapes my transcription abilities and my technical knowledge.

and EP (European Portuguese) and a context in which the two versions of Portuguese work in the same manner; a comparative study on null-subject languages – which excluded BP on the grounds of it *not* being a null-subject language – positioned EP as a "B-language", that is, a language in which "a YNQ is standardly answered affirmatively by repeating the finite verb of the question" (Holmberg, unpublished).   To my knowledge, Ana Lúcia Santos is the only author who has written on possible responses to YNIs in Portuguese, working with European Portuguese. Santos (2003) proposes that there are four main possible responses to what has been referred here as YNIs: 'sim' answers, 'ser' answers, adverbial answers and 'verbal answers' (an unfortunate translation of 'repostas verbais') – which I call here verb repeats. Her analyses are fundamentally of a syntactic order and, although she brings some pragmatic and discursive matters into consideration at times, she does not present any interactionally informed analysis of how those proposed four types of answers are generated. Moreover, Santos' propositions about the distinction of those types of answers are fundamentally based on invented examples which are presented outside any interactional context, which makes some of those analyses both hard to contest and hard to sustain outside the realm of a syntactic exercise. While it is reasonably easy for a competent speaker of Portuguese to see cases in which grammatically 'felicitous' and 'non felicitous' responses figure in most of her examples, some of the analysis which depend on contextual information are more problematic as both the responses presented and the context of their production are detached from any actual use of the language. The contribution of this chapter is, in this context, an interactionally informed analysis of answers to positive answers to YNIs, first showing how verb repeats are default, non-expansive, ways of responding and then analysing the use of 'sim'. Before moving to the analysis of those positive responses, I will briefly present negative responses to YNIs.

3.3.1 A Brief Discussion about Negative Responses to YNIs in BP

Unlike the positive responses, negative responses to YNIs in Portuguese often get a 'não/no' token as a type-conforming response. There are other features of interest regarding the production of the 'não' tokens, especially regarding positioning of those negative tokens as there are (at least) 3 possible forms of constructing negatives in BP with 'no' tokens. The construction of those negatives has been

shown – also from a syntactic perspective and analysis 'felicitous' or 'non-felicitous' responses – to depend on what supposition and/or presupposition is being denied (see Schwenter, 2005), as well as on some regional variations. Because one of the first motivations of the study of responses to YNIs was originated from translation issues, negative responses did not become a major focus of interest here, but they would definitely warrant a study in their own right. Here, however, I am going to limit myself to exposing examples of what is considered to be the most common, unproblematic way of producing a 'no' answer to a YNI, and then some other possibilities, which would not be type-conforming, just in order to give an idea about how they work.

Negative Responses: BP Examples

The majority of negative responses to YNIs in BP present 'não/no' tokens in first position, such as the one in fragment 10, line 02.

#10 WPS 22   Pancada na Cabeça (file: WPS 22 ± 11:34)

```
01   Po4:   Tinha bebi:do.=Ele.
            Had    drunk.    He
            Had dru:nk.=He.

02   Car:→  Não. Ele não be:be.
            No.  He   no  drink.
            No. He doesn't dri:nk.

03          (.)

04   Car:   Não bebe e não fu:ma.
            No   drink and no  smoke.
            He doesn't drink or smo:ke.
```

Extract 10 shows that even though the complainant in the police station added some extra information about the abuser, she had no problems conforming to the relevant 'no' format of the answer made relevant by the YNI FPP.

The following two data extracts illustrate less common possibilities of producing negatives which support the idea of 'non-conformity' as they are departures from the counselor's FPP. Extract 11, shows what could be seen as 'non-conformity' in a case in which the 'não' token (line 05) is used, but in an end position. Although just in term of the position there seem to be some regional differences in Brazil, in this case, the interaction allows for us to see there seems to be a problem with the production of the response already at line 03, as the counselor's FPP (made in the negative form 'você num chegou a pensar em fazer um

boletim de ocorrência (.) pra ajudá nesse sentido/ you haven't thought of making a police report (.) to help in this way'), makes relevant a response which is first delayed for (1.2) seconds when the woman does not respond. The counselor then produces an increment to her prior turn (line 4), and extends the delivery of the last word until the point at which the woman finally starts her response in overlap. The (already delayed) answer further delays the production of 'no' until the end of the turn (line 05) and privileges the presentation of '[A]inda/Yet' at first, and modifies the verb from 'think' (of making a report) in her response. By doing so, the woman also avoids the verb 'thought of', to which answering 'yes' or 'no' could be tricky: if she had thought of it, she could be in a position to account for why not having done so, or not going to do so; and if she hadn't she could have the 'seriousness' of her case or her willingness to improve her condition challenged. Instead, the woman says 'Ainda não fui não / I haven't been yet no', which avoids a response in terms of what she had 'thought of' and privileges the action of not yet having been to the police.

#11 Casa #2 (± 8:56 mim – 9:31 min)

```
01   Psi:     Você num chegou a pensar em faze:: um boletim
              You   no   arrive  to  think  of  making   a  bulletin
              You haven't thought of ma::king a police

02            de ocorrê::ncia (.) pra:=ajuda nesse sentido.
              of  occurrence        to   help  in this  direction
              repo::rt (.) to:=help in this way.

03            (1.2)

04   Psi:     Pra   se    protege::[:,]
              To  yourself   protect
              To protect yourse:::l[f,]

05   Wom: →                          [#I]nda num fui não.#
                                     Yet   no  went  no.
                                     [#I] haven't been yet no.#

06            (1.5)

07   Wom:     Mas acho que vai ter uma hora que vou ter qui=i:r
              But think (1p.s.) that will(3.p.s) have one hour that will(1p.s.) have to go
              But I think the time will come when I'll have to=go:
```

The next extract (#12) is an example of non-conformity which avoids a 'não' token altogether (line 05).

#12 - WPS 27 (time)

```
02   Wom:     É: tirá as minhas coisa né[:.]
              Is to take the my     thing no+is
              To take my stuff out ri[:gth.]
```

```
03   Po8:                          [Ba]teu em você:.
                                   Beat(2ps) in   you
                                   [Di]d he beat yo:u.

04                    (.)

05   Wom:  →   Já bateu mas faz te:mpo. (Vim) três vezes
                Already beat but   makes/has  time. (Came 1ps) three times
                He's beaten me but a long ti:me ago. (I came here)

06                    (aqui:.)
                      here
                      three ti:mes.

07   Po8:     A senhora dá a quexa purque ele num qué
              The ma'am  give  the complaint because he no want
              You ma'am are making a complaint because he doesn't want

08            dexa a senhora tirá a ro:[pa.]
              to let  the ma'am  to take  the clothes
              to let you ma'am take your clo:[ths.]
```

Extract 12 shows a YNI (line 02), in which the officer asks the complainant –
in the context of getting the reasons for the complaint - if her former partner had
beaten her, there is a gap (line 03) before the response (line 04). This response is
clearly a departure from conformity because neither default 'yes' nor 'no' responses
would be adequate for the complainant in this context: she could not simply answer
it positively, because it was not something recent and it would not be true in the
context of that reporting; 'no', however, would not do justice to her story of abuse
and the fact that she had already reported her aggressor, despite being appropriate
to that incident. So, the woman's response avoids a 'no' answer producing an
affirmative response with more temporal information which places the beating
incidents in the past.

The three fragments shown above display conformity and non-conformity to
the FPP in negative SPPs to YNIs in BP. Those negative responses to YNIs will not
be expanded here. The focus will now shift to positive responses to YNIs in BP.

3.4 Conforming Positive Responses to YNs in BP

The examples and analysis above show that conforming and non-conforming
responses to YNIs are recognizably different and are available options to speakers
in second position. With that in mind, this section is dedicated to advancing and
displaying evidence in support of the following proposition: conforming answers to
YNIs, that is, those that happen most frequently and accept the terms of the FPP
and produce a SPP that agrees with it in a non-expansive manner do not contain

'sim/yes' tokens, but are rather adjusted partial repeats of the FPP. More specifically, those partial repeats are verb repeats adjusted to the person who speaks.

In order to demonstrate how those (adjusted) verb repeats work as default positive answers to YNIs, I will mark the main verbs of the interrogatives and their adjusted repetition in the responses provided. Note that the literal translation of the verb repeat would be the verb itself, but in keeping with my analysis here I have translated them in the idiomatic (3rd line after the original in BP) as 'yes'.

3.4.1 Verb Repeats as BP Default Conforming Responses to Y/N Interrogatives

Extrcts 13-15 show instances of (adjusted) verb repeats in institutional data (from the WPS).

#13 WPS 22 – Pancada na cabeça

```
01 Po4:   A audiencia vai ficar marcada para o dia quinze.
          The audience    will  to be  marked   to    the day fifteen
          The hearing will be scheduled for the fifteenth.

02        (.)

03 Po4:   De Janeiro (.) as nove horas da manha.
          of January       at  nine  hours  of morning
          Of January (.) at nine in the morning.

04 Wom:→  Eu posso ficar em casa nesse te:mpo.
       →  I  can (1st p.s.) to stay  at   home in these  time
       →  Can I stay at home during this ti:me.

05 Po4:→  Po:de.
       →  Can (3rd.p.s.).
       →  Ye:s.

06        (.)

07 Po4:   Qualquer coisa você vai ter que acionar o COPOM.
          Any      thing  you  will have that set in motion the (police abbreviation)
          If anything happens you'll have to mobilize the COPOM.
```

#14 WPS 21 - Briga de Mulher (file: WPS 21b ± 8:08)

```
01 Pop:   Como é o nome da pesso:a. Que fez isso com você:.
          How is the name of the person. Who did this  with you
          What is the name of the pe:rson. Who did this to yo:u.

02        (1.0)

03 Mar:   Parece que o nome dela é Maria Luiz.
          Seems  that the name hers is ((woman's name))
          It seems that her name is Maria Luiz.

04 Pop:   Ah foi mulher fo:i.
          Oh was women was.
          Oh it was a woman wa:s it.
```

```
05  Mar: →  Fo:i
           Was (it).
           Ye:ah.

06         (0.5)

07  Po6:   Lembra o nome exa:to (ou não).
           Remember the name  exact      (or no)
           Do you remember the exact na:me (or not).

08  Wom:   ((provides a name))
```

#15 WPS 11 - Sedução (6:09-14)

```
09         (0.5)

10  Po4:   Ele fez alguma coisa com voc⌈ê:?⌉
           He   did  some   thing  with  yo│u  │
           Did he do something to    yo⌊:u?⌋

11  Luc:                       ⌈Fe:z ⌉
                               │Did  │
                               ⌊Ye:⌋s

12  Po4:   Fe⌈:z.⌉
           Di│d  │
           Ye⌊:s.⌋

13  Bia:   ⌈Assim⌉ eu quero que e⌈la assim >se ele::<⌉
           │So   │ I   want  that s│he like   if  he   │
           ⌊S o  ⌋ I   w a n t   h⌊er to like >if he::<⌋

14  Po4:                         ⌈>O que que ele f:⌉ez< com você.
                                 │ what  that  he  d⌈id with you
                                 ⌊>What did he d:⌋o< to you.
```

The fragments presented above show YNIs that receive a positive response composed by partial repeats of the FPP that precedes them. They are repeats of the main verb[6] used in the interrogative, adjusted to the person, that is, conjugated in accordance with the subject of the phrase they are in. The subject is, however, seldom stated[7] which means that the verb repeat frequently stands alone in a positive response to a YNI. Such answers are not only the most common type of positive answer to YNIs in my data but they also suit the criteria of 'default', conforming responses to YNIs presented earlier in being uneventful, not sequentially expansive and not made 'for cause'. All the answers presented above, accept the terms of the FPP and simply produce a relevant answer to it, not challenging its appropriateness or expanding the sequence in any way. Moreover,

---

[6] In cases where the FPP does not have a subject the verb to be in third person singular is the most common token of agreement, as a state or essence is usually presupposed by the elliptical FPP - see the 'to be' session for further comments on that issue.

[7] Even though the subject is not stated it exists and is inferred by the conjugation of the verb.

all the examples show that the request for information produced in the form of a YNI was satisfied with a positive answer and what follows it takes that part as 'solved' and goes on for the 'next' action. So, the woman who enquires if she can stay at home in the time between the reporting of her partner's abuse and the police audience gets a positive answer just to be informed later that if something else happens she should contact the police. The woman who confirms her alleged abuser was a woman (fragment 14) sees this sequence closed and another part of the 'form-filling' action starts: the name of the alleged abuser. The officer who in example 15 gets a positive response to an enquiry as to whether an alleged abuser has 'done something' to twelve-year-old Lúcia, simply receipts this (line 12) and then – after the girl's mother comments on it – asks the girl 'what' the alleged abuser did to her. Each of the sequences runs smoothly into some next action and there is no problem with the terms of the agreement provided by a verb repeat which offers a plain agreement, as a 'default' answer.

This type of answer (i.e. an adjusted verb repeat) is also the most common type of positive response to YNIs in ordinary conversation, as shown below:

#16 - Songs

```
01   Bro:    ((sings a piece of a song they used to listen to
                in their childhood))

02        →  Le:mbra.
          →  Remember (3rd p.s 'you')
          →  Do you reme:mber.

03   Eug: →  Le:mbro.
          →  Remember (1st p.s 'I')
          →  Ye:s.

04   ((Bro goes on and sings two other pieces of related songs they
05      used to listen to in their childhood and Eug sings along to
06      them displaying remembering them))

07   Eug:    Gê e essa aqui ó:,
             (vocative) and this here  see
             Gê and this o:ne see:,

08   ((sings another piece of a song they used to listen to in their
09        childhood))

10   Eug:→   Mm hm.

11   Bro: →  Cê lembra dessa aí também.
          →  You  remember (3rd p.s 'you') this one  too
          →  Do you remember this one too.

12   Eug:→   Le:mbro.=E aí como é.=E agora=contin- é que eu
          →  Remember (1st p.s.)=And then how is.=And now continues – is that I
```

→ Ye:s.=And then how is it.=And now=it goe- it's just that I

13   não lembro da letra tão bem.
          no remember of+the lyrics so well
          don't remember the lyrics so well.

14   ((Bro keeps on singing))

15 Eug: Essa era a música do fina:l.
          This was the music of+the end
          This was the song of the ending pa:rt.

#17 – mattress

01 Lar: Botamu lá em baixo aquele colchão sa:be.
          Put (1st p.pl.) there under   that   mattress know
          We've put that mattress downstairs y'kno:w.

02   Aquele colchã[o]
          That   mattress
          That mattres[s]

03 Eug: [Sei   o[:-]
                   Know(1stp.s) the
                   [Y]eah the[:-]

04 Lar: [Qu]e tava de sofá.
                            That was   of sofa
                            [Th]at was here as a sofa.

05 Eug: Mm hm

06 Lar: Botamu lá fora e já leavaram.
          Put (1ppl) there out and already took(3ppl – indeterminate subject)
          We put it out there and it's been already taken.

#18 – X-ray

01 Eug: Mas a chapa- ele teve alguma noti:cia no
          But the plate he had/got some news in the
          But the x-ray- did he get word in the

02   final das contas.=
          end of   the bill
          end.=

03 Bro: =Teve. É uma sombra no pulmão e tá tomando
          =had/got (3rd p. s.). Is a shadow in+the lung and is taking
          =Yes. There's a shadow on his lung and he's taking

04   antibiótico pra tal da sombra.
          antibiotics   for+the such of+the shadow
          antibiotics for this shadow.

Examples 16-18 show that in ordinary conversations outside of institutional environments such as police units, the default form of providing a positive answer to a YNI is a verb repeat. In fragment 16 a brother calls a sister to ask her if she remembers some songs (from an album for children launched in 1978, as he mentions later) he had just found on the Internet. He sings something (line 01) and asks her if she remembers it (line 02), and she says she does (line 03), using a verb repeat. Then he sings another one and she sings along, displaying remembering,

rather than claiming it (lines 04-06). When he sings another and she does another sort of 'yes' token – both in English and BP – a 'Mm hm' sound (line 10), he asks again if she remembers (line 11), and she again confirms that she does using a verb repeat (line 12) and then accounts for not singing along by saying she does not remember the lyrics of that song very well (line 12-13). Her account does not show any problem with the form of providing a positive response to a YNI, but to claiming remembering rather than showing it – by singing along. The response is not problematic, nor does it challenge the FPP as problematic; it is, again, a default response. Examples 17 and 18 show the same: verb repeats as unproblematic ways of responding to YNIs, that is, of saying 'yes' in BP. In fragment 17, once the mattress being referred to is claimed as recognized 'sabe – sei / y'know – yes' the telling goes on; and the same happens in fragment 18, in which once there is a positive response to the interrogative the question regarding the result of the grandfather's x-ray, the brother goes on to tell what the result was and the medical treatment prescribed.

So far, I have shown that verb repeats fit the criteria of conforming, default, answers to YNIs in Brazilian Portuguese. It was mentioned earlier, however, that some YNIs may not contain a verb, which is something that could prove to be problematic for this model of answers insofar as the reliance on repeating the verb of the FPP as a positive answer to YNI. This issue of agreeing with YNIs composed by FPPs that do not contain a verb will be examined below:

3.4.2 'Ser' and 'Estar': default agreements for predicates without verbs

Another unproblematic way of doing agreement is via the use of verbs 'ser' and 'estar', usually in the third person singular. This form of agreement is presented separately from the verb repeat type of answer (discussed in section 3.4.1) because this kind of response is used not only when the verbs 'ser' and 'estar' are used to form the YNIs, but also when there are no verbs in the interrogative.

'Ser' and 'Estar', both translated into English as the verb 'to be'[8], are used then as an agreeing token for YNIs that have no verb (but imply an essential quality or a state) and, some times even with different verbs, where they are still heard as doing (unproblematic) agreement. 'Ser' and 'estar' are not action but 'state' verbs and,

---

[8] The difference between the verbs 'ser' and 'estar' is discussed in the next paragraph.

therefore, compose nominal predicates rather than verbal ones, so they are used to qualify an essential or circumstantial feature which defines something rather than an action. Agreement with those verbs seem to affirm, then, the truth of the whole of what was stated rather than a particular aspect of it, which can be clearly seen in cases of compound sentences that are somehow clefted (this aspect will be discussed in Part II, in conjuction with some uses of the 'sim' token).

Before showing some of the examples of uses of these verbs, it would be useful to develop the issue of two verbs for one 'to be' translation, and explain them a bit further. Portuguese, like other Romance languages such as Spanish and Italian, has two verbs that could be translated in English as 'to be'; each of those verbs 'marks' different meanings not differentiated in English. The verb 'ser', for example, is used to designate features of the subject that are permanent: they have been, are and will be true, and are part of an essential quality of what they refer to. A given subject is/ 'é (ser: 3ps)', for example, a person, 'é' from a given place and 'é' part of a genealogy (é the son/daughter of X and Z) and has some stable personality traits and other attributes that are part of what one is/'é' – e.g. a calm, laid back, intelligent person. 'Estar', on the other hand is used to designate transient features/states. A person who 'is/é (ser)' calm ('by nature') can be/'estar' nervous in a given period of time; a person that 'is/é' English can be/'estar' in France for a while etc and a person may be/ 'estar' fine or hot or ill at a given time but not be defined by that as a person.

Both 'ser' and 'estar' are commonly used in the same way as, and to do the same interactional work that, the 'yes' token is used in English for essence/state enquiries, even when the FPP is elliptical and does not have a verb. This is the case, for example, of the use of 'yes' when a person who picks up the phone has their name produced after they only said 'hello'. This 'identity' confirmation, which is done with 'yes' in English, is done in BP with the 'to be /ser' as the production of a name as an interrogative is an elliptical form of 'is that "name"?':

#19 Power Tools [NB:VII: 1: 01-05]

```
01   Mar:   Hello:,
02   Edn:   Hello Margy?
03   Mar:• ↑Ye:[s,
04   Edn:        [.hhhh We do pai:::nting, a:nti[qui::ng,=
05   Mar:                                       [.hh
```

#20) Brazilian Portuguese Ordinary Conversation

```
01              ((phone rings))
02  Lar:        Hello:,
03  Eug:        Oi Lara tudo bem.
                Hi  (name)  everything well
                Hi Lara how are you.
04  Lar:  →     Oi Eugênia?
                Hi  (name)?
                Hi Eugênia?
05  Eug:  →     É:.
              → Is (to be 3rd p.s.)
              → Ye:ah.
06  Lar:        O:i:.
                Hi
                H:i:.
```

The 'Hi/Hello + Name + ?' is an elliptical FPP that has the implicit idea of the verb 'to be' within the construction 'Is that Name?'. We can see that this implicit 'to be' produced as a response to this form of interrogative in BP works in the same manner as the 'yes' token is used in English and is the default response in this case. It is this implicit existence of a 'to be' that makes it possible, in Brazilian Portuguese, to agree with a Yes/No question with the verb to be. It is interesting to note that, in this case, the agreement is not done as 'I am' / 'sou eu' but as an 'it is' /'é', as the answer agrees with the implicit verb from the question 'é', which is the verb 'ser' in the third person of the present of the indicative mode. Such answer, with 'it is', is similar to the English versions analysed by Raymond (2003, p. 953) and shown here in extract 21, but the similarity is restricted to its format, given that such verb repeats, in English, "convey resistance to a FPP or to an aspect of its formulation" and is used "when speakers "do" confirming instead of simply answering" (2003, p. 952) and there is no such resistance in BP, so this similarity in format does not translate into a similar action.

#21 - Field SO 88 II 2-4

```
01  Dan:    (eight) [two two onw five si[x
02  Les:→           [.hhhhhhh            [Oh hello is that Dana,
03  Dan:→   It tis.
04  Les:    .hhhh Oh Dana:- (.) eh: Gordon's mum's he:re?
```

Here is another example of an elliptical FPP answered with 'é'[9] from the counselling data. In this case the social worker produces an understanding check of what the woman had just said and, to do so, repeats part of what the woman had said, the problematic part, which does not contain a verb:

#22 – Casa 14 (3:07-10)

```
07  Vil:     (            ) e toda vez que ele vai para casa da- da
                           and every  time  that  he  goes  to  the  house of  of
            (            ) and every time that he goes to the house of- of

08                 bruxa dele. huh
                   witch his
                   his witch. huh

09  Sow:     Da bruxa dele?
             Of witch his
             Of his witch?

10  Vil:→    $█. Eu chamo ela (de bruxa.)$
             Is.  I  call  she  of witch
             $Ye:ah.  I call her (a witch.)$
```

The way in which the woman – Vilma – confirms that what the social worker had offered as a candidate understanding of what she had said was indeed what she had just said is by producing a 'to be/ser' response. As the interrogative does not contain a verb, it is the truth of it that is confirmed with the 'to be'.

So far, the verb 'ser' has been shown to be a common, unproblematic response to a non-verbal interrogative, but 'estar' is also used to do so. An example of a 'default' response with a repeat of the verb 'to be' in its transient version 'estar/tá' format is presented below:

---

[9] Even in cases of assessments, which are not 'Yes/No' questions but are shown here just to exemplify cases where an agreement is made relevant and can be achieved in English by 'Yeah', or a similar 'Yes' token, when not upgraded or downgraded by a second speaker, the verb to be 'é' usually does the job in Brazilian Portuguese:
Brazilian Portuguese Ordinary Conversation

```
01  Sis:     Bom aprender isso.
             Good to learn  this.
             It's good to learn this.

02  Bro:     Ãh?
             Uh
             Uh?

03  Sis:     Bom aprender isso.
             Good to learn  this.
             It's good to learn this.

04  Bro: →   É:.
             Is.
             Ye:ah.
```

#23 Brazilian Portuguese Ordinary Conversation

```
01  Cle:      Tô torrcendo pra voce chegá lo:go.
              I'm supporting  for   you   to arrive soon.
              I'm looking forward to your arrival.

02  Eug:  →   Então, vou  chegar  sim.=.h[hh <>A mummy] ▇ aí?
        →     So    will (1ˢᵗ p.s.) arrive  yes        the mummy  is    there
        →     Then, I will arrive yeah.=.h[hh <> Is mum] there?

03  Cle:                              [°Então tá.°]
                                      [ So      is. ]
                                      [°Ok  then.°]

04  Cle:  →   ▇.=Fala com ela.
        →     Is.  Talk  to   her
        →     Yeah.=Talk to her.
```

It has been argued so far that, in BP, SPPs to YNIs FPPs that have 'positive' responses and are composed by verb repeats should be considered 'default', uneventful types of response, and not responses that depart from a predefined type of answer in order to accomplish something different than the simple conformity to the FPP would achieve. It is also important to note that all those instances of verb repeats proposed as 'default' answers were translated into idiomatical English as 'yes' tokens, in order to capture the fact that they were unproblematic responses, no matter how conformity was accomplished.

The BP verbs 'to be', 'ser' and 'estar', have also been shown to produce default positive responses to YNIs: they work both as a 'special' case of verb repeats (when the 'to be' is explicitly stated or is implicit on the FPP) and as a general form of agreement. The latter cases will be discussed further in Part II of this work, especially in section 3.8, but it is important to mention that in those cases in which there is not a verb, or in cases of conditional clauses and or subordinate sentences, where agreement cannot be done simply with a verb repeat, the alternatives available for speakers in order to provide positive answers are: agreement tokens such as 'mm hm', agreement with 'ser/estar' presented above, and the 'sim/yes' token which I have not yet shown. 'Sim' and 'ser' responses have been proposed as possible response for YNIs in European Portuguese, and were shown to be gramatically possible answers for cases in which verb repeats are not felicitous answers (Santos, 2003). In BP, 'sim' answers are considerably less frequent than 'ser/estar' responses and frequently do something other than just agreeing. Before

examining the actual use of 'sim' tokens in BP, some ways of producing non-conforming responses in BP will be examined:

3.4.3 Positive Responses: Some BP examples of non-conformity

The example below shows a positive response in which there is no verb or agreeing token. Instead, the speaker uses an 'interjection + complement' construction and confirms, with emphasis, what she had already said:

#24 - Casa14 (3:26-27) - Confirming with Interjection + complement

```
23   Vil:      Mas eu num acredito mais porque ele me
                But  I   no  believe       more    because        he    me
                But I don't believe anymore because he

24             traiu muito tempo
                betrayed  much   time
                cheated on me for a long time.

25   Sow:      Mm,

26   Vil:      Entaõ perdi a confiança sabe.
                So    lost(1ps) the trust    know
                So I lost my trust you'know.

27   Sow: →   Ele traiu você:.
                He  betrayed you
                Did he cheat on yo:u.

28   Vil: →   Vichi¹⁰! Muitas vezes.
                Virgin Marry! Many    times.
                Gee! Lots of times.
```

At line 23 Vilma starts to say she did not believe her partner any more because he had betrayed her for a long time. She gets just a continuer from the social worker at line 25 and then makes a summary statement about having lost her trust in him. At line 27 the social worker produces a partial repeat of what Vilma had already said, which is a common way of producing an understanding check, but also, in this environment, of making relevant some elaboration on what was said. Rather than expanding on it, at line 28, Vilma confirms, then, what she had already said, but upgrades it with and interjection (reaction token) and the complement

---

[10] 'Vichi' is an interjection used a lot in the North of Brazil which originates from the saying 'Virgem Maria / Virgin Mary'. The 'Virgin' is not really evoked everytime the expression is used, though, as the whole connection with the original 'Virgin Mary' has been lost in the expression's eveyday use and the roots of it are not even known by most of the speakers. I have tried to capture this with the translation "Gee", which apparently originates from the name of "Jesus Christ" but which otherwise is not treated by participants as having a religious meaning.

'muitas vezes/many times'. Rather than agreeing, then, Vilma is confirming what she said before[11] with an upgrade.

Another way of producing a non-conforming positive response to a YNI is to change the terms of the agreement by producing as a response not a repeat of the verb used in the FPP (or other kind of default agreement), but a different verb that modifies the terms of the agreement – see example below:

#25 - Casa 14 (20: 01-02) - Verb change: changing the terms of the FPP

```
01 Sow: →   Você: falou, 'Bom eu num tenho forças' (0.5) você
        →   You    said   well I   no   have   strength      you
        →   Yo:u said 'Well I don't have the strength' (0.5) you

02      →   tá buscando essa força né?
        →   are searching for this   strength no
        →   are seeking this strength right?

03          (0.4)

04 Vil: →   Tô tenta:ndo.
        →   Am trying.
        →   I'm try:ing.

05          (0.5)

06 Sow:     E assi:m: (0.2) eu diria pra você que aqui na ca:sa:
            And like         I   would say to  you   that here in the house
            And li:ke: (0.2) I would say to you that here in the ho:use:
```

In the example above, Vilma does not agree with the social worker's proposition that she 'tá buscando/is searching for' some strength she would be lacking, but rather that she 'tô tentando/ is trying' to do so, and so changes the terms of the agreement when responding to the YNI.

Another way in which non-conforming responses are accomplished in a way that the terms of the agreement are changed, is by the used of the expression 'acho que sim', literally 'I think yes', meaning 'I think so'. Instead of producing agreement via a repeat of the verb stated or implied, the speakers in those cases offer a mitigated agreement, with the 'acho que/ I think' + 'sim/yes'. I analyse this form of agreement separately from the other instances in which 'sim' is used as a response to YNIs because in this case it is not 'sim' which is being used, but a whole unit composed of 'acho que sim / I think so'.

#26 - Casa 2 – verb change: acho + sim – mitigated agreement

```
01 Psy:     .hh Eu queria entender um pouqui:nho assim (0.6)
```

---

[11] The differences between agreeing and confirming will be expanded later in this work.

```
           .hh  I    would like  to understand  a    little            like
           .hh  I'd like to understand a little like (0.6)

02         eu sinto que tem alguma coisa que- que tá dentro
           I  feel  that  there is Osome  thing  that- that  is  inside
           I feel that there is something that - that is inside

03         de você: (0.2) que parece que para aqui assim.*
           of you          that  seems    that  stop    here  like.
           yo:u (0.2) that seems to stop here.*

           *((hand gesture marking the region between the heart and throat))

04              (2.0)

05  Psy:   Não sei se é m- se é má:gua. Num sei- (1.2)
           No know(1st p.s) if is  if  is  hurt.    No  know(1st p.s)
           I don't know if it's h- if it's hu:rt. I don't know- (1.2)

06         eu olho pra você: né? E:: eu vejo assim (.) que que tem
           I  look  at  you  no And  I  see   like  that that  there is
           I look at yo:u right? A::nd I see like (.) that that there's

07         alguma alguma coisa te (      ) né um cho:ro, (.) que pára
           some   some   thing  passive part 2nd person no  a  cry      that  stops
           some something (    )you right a cry:ing, (.) that stops

08         aqui né?**     ((**hand gesture marking the region between the heart and throat))
           here  no
           here right?** ((**hand gesture marking the region between the heart and throat))

09              (.)

10  Psy: → (    )você é assim mesmo?
       →          You  are  like that indeed
       → (    ) Are you really like that?

11              (.)

12  Psy: → Sensí:vel,
       → Sensitive
       → Sensitive,

13  Wom: → Acho que sim.
       → Think (1st ps) that yes
       → I think so.

14         (lapse)
```

This may seem initially to be an example of apparent delayed conformity, that is the postponed production of an agreement token. But in fact this case involves a verb change and a change in the terms of the agreement. It does not produce disagreement, but is a mitigated version of agreement, i.e, it works by changing the terms of the FPP in order to produce the agreement. At lines 1 to 3 the psychologist says she wants to understand something about her client and then produces her view of what she feels the woman is going through. This is said together with a hand gesture that marks the region between the heart and the throat as the place in which something inside the woman would 'stop'. The counsellor does not get any

response and a 2.0 gap opens up until the counsellor elaborates further, developing the 'something' into 'hurt', 'cry', and repeating the gesture and formulation of it 'stopping here', say, not bursting and/or letting it flow. This time the counsellor ends the existing silence more promptly by asking the woman if she is really like that. Again, a micro gap opens up and the counsellor unpacks the deictic 'that' offering a qualifier for what she was saying and seemed, so far, hard to agree with, putting forward the word 'sensível / sensitive'. It is only then that a much sought after form of agreement is offered and even then in a mitigated form 'acho que sim / I think so'.

This 'acho que sim / I think that yes' response, better translated into English as 'I think so', was not the only one in the corpus studied here. There were in total six occurrences' of 'acho que sim' as responses to YNIs. They were all clearly mitigated agreements in which, rather than agreeing with the terms of the interrogative, the respondent offered a modified way of agreeing. 'Sim' in these cases is different from a 'sim' standing alone or accompanied by the verb used in the interrogative (cases which will be analysed below). Here, 'sim' is part of an idiomatic response which could be positive 'acho que sim/I think so' or negative 'acho que não/I don't think so' but which modifies rather than agrees with the proposed terms of the interrogative.

One question should still be asked: If a verb repeat after a YNI is just saying 'yes' in BP, what does the Portuguese 'yes token' 'sim' do interactionally? Is it also just another form of saying 'yes' in BP, just another alternative in a language that offers more options for positive answers to YNIs – some authors offer those responses as distributed in four categories (Santos, 2003) restricted sometimes by grammatical conditions – or is there something more to it? In order to answer this question the instances in which a 'sim token' is used as a response to a YNI will be analysed below.

Part II. 'Sim': saying 'yes' in BP?

'Sim', literally 'yes', responses were quite infrequent in the data corpora analysed here. Most of the 'positive' responses to YNIs were repeats of the verb used in the interrogative. Just to give one idea of how infrequent those 'sim' responses were: the corpus analysed here was comprised of more than 36 hours of audio recorded

talk and contained thousands of YNIs[12], only 55 of them had the word 'sim' in their responses. Of those 55 responses with 'sim', 24 cases could not have been answered with verb repeats (either because the interrogatives did not contain a verb, or because they were somehow modified – e.g. cleft sentences and 'if' clauses). Of the remaining 31 cases, 6 were instances which contained 'sim' as part of the unit 'acho que sim' reponse, which was analysed above. Those 'acho que sim / I think so' responses had 'sim' as part of a unit and are, as argued above, different than the cases in which 'sim' standing alone or a 'sim' together with a verb repeat were used as responses to YNIs, so those 6 instances were presented separately. This means that only 25 YNIs got 'sim' as part of their answers excluding those in which a verb repeat could not have been produced as a response, and excluding the 'I think so' responses. My analysis of those 25 instances has made it possible to unveil some of the circumstances and causes which are connected with 'sim' responses to YNIs. This part of the chapter will be dedicated to showing what those 'sim' responses do.

Before moving on to the analysis of those cases in which a verb repeat is possible, it is worth considering how this idea of what is or is not a 'possible' verb repeat response was defined and what may restrict the use of verb repeats as responses to YNIs. As seen in section 3.4, some cases in which a verb repeat is not a possible response to a YNI are the ones in which the FPP of the YNI does not contain a verb: if the FPP does not contain a verb, the SPP can hardly contain a repeat of what was not there in the first place. Some cases, however, are not so straightforward and there is room for debate about some of the proposed cases in the literature. Those cases will be discussed in turn. Santos (2003) proposes that 'ser' and 'sim' answers are in some contexts different from 'verbal answers' – which we call here verb repeats – as "a focalization operator in pre-verbal position precludes verbal answers, whereas SIM (yes) or SER (BE) answers remain available" (p. 62). Some examples presented by Santos (2003, pp. 62-63) in order to show that focalisation operators preclude verb repeats are reproduced below, but the

---

[12] I did not count all the instances of YNIs, but I did count the YNIs of a single 27minute interaction picked at random in order to provide a rough idea of numbers. This interaction – which had exactly 00:27:28 duration - contained 33 YNIs, most of which got positive responses, and not a single case of 'sim'. Extrapolating from this (though obviously words and interactions can only be understood in context and an estimation of a total number or YNIs by one interaction would be seriously questionable) I would expect to have a total of more than 2,000 YNIs in my data corpora overall.

'emphasis' presented in the form of coloured blocks, boxes and strikethroughs are
mine:

```
                                _____ x _____
                                /                        \
(a) Q:  Foi   no     cinema   que   a  Maria  desmaiou ?
        Was in+the cinema that the Maria fainted[3rd sg]
    'Was in the cinema that Maria fainted?'
    A: Sim.  /  Foi .  /  É.  /  *Desmaiou .
       yes  /  was   /  is  /  fainted[3rd sg]
```

```
                          _____ x _____
                          /                        \
(b) Q:  Foi   a  Maria  que  desmaiou       no   cinema?
        Was the Maria  that fainted[3rd sg] in+the cinema
    'Was it Maria who fainted in the cinema?'
    A: Sim.  /  Foi .  /  É.  /  *Desmaiou .
       yes  /  was   /  is  /  fainted[3rd sg]
```

Note: the asterisk (*) preceding a proposed answer signals an inappropriate
response by the author, I used strikethroughs to cancel those answers out in order
to make the point clear.

Santos (2003) says that in those cases of identificational focus (where a VP
adjunct is focalised and a subject is clefted, respectively) verb repeats are not
possible answers, but only 'ser' and 'sim' responses would remain available. This
conclusion will be disputed here: the verb repeat Santos proposes to be an incorrect
response ('desmaiou', in those cases) is clearly not a possible response here, but this
does not mean a verb repeat is not possible. It is worth noticing that the reader
does not need to know Portuguese to follow the point I am making here, as the
point is also perfectly clear from the English translation. 'Desmaiou' /'fainted' is the
verb of a subordinated clause, in both cases marked as 'x', this 'x' is clearly
presupposed to be true and not what is in fact being asked here, it is the main
clause 'Foi no cinema'/'Foi a Maria' what is being the object of enquiry here. That is
the place (cinema) is being checked in example (a) and Maria is assumed to have
fainted, while the person (Maria) is being checked in example (b) to have fainted in
the cinema. The action 'fainted' is not checked in either case. If 'desmaiou/fainted'
is not the matter of the enquiry but part of a subordinate clause which is accessory
to the matter verified, than an answer with a repeat of this verb would not be an

appropriate response because it would not, in fact, be an answer to what had been asked. The main clause, however, does have a main verb and this can be repeated as a response. This verb is shown in the coloured box to be 'foi' in both examples. The fact that the main verb is also a 'ser' verb (in the past form – more specifically, the pretérito perfeito do modo indicativo) just makes a repeat of 'foi' a repeat of the main verb, which in this specific case is the 'ser/to be'. 'Foi' responses such as the ones in the cases above would be considered, in the analysis presented here, to be cases in which a verb repeat was produced as an answer to a YNI and, in case 'sim' was produced as a response, those cases were analysed as cases in which a 'verb repeat' was a possible response.

Although the proposed examples of responses which would preclude verb repeats presented above were refuted, there are a few cases which in fact cannot properly accept a verb repeat as an answer. Another example by Santos (2003), analysed below, is another issue of focalisation, this time of the verbal predicate and/or the internal argument, which she proposes to preclude a verb repeat:

```
                          ───────── x ─────────
                         /                      \
 (c) Q: O    João   só   estudou       Geografia?
        The  João   only studied[3ʳᵈ sg] Geography
        'Did João only study Geography?'
     A: Sim. / Foi. / É. / Só. / *E̶s̶t̶u̶d̶o̶u̶.
        yes / was / is / only / studied[3ʳᵈ sg]
```

Again, the analysis of this example is very accessible from the English translation. In this case we only have one verb and this verb ('estudou') is indeed inappropriate as a response to the proposed YNI. The similarity with the cases above is the fact that the verb present in the FPP cannot be repeated as a positive answer to the interrogative because the verb is part of an 'x' context which is proposed to be true and is not, in fact, what is being verified by the question. In the example above the fact that Geography had been studied is taken to be true, what is being asked is if it was the *only* thing done by João and/or the only subject he had studied. In this case, the repeat of 'studied' would not be an adequate response as the adverb modifies the verb and the interrogative. In order to produce an appropriate response to this question, then, an adverbial repeat would be a possible

answer, as it would agree with the proposed interrogative, whereas a verb repeat would not answer the proposed question[13].

'Sim' and 'ser' responses would also be available answers to the example above but the analysis should not stop here. This kind of question that assumes something to be correct and checks if it is the case does not just hang in the air in a syntactic exercise which proposes appropriate answers (although this is how Santos writes about it), but frequently happens in the context of some understanding check and other contexts in which a speaker is seeking some type of confirmation. Cases of understanding checks – both in which a verb repeat is and is not a possible response – are contextually different from other YNIs and are cases in which 'sim' responses are actually found to be used in the Brazilian data analysed here and those are the cases which will be developed below.

The context of actual productions of YNIs and the responses they get are essential, then, to the understanding of what speakers do with the language resources they have available and what it means to produce one kind or another kind of response. This kind of analysis – conversation analysis of talk-in-interaction – allows one to see what kinds of answers are 'default' answers and the differences among different types of answers in ways that are simply impossible when 'possible' responses to Yes-No questions are proposed based on the analyst's understanding of those answers being felicitous (or not) for competent speakers.

In proposing the existence of a default response the work presented here departs from syntactic analysis of 'felicitous' and 'non felicitous' responses to YNIs based on grammatical possibilities and restrictions available within a given language – an analysis seldom attentive to actions or to the context of language

---

[13]   Santos (2003) proposes that sentences modified by adverbs such as 'só, apenas/only', 'quase/almost', that is, those that restrict the proposition negatively, cannot get verb repeats as answers either. The generative analysis may be complex, but the logic can be actually quite simple if one thinks about an extreme case such as the following one: a person who almost died is in fact alive, so a repeat of the verb 'die' in the form of 'died' in this case would clearly not be an agreement to the proposition, it would, on the contrary challenge the proposition by producing something that would negate the 'almost' and affirm 'died'. A default positive answer in this case is, then, a repeat of the adverb ('almost') and/or a 'ser' response. 'Sim' would also be a 'felicitous' answer, but it would not be default according to the analysis of BP developed here and would be saying something different. In this case it is clear that speakers respond not only to isolated words, producing verb repeats of whatever is heard but that they respond to whole propositions and actions when confronted with YNIs. Speakers do, then, respond to what is relevant in context 'recovering' (to use Santos' word) what is relevant from the proposition they respond to in their SPPs to YNIs.

production. I propose here, in accordance with the prior discoveries of CA, that in producing responses that conform to the terms of the FPP (or not) people are engaged in action for a 'cause' which can be inspected. Those conforming and non-conforming responses are resources available for speakers in interaction. Selecting between conforming and non-conforming responses (all of which may be grammatically felicitous responses) matters to interactants. In Schegloff's words: "the apparently petty [issue] 'who is agreeing with whom' – *can* and *does* matter" (1996: p. 194).

3.5 Conforming vs. Confirming: 'sim' as a means of avoiding agreeing

CA research has shown that participants orient to being first to say something in a way that separates the actions of confirming and agreeing (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond, 2003; Schegloff, 1996) "Participants orient to first and second position as involved in claims about rights to make assessments" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, 17-18). Whereas 'saying it first' is associated with epistemic primacy, "second speakers can modulate their response to upgrade their claimed epistemic access to, and/or rights to assess, a referent" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, 23). In this sense, there is a marked difference between agreeing and confirming when a 'Yes' or 'No' response is made relevant in second position. Saying 'yes', for instance, is wholly occupied with doing agreement, that is, with accepting one's second position and the 'firstness' of the other's FPP. Non-conforming practices, however, can manage this 'temporal secondness' and claim their rights to first position by doing something instead of plain agreement: speakers can, for instance "upgrade their claimed access to a referent using a [confirmation + agreement token] turn format" (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 24) – this was illustrated in fragment 8, Part I.

Apart from managing the position in which they produce an agreement token (such as a 'yes') in a way that delaying its production marks the SPP as a confirmation rather than an agreement and upgrades one's epistemic rights (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond, 2003), speakers can, in English, depart from conforming responses and: (1) avoid the production of an agreement token and point to inappropriateness of the FPP (see fragment 7 in Part I and further analysis in Raymond, 2000, 2003); (2) produce partial repeats of an FPP which spells out

something they had alluded to earlier, in such a way as to confirm an allusion and also to confirm that was designed as an allusion (see Schegloff, 1996). The strategies mentioned above show the importance to speakers of differentiating between very similar actions.

In this section, the ways in which the Portuguese 'yes' token 'sim' is actually used in Brazilian Portuguese data will be examined as one 'special' practice. It will be shown that 'sim' can do 'confirming' rather than agreeing, can also be a claim of conformity as saying something again (had it been said or not) and can show some problems both with the question and with the relevant next action implicated in the questioning after YNIs. Thus, it is not appropriate to translate 'Sim' into English as 'Yes', so it is translated here as 'right'. 'Right' was chosen because of its job of doing 'confirmation' and because of its versatility. For this chapter, the most important feature of 'right' is presented below:

> "as an epistemic confirmation token, in which the semantic link to *Right* in the sense of 'correct' is quite salient, in that a speaker uses this token to confirm that some proposition by the prior speaker is indeed correct, or that the knowledge displayed in the prior turn by another speaker is shared by the *Right* producer" (Gardner, 2007, p. 336)

The analytical support for choosing 'right' as a translation is developed in this section. 'Right' was also chosen because of its versatility because 'Sim' also does other jobs in Portuguese, and those other aspects of 'Sim' are important for the discussion of 'misalignments' in the police interactions (discussed in Chapter 6).

A straight-forward example of a confirming 'sim' not doing agreement will be presented below. This case of confirming marks the information required by an officer's FPP as already known to the enquirer. The officer jokingly asks an allegedly abused twelve-year-old girl for her marital status by offering the option 'casada / married' to be confirmed or disconfirmed. The girl's grandmother (Gra) answers the interrogative with the 'right' alternative: 'solteira/ single' and laughs (together with the girl), and then adds that the girl 'ainda estuda/ still studies'. The young girl's unmarried status is, thereby, related to her status as a student – better, of someone who is 'still' studying rather than being married. The officer then continues by checking the girl's birth date on her documents and, shortly

afterwards (line 16), asks if the girl studies. This question gets a verb repeat as a first SPP by Bia – the girl's biological mother – and a 'sim' as a second SPP by the grandmother (line 18):

#27 S: 4 Study - WPS 14 (±1:25)

```
01  Po5:    Casa:da¿              ((to the girl - jokingly))
            Married¿
            Ma:rried¿

02          (0.2)

03  Gra:    É solte:[:i(h)ra  huhh] huhh °ainda extu:da° huh.
            Is single                    still  studies
            She's si:[:n(h)gle huhh] huhh °she still stu:dies° huh.

04  Luc:            [hehh heh heh]

05          (1.0)

06  Po5:    Vamu vê aqui: nascida e:m três de abril é i:sso.
            Will  see here   born    on  third of April is it
            Let's see it he:re born o:n the third of April is i:t.

07  Luc:    Uhum

08  Gra:    É:=
            Is
            Ye:s=

09  Po5:    =>Qué  s[entá aqui:¿ Sente aqui:<.]  ((to Bia who was standing up))
              want to sit here¿ Sit here.
            =>Wanna s[it he:re¿ Take a sit he:re<.]

10  Gra:            [°Vai fazê tre:ze° no di:]a três de abri:l.
                     Will do/make thirteen on the day three of April
                    [°She'll be thirtee:n° on th:]e third of A:pril.

11          (1.0 + keyboard)

12  Po5:    Três de abri::l, (0.2) de >mil novecentos e
            Three of April    of  a thousand nine hundred and
            Third of A::pril, (0.2) >nineteen

13          noventa e um<?
            ninety  and one
            ninetyone<?

14  Bia:    Isso.
            That
            Right.

15          (2.0)

16  Po5:    Estuda¿
            Study (3ps, also 2ps)
            Do you study¿ / Does she study¿

17  Bia:    Estuda.=
            Study (3ps)
            Yeah.

18→Gra:     =°Si:m.°
            Yes
            =°Indee:d.° / °She do:es.°
```

```
19          (5.2 - keyboard)
20  Po5:    Estuda que a:no¿
            Study   what grade
            What gra:de¿
```

Sim, in this case is not sequentially expansive, as the officer continues with the report making after that. Nonetheless it is a clear case of confirmation, as it is not only a second SPP to a FPP (the first SPP being done with a default verb repeat), but it also follows the Grandmother's earlier turn in which she explicitly stated that the girl studied. In line 18, the grandmother both confirms the earlier response in 17 and marks this information as not being provided for the first time.

The fact that the grandmother confirms with 'sim' information which she had given earlier, and which her daughter has confirmed just prior to her own response does not mean, however, that sim is the only alternative to answering an interrogative after having already provided the relevant response to it. It is possible to produce a second (or any subsequent) agreement to a YNI to which the enquirer should know the answer. More than possible, the production of a new agreement rather than a confirmation is quite frequent. There seem to be, therefore, instances in which speakers chose not to produce such agreement, but instead only to confirm what was said. One of those cases can be clearly illustrated by a complainant's reporting an instance of abuse to the police. In her reporting, the officer in charge repeatedly asks YNIs that are actual confirmation requests of things that had been mentioned but not further elaborated in the woman's telling. In those instances the complainant consistently provides a verb repeat (that is, a default positive answer which agrees with the FPP) in response to the officer's interrogatives. Those include instances in which the officer has problems with the computer she is using to make the report, resulting in interruptions to the telling. After many repetitions and interruptions, the woman is asked to tell her story in detail and a few minutes afterwards she is asked to confirm most of the things she had already said a few times. What follows, then, is a string of 'sim tokens' which are produced often before the interrogative is fully articulated by the officer and do show some urgency and impatience on the complainant's side.

The very beginning of this interaction – WPS 34 – is shown below. The first question the officer asks the complainant (line 01) is about the nature of her complaint, first as 'o que/what' question and later as a candidate response (line 01:

Agressão foi?/Assault was it?). This candidate response, a YNI, gets a verb repeat (foi, line 02) as an agreement and is subsequently expanded by the complainant, who presents a brief telling about the abuse which, can briefly be glossed as follows: unlike other arguments, on the day before the telling around 2am her partner had arrived home drunk and started to beat her.

#28 Opening – WPS 34

```
01   Po6:     Foi o quê. Agressão foi?
               Was  what.   Aggression was
               What was it. Assault was it?

02   Wom:     F:o:i. É:: eu convivo com uma pessoa
               Was   Is  I  live with  with  a    person
               Ye:a:h. U::h I've lived with a person

03            há dois ano:s. Na minha ca:sa, e::
               there is two years.  In  my    house and
               for two yea:rs. In my ho:use, a::nd

04            assim sempre discutimos né? Mas nunca
               like   always  discuss (1p.pl.) no? But never
               like have always argued right? But it had

05            chegou ao ponto de:- de agredi:r. Só
               arrive to  point of  of assaulting.  Just
               never got to the point o:f- of assaulting. But

06            que ontem assi:m °>por-<° duas horas
               that yesterday like  for/around two hours
               yesterday li:ke °>around-<° two in

07            da manhã:, mais ou menos, é: ele
               of morning  more or  less  is  he
               the mo:rning, more or less, uh: he

08            chegou em casa embreaga:do e aí começou
               arrived at  house drunk      and then started
               got home dru:nk and then started

09            a me batê:=
               to me to beat
               to be:at me=
```

The officer starts asking then some questions about the woman's and her abuser's personal details. After that, the complainant asks what is going to happen afterwards and, approximately 11 minutes later, the officer starts asking for some information which had already been mentioned during the introduction shown above. All those questions get a repeat of the verb used in the FPP.

#29 Verb Repeats on WPS 34

```
09   Wom:     u-hum

10            (1.5)

11   Po6:     Foi ontem ▮▮▮.
               Was  yesterday  was
```

```
                It was yesterday wasn't i:t.
12   Wom:       F:oi.
                Was
                Ye:s
13              (3.8 + brief Keyboard noise)
14   Po6:       A ho:ra.
                The time
                What ti:me.
15              (0.2)
16   Wom:       Ah::: entre uma e me:ia duas horas da manhã:.
                Uh   between one and a half two hours of+the morning
                Uh::: between one thi:rty and two in the mo:rning.
```

This telling is filled with computer problems and mistakes by the officer operating the computer, so there were frequent interruptions to the process of making the report and an orientation to problems with the computer. In many instances in which the officer had to go back to the case, she would do so with a YNI and those interrogatives always got a repeat as a response, as I will illustrate by a brief presentation of one of those cases:

Po4 was asked to help Po6 – the officer who was making this report – because Po6 could not find part of the work she had already done and was sure she had saved into the system. Lines 01-02 show Po4 having just solved the problem and offering an explanation about the reason why the problem had happen and giving Po6 the green light to start again. At line 03, then, Po6 re-starts the report making by asking about the name of the complainant's abuser. She offers a candidate name to be confirmed by the complainant as the person they were talking about and the one about whom they had recovered the details from the system. Po6 just selects the complainant as her next speaker and addressee after possible completion of her turn so, at line 04, in terminal overlap with the addressing term to the complainant, Po4 uses the to be 'é' response + Name to respond positively to Po6's interrogative and, after a gap, the complainant – who had then already heard her name as the addressee of the interrogative, uses the same verb that Po6 had used in her interrogative + the abuser's full name. Just after that, the officers talk for a minute about their learning process regarding the use of that computer system and after that Po6 makes another YNI about the time of the abuse, which again gets a verb repeat as a response:

#30 WPS 34

```
01  Po4:    Pro:nto. Porque você voltou a indiví:duos.
            Ready.   Because  you  returned to  individuals.
            Ri:ght. It was because you returned to indivi:duals.

02          É:. Pro:nto.
            Is.  Ready.
            Ye:s. Ri:ght.

03  Po6:    Foi Rivaldo num foi Ivo:ne. ]
            Was (name)   no  was (vocative)
            It was Rivaldo wasn't [it Ivo:ne.]

04  Po4:                     [É Riva:ldo.]
                              Is (name)
                              [Yes Riva:ldo.]

05                  (.)

06  Wom:    Fo:i. Rivaldo da Costa Pere:ira.
            Was.  (name  1st surname 2nd surname)
            Ye:s. Rivaldo da Costa Pere:ira.
```

-- Officers talk for about a minute about the learning process.
'It's normal' / 'No problem' / 'It was like that with me:.'--

```
09  Po6:    Foi uma e meia da manhã num foi nã:o.
            Was one and half of+the morning no was no.
            It was at half one in the morning wasn't i:t.

10  Wom:    Fo:i. Nesse horário.
            Was.  In+this time.
            Ye:s. At this time.
```

Approximately 5 minutes later, that is 32 minutes into the reporting, the complainant is invited to tell the incident of abuse she was reporting in more detail. She tells her story for about 3 minutes and there is a big lapse. After this lapse, the officer produces a few YNIs checking some information that had been given in the reporting. Those YNIs get a string of 'sim' tokens as answers and there is a feeling of impatience in those responses not only in the tone of such response but also in the way the complainant answers the interrogatives before they are completely finished: she starts her responses in terminal overlap with the officer and, in one instance, finishes the officer's TCU in a collaborative completion (Lerner, 1991, 1996), and produces a 'sim' confirming it afterwards:

#31 - WPS 34 (S: 36/37/38/39) Re-confirming the story

```
01  Po6:    Ele tava alcoholizado fo:i.]
            He was alcoholized was
            Was he under the influence of alcohol was [he:].

02  Wom: →                            [S:]i:m. Basta:nte.
                                      Yes.  A lot.
                                      [R:]i:ght. A lo:t.

03          (28 sec)
```

```
04  Po6:     Aí- você num tava contando que:: (0.2)
            Then- you no were telling that
            Then- weren't you saying tha::t (0.2)

05          ele pegou num sei o quê seu fo:i.
            he got/took no  know(1ps) what yours was.
            he took whatever that was yours ri:ght.

06          (.)

07  Wom: →  S::im. Pegou o presente que eu tinha
            yes.  Got(3ps) the gift that I had
            Ri::ght. He took the gift that I had been

08          ga:nho. E levo: pra outra pesso:a.
            given. And took to other person.
            Gi:ven. And too:k it to someone e:lse.

09          (6.0 + key)

10  Wom:    Eu tinha comprado vários presentes-
            I had  bought  several gifts
            I had bought several gifts-

11          naquela lojinha de um rea:l, pra ele
            in that little shop of one (Brazilian currency) for him
            in that pound sho:p, for him

12          entregá na escola que ele extu:da¿=
            to deliver in the school that he studies
            to give away in the school where he stu:dies¿=

13  Po6:    =>Quando ele pegou o teu presente ele tava:: (.)
              When  he got  the your gift he
            =>When he took your gift was he:: (.)

14  Wom: →  Embriaga:do. S:im.
            Drunk. Yes.
            Dru:nk. Ri:ght.

15          (.)

16  Wom:    Quando ele pegou meu presente eu não
            When he  took  my gift  I no
            When he took my gift I wasn't

17          estava em ca:sa.=Eu tava no traba:lho.
            was    at  home. I was  in the work
            at ho:me.=I was at wo:rk.

-- 15 lines omitted --
19          (28 sec)

20  Po6:    Esse- (sua) cole:ga foi te dá:¿
            This(M) your(F) colleague went you(obj) to give
            This- (your) colle:ague went to give yo:u¿

21          (0.8)

22  Wom: →  S:i:m. Confraternizaçã::o=amigo secreto
            Yes. ('fraternization')      friend secret
            R:i:ght.                      =secret santa

23          do colégio onde eu traba:lho.
            of the school where I work
            of the school in which I wo:rk.

24          (3.8)
```

```
25  Po6:     De amigo secre:to.
              Of friend secret
              Of a secret sa:nta.

26  Wom:     Ãh-han.=Foi de amigo secre:to.
                      Was of friend secret
              Mm hun.=It was a secret sa:nta.

27            (14 sec)
```

The information she confirms had already been given earlier and all the instances are marked confirmations with the use of sim and (in some cases) the urgency in their production. It is important to emphasise, however, that the complainant chooses to use 'sim' in this moment: it would not have been grammatically incorrect to use a verb repeat and the complainant had, in fact, already confirmed things without 'sim' (as shown on 29:12, 30:06, 30:10). The use of 'sim' here and the way those tokens are produced help to see that those responses are markedly different from the 'default' responses to YNI and are marking their status as confirmations and things that should be known by the officer.

3.5.1 Claims of confirming

As seen above, 'sim' can be used to confirm things speakers had already said, in a way that marks them as confirmations. If speakers can use 'sim' to mark a SPP to a YNI as a confirmation (rather than an agreement) – as shown above – when they have actually said the things they confirm, they can also do it when they have not in fact previously said the things they confirm. In those cases, speakers can be said to be claiming to be confirming.

The fragment below was extracted from WPS 36 when officer and complainant were having problems in terms of establishing whether or not the complainant had a reportable crime according to the police standards[14]. The woman had said she had been verbally and physically abused at the beginning of her telling, but failed to produce a date for an incident of battery, so the officer asks her if she had gone to the police because of verbal abuse – which does not constitute a reportable crime as serious as a battery incident. The woman starts answering the enquiry on line 06, with a reluctant 'f::oi / Ye:::s' which she starts to develop but does not get far with, as the officer, getting a positive response to a crime that would be less than battery, goes then for the strongest possible case of verbal abuse: a threat. So, when offered

---

[14] See chapter 04 and chapter 05 for further analysis on 'reportability' and on this specific case's phases and issues of reportabiliy.

this new line by the officer, that the abuser threatened her when she has not in fact previously said so, the complainant repairs her beginning of a verb repeat ('fez/did'), which would agree with the officer's FPP in favour of a 'sim', doing confirmation and claiming to have made this threat available to the officer earlier.

#32 – WPS 36/S:22 Verbal Abuse (Repairing a 'default answer' for 'sim')

```
01              (0.2)
02   Po4:    Foi por conta de que da agressã:o.
             Was due to    of what  of the aggression
             Was it due to what the abu:se.
03              (.)
04   Po4:    Só (.) oral foi?
             Only oral was
             Only (.) verbal was it?
05              (0.2)
06   Wom:    F::o:i assi[:m    de:-    de:::]
             Was     like    of      of
             Ye::s:  li[:ke  due:-   du::e]
07   Po4:           [>Mas ele fez alguma amea]:ça.<
                     But  he did/made some     threat
                    [>But did he make any thre]:at.<
08   Wom: →   F::=Si:m. °Sim°.
             (Did/Made)=Yes. Yes
             Ye::=he di:d. °He did°.
09   Po4:    Fez      ameaça  [de qu]ê?
             Did      threat   of what
             He made a threat [of wh]at?
10   Wom:    [Fe:z.]    De mor:te. °°De
             Did       of  death   of
             [Ye:s.] Of de:ath. °°Of
11           m[orte.°° Ele] tem me ameaçado de mor:te=
             death     He   has me  threatened of death
             d[eath.°° He] has been threatening me with de:ath=
```

Even though the complainant had not actually said she had been threatened, her production of 'sim' claims to be confirming the officer's understanding of her situation and thereby claiming her earlier talk having properly given the officer reasons to believe she was being threatened. With 'sim' she claims her right to confirm the abuses – including threats – she had suffered, while also claiming to be confirming something that should have been inferable from her previous talk.

Another case of a claim of confirmation can be seen below. In this case the complainant gives a vague response to a request for information about how she had

been beaten. Then, when the officer produces an understanding check with a more descriptive definition of what had happened, the complainant confirms it with sim:

#33 - S:50 Like a demon - WPS 06 (WPS 6b - 11:20)

```
01   Wom:      ((sings a hymn about God ♫"is my protector"))

02   Pol:      Ela bateu em você co:mo.
               She beat in you how.
               How did she beat yo:u.

03             (.)

04   Wom:      Ela veio pra cima de mi:m.=>Num sa:be<. Isso aqui tá
               She came    to   above of   me. = No know(3ps).    This here is
               She came over me.=You kno:w. This here is

05             tudo duí:do. ((showing her arm))
               all achy
               all a:chy.  ((showing her arm))

06   Pol:      Ela segurou você pelo bra:ço=>foi=i[:sso.<]
               She held    you  by+the arm.            Was this/it
               She held you by  the  a:rm=>didn't=[she:.<]

07   Wom:                                          [Si:m.]=
                                                    Yes
                                                   [Ri:ght.]=

08             =Bem assi:m que nem u::-um demô:nio assim pra
               Well like that no one  demon  like to
               =Just li:ke a::- a de:mon like

09             cima de mi:m.
                above of me
               over me:.
```

Even though the complainant is asked 'how' things happened she offers a vague description of it 'she came over me' and shows her arm while she makes a reference to how painful this part of her body is. The officer, then, produces an understanding of the 'how' she asked about as 'ela segurou você pelo braço / she held you by the arm' which is then confirmed with 'sim'. 'Sim' is produced in overlap with most of 'isso' just after 'foi'. It is important to notice that 'Ela segurou você pelo braço' is a possibly complete TCU which is not brought to completion by Pol as she manages its prosody not giving a final intonation to 'bra:ço' and then latching it to 'foi isso'. There is a difference between producing this TCU with or without the addition of 'foi isso', such addition marks the TCU more clearly as an understanding check. 'Foi' is, however, produced with just one beat of silence between the end of the possible but not actual completion of the TCU after 'bra:ço' by the officer and 'sim', by the woman. This beat of silence is what constitutes a default, unmarked, transition of speakers. In this case, then, 'sim' could be in place

of two possible verb repeats: 'segurou' and or 'foi', depending on what was actually heard and targeted as a response by the woman. It is likely, however, that this overlapping response shows an understanding of the officer's turn as possibly complete after 'braço' and that the woman aimed to produce her response to this TCU. In any way, as the question with 'foi' works as a tag an answer with 'foi', a past form of 'ser', would work in a way in which the whole sentence would be confirmed, but in a way in which an agreement would also be produced as it would accept the same terms of the FPP. Contrastingly, as a confirmation, 'sim' seems to confirm not only the content of this understanding check (that is, it was indeed by the arm that she was taken), but also to confirm the understanding check as such and, thereby, constitutes a claim to already have conveyed this information earlier, albeit in a different way.

In extract 33, if the woman had used a verb repeat she would be agreeing that the woman had taken her by the arm and not confirming the officer's understanding of her prior talk as having already conveyed this information. The repeat of 'segurou/held', here, would convey something slightly different as it would not claim to have already given sufficient information for the officer to figure out this first and/or it would mark an emphasis in repeating the verb as if to produce outrage, which is not the case here. 'Sim', then, confirms not only the action (that the alleged assailant held her by the arm) but also that what was said earlier by the same speaker was correctly understood by the officer as conveying this![15]

---

[15] The fragment below is presented as a contrast to the example analysed above and aims to show once again that even in confirmative contexts verb repeats can be produced as answers to some types of understanding checks. In the fragment below, rather than producing a confirming 'sim' to an officer's understanding check – which would confirm not only the action in question but also having said so earlier - a complainant who had also used her body to say something a bit unspecific about how her partner had attempted to attack her produces a verb repeat of the officers understanding check of her case (line 05), responding positively to the check without doing a 'marked' confirming.

WPS 36 - Confirmings with verbs can be done with verb repeats
```
01   Wom:    Ontem ele::- ele chegou embriaga:do
             Yesterday he   he  arrived  drunk
             Yesterday he::- he arrived dru:nk

02           né? Aí: (.) ele: (.) vuã- tento:u
             no is? Then  he        flew  tried
             right? The:n (.) he: (.) fle- tri:ed

03           ele vEio em cima de mim assi:m.-
             he came  on  over of  me  like
```

'Sim' has this property of confirming things that cannot be confirmed with verbs especially because what is confirmed then is the understanding of what was previously said or intended and not only the action. Here some of Santos (2003) propositions and the elegance with which she describes some responses and/or restrictions to some responses to YNIs are quite useful in presenting some of the findings from the actual use of BP. According to Santos (2003) "in order to answer to a yes-no question, one must identify the material focused in the question (what is being asked) and recover this material in the answer" (p.64), so in cases in which there is a change in what is focused in the question verb repeats may not be available because a verb repeat recovers something different than a 'sim' or 'ser' answer.

As Santos (2003) proposed in her work that 'ser' and 'sim' are different from verb repeats in "confirmative contexts" (p.63): that is while verb repeats cannot always be used to in those confirmative contexts 'ser' and 'sim' can be used in those confirmative contexts in European Portuguese (EP). It is useful here to keep Santos use of 'confirmative contexts' disconnected from the CA use of confirming, which has been shown here to be different from conforming, a difference which has not been explored by Santos in her work. What her analysis shows is that there are syntactic restrictions to verb repeats while 'sim' and 'ser' responses are syntactically equivalent (Santos, 2003). It has been argued here, however, that 'ser' responses are default responses in cases in which there is no verb in the FPP, whereas 'sim' has been shown to be used in special contexts even when verb repeats are possible answers. This property of 'sim' and its connections with the use of the to be 'ser', which can also be used to confirm understanding checks and agree with the truth of statements that do not have verbs or are modified by clauses, will be developed later in the section 'sim' vs 'ser'. The notion of 'sim'

```
              he   came over me li:ke.=

04  Po4:      =Tentou lhe agredi:r.=
              Tried    to you to abuse
              =Tried to abu:se you.=

05  Wom:      =TEntou.
              Tried
              =YEs.

06  Po4:      Mas aí você::=
              But then  you
              But then yo::u=
```

recovering something different from verb repeats in some contexts and, in those cases, operating some sort of 'higher' confirmation is worth keeping, as it can contribute to the analysis presented here of 'sim' doing a non-conforming confirming, rather than just agreement.

It is mostly via the example below that Santos builds her argument about the confirmative properties of 'sim' and 'ser' answers. It is important to note, however, that this (made up) example is not a YNI, but a context in which an assessment is produced by a speaker in a response to a 'wh' question and this assessment is confirmed by another speaker. Those are not exactly the contexts analysed in this chapter and the corpus analysed here does not contain anything exactly like the example below. However, in interactions in which more than two speakers were involved and some kind of confirmation of one person's response was produced with 'sim' by a third party this confirmation was done 'for cause' (see fragments 27, 41 and more on this issue in the 'Ser' vs. 'Sim' section).

```
(d) Speaker A: Eles  são   gordos  porquê?
                they  are   fat     why
               'Why are they fat?'
    Speaker B: Comem    bananas
               Eat[3rdpl] bananas
               'They eat bananas'
    Speaker C: Comem. / É. / Sim.
               eat    / is / yes
```

According to Santos (2003), speaker C's confirmation in (d) with a verb repeat would be like: "Yes, they eat bananas", whereas a 'sim' or 'ser' response would be "interpreted as 'Yes, they are fat because they eat bananas'. This means that SIM (yes) or SER (BE) confirmations are able to recover the answer status of the confirmed sentence, unlike verbal confirmations." (p. 63). That is, 'ser' and 'sim' confirm what has been presented here as 'the whole truth' of what was stated earlier, the whole assessment, while the verb repeat confirms the action covered by the verb. Santos proposes, then, a syntactic difference between those types of responses: 'sim' and 'ser' responses occupying a position structurally higher than the verb repeats in order to recover higher material. The author goes on to propose, then, that verb repeats recover the material of questions not modified by syntactic or discourse factors, but are precluded when the material focused in the interrogative is defined by higher categories:

"The material focused in yes-no questions includes the verb and everything it c-commands in the default cases. In these cases, a verbal answer is able to recover the material focus in the question. The interpretation happens by default in the absence of syntactic (or other) factors capable of changing the definition of the material focused in the question. When syntactic (identificational focus, for instance) or discourse factors intervene, the material focused in the question may be defined by higher categories – in these cases, a verbal answer is unavailable" (Santos, 2003, p. 64)

Default was not defined by the author but is apparently intended (unlike the use made in this paper) to refer not to a type of response, but rather to a type of question in which no special 'focalisation' takes place and a verb repeat is a possible answer and, to the author, when 'sim', 'ser' and repeats all 'recover' the same material. Even though the notion of what is 'recovered' by an answer to a YNI is useful, the idea of analyzing responses just based on what they are 'able' to 'recover' syntactically is questioned here. Such explanation fails to see that 'sim' is not a 'universally correct' type of answer to a YNI, but rather operates in special contexts. 'Sim' answers are given both in contexts where a verb repeat is and where it is not possible. So far, this section has shown that 'sim' is used in special contexts which do not preclude a verb repeat syntactically, but in which participants are avoiding agreement and instead doing confirming. It could be said, then, that example 33 shown above shows that the use of 'sim' (rather than an available verb repeat) does indeed recover higher material than the verb repeat. Rather than 'recovering' the status of answer of another speaker (as in example d), it recovers her own previous response and confirms it, rather than answering the verb proposed affirmatively, confirming the action. This however, is not just organized syntactically but in the context of the interaction given that 'sim' answers do confirming in cases in which verb repeats would 'recover' the same material syntactically and in cases in which verb repeats are not possible, and yet what those responses do is not the same.

It is also important to remember that 'sim' is a means of doing and claiming to be confirming something in many responses to YNIs – as shown above – but the example (d) proposed by Santos (2003) is not the case of an YNI but a case in which a speaker seconds an assessment made by another. It can be seen here that, in

YNIs, 'sim' responses are used in confirming environments and also when speakers claim rights to do confirming – even in cases where they had not (clearly) stated what they subsequently confirm with 'sim'.

In sum, this difference between the use of the verb repeat and the use of 'sim' is that 'sim' marks a claim that the speaker has already provided the elements which would answer what was enquired in the first place. Some other uses of the 'sim' token in responses to YNIs are going to be presented and analysed later in this chapter but before moving away from the confirming issue, another example of the usage discussed here (confirmation) will be presented. In extract 34 (below), the complainant is not given the opportunity to tell her story of abuse. Instead the officer offers alternatives of 'what happened' to the woman who ends up having her primary rights over her own story taken away from her: first, the officer changes a question about who the abuser was (lines 1-2), to instead offer a candidate answer (a granddaughter, line 2), which turns out to be wrong, since the abuser is the woman's daughter-in-law (line 4). After settling the abuser's identity, the officer produces another YNI with a candidate crime her abuser has commited 'ela bateu na senhora / did she beat you' (line 7), which also turns out to be incorrect (line 8). The complainant, then, first produces a negative to the YNI (line 08) and then starts a telling about what happened. Rather than saying, however, something like 'she did not beat me, she threatened me', the woman starts a telling in which she reports that her daughter-in-law had been to her house and invaded it (lines 09-10), which are not reportable crimes in a WPS. The woman gets no response from the officer and starts giving background information about the incident (line 12) and producing a detailed narrative of what had happened. The officer, then, produces another candidate crime on line 15 without waiting for the woman to complete what could be a long telling. His YNI is 'ameaço:u fo:i', which is again a candidate crime + some sort of 'tag' with the to be/ser in the past form 'foi'. As she had not yet produced any evidence to lead the officer to conclude that she had been threatened, she first produces the repeat of the verb used by the officer in his FPP, producing a default positive answer to the interrogative, but she subsequently confirms it with 'sim'. In her response, then, she first produces the verb repeat as she had not had the opportunity to say it and/or give the elements for the officer to infer this was the case. Then, she says 'sim' which produces her claim of being in

the position to confirm the matter, as the person who had experienced the threat, rather than to have second position in it. Her confirmation could also, however, be attentive to 'foi', in a way that the 'first' response would be directed to the first part of the question and the second answer to the 'tag' part. She does not, however, conform to the format of the 'tag' by offering a 'foi', default, answer. 'Sim' then, is a way of confirming an understanding as right but again in a marked way: the complainant claims to confirm something that was not already produced as the officer's candidate crime is confirmed as being the right understanding of the case while the complainant marks her own primary rights over it, even when at first she had not given the elements for such 'understanding' and, as such, produces firstly a verb repeat and only later a confirming token:

#34 - S:31 - Daughter-in-law (WPS 31)

```
01   Po8:     A- a senhora vai den- vai dá queixa de
              The- the ma'am will den- will give complaint of
              Y- you ma'am will den- will make a complaint of

02            que:m. Da sua ne[:ta.]
              whom. Of the your granddaughter
              who:m. Of your granda[:ughter.]

03   Wo2:                         [Duma:] n:- duma:- d- duma
                                  Of one d:- of one- o- of one
                                  [Of a:] d:- of a:- o- of a

04            no:ra mi:nha.
              daughter-in-law mine.
              da:ughter-in-law of mi:ne.

05   Po8:     Duma nora né.
              Of one daughter-in-law no+is.
              Of a daughter in law right.

06   Wo2:     É:.
              I:s.
              Ye:s.

07   Po8:     Ela bateu na senho:ra=>foi<.
              She beat in the ma'am was
              She beat you ma:'am=>was it<.

08   Wo2:     Ela nu- ela num bate:u em mi:m. Ela ela (.)
              She no- she no beat   in me. She she
              She didn- she didn't be:at me:. She she (.)

09            domingo ela foi p- lá pra casa e invadiu a
              Sunday she went t- there to house and invaded the
              Sunday she went t- there to the house and invaded

10   Wo2:     minha ca:sa né:.
              my house no is
              my ho:use ri:ght.

11            (.)
```

```
12 Wo2:  N- Tava la[vando  lá  fo:ra, ]
              N- Was(1ps/3ps) washing there out
              N- I was wa[shing there the outsi:de,]
```

-- 2 lines omitted: intervening talk – other officer to other complainant --

```
15  Po8:    Abs- a-  ameaço:u  fo:i.
            Abs- t- threatened was
            Abs- t- threate:ned you wa:s it.
```

```
16  Wo2:  →  Ameaço:u.  Si:m.        the 'yes' [Ri:ght.    ]
            Threa:tened. Yes
            Ye:s. [Ri:ght.          ]
```

-- 2 lines omitted: intervening talk – other officer to other complainant --

```
19  Po8:    Tá:.
            Is
            Oka:y..
```

3.6 Postponed SIMs: pointing to a problem with a next action

The cases shown below are a bit different from the previous ones in terms of how the 'sim' token is produced. In the following cases, the verb used in the YNI is repeated in the SPP and in turn-initial position but, unlike default answers or cases in which a verb repeat is produced with final intonation and is followed by 'sim' also with final intonation (such as extract 34 'Ameaço:u. Si:m.'), the following cases present verb repeats not produced with final intonation followed by 'sim', which is then produced with final intonation. The format of this answer is: {verb repeat + sim.} and they sound different from default answers in which a verb repeat is produced with final intonation even before the 'sim' token is produced. Not only do they sound different from the other responses in their prosody, but they are also different from default agreements and marked confirmations in their interactional import. There are very few examples of those types of answers in the data studied here and not all of them seem to be doing exactly the same action, however, one thing all of them seem to be doing is to give a positive response to the question but marking some trouble with it nonetheless, which gives them the impression of being a bit 'less than' full agreement. They first agree with the content of the proposition via a verb repeat, and then offer a confirmation of it (as said earlier or implied), but they stop there and do not bring the action suggested by the FPP forward; rather, they seem to mark a problem with this relevant next.

In their format, these cases are similar to the cases analysed by Raymond (2000, 2003) of postponed conformity. In BP, however, we cannot talk about postponed conformity, what we can observe is, in fact, the contrary: an initial

conformity – a verb repeat in turn-initial position (which could be a default response) which is not brought to completion – followed by 'sim' which sounds, then, like 'less than agreement'. Raymond's inspiring analysis brought to attention the fact that the position in which the agrement token is produced is interactionally relevant, so the presence of an agreement token in a response does not guarantee an ageement (when the 'yes' token is postponed). Although these BP cases present initially an apparent conformity, which is different from the English cases, we can also say that the presence of an element which could constitute a 'default' agreement in BP does not guarantee per se the production of such agreement. So, whereas in English a repeat (which does confirmation) + an agreement token does not produce agreement, in BP a repeat (which does agreement) + sim (a token that does among other things confirmation) does not produce simple agreement either. What is different here is that in BP even when an element of default agreement (a verb repeat) is produced in first position, the production of 'sim', makes those answers special.

Extracts 35 and 36 shown below are clear examples of responses that first produce a verb repeat in agreement with the FPP and then confirm it with 'sim', as part of something already said earlier while marking some problem with a next implicated action. Extract 35, for example, shows a conversation between a father and his daughter who had been talking for a while about the father's health when he had said 'hi' to 'mum' when she arrived home and had accounted for that out of place hi saying what it was about. A few minutes later, the daughter asks the father a YNI about mum's presence. This interrogative is composed by a first introductory part which makes relevant what the father had said before about 'mum' arriving and than asks if she is there. The answer 'Tá sim', simply responds to the question but does not forward the action of calling 'mum' over the phone (see example 23 for a comparison: Eugênia asks Cleusa if her mother is around and gets 'Tá' as a response and then her mother comes to the phone).

#35 - S: 2 – Mum

```
01   Eug:→Cê falou que a mãe tinha acabado de chegar. Ela ▮ por aí?=
        →You  said  that  the  mother  had  finished (just) of  arriving.  She is for there
        →You  said  that  mom  had  just  arrived.  Is  she  around?=

02      →=ou não.
        →=or  no
```

```
       →=or not.
03  Fat:→Tá sim.
       →Is   yes.
       →Yes right.
04  Eug:  >Deixa eu falá com el[a=então dá] um oizi:nho<.
            Let   I   talk  to  she then give one  hi(diminutive)
          >Let  me  talk  to he[r=then say] hi:<.
05  Fat:              [ É que=ela ]
                       Is that/cuz she
                      [It's cuz=she]
```

Clearly, the response to the pre-request in 03 does not forward the action. The
father, for instance, does not say 'I'll get her' or asks 'Do you want to talk to her',
but just confirms the information that 'mum is around', so it is down to Eugênia,
then, to ask directly if she could talk to her mother. Part of her turn is produced in
overlap with an abandoned TCU by the father where he started to explain why
mum had not been put on the line yet, something that is explained a little further
when 'mum' picks up the phone and accounts for being engaged in something else
before picking up the phone. The verb repeat followed by sim seems to agree with
the 'truth' of the proposition – in a way that 'sim' seems to confirm whole
propositions rather than specific parts of it – that is, it agrees with the correctness
of the FPP and confirms what was said as true but by doing so seem to point to
something else, which is some sort of problem with the next relevant action. The
daughter who asks her father on the phone if her mother – to whom the father had
said hi a few moments earlier – were available gets a 'tá sim / she is yes/ yes she is'.
He treats, then, what can be surely understood as a pre-request to speak to her
mother as an information request that the mother was indeed in the house, rather
than as creating an opportunity for an offer to put her on the line. The action,
however, was not brought forward, rather the father's turn seems to point to a
problem with the subsequent action and there was an explanation for that: the
mother was not available to talk on the phone at that moment, so he could not
bring the relevant next action forward, but it was nevertheless true that she was at
home and that he said so. The fact that the mother could not come on the phone is
accounted for and shows the understanding that such confirmation of the trueness
of the statement was not the desired action.

The next example, fragment 36, was an interaction between a social worker
and a woman who had been beaten by her partner. Again, the answer to the YNI

produced here shows a problem with an implicated next action, while it confirms the social worker's conclusion based on what she had said earlier to be correct. In the whole case Vilma, who had been through surgery because of a battery incident which had left her with a broken nose, had expressed both her desire to be away from her partner and also her fear of not being able to maintain herself alone and, perhaps, ending up on the streets. The social worker asks her about her monthly wage, to which Vilma responds 'trezentos' (which was just over the minimum wage when the interaction was recorded). The social worker then remarks that this should be enough for Vilma to get a room to live by herself which is transformed into an YNI with the tag 'né' and via its prosody. Vilma, then, responds with a verb repeat + sim (dá sim) which agrees with the social worker's conclusion but shows some hesitancy with the implied action of actually doing so.

#36 – Pension Room (Casa #14 - 14:06-16)

```
01  Sow:     Mm (.) Maria Hilda >deixa=eu só:< ãh:: você=entã:o:
                  Maria Hilda    let   me only        you then
             Mm (.) Maria Hilda >let=me ju:st< u::h you=the:n:

02           você- quanto você ganha pro mês.=>Mais ou menos.<
             you  how much you   gain  per month   more or less
             you- how much do you make per month.=>Approximately.<

03  Vil:     Trezentos.
             Three hundred.
             Three hundred.

04  Sow:     Trezentos reais
             Three hundred reais .
             Three hundred reais.

05           (0.4)

06  Sow:→    dá pra você consegui uma pensão só pra você né?
         →   Give for you  to get    a    pension only for you  no+is
         →   It's enough for you to get a pension room only for you right?

07           (0.5)

08  Vil:→    °<Dá sim>°
         →       Give yes
         →   °<Yes right>°

09  Sow:     Voce acha que ele faria alguma coisa com voce se ele
             You think that he would do some    thing with you  if  he
             Do you think he would do something to you if he
```

The extract above shows in Vilma's response to the social worker's suggestion that she would have enough to rent herself a room an agreement to the social workers' conclusion that it is possible to rent a pension room with Vilma's earnings,

but does so after a 0.5 delay and is produced softly and slowly, almost as a confession of something that one had done wrong. Vilma agrees with Sow's conclusion that her earnings were enough to rent a room for her alone, but does not take it as anything new or as an answer to her problem. Her answer treats the information of Sow's turn on line 06 as correct – and known to be so beforehand – but does not accept the point which is being made. The 'conclusion' is not taken enthusiastically as something the social worker should pursue, instead, Vilma speaks in a soft manner which is more like a confession of someone who knows something could have been done and fears being exposed for not having done so. Avoiding an agreement here, Vilma resists the social worker's building up of an encouragement for her to leave her abuser. The social worker's next question also seems to point to a hearing of the response as Vilma's reluctance in taking this encouragement to rent a room for herself as she asks Vilma, just after her response 'dá sim', if she thinks her abuser will go after/chase her if she moves.

Extracts 35 and 36, then, show responses that agree with the terms of the FPP but block any further action towards the FPPs proposed action as, in extract 35 there was a practical impediment – mum had, yes just arrived and was around, but she was not available – and extract 36 does some kind of 'agreement under duress' as Vilma agrees with the proposition of the counsellor, but does not show an agreement to it as being a good enough solution to her plight or any disposition of agreeing with the action of getting a room for herself proposed in the questioning.

WPS 46 is not as straightforward as the previous cases, it shows, however, an awkward situation for a complainant who had expressed some discontent with the day on which her meeting with the chief commissioner and her alleged abuser was going to be scheduled. In this situation, after learning that such a meeting would happen practically after a month of her complaint (on the 15th of January when it was the 13th of December), the woman shows her discontent with that and even talks to her lawyer – on her mobile – about whether to go through the procedure or not. The complainant asks then when exactly the meeting was going to be scheduled for. Po2 (the other officer in the room) says it would probably be on the 13th, but given the complainant's insistence and discontent Po1 leaves the room to check the exact date in the planner in which they schedule the return meetings. Po1 comes to the room, however, with a different candidate day – the 29th of

December – which she tries to check with Po2 before setting the date with the complainant. So, as soon as Po1 comes into the room she asks Po2 – who was making another report in the room and had not left to verify the exact date with Po1 – about this return date being scheduled for the 29th (lines 01-02). Po2, however, just answers he does not know (line 04). It is in this environment in which the officer addresses the complainant with some reluctance and puzzlement with a question about the date of this return meeting. It is likely that, having found a considerably earlier date to schedule the meeting for, the officer does not seem to be very sure if she can or not schedule the woman's return for that day and figures there has to be something wrong with that day in order to justify having it open while appointments scheduled for two weeks later were already fully booked. The day turns out to be a day in which many Brazilians are on vacation as it is in the week between Christmas and New Year's celebrations, the 29th of December. Not getting any support from the other officer in terms of making a decision about the day, the unsure officer then asks the woman with a very ambiguous question 'pode no dia 29'. This is ambiguous because of the absence of an explicit subject and the multiple interpretations from the verb conjugation: 'pode no dia 29', in this case could mean 'can it be on the 29th' or 'can you come on the 29th'. After a repair initiation about it being the 29th of December (line 07), which is likely to be surprising to the complainant as well as it is to Po1, it is to the first case that the complainant seems to respond to given that, rather than producing a response with the verb 'poder' in the 1st person, she answers it in the 3rd person. She says: 'pode sim' (line 09) and, although she is then saying her case's audience can be scheduled on the 29th she is in reality not the person who is responsible for setting such dates. There is a strange quality in her voice that seems to add to this impression of 'who am I to say that?'. She agrees, then, that the meeting can in fact be scheduled for the 29th and may be also confirming that she was always available for that; that is, she was never an obstacle to scheduling it soon, on the contrary, she had complained about it but, not being able to decide on the official schedule had accepted its scheduling anyway.

#37 – S: 46 – Pode sim (WPS 01)

```
Po1 says they can only have the meeting in January. The woman's
lawyer calls when the officer is saying that, so the woman asks
permission to answer the phone. She then tell her lawyer that she is
```

at the police unit, but the officer is telling her they can only have a meeting in January and asks for advice: "What do I do:. // (gap) // The complaint is to be made ri:ght." She keeps on talking with the lawyer narrating what will happen next. As soon as she stops talking to the lawyer, she tells the officer: "He told me that's ok. No problem. The complaint is to be made."

± 3 min later another officer – Po2 – comes into the room with another complainant and ±20 sec later the woman asks when in January is the meeting going to be scheduled for. Po2, then, answers that he thinks it will be the 13th. Po1 leaves the room, then, to check the actual date. About 1:40 later Po1 comes back to the room:

```
01  Po1:    °A data tá marcada para o fim d- dia vintche
            The date is marked to the end of-        day twenty
            The date is scheduled to the end o- on the twenty

02          no:ve,°  ((to Po2))
            nine
            ni:neth,°

03          (2.2)

04  Po2:    Num se:i. (       )
            No know   (    )
            I don't kno:w. (    )

05          (11 sec + Wo2 + child talk)

06  Po1:    (Pode) no dia vintche e no:ve,
            Can on+the day twenty and nine
            (Can it be/Can you do it) on the twenty ni:neth,

07  Wom:    De deze:mbro,
            Of December
            Of Dece:mber,

08          (non verbal confirmation)

09  Wom:    Pode si:m.
            can yes
            Yes i:t can.

10          ±40 sec gap + Wo2 + talk, then the lawyer calls again.
```

Another case in which the complainant produces a verb repeat + sim in a somewhat awkward position, but with a different implication to the implied action, is going to be shown below. In this case, the complainant had started the report with Po8 who is later substituted by Po7, who gets the case without knowing what had happened. In the very beginning of the interaction, the woman was asked about what had happened and she has her story accepted as a reportable matter by Po8 who, in line 22, shifts from the story phase to the form-filling phase and starts inputting the woman's personal details into the system.

#38 – WPS 27 beginning

```
01  Po8:    Foi o quê?=Que acontece:u.
            Was(3ps) what? That happened.
            What was i:t?=That happen:ed.
```

```
02              [((noise))]

03    Wom:      [(    tou)] me separando do meu
                     am(1ps) myself separating of the(M) my(M).
                [(       am)] getting separated from my

04              espo:so. E ele num qué me deixá
                spouse(M). And he  no   want  me  leave
                husba:nd. And he doesn't want to let me

05              tirá na:da. °Assim° ele (      )(na
                take away/off anything. Like   he           in the(F)
                take anythi:ng away. °Like° he (    ) on

06              casa de minha mãe) pra cunversá:¿ Aí
                house  of  my(F) mother to  to talk      Then
                my mother's house) to talk¿ Then

07              quando chegou na casa de minha mãe
                when   arrived(3ps) in the(F) house of my(F)mother
                when he arrived at my mother's house

08              ele disse se você vol[tá, (.) vo]cê
                he   said(3ps) if  you  to return       you
                he   said if  you   ret[urn, (.) y]ou

09    Po8:                              [ ((cough))]

10    Wom:      vai vê.=Aí tou sendo ameça:da.=Nem
                will  see  Then am(1ps) being threatened Nor
                will see.=Then I'm being thre:atened.=I

11              uma ro:pa eu tirei.
                a(F)  clothes(s) I  took away.
                haven't even taken a piece of clo:thes away.

12              (.)

13    Wom:      A minha fi:lha >ele (mando) (        )
                The(F) my(F) daughter he  ordered/sent
                My da:ugther >he (sent/ordered) (     )

14              a meu pa:i.
                to  my(M) father.
                to my fa:ther.

15              (.)

16    Wom:      Porque eu tenho uma filha de:le=
                Because  I   have  a(F)  daughter of he
                Because I have a daughter with hi:m=

17              =de um a:no [(e um de três).]
                 of  one year      and one of three.
                =a one year o:ld [(and one three year old).]

18    Po8:                  [((coughs 2x))]

19    Wom:      E ele nem a (                ) da menina
```

```
                    And  he   nor the(F)              of the(F) girl
                    And he doesn't even want to let me

    20              qué deixá eu tirá:. Nem minha
                    want  to let  I    take away Nor my(F)
                    take the girl's (     ) awa:y. Nor my

    21              ropa nem nada.
                    clothes(S) nor nothing.
                    clothes or anything.

    22   Po8:       Certo. A senhora tá com a identida:de?
                    Right.   The ma'am   is   with the(F) ID
                    Right. Do you have your ID with you ma:'am?

    23   Wom:       Tô:.
                    Am.
                    Ye:h.

    24              (5.2) ((woman gets the ID and gives to Po8))
```

A few moments later Po7 comes into the room and finds Po8 coughing a lot, so he takes her place from where she had stopped: the personal information form of the complainant and starts asking about her profession, than the abuser details. Around 10 minutes later, when Po7 was finishing the abuser's details, he asks if the abuser's address is the same address of the complainant which is answered affirmatively. The next question is about the house – as shown below – and after responding to it, as being a house she and her partner had 'invaded' (i.e., they had occupied an uninhabited piece of land or property and made it their house, albeit unofficially) the complainant goes on and tell the officer that her partner does not let her take her clothes out of the house, which gets no response from the officer and is not further developed by the complainant (as it was in her first exposition of the matter - above). Line 11 shows, then a 0.8 gap and then the officer asks, with a somewhat challenging tone, almost in disbelief with the triviality of the matter if her case was 'pra isso / about that'. The response the officer gets is also a response to the challenge to the case, but rather than expanding the case – which had already been told and accepted as a case by the other officer – the complainant just reiterates what she had already said earlier first with a verb repeat and later a sim: 'é sim.' Here it is not that the speaker of the SPP is not bringing the action forward or showing a problem in bringing it forward but rather a speaker who, blocks a challenging action from the previous speaker. The officer challenge to this 'reason' for making a complainant – which was available already at line 12 – and is avoided

by the complaint can be also felt on subsequent enquires (line 15) in which the officer produces a repeat of what was said, to get a slightly modified agreement which substitutes 'clothes for stuff'; line 18, when he asks if he had beaten her, pursuing a 'stronger' crime. As this enquiry gets a non-default negative, but marks nonetheless the case as not being one of battery, the officer repeats again in disbelief (22-23) the reason of the complaint as being not letting her take her clothes out, this time just adding 'a senhora / you ma'am' to the construction. This is again is modified with 'stuff' in the complainant's agreement but is still not enough to the officer who – similarly to WPS 36 previously analysed here - goes on for another 'strong' crime, a threat, in his candidate crime enquiry. This gets a modified agreement, which changes the verb from the past form into a gerund, bringing it into a 'constant', present time rather than the past. It is only after getting the 'threat' claim right, then, that the officer says 'right' (in the same way as the previous officer had done) and accepts the case as a reportable, moving to the report-making phase again. The woman, however, does not take it silently, but rather re-affirms her position as the one who knows what happened with a 'got it' check, which is not responded by the officer who carries on making the report.

#39 - WPS 27b 11:56

```
01  Po7:    A casa é da senhora mesmo ou é:,
            The house is of+the ma'am really or is
            Is the house your own ma'am or is i:t,

02  Wom:    É:: eu invadi::,
            Is  I invaded
            Ye:s I invaded i:t,

03  Po7:    Ah invadiu.
            Oh invaded.
            Oh you invaded it.

04  Wom:    Fo:i.
            Was.
            Ye:ah.

05          (.)

06  Po7:    Invadiu no mesmo que ele fo:i.
            Invaded in+the same that he was
            You invaded it with him ri:ght.

07          (.)

08  Wom:    Fo:i.=Aí agora e- num tava (      ) cum e:le=
            Was.=Then now he- no was (  ) with him=
            Ye:s.=But now h- I wasn't  (      ) with hi:m=

09          =e agora ele >num qué deixa nem eu tirá a
            =and now he >no want let nor I take away the
```

```
              =and now he >doesn't want to let me take away
10            minha ro:pa.<
              my    clothes<
              my clo:thes.<

11            (0.8)

12   Po7:     E a queixa é pra: °i:sso°.
              And the complaint is for that.
              And the complaint is abo:ut °tha:t°.

13   Wom:  →  É si:m.
              Is yes
              Yes indee:d./ Yes it i:s.

14            (.)

15   Po7:     Ele num qué deixá tirá a sua ro:upa.
              He  no want let take off/out the your clothes
              He doesn't want to let you take your clo:thes out.

16            (0.2) + key

17   Wom:     É: tirá as minhas coisa né[:.]
              Is take off/out my(pl) thing no+is
              Ye:s take my stuff out ri:[ght.]

18   Po7:                                [Ba]teu em você:.
                                          Beat  in you
                                         [Did] he beat yo:u.

19            (.)

20   Wom:     Já bateu mas faz te:mpo. (Vim) três
              Already beat but has  time. (came 1stps) three
              He's already beaten but it's been a while. (I came)

21            vezes(aqui:.)
              times here
              three times (he:re.)

22   Po7:     A senhora dá a quexa purque ele num qué
              The ma'am give the complaint because he no want
              You ma'am is making a complaint because he doesn't want

23            dexa a senhora tirá a ro;[pa.]
              to let the ma'am take off/out the clothes
              let you ma'am take out the clo:[thes]

24   Wom:                               [Ti:]rá as co:isa.=
                                         Take out/off the(pl) thing
                                        [Ta:]ke the stu:ff out.=

25   Po7:     =Ameaçou a senho:ra.
               Threatened the ma'am.
              =Did he threaten you ma'a:m.

26   Wom:     Ameaça:ndo. Foi=ele veio pra casa d[a minha mã:e,]
              Threatening. Was=he came to+the house of+the my mother
              He is thre:atening. Was=he went to my m[other's ho:use,]

27   Po7:                                          [Ameaçando o qu]e:.
                                                    Threatening what
                                                   [Threatening with wh]a:t.

28   Wom:     Di- se eu ir-=chegar lá- (.) (memo) no
              Sa- if I  go-=arrive there- (same) in+the
```

```
                    He's sa- if I go=get there- (.) (even) in
29                  Martinha eu vou vê:.
                    (neighbourhood) I will see.
                    Martinha I will see:.
30                  (0.8)
31   Po7:           °Ce:rto.°
                    Right
                    °Ri:ght.°
32   Wom:           °Entende:u.°
                    Understood (3rᵈps)
                    °You've got i:t.°
33                  (2.0) + key
```

The cases shown above point to a problem with the FPP regarding an action it makes relevant or suggests. In the first three cases shown here, it is the speaker of the SPP who finds herself in an awkward position not being able to bring this action forward or pointing to some problem with this action or their authority on the matter. The fourth case, however, shows another awkward position, this time, of not accepting a challenge of the case presented and, therefore, blocking a possible further action of dismissing it, but still pointing to a problem with the action – making less of/ dismissing – which comes with the enquiry.

In all the cases shown above, there is something special about the response with a 'sim' token and frequently a problem with the FPP. Those cases are misalignments which are oriented to by the parties involved, but dealt with in a way that does not escalate it into a big challenge, contradiction or disagreement.

3.7 Sim: contrasting a new positive response with a prior negative response and/or presupposition

'Sim' is also used when a prior negative response was given. Negative responses clearly state negative tokens so in those cases 'sim' seems to mark its polar opposition to a 'não' previously marked. As shown in the cases of postponed 'sim' above, those answers which contain 'sim' tokens are frequently produced in conjunction with other verbs with no final intonation separating them. Those cases happen, however, in marked cases of disagreement and when a previous negative SPP is modified into a positive one by either the same speaker who corrects one's own previous response, or by another speaker who contrasts the first negative with a 'sim'.

The first example of those cases is an instance in which a complainant (Bia) first produces a negative response to an YNI enquiring if she had a 'telefone comercial' (line 01), literally a 'commercial phone' a common way of referring to someone's phone number at work. This YNI first gets an open repair initiation (Drew, 1997) ('Ã:h?', line 03) which does not locate the repairable. The inquiry is then repeated (line 04) by the complainant's daughter (Lúcia) and gets no as a response (line 07), following which Po5 reformulates her question as 'do trabalho'/ 'at work'. It is this redone and reformulated YNI to which Bia responds affirmatively (in contradiction with her own previous negative response) with 'Sim tenho' (line 09).

#40 - S: 5 Telephone (WPS 14 ± 3:00)

```
01  Po5:     Telefone comercial te:m?
             Telephone   commercial  has?
             Commercial phone have yo:u?

02           (0.8)

03  Bia:     Ã:h?
             Uh
             U:h?.

04  Luc:     Telefone  com[ercial. ]
                     Telephone  commercial
             Commercial te[lephone.]

05  Po5:                  [ercial. ]
                          (te) lephone
                          [lephone.]

06           (0.2)

07  Bia:     Nã:[o.]
             No.
             No[:.]

08  Po5:     [Do] traba:l[ho.]
             Of    work.=
             [At]      wo:[rk.]

09  Bia: →                [Si]:m te:nho. Huh huh Eu fiquei meio
                          Yes   have.  (laughter)  I   stayed half
                          [Ri]:ght yes. Huh huh I got kinda

10           embaratina:da. (              me ligá)(          )
             mixed u:p. (                  call me) (         )

11           (eu pensei/sei assim que:-)
      ((gets the phone number inside her handbag))
```

Bia, then, produces a redone SPP to the officer's FPP correcting her own previous

answer Não (line 07) with 'Si:m tenho./Ri:ght ye:s..[16]' (line 09), which is followed by laughter as a post completion stance and an account, explaining why she had previously produced a wrong answer. Sim, here, is also produced in terminal overlap with the officer's previous turn and is done quickly to correct the previous – and wrong – negative answer. Sim, here, sounds slightly embarrassed and seems to be responsive to 'getting' the repair and produced to quickly fix a previous answer with 'no', opposing itself to it with its opposite 'sim', while 'tenho' answers the question per se.

To support this idea of 'sim' fixing previous negative answers, in a different contex Po7 and the researcher (Est) have a disagreement about an alleged abuser's date of birth. The complainant had failed to produce her alleged abuser's date of birth, but after being asked by Po7 about an approximate age, had said the abuser was going to be twenty-nine years old on the following Sunday. Po7 asks Estefânia for help calculating the date of birth, then, and Estefânia proposes the year of birth to be 1974, while the officer says it would be 1973. The officer fills out the form in the computer with '1973' and says the computer is calculating the right age of the abuser with the year of 1973, while Estefânia tries to show this 'right age' is being considered as if the abuser had already had his birthday, when it would actually be on the following week. After a considerably long misalignment, in which the officer says – challenging Estefânia's disagreement – that the computer has to be wrong then (line 41), Estefânia says it is not wrong (lines 42, 45, 47-48), it is just showing 'today' (see lines 35, 50) the age the abuser will have in a week's time, the officer says 'A::HH si:m' 'Now I understood it' (lines 53-54). This 'Ahhh' /Ohhh is the news to consciousness (Heritage, 1998) token and shows the realisation of something new, 'sim', then, is produced to fix the 'nãos' produced earlier, taking her point:

 # 41 - S:87 (WPS 27b ± 9:10-10:50)

```
01 Po8:        [>Setenta e ci:nco<]
               Seventy and five
               [ >Seventy  fi:ve< ]

02             (2.8)

03 Po8:        Vê se é isso mesmo. N:ã[:o.   ]
               See if is this really. No.
               Check if it's really it. N:o[::.]
```

---

[16] A similar case was analysed by Schegloff (1991) as an instance of non-canonical third position repair.

04 Est: [>>Não]=setenta e
                                      No seventy and
                                      [>>No]=seventy

05   quatro.<<
              four
              four.<<

06   (0.2)

07 Est: Se não ele vai faze-
              If not he will do/make
              Otherwise he'll be-

08 Po8:   Setenta e trê:s.
              Seventy and three.
              Seventy three:.

09 Est: Não.=Setenta e três ele faria tri:nta.
              No. Seventy and three he would do/make thirty.
              No.=Seventy three he would be thi:rty.

10   Então ele é de setenta e qua:tro¿ Po'que
              So he is of seventy and four¿ Because
              So he it is seventy and fo:ur¿ Because

11   ele vai faze vinte e no:ve agora. Domi:ngo.
              He will make/do twenty and nine now. Sunday.
              He will be twenty ni:ne now. On Su:nday.

12   Isso. Setenta e qua:tro.
              This. Seventy and four.
              That's it. Seventy fo:ur.

13   (2.0)

14 Po6:   Bernardo Jaqueline n- [num ve:io.] **((Intervening talk))**
              Bernardo Ha- Hasn't jaqueline [co:me.]

15 Po8:   [Num=é não.] É setenta e
                                    No is no. Is seventy and
                                    [No=it's not]. It's seventy

16   três. Se ele vai faze vinte e nove é setenta
              three. If he will make twenty and nine is seventy
              three. If he will be twenty nine it's seventy

17   [e três.]
              and three.
              [three.]

18 Po6:   [Jaque]:li:ne, **((Intervening talk))**

19   (.)

20 Po8:   *Ve:io.* [Tá ()-] setenta e trê:s.
              Came. [Is   ] seventy and three
              Ye:s. [Is ()-] seventy and three

21 Po6:   [Mmm,] **((Intervening talk))**

22   (2.0)

23 Est: Agora é- (.) dois mil e trê:s. Se ele fosse
              Now is- (.) two thousand and three. If he were
              Now it's- (.) two thousand and three:. If he were

24   de setenta e três ele faria trinta a:nos:¿
              of seventy and three he would make thirty years

```
                     from seventy three he would be thirty ye:ars-o:ld¿
25                   (.)
26   Est:   Ele é de setenta e quatro.
            He is of seventy and four
            He is from seventy fo:ur.
27                   (0.2)
28   Po8:   Não mas tá (adequado). Tá batento
            No but is (adequate). Is beating
            No but it's (adequate). The check
29          certinho.     ((referring to the information in the computer))
            right(dim).
            is correct.   ((referring to the information in the computer))
30                   (.)
                          reading what was on the computer's screen
                     _____/_____
31   Po8:   Vinte e um do doze de mil novecentos e
            Twenty and one of+the twelve of a thousand ninehundred and
            Twenty first of December of nineteen
32          setenta e trê:s=idade vinte e nove a:nos.
            seventy and three=age twenty and nine years
            seventy three:=age twenty nine ye:ars-old.
33                   (1.0)
34   Est:   Então, vinte e nove anos. Vinte e nove
            So, twenty and nine years. Twenty and nine
            So, twenty nine years-old. Twenty nine
35          anos ele teria ho:je: (.) no Domingo ele
            years he would have today  on Sunday he
            years-old he'd be to:da:y (.) on Sunday he'd
36          teria tri:nta. Ele tem vinte e oito e
            would be thirty. He has twenty and eight and
            be thi:rty. He is twenty eight and
37          vai fazer vinte e nove.=
            will make/do twentya nd nine.
            will be twenty nine.=
38   Po8:   =É[:.]
             Is
            =Y[e:s.]
39   Est:      [En]tão é setenta e qua:tro.
                So  is seventy and four
               [So] it is seventy fo:ur.
40                   (0.2)
41   Po8:   Então computador tá erra:do.
            So  computer is wrong
            So the computer is wro:ng.
42   Est:   Não. O computador n[um tá erra:do.]
            No. The computer no is wrong
            No. The computer i[s not wro:ng.]
43   Po8:                      [hah hah hah   ] (
44          !) Faça.[=Deixa- deixa eu ver] aqui: vô=
            !) Do (2ps imp). Let- let I see here yo-
```

```
                  !) Do it.[=Let- let me see ] he:re yo-
45   Est:                   [O comput- o computa-]
                             The comput- the compute-
                             [The comput- the compute-]

46   Po8:     =faze aqui [cauculá:.]
              do  here to calculate
              =do here [to calcula:te.]

47   Est:                   [O com-   ]o computador num tá
                             The com- the computer no is
                             [The com- ] the computer is not

48             erra:do, ele tá dando vinte e nove a:nos=
               wrong    he is giving twenty and nine years
               wro:ng, it's showing twenty nine ye:ars-old=

49   Po8:     É[:.]
              Is
              Y[e :s.]

50   Est:      [Ma]s ho:je,
               But  today
               [Bu]t toda:y,

51   Po8:     Ho:je.
              Today
              Toda:y.

52   Est:     E ele ainda tem vintche e o:it[o (tem    )]
              And he still has twenty and nine (has)
              And he is still  twenty  e:igh[t (is     )]

53   Po8:                                  [A:::::::::h]=

54            =s:i:m!=É: tá ce:rto.
               Yes! Is is right
              =r:i:ght!=Ye:s that's right.

55            (.)

56   Po8:     Tá certo. Tá certo. É isso aí.Hah hah hah hah.
              Is right. Is right. Is this there.
              That's right. That's right. That's it. Hah hah hah hah

57            Briga:do. [Hah hah] É isso me:smo. Huh. Tá=
              Thanks.              Is this really.          Is
              Tha:nks.  [Hah hah] That's re:ally it. Huh. That's=

58   Est:               [Na:da.]
                         Nothing
                        [We:lcome.]

59   Po8:     =ce:rto. Agora- agora entendi seu raciocínio.
              =right. Now- Now understood (1ps) your reasoning
              =ri:ght. Now- now I got your reasoning.

60            (0.2)
```

The example below is another case in which a negative answer (não/no) is replaced by a positive (sim/yes). In this case, however, it is not the speaker of the negative answer who fixes it, but rather a third speaker who disagrees with the first answer and produced 'sim' as a contrast to the previous response.

#42 – S: 52 – Casa 18a ±19 min

```
01  Psy:    Quer dizer que você pode ficá mais um po:uco
            Want say   that  you  can  stay  more  a    little
            That's to say you can stay a little lo:nger over

02          lá:.=       ((To the woman))
            there
            the:re.=    ((To the woman))

03  Wom:    É:.
            Is.
            Ye:s.

04          (0.4)

05  Wom:    Entã:o,
            So
            So:,

06          (0.8)

07  Psy:    Agora você tá na casa da sua avó e lá ele
            Now  you are in the house of the your grandma and there he
            Now you're in your grandma's house and he

08          num va:i pra vê você:.          ((To the girl))
            no goes to see you.
            doesn't go there to see yo:u.   ((To the girl))

09  Gir:    Nã:o.
            No.
            No:.

10  Wom:    N↑ã::o?
            No?
            N↑o::?

11  Gir:    Não mas só que assim ele passa lá de
            No  but only/just that like he pass there of
            No but the thing is he passes by there

12          lotaçã:o.
            (unofficial public transport)
            by bu:s.

13  Wom:    Passa de l↑otação si::m. Vai si:m.
            Passes of (transport) yes. Goes (3ps) yes.
            He passes by on the b↑us absolu::telly. He goes ye:s.

14  Psy:    E [ daí:.        ] Passa lá e::,
            And then           Passes there a:nd,
            Then[wha:t.       ] He passes there a::nd,

15  Wom:      [Claro que va:]i.
               Clear that   goes
              [Of course he go:]es.

16  Gir:    Ele passa e só- quando vê assim muita gente
            He passes  and just- when   see like    many people
            He passes by and but- when he sees like a lot of people

17          comi::go aí ele vai pra outra rua de ci:ma.
            with me   then  he  goes to the other street of  above
            with me:: then he goes to the other street abo:ve.
```

After talking to the woman about her housing condition, the psychologist asks the girl – who was living with her grandmother to escape abuses from her mother's partner – if the abuser went to her grandmother's house to see her (line 07-08). She asks it in the negative format which embodies the presupposition that the abuser 'does not go there' and prefers 'no' as the answer. The girl, then, responds 'no' on line 09 and this response is challenged (line 10) by the girl's mother, with a marked repeat of 'No'. The girl, then, re-states her previous answer 'no', but this time followed by and adversative 'mas só que'/'but it's just that', adding that her abuser 'passa lá de lotação'/'passes by there by bus', addressing the challenge her mother had produced. This, however, does not seem to be enough for the mother who elicits a modified redone response (that he indeed passes by). She treats this fact that the abuser passes there as already known, by repeating it and confirming it with 'sim' which here confirms the modified information the daughter had given about the abuser passing there and points to her knowledge of that, while also emphasizing the action it confirms. She then treats this modified version as in effect conveying the same information as would have been conveyed by an affirmative response to the psychologist's question and repeats the verb used by the psychologist 'vai' from the followed by 'sim' doing confirmation and opposing it to the previous 'no' offered by the girl. Sim, here, emphasizes the action of passing first (the verb used by the girl to retain her negative answer while adapting it to the mother's challenge) and then uses the verb the psychologist had used and had previously got a negative response with 'sim' which marks its opposition to the 'no' it had got earlier. The effect is to claim that passing by on the bus means that he goes there and he does so in order to see the girl, therefore, that the girl should have answered the psychologist in the affirmative. Here, they are dealing with possible meanings of 'vai pra te ver' (goes there to see you) and 'passa lá', 'passes there': to go somewhere to see someone can be used to convey visiting someone, and in this case, actually going to someone's house, or to go after someone, spying, but not actually approaching them. 'Passar' is also ambiguous as it can convey just to pass by a place or to stop by. It is this that the psychologist checks next, as she presents the 'pass by' as a first action and leaves a subsequent 'and' open to be completed (line 14). This turn is produced in overlap with the mother's line 'of course he goes/ claro que vai' (line 15), in which she continues the progression she

was constructing with the two verbs + sim 'passa sim /vai sim / claro que vai', so the girl's response to the psychologist enquiry in the form of an incomplete TCU (line 14) is produced at line 16. At line 16, then, the girl explains that he passes there and sees her but he runs away when he sees people with her. Both the mother and the girl are aware that the 'passing by' is motivated by the abuser's desire to see the girl – the girl had already complained she could not go to school and the idea of this man stalking her was present throughout the talk – the disagreement here is on how to represent this action by the man. The girl says he does not go to her grandmother's house to see her, as he does not actually go to visit her inside the grandmother's house, nor is their relationship sufficiently friendly that he could do so, so he did not 'vai/go' there, but he 'passed by'. The mother, however, took the girl's answer as being inadequate as it failed to portray the fact that, although uninvited, the man stalked the girl, so she was not that safe and free at her grandmother's house, so she insists on 'passing by' as meaning 'going' there to see the girl.

Still, there was another ambiguity to be solved as to what exactly it meant that the abuser 'passed by'. The abuser could be passing by and not leaving the bus, which might have been uncomfortable but does not seem too dangerous, but he could be passing by and getting off the bus in order to do something. The girl's response about him running away actually shows that what the abuser does is actually more than just passing by on the bus – the abuser just does not approach her because she is with people and then he runs away to the other street. This makes available the understanding that he did intentionally go to the street to see her, though he did not try to go to the house where the girl was staying in. This whole interpretation is, anyway, checked by the psychologist a few moments later:

#43 - S: 52b - Casa 18a ±20 min

```
01   Psy:     Mas ele num vai lá toca campaínha, nada disso.
              But he no goes there play bell nothing this
              But he doesn't go there ringing the bell, nothing like this.

02   Wom:     Fica só tocaiando.
              Stay only/just ambushing
              He stays just ambushing her.
```

The psychologist checks then that to 'pass by' and/or 'go there' means that the abuser goes near the house but does not actually try to get into the house –he

does not ring the bell or anything like it – to which the woman responds 'he stays just ambushing her'. It is clear, then, that both mother and daughter knew the actions they were talking about and their disagreement was regarding the ways in which this action was represented and understood. The use of 'sim' by the mother, in any way, undermines the girl's version of events which presented a negative to the abuser going to her grandmother's house to see her, and presenting a positive response to it, makes the man seem more dangerous than he had seemed in the girl's response. By using 'sim' to confirm both the girl's version of events as already known (passa de lotacao) and the version the psychologist had enquired negatively (vai pra ve voce), the mother combines the two responses into one: he passes by in order to see her and, thus, goes there to see the girl, being a danger to her. 'Sim', then, is used to modify a prior negative into a positive response.

Before moving on to other uses of the 'sim' token in responses to YNIs, it is worth expanding the analysis which has been suggested here of some differences between doing 'unmarked confirmation' with the 'to be', that is, agreeing with the terms of the FPP and producing a response to an understanding check or some kind of confirmation request as a default response, and doing 'marked confirming', that is, producing a response that marks this confirming as such as in the cases presented above. In order to do so, some of the cases in which a verb repeat was not possible as a response to YNIs are going to be presented and analysed below.

3.8 SER *vs* SIM: when a verb repeat is not an option

Santos's presentation of restrictions to verb repeats and the 'higher' confirmation by 'sim' gives the impression of 'sim' being more frequent and an 'easy' way of not getting it wrong when responding to YNIs, but it does not seem to be the case as 'sim' is, as shown here, used in very specific contexts in BP. Moreover, even some syntactic restrictions to the production of verb repeats as responses to YNIs seem to be connected to their function as some sort of understanding check, which makes 'sim' and 'ser' answers available. Even Santos' (2003) analyses of 'sim' and 'ser', considered syntactically equivalent by the author, seem to point to 'sim' as a more general type of answer as 'ser' is proposed to be an inadequate response to YNIs doing requests. The analyses presented here do not point in this direction. They have, on the contrary, proposed that the use of 'sim' as a response to YNIs is

eventful and done for cause. It was said earlier, however, that 24 cases in which 'sim' was used as a response to an YNI were cases in which a verb repeat was not a possible answer. This session will briefly analyse a few of those cases.

All the cases in my data corpora in which a verb repeat is not possible and 'sim' is used are clear cases of confirming. A great majority of them involve some kind of repeat, usually of part of something that had just been said, such as names of alleged abusers and/or family members (either from the complainant or from the alleged abuser), numbers of their houses etc. Those cases are, then, SPPs to FPPs that are candidate understandings of something that had already been said before and, in Schegloff's words, are cases in which "'confirmation' and 'disconfirmation' one or the other of which is virtually *mandated* by an interlocutor's offering of a candidate understanding to a speaker of what the speaker has just said" (Schegloff, 1996, 209).

Some very straight-forward examples are cases in which a name mentioned by a speaker A is checked by a speaker B with a candidate understanding of it, there are two of such instances below. 'Sim' in both cases can be understood to be answering positively to the name produced, confirming it to be right, but also to be confirming the name as what was said earlier:

#44 - S:47 WPS 01 (17:31)– ABUSER'S NAME

```
01   Pol:    Como é o nome de:le.
             How is the name of+his.
             What's his na:me.

02   Wom:    Nelson,
             (1st name)

03           (.)

04   Pol:    Nelson?

05   Wom:    Si:m.
             Yes.
             Ri:ght.

06           (0.8)

07   Wom:    Lopes More:ira.
             ((surnames))

08           (12 sec)

09   Pol:    Nelson né?=Nelson.
             (1st name) no+is? (1st name)
             Nelson right?=Nelson.

10   Wom:    É:. N E L S O N. Nelson.
             Is (1st name)    (1st name)
```

```
              Ye:s. N E L S O N. Nelson.
```
#45 – S:48 – THE ABUSER'S MOTHER (WPS 01 19:47)

```
Pol had just asked for the name of the alleged abuser's father:

01   Pol:    Da mãe de:le¿
             Of+the mother of+his. ['name' recovered from previous talk]
             His mo:thers¿
02   Wom:    Da mã:e? Ivani:lda,
             Of+the mother? 1st name
             His mo:thers? Ivani:lda,
03           (0.8)
04   Pol:    Ivanilda?
05   Wom: →  Si:m.
             Yes.
             Ri:ght.
06           (0.8)
07   Wom:    Lope:s,
             ((surname))
08           (.)
09   Wom:    More:ira.
             ((surname))
```

Apart from cases in which there is not a verb on the FPP of the YNI, other cases in which 'sim' is produced but a verb repeat would not be possible have to do with grammatical constraints which make a verb repeat a non-felicitous response. Only 4 of those cases in which a verb repeat was not available as an answer to the YNI were cases in which a verb was used (apart from a tag like element in the end of the TCU, such as né/é). Those cases were: one 'if' clause, doing an understanding check; a 'when' question followed by a candidate response using elements of a story which had just been told, and two cases in which the understanding was also modified by the adverb 'só' (as seen earlier in example (c)). What those cases have in common is the fact that the verb repetition does not answer the proposed question because it is not the action of the verb that is being verified, but rather the whole proposition which is being offered to be confirmed. Thus, all those cases show that even the 'grammatical' restrictions are usually context related, that is, some specific restrictive questionings have to do with contexts in which some kind of information has already been given to the speaker.

A case in which a verb is used but a repeat is not possible because the YNI is an if clause doing an understanding check of a prior turn is presented below as an illustration. This is a case in which a 'sim' answer is present in an insert sequence

in which a confirmation check is the activity in place. After a FPP in which a 'Yes/No' question is asked (lines 9 and 11) the respondent produces another FPPi, in an insert sequence which is an other initiated repair doing a confirmation check on the FPP (line 12). This FPPi, then, gets as a confirmation of the understanding a 'sim' as an answer (line 13). This is a case in which a verb repeat would not be a possible answer to the YNI because a confirmation of the whole turn – as an understanding of what had been asked – was sought after and not a confirmation of the action. In this case we have an YNI which is not answered at first but, instead, is followed by a repair initiation (line 12). Rather than just a partial repeat in this repair initiation we have a repeat preceded by an 'if/se'. While a verb repeat would be an appropriate answer to the police's question at line 13, it is not possible as an answer to the woman's repair initiation. What we have, then, are two different kinds of questions: 'If' modifies the question which differently from the previous one – line 11 – no longer refers to the action conveyed by the verb 'bateu' (tem batido/has beaten) and to which a repeat of this verb would be the default 'positive' answer. Rather, the if-clause that initiates repair to the prior turn asks for confirmation (or not) of the whole sentence to which it refers. In this context a verb repeat is not possible and the only ways of doing confirming are: 'Sim/Yes', 'É/To be', 'yes' tokens such as 'Mm-hum' and other alternative answers such as 'Isso/ Right, That's right'.

#46 - S:24 (WPS 36)– Separation and beating

```
09   Po4:      E há um mê:s el- el- [durante esse] mês=
                And has a month he   he   during    this   month
                And for a month he- he- [during this] month=

10   Wom:                            [(          ) mês]
                                                  month
                                      [(          ) month]

11   Po4:      =de separado ele tem batido na senhora.
                of separated   he has  beaten  in the ma'am.
                =of separation has he beaten you ma'am.

12   Wom:      Se ele tem assim me bati:[:do?]
                If he has  like   me   beaten
                Has  he   like  be:ate:n [me?]

13   Po4:  →                           [Si:]m.
                                         Yes
                                         [Ye:]s.

14   Wom:      Nã:o. Não. Assi:m ele tem assim
                No.   No.  Like    he has  like
                No:. No. Li:ke he has like
```

In all those cases of candidate understandings, the verb 'ser/é' could be used as means of confirming (as proposed earlier as a default answer), but there are a few cases in which after a candidate understanding that does not allow a verb repeat answer 'sim' is the chosen response. In BP at least, 'sim' is infrequently used as a response to YNIs and, as shown above, is usually produced 'for cause'. It is very likely that the use of 'sim' marks this cases as confirming more strongly than the other cases in which 'ser' is used. While 'é/is' – proposed here as a default response to FPPs that do not contain a verb as an 'implicit' verb – can be used both to do a general confirming 'this IS what I said', it can also be used as if a repeat of an implicit verb 'the name/number IS this'. 'Sim' can also be used in this cases in which a verb repeat is not an option to an answer to some kind of understanding check and, as we have seen above, is used to do confirming and in situations that avoid agreement, so those cases of confirming with 'sim' rather than with 'ser/é/foi' also seem to be marked ways of responding that avoid doing agreements.

Returning to the beginning of this section, Santos's (2003) analyses of 'ser' and 'sim' as syntactically equivalent positive responses to YNIs in some 'confirmative contexts' where she proposes verb repeats are precluded together with her presentation of pragmatic restrictions to 'ser/é' responses (in requests performed by YNIs) create the idea that 'sim' is the most general positive response to YNIs, while the use of verb repeats and 'ser' in YNIs responses seems to be more limitted. This idea has not been confirmed by the analysis of actual interactions when verb repeats are possible, so now a brief comparison between 'sim' and 'ser' answers will be developed. 'Sim' responses to YNIs that preclude the use of verb repeats are all cases in which there is a 'confirmative' context and in all of them speakers are also doing confirming of something they have already said before. 'Ser/É', responses can be – and are – used in confirmative contexts and can do confirmings as well, but they can also be used to do agreement rather than a marked confirmation. What is proposed here is that, in BP, although 'ser' and 'sim' are felicitous alternatives for confirmations in a grammatical sense, they do two different kinds of confirming. While 'ser' agrees with the terms of the FPP and produces an unmarked response in an environment in which some kind of confirmation is elicited, 'sim' does marked confirming, that is, it marks its SPP as a confirmation and something that should

have been known to the enquirer and therefore does not agree with the terms of the FPP and is not a conforming response.

The same interactants of fragment 27 presented here and in which a grandmother produces a confirmation about her daughter's student status with a 'sim' show – just before the production of that 'sim' – a few cases of confirmations produced with 'ser/é'. Those confirmations are 'unmarked' and can be seen to use 'é' as the explicit or implicit verb of the question, rather than a confirming token. On line 02 the officer asks the name of the girl, which she had already some documental information, she asks so with a {1ˢᵗ name + é} format, which is a request for confirmation. With the same 'é' the mother responds to the confirmation and goes on to produce the girl's name {1ˢᵗ name + middle name} which is then completed in a collaborative TCU by the grandmother's addition of the surnames {1ˢᵗ surname + 2ⁿᵈ surname} (line 04). In line 05, then, the officer produces a repeat of the two surnames and gets a positive response with 'é' on line 06. 'É', here, is not used either in the beginning or the end of the officer's request for confirmation – as in line 02 – however, 'é' can be seen to be the implicit verb in use and the confirmation is unmarked. In a subsequent sequence the officer asks if the girl has a nickname (08), which gets a 'no' from the mother and is further developed by the grandmother (09) with 'she's just called Lúcia', the officer confirms it on (11) to be 'just a name' and on (13) as being the name itself 'it is the name itself', both of those confirmation requests have 'é' as the implicit or explicit verb in the FPP request of confirmation and they are used to produce unmarked confirmation of something which had been said earlier:

#47 – WPS 14 – Name

```
01              (long gap: officer working with computer files)
02    Po5:      Maria é?
                (Name) is
                Maria is it?

03    Bia:      É Maria Lú:cia:.
                Yes (name + middle name)
                Yes Maria Lú:cia:.

04    Gra:      Milton do Firmamento
                  (surname surname

05    Po5:      Milton do Firmamento?

06    Gra:      É::.
                  Is
```

```
                    Yes
07                  (long gap + keyboard)
08    Po5:          Tem apelido
                    Has nickname
                    Does she have a nickname / Do you have a nickname
09    Bia:          Não.
                    No.
10    Gra:          Só chama de Lúcia:
                    Just call of middle name
                    She's just called Lúcia / We just call her Lúcia
11    Po5:          Só nome né?
                    Just name no+is
                    Just the name right?
12    Gra:          É:.
                    Is
                    Ye:s.
13    Po5:          É nome mesmo né.
                    Is name really no+is
                    It's the actual name right.
14    Bia:          É
                    Is
                    Yes
```

Santos proposition of 'ser' and 'é' responses as equivalent syntactically were produced based on confirmative contexts in which a 'wh' question asked to one speaker was confirmed by a third speaker. The data analysed here does not contain many instances of multi party interactions, but the speakers above were shown doing marked and unmarked confirmations (fragment 27 and fragment above, respectively) in the context of YNIs. One of the differences of case 27 and the case above, is that the requests of confirmation above are clear requests of confirmation, produced as understanding checks of the prior turn, while the YNI on fragment 27 was produced as a request for new, unknown, information, so the grandmother's response can be seen to confirm Bia's SPP and to point out to that information had been given by her before. The case above, however, is a clear case of an understanding check and the speakers simply answer to the content of what is checked rather than confirm it as said earlier, as in many cases analysed above. Another case that supports this idea of 'é' doing confirmation without pointing to having said it earlier can be seen below, this time not in a YNI context, but in a context in which a 'wh' question is produced and the response to this 'wh' question is agreed to by another speaker (a similar case to the one Santos presented about fat

people eating banana in the format, but not in terms of a verb repeat being possible but confirming something different as, in this case, there is no verb to be repeated).

The case below is also a case in which a 'name' is produced and confirmed, and it is an interesting contrast with the cases shown above in which a name was confirmed with 'sim' and a speaker confirmed having said it earlier. In this case, however, Bia first produces a name as a response to a request for the girl's name, lines 03-04 (after abandoning a TCU she had started earlier), she then checks it with the girl (line 06) and probably gets a negative non verbal answer so on 11 she tells the officer to wait while her daughter says in overlap that the surname is wrong {surname + no}. The two subsequent lines are used then as an account for the mother's wrong answer as the daughter had been registered on the name of Bia's mother. In line 13, then, the girl herself produces her name with {é + full name} and on line 14 her mother produces a confirmation with 'é'. Here, 'é' agrees to the girl's turn and confirms it but it does not do 'confirming' in terms of pointing to something said earlier, which is easy to see as Bia had had problems with the production of the right name:

#48 - WPS 11 - Name

```
01   Bia:    tava escutando ela falando com a moça lá fo:ra,
             was listening      her talking    with the girl there out
             I was listening to her talking to the lady outsi:de,

02   Po4:    >Como é o nome d↑e:[l↓a.<
             How is the name  of+her
             >What's her n↑a:[m↓e.<

03   Bia:                      [ela ela falo:u. O nome dela é
                                she she said.   The  name of+her is
                               [she she sa:id. Her name is

04           Maria Lúcia: de Araújo
             (Name middle name  surname)
             Maria Lúcia: de Araújo

05           (.)

06   Bia:    Né?
             No+is?
             Right?

07           (.)

08   Bia:    Pera[í peraí minha] filha.
             Wait+there wait+there my daughter
             Wai[t wait young] lady.

09   Luc:        [de Araújo não.]
                  of (surname) no
                 [It's not Araujo.]
```

```
10 Bia:     Peraí num é:- que ela é registrada no nome da
            Wait+there no is  that she is  registered  in+the name of+the
            Wait it's no:t- cuz she is registered on my

11          minha mãe.
            my mother.
            mother's name.

12 Luc:     É Maria Lúcia do Firmamento Mil:tu.
            It's Maria Lúcia do Firmamento Mil:tu.

13 Bia:     É:.
            Is.
            Ye:ah.

14          (.)
```

This case of confirmation when Bia had got it wrong the first time, shows that she agrees with her daughter's production of the name using the verb 'é' as it had been used by her daughter. Although she agrees to the name being the one produced by the daughter, nothing points to it as being a confirmation of something already said earlier, as 'sim' answers do.

If it was shown here earlier that even the grammatical restrictions which preclude a verb repeat as a response are actually connected to special confirmation contexts so that specifically restrictive questionings have to do with contexts in which some kind of information had already been given to the person who is enquiring about the matter, than in this part of the chapter this point was developed further to show that even syntactically equivalent responses can be markedly different if analysed in context and the actual production of those responses in interaction has to be analysed in order to understand those differences. 'Sim' when analysed in context has been shown to be different, irrespectively of syntactic similarities, from other types of responses to YNIs, and to be used 'for cause'.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has shown from an *interactional* perspective that (adjusted) repeats of the verb which composes one YNI are the default positive responses to YNIs. It has also shown that 'sim' responses are done for cause in contexts in which: 1) an agreement is avoided and people produce confirmations rather than an agreement to the proposed first; 2) when a speaker produces a claim of doing agreement; 3) when there is some problem with the next action implicated in the FPP to which 'sim' is less than the fully desired relevant next and 4) when there is some kind of

misunderstanding and/or misalignment and a previous negative response is fixed. Further, the analysis of instances in which the YNIs required confirmation (rather than answering for the first time) showed that there are ways of 'simply confirming' what is presented by the other speaker (or perhaps 'unmarked confirmations'), whereas 'sim' confirmations are done in the context of confirming that they had said before what is being asked again. This has also shown that 'syntatically equivalent' constructions can, in effect, be quite different in context and reveal important features about the language *in use*.

As mentioned earlier, this chapter presented 'sim' uses in the context of responses to 'YNI' but this is not the only context in which 'sim' tokens are produced. The corpus studied here presented a total of 159 cases of use of 'sim', of which 55 were responses to YNIs. 'Sim', in other environments seems to perform a few actions, most of which associated with a 'special' sense as in their use analysed here. Some of those cases in which 'sim' is used helped me to understand what 'sim' does (as shown here) in responses to YNIs, but space (and focus) constraints made it difficult to show how different uses of 'sim' may be connected. Another use of 'Sim' will be developed further in Chapter 6 which deals with interactional problems, as 'sim', in the same fashion presented here, can be seen to be used in cases in which speakers do not exactly agree with each other. Just to give an idea, outside YNIs responses, 'sim' can also be found to be used when: 1) there is a misunderstanding and one of the parties fixes this understanding and directs (or tries to direct) the talk to a more 'appropriate' course; 2) there is a breach in the contiguity of the course of the conversation and one of the parties produces this reinitiation of the action as if responsive to a prior, with a 'sim'; 3) a second speaker produces some kind of 'pro-forma' agreement in which one acknowledges some point made by the previous speaker and shows one's previous awareness to it but does not take it fully, as it develops some subsequent problem with this alternative; 4) there is a straight-forward disagreement; 5) 'sim' is used in opposition to a presupposed or explicit previous 'no' and/or does emphasis on the verb it comes with.

4

Dismissals: when the report-making goes wrong

From this chapter onwards I will be focussing on the particular experiences of 34 women reporting abuse in Brazilian WPSs. In previous chapters I overviewed the situation with regard to violence against women in Brazil and discussed some issues regarding the work of the WPSs in the country (see Chapter 1), while also pointing out for a need of 'translating' realities and contexts both on the level of words and actions (Chapters 2 and 3) and the level of 'worlds' (Chapter 2). In this chapter, I will introduce an important (and perhaps unexpected) feature of the reports in my data set: that women who tell the police about serious cases of violence (cases which are often understood by the police to be crimes) often do not even manage to get an official crime report, but have their cases dismissed. This chapter explores how - in my data set - this outcome is produced. The first section of this chapter will show some basic information about the number of cases dismissed and some of their characteristics; section 2 will present my analysis of the interactional 'phases' through which this outcome is produced; section 3 will discuss the manner in which procedural requirements to making a police report lead to cases of abuse which are understood to be 'policeable' crimes against the complainants to being dismissed; and finally, to conclude, I discuss how the requirements of those special police units created to protect women have sometimes, created hurdles to women's access to justice.

4.1 Failed Reports in Police Interactions: the case of dismissals

Dismissals are perhaps the clearest, most visible, examples of problems women face when reporting abuse to the police. Dismissals are failed cases in the sense that no report of the violence is lodged with the police. For complainants dismissals mean

leaving the WPS empty-handed and having no solution for their problems, nor a promise of a future interaction with the police. For officers they are instances in which the screening phase (which should guarantee that only those complainants who fulfil all the requirements for reporting a case are sent to the reporting room) failed. Such cases represent a waste of police time and efforts. They also mean that other complainants have to wait longer before actually being able to start their report.

Dismissals were not a rare exception in my WPS corpus; on the contrary, they comprised 25% of my recorded instances of women reporting abuse to the police, (9 of the 36 cases). Studying them is important because they represent a significant portion of my data, and also because they are useful in terms of showing what is necessary for the report-making just by the virtue of showing what is 'relevantly absent' in the reports and the kind of problems that block women from getting a report. It also shows that complainants lack information about what the requirements for a police report are, what the actual work performed by the police consists of and what can be expected from the police. However, information regarding what all the requirements for making a crime report are is seldom provided to complainants. Although dismissed complainants receive explanations about why their case cannot be registered, this information covers only the matter which is responsible for that case of dismissal and does not consist of a general presentation about all the police requirements. This can result in repeated failed attempts to report a crime, as in a single case of abuse which was dismissed twice on the same day (WPS 11 and WPS 14, which will be examined in detail later).

In the 36 interactions recorded in the WPS, 10 cases did not fill all of the reporting requirements. Of those 10 cases 1 was a notable exception in not being dismissed: a woman who did not have all the required information about her alleged abuser (his address) was allowed to make a crime report because she was accompanied by her son, himself a police officer, who elicited exceptional treatment from the officer in charge. Of the 9 remaining cases, only 1 was considered non-reportable (WPS 07), as the period of representing a crime legally had expired; the remaining cases could not be processed by the WPS as they were and the women were told to return with more information or to go to a different police unit. There was another case of incomplete information regarding the

abuser's address (WPS 26) that was 'exceptional' in terms of getting a report. WPS 26 is presented here as a dismissed case because, although it got a crime report (as shown on section 4.3), it was not taken further as a case, as the officer stated in the report that the missing information (which rendered the report incomplete) would incur in no further action by the police. All those cases show problems with the 'screening' phase (See Chapter 2 and Chapter 5) and show how the police requirements are not only unclear to the general public, but they are also not clearly explained to the complainants before they start the report-making process. A table with all the cases dismissed is shown below:

Table 4.1 Cases Dismissed in the WPS

WPS Case	Duration of the interaction	Reason for the dismissal
07	02:04	The reporting period for the crime had expired.
09	12:04	The crime was against the woman's daughter (a minor) and, as such, was out of the WPS's remit.
11	10:00	The complainant had no legal right to represent the abused minor (her biological but not legal daughter)
14	18:12	The alleged abuser's address was missing
23	16:27	The alleged abuser's address was missing
26	1:09:12	A report is made but the abuser would not be contacted nor a meeting scheduled since the alleged abuser's address was missing. The long duration of this interview is due to some problems the officer in charge had with the computer system.
30	21:34	The crime was against the woman's daughter (a minor) and, as such, was out of the WPS's remit
31	46:32	The alleged abuser's details were incomplete. The long duration of this interview is due to delays because the officer who started the report left and another officer had to continue the report.
35	12:35	The crime in question was understood to be 'robbery' and, as such, not considered to be a crime that affects women specifically and is not under the remit of the WPS.

Dismissals can be caused because the crime may not be reported (at least) under the WPS jurisdiction and/or because the report details cannot be fully filled out. Most of the cases shown above (n=4, WPS 14, 23, 26, 31) were dismissed because the latter, procedural, reasons as the complainants did not have all the necessary details of their abusers, namely the abusers' full addresses; three other cases were not under the WPS remit (WPS 09 and 30 were crimes against minors and should be

dealt in a special police unit for crimes against minors, and WPS 35 was a case of robbery and should be taken care of in a regular police unit). The remaining two cases could not be legally represented: WPS 07 had exceeded the maximum reporting period (6 months) and WPS 11 could not be represented because the victim was a minor and her legal mother was not present. Those dismissals show how the police requirements are not clear for women who search for police help.

4.2 Dismissed Cases: A General Pattern

Most of the dismissed cases are achieved through the following pattern: first, the officer presents some restriction to the report and makes the problem with the case relevant, then the officer gets a second opinion about the case (often from other police officers) and, after that, the police officer presents the dismissal proper which is often composed by its announcement, account for the dismissal and procedural information which are relevant for the complainant's subsequent pursuit of a report (either as a return in the WPS – with the relevant information which is shown to be missing – or in a different police unit when the case is not under the WPS's scope and jurisdiction). In more detail, the dismissals can be outlined as:

(1)   **Making the problem (with the report) relevant.** Problems which cause dismissals are divided in two basic groups: lack of relevant information which is relevant for the report, or the crime being out of the WPS's jurisdiction (because of the nature of the crime or the victim's categorization). When confronted with those problems officers often pursue the relevant 'reportable' information (e.g. details about the abuser and/or about the crime or the victim that would make the case reportable). The pursuit itself shows the information as relevant, but if the information they gather does not solve the problem, officers often mark this as a problem (e.g. some *missing* information is presented as being *relevant* for the report, or some feature of the case is pointed as being outside of the WPS's duty).

(2)   **Getting a second opinion.** In most of the cases dismissed in the WPS (8 out of 9) the dismissal is not simply decided by the officer in charge of the report. Rather, the officer in charge often asks or elicits some

information from someone in the room to check the case and/or get support for the dismissal (second opinion from another officer is obtained in WPS 07, 26, 30, 31 and in WPS 11 my opinion – the researcher, who is taken to be a lawyer – is sought); or leaves the room to check with a superior or a colleague if the case should be dismissed (WPS 09, 14, 35).

(3)   **Dissmissal proper: Anouncement + Account + Procedural Information.** Dismissals are always presented in terms of impossibilities, that is, officers present the circumstantial aspects that make them unable to make a report. Much like rejections to invitations as studied by Drew (1984), those circumstantial aspects that present the rejection (in the police environment of a case) as unavoidable are constructed in such a way to display that dismissals are not 'the outcomes of personal preference, choice, unwillingness and the like' (Drew, 1984, p. 146). In this way making the problem relevant and getting a second opinion contribute to making the dismissal not personal but a matter of what officers are or are not allowed to do by the institutional (shared) procedures they abide to. Unlike those cases of rejections to invitations studied by Drew (1984), dismissals are often clearly announced by the officers, rather than just left for the complainants to figure out the upshot. Announcements of the dismissals never come 'standing alone', though. They are accompanied by an account for the dismissal which presents the 'impossibility' of making the report and are often presented with procedural informations which are relevant for the complainant in terms of their subsequent pursuit of a report, either in the WPS or in a different police unit.

One case of dismissal will be presented in detail in order to show this general pattern by which dismissals are constructed and to introduce some other issues concerning dismissals. The extract shown below (WPS 14) is a case of dismissal because of lack of address. The same complainant (Bianca) had already been dismissed in an earlier attempt to report this case of abuse against her biological daughter (Lúcia) because she could not legally represent her in a sexual abuse complaint given that she was not her legal mother. So Bianca had picked up her

mother, Lúcia's legal mother (Graça), and returned to the WPS to make the report. In their report they go through the complainant's personal details but face some problems when presenting the abuser's details, so Bianca's partner – Bruno (Bru), the brother of the abuser – comes into the reporting room to help them with the abuser's details.

<u>4.2.1 Making the Problem (with the Report) Relevant</u>

Just prior to the fragment below, Bruno had answered Po5's requests for his parents' names and then a long sequence in which the appropriate answer – a full address – is pursued but not provided takes place. The first 16 lines of this sequence are not shown in the fragment below. They consisted of Po5's FPP requesting the abuser's address and Bruno's SPP which was restricted to the neighbourhood in which the abuser lived, followed by a third position repair by Po5, pursuing a Street name which is then provided ('Rua do Cais'). Line 17, the first shown below, shows the officer's last attempt to get some further information, as she pursues a house number, which is also not provided. Making the problem relevant, Po5 produces then a turn with an interrogative format (line 22) about 'how' the abuser could be notified, which is not a request for information, but rather marks the difficulty/impossibility of notifying the abuser without having his address. Interruptively to Po5's turn Graça starts to talk in overlap with the officer (line 23) producing a failed attempt to present an address which insisted on her earlier presentation of it as a 'cul de sac'. It is interesting to notice that Po5 abandons her turn and allows Graça to stop her from taking the dismissal sequence further. However, as Graça does not actually provide any relevant additional information, Po5 redoes the turn she had started on line 22 to completion and adds a negative observation about what they do not have (a full address) in order to notify the abuser, marking this absence as a departure from what was expected as the negative observation *'formulates a failure (...)* something the recipient failed to do' (Schegloff, 1988, p.121). This presentation of the address as *missing* is understood as a threat to the reporting by the participants as, shortly afterwards, Bianca, fights for a report by shifting the focus to what they already had (lines 29-30).

 # 1 – WPS 14

```
(16 lines from the beginning of the address sequence omitted)
17  Po5:    Só i:sso¿=[Rua do Ca:is]=>Número,
```

```
                            Just this.    Street (Name)    Number
                            Just thi:s¿=[Ca:is Stree:t]=>Number,

18  Bru:                             [ Só i:sso:. ]
                                       Just this
                                     [Just thi:s:.]

19  Bru:       Número=num s:ei não.
              Number no know no.
              The number=I d:on't know.

20  Po5:       Não sa:be?
              No know?
              You don't know?

21  Bru:       Num se:i.
              No know.
              Don't kno:w.

22  Po5        Ah: entã:o, >↑Como é que eu vou man[dá inti-]
              Oh then          How is that    I will order to notify
              Oh: the:n >↑How am I going to have h[im noti-]

23  Gra:                                               [Casa de]
                                                       house of
                                                      [House of]

24             gro::ta¿ (Zi::n[tra:)   ]
                 cul de sac (Name)
              cul de sa::c¿(Zi::n[tra:)]

25  Po5:                    [>↑Como=é] que eu vou mandá
                             How is that I   will order
                          [>↑How=am] I going to have

26             intimá ele:.< Num tendo- num tem o nú:mero:- (0.2)
              notify   him    no   ha- no having the number of- no
              him notifi:ed.< Not ha- Not having the number o:f-

27  Bru:       [°°Desculpe.°°]
                 Sorry
              [°°So:rry.°°   ]

28  Po5:       [Num tem o en]dereço comple:t[o.]
               No   has the address complete.
              [There isn't t]he full addre:s[s.]

29  Bia:                                        [A]proveitá
                                                Take advantage to
                                               [T]ake the opportunity

30             pra=>(agente)< pensá no resta:nte
               to  us        think in+the remaining
              for=>(us)< to think on the re:st.
```

4.2.2 Getting a Second Opinion

As there was no other officer in the room, Po5's way of getting an appropriate second opinion is achieved by leaving the room. She leaves her chair (line 31) and then starts to make her way out of the office in order to get an opinion from an officer she refers to by the first name (but lately is presented as some kind of authority), saying she was going to inform her about their issue (lines 32-33).

Before Po5 leaves the room, Graça fights for a report making the urgency of their case relevant by saying that the abuser was following the girl (lines 35, 37, 39-41 and 43). Po5 listens to Graça, letting her develop the issue and also producing receipts (lines 36 and 42) before leaving the office. While the officer is not in the room, Graça shows she takes their attempts to get a report as having failed, as she says she does not think their case is going to be processed in the WPS, by saying she thinks 'it's not here' (line 45).

2 - WPS 14

```
31                (0.2 + chair noise)

32   Po5:         (Olhe) Só um minutinho que eu vou
                  Just a instant(dim)that I will see
                  Just a second that I'll check.

33                participá a (Gláucia) vi:u.
                   to communicate to (Name - dcc?) saw.
                  inform (Gláucia) see:.

34                ((6 sec + Po5 making her way to the door))

35   Gra:         Ele ontem a- foi atrás dela nu colé:gio¿=
                  he  yesterday a- went behind her in+the school
                  Yesterday he a- went after her in the schoo:l¿=

36   Po5:         =S:[im.]
                  Yes
                  =R:[ight.]

37   Gra:            [E f]oi lá na praça preseguindo e:la¿
                      And went there in+the square chasing    her
                      [And w]ent there in the square chasing he:r¿
38                (.)

39   Gra:         Porque e- eu- a-  (veio) a mãe- a tia dela
                  Because I- She- the- (came) the   mother- the aunt of+her
                  Because I- I- th- her mother- her aunt (came) to

40                resolvê:, .hh e ele ainda foi pru colé::gio¿=
                  solve          and he still   went  to +the school

                  so:lve it, .hh and he also went to the schoo::l¿=

41                =pra í atrás dela e (ai)foi lá na pr[a:ça ]
                  to  go   behind  pf+her and then went there in+the square
                  =to go after her and (then)went there to the squ[a:re]
42 Po5:                       [Ce:rto.]
                                                        Right
                                                     [Ri:ght.]

43   Gra:         Segui e:la.
                  Follow her
                  Follow he:r.

44                ((Po5 leaves the room))

              --- 1min 50 sec omitted Gra, Bru and Gin talk a bit
                            about the abuse   ---

45   Gra:         Bi:a eu acho que num é aqui: nã:o.
```

```
                  (name) I think that   no    is    here    no
                  Bi:a I think it's not he:re.
46  Bia:     Quê:?
             What
             Wha:t?
```

4.2.3 The Dismissal Proper: Announcement + Account + Procedures

The dismissal proper starts as soon as Po5 returns to the reporting room (line 47).
She first brings the authority of her superior as the person she had gotten a second
opinion from and checked the procedures with (line 48), then announces the
dismissal (lines 49-50) saying that unfortunately she was not able to make the
report. She then starts to present the account for the dismissal (Porque/Because,
line 50) in terms of having to notify the abuser and needing his address (lines 50-63)
and then completes it with the procedural steps the complainants should take in
order to get the case reported: get the address and return to the WPS any time
(lines 65 – 67), and then finishes off with an apologetical construction which
presents, again, the lack of the address of an obstacle to the reporting (lines 68-69).

3 - WPS 14

```
47             ((Door Noise. Po5 enters the room))

48  Po5:       Olhe, (.) eu cunversei com a chefe de serviço
               Look    I talked    with the chief of service
               Look, (.) I talked to the officer in charge

49             aí infelizmente eu num vô pudê ((closes the door))
               then unfortunately  I  no  will can
               and unfortunately I won't be able ((closes the door))

50             concluí esse boletin de ocorrê:ncia. .hh Porque
               to conclude this bulletin of  occurrence      because
               to conclude this police repo:rt. .hh Because

51             veja só:, (.) esse procedimento eu já sabia que
               see   only   this procedure    I already knew  that
               see:, (.) this procedure I knew already that

52             era assim¿ .hh >Agora como elas mand-< ela mandou
               was like this    Now  how/as  they tol-  she told
               was like this¿ .hh >Now as they tol-< she told

53             vocês virem aqui pra fazê: .hh esse caso .h eu fui
               you(pl) to come here to make      this case    I went
               you to come here to ma:ke .hh the case .h I went

54             participá a ela porque: (.).h no caso eu tenho
               to inform   to her because      in+the case I have
               to inform her beca:use (.) .h in this case I have

55             que intimá ele.
               to notify him.
               to notify him.

56             (.)
```

57   Po5:   Quem intima somos nóis. Nós é que saímos
                Who notifies are us. We is that leave
                It is u̲s who notifies them. We are the ones who leave

58   daqui vamos lá intimá. .hh Então tem
                from+here go there to notify So has
                here and go there to notify them. .hh So there

59   que tê além de endereço correto, número
                to have beyond of the address correct   number
                must be besides the correct address, the correct

60   correto, ponto de referência=como é que
                correct,   point of reference how is that
                number, a reference=how is it that

61   faz pra a gente chegá lá, >porque< senão a gente
                do to we   to get there, because otherwise we
                we get there, >because< otherwise we

62   fica roda:ndo e volta sem intimá a
                stay turning and return without notify the
                keep circula:ting and return without notifying the

63   pesso:a.='tende:u.
                person. Understood.
                pe:rson.=See:.

64   (.)

65   Po5:   O que vocês têm que fazê:, (.) se certificá
                What you(pl) have to do,   prt reflex certify
                What you have to do i:s, (.) check for yourself

66   (.) do: do endereço e voltá aqui qu'eu- aqui
                 of+the Of+the address and return here that I   here
                (.) the: the address and return here that=I- here

67   é vinte e quarto horas.=A gente tá aqui pra atendê.
                is twenty and four hours.   We   are   here to serve
                is twenty four hours.=we are here to serve.

68   Agora infelizmente se̲m o endereço completo
                Now unfortunately   without the address complete
                But unfortunately witho̲u̲t the full address

69   eu sinto muito.
                I feel   much
                I am so:rry.

4.2.4 Complainants Pursuing a Report

The officer's dismissal of the case does not mean, however, that the interaction is immediately over. Complainants often fight for a report when they get to the dismissal pattern (as shown earlier on WPS 14) and after the dismissal is announced (as shown below). Although complainants do manage to reverse dismissal sequences started by officers (e.g. WPS 18), in none of the 36 cases I recorded does a complainant manage to reverse a dismissal after it is fully announced. The fact that complainants fight for a report while dismissals are under way but are not fully

announced show how participants understand the earlier stages – such as making the problem relevant and confirming a dismissive scenario with other officers – as dismissal implicative and the fact that some complainants can in those cases fight for a report and produce the relevant information that deters the dismissal from going further (see section 4.2.5 for a presentation of one of such cases – WPS 18) helps to show how those sequences communicate the problem in question and the risk of a dismissal.

Although no case of dismissal from my corpus was reversed after the dismissal's full announcement, complainants still fight for reports after the 'dismissal proper' is produced. In WPS 14 the complainants fight for it in different ways: Bruno proposes an alternative solution for the case: to call later with the address (line 70-71), which fails and Po5 insists on the need for a correct address. As Po5 illustrates this need for the exact address (lines 87-88) with a list construction with the necessary information with the first item built from a conditional 'if' referring to the correct street name, Bianca and Bruno start talking in overlap with Po5 before her list is over (lines 89 and 90, respectively) to confirm the street name, showing again their eagerness to get a report. When once again Po5 advises the complainants to assure themselves of the address and return to the WPS adding that she would be there and available to make the report until the next day's early morning, Bianca presents her inability to return (having already lost a day trying to make a report, unable to solve things alone as her elderly mother was Lúcia's legal mother, and needing to work on the following day, lines 120 - 124). On top of this presented inability of a prompt return (which works to show her difficulties to report and her persistence and eagerness to so, as well as the police's earlier unhelpfulness and a potential incentive for having to finish the reporting there and then), Graça adds some urgency to the making of the report – in overlap with Po5's turn – presenting the abuser's intention to leave (line 129), which she repeats (line 131) after Po5's open class repair initiation (Drew, 1997) at line 130. Dispite all the attempts, Po5 turns this urgency, then, into a reason to return to the WPS quickly (line 132). Even when Po5 says again that she cannot make a report then works with the computer to cancel it while she makes an 'online explanation' (Heritage & Stivers, 1999) of the procedure (lines 141 – 145) – Bruno tries once again

to offer another solution, talking about bringing the abuser to the WPS (not shown) and shortly afterwards the complainants leave the room.

 # 4 - WPS 14

```
69b              (0.5)

70    Bru:      Mas se:: e a gente ligamo pra cá:¿=Dizendo=o
                But if    and we  call to here. Saying the
                But what i::f we call he:re. Saying the

71               ender[e:ço.]
                 address
                 addr[e:ss.]

72    Po5:          [Num po]de. Não pode. .h É a gente tava=>fzendo<
                    No can.  No can.  Is/Uh  we   were   doing
                    [No you can't.] No you can't. .h Uh we were=>doing<

73               esse procedimento antes e tava dando problema
                 this procedure    before and was giving problem
                 this procedure before and it wasn't working

74               porque as pessoas .hh se comrometiam em ligá
                 because as people    prt reflexive  commit  in call
                 because people .hh committed themselves to calling

75               e num ligavam e nós ficavamu cum pende-
                 and no called and we    stayed  with pend
                 and didn't call and we stayed with pend-

76               pendê:ncia. .hh E então resolvemo não fazer mais
                 pendency        And so decided (1pp) no to do more
                 a pe:ndency. .hh So we decided not to do it any

77               isso.  Às vezes por causa de um os otros pagam
                 this   Some times for cause  of on  the others pay
                 more. Sometimes because of one  the others everyone pays

78               né[:.]
                 address
                 righ[:t.]

79    Bia:          [É]:.=
                     Is
                     [Ye]:s.=

80    Po5:       =Mas infelizmente a gente num vai pude fazê:.
                 But unfortunately  we    no will  can do
                 =But unfortunately we won't be able to do i:t.

81               (0.2)

82    Po5:       Cês vão tê que tomá:- porque >olha s:-< fica muito
                 You will have to take  because   look      stays much
                 You'll have to ta:ke- because >see:-< it's too

83               va:go¿=Rua do Ca:is,=não tem número, num te:m num
                 vague¿ Street (Name) no has  number   no has  no
                 va:gue¿=Cais Stree:t,=there's no number, there's no:

84               te:m=
                 has
                 there's no:=

85    Bru:       =>É p'que se mudaru agora pouco né:=e aí num
```

```
                    Is because  prt  moved   now  little  no+is and then  no
                    =>It's b'cause they've moved recently ri:ght=and then we

86                  sabe o número direito=o númro [lá.]<
                    know the number right    the number there
                    don't know the right number=the number [there.]<

87   Po5:           Tem que sabê cerrtinho se é Rua do Cais mesmo,
                    Has to  know  right(dim)  if  is  Street (name) really
                    Got to know for sure if it is Cais Street really,

88                  no[:me]
                    name
                    na[:me]

89   Bia:           [É:.] [A rua é rua do Ca:is.]
                    Is      The street is street (name)
                    [Ye:s.][The street is Cais Stree:t.}

90   Bru:                  [A   rua  é  e:ssa.     ]
                           The street is  this
                           [The street is thi:s.  ]

91                  (.)

92   Po5:           Tem que tá- sabê certi:nho.
                    Has to be  know  right(dim)
                    Got to be- know for su:re.

93                  (1.8)

94   Po5:           Número- o número, .hh sabê ponto de referência=
                    Number the number     know point of+the reference
                    Number- the number, (.) to know a reference
```

*--- 12 lines omitted details about the information needed and a 'role play' showing what happens
when they do not have the address and - not knowing the people involved - might be told they are in
the wrong place (as shown on line 106) ---*

```
106                 'Num é aqui não.'=Então a gente cum tudo certinho=
                    No is here no    So   we     with   all  correct(dim)
                    'It's not here no.'=So with everything exactly we=

107                 ='Não é aqui sim.=Dê sua identida:de.'
                     No  is here yes      Give your identity
                    ='No it is in fact here.=Give me your ID:.'

108                 (0.2)

109 Po5:            Entao a gente tem fo:rça pra fazê i:sso. .h E
                    So    we       have force to   do  this     And
                    So we have the po:wer to do so:. .h And without

110                 sem sabê:: fica um negó[cio >'Num é daq]ui não.'< e
                    without know stays a thing     No is from+here no     and
                    kno::wing it it gets li[ke >'Is not fom he]re no.'< and

111 Gra:                                  [ D i f í c i l ]
                                           hard
                                          [ H  a  r  d  ]

112 Po5:            'tcha:-' (.) vo:lta.
                    bye-    return
                    'by:e-' (.) we retu:rn.

113                 (0.5)

114 Po5:            Perde o nosso tempo e perde o de vocês=que vocês
```

```
              Lose the our    time   and lose  the of  you      that you
              We lose our  time  and you lose yours=cuz you

115           ficam pensando que vai- .hh vai ocorrê a audiencia
              stay thinking that  will      will occur  the audience
              leave thinking that there will- .hh will be an audience

116           e não ocorre:, .h e aí fica uma coisa ruim. Procure
              and no occurs    and then stays a  thing  bad   Try
              and it doesn't ha:ppen, .h then it gets bad. Do try

117           sabê lá o endereço direitinho e vo:lte. Quisé voltá
              to know there the address  right(dim) and return. Want(subj) return
              to find the address there exactly and retu:rn. If you want

118           hoje=até amanhã de madrugada eu tou aqui pra atendê:.
              today until tomorrow of daybreak  I  am   here    to  serve
              to return today=till tomorrow's daybreak I'm here to se:rve.

119           (0.5)

120 Bia:      Ho:je:_ (.) huh hoje já (>perdemo por=causa de
              Today         today already lost      because    of
              To:da:y_ (.) huh today we've already (>lost because

121    Lúcia<)=vou trabalhá amanhã: ainda¿
              name will   work      tomorrow  still
       of Lúcia<)=I'll work tomo:rrow on top of it¿

122           (.)

123 Bia:      E comig-=sozinha num po:sso. Só posso resolve
              And with+me- alone  no can      Only can    solve
              And with me-=alone I ca:n't do it. I can only solve it

124           cum e:la¿=Porque ela tá no nome de:la [(  )]
              with her¿ because  she  is in+the name of+her
              with he:r¿=Because she is in her na:me [(  )]

125 Po5:                                            [Ce:r]to.
                                                     Correct
                                                    [Ri:g]ht.

126           (0.5)

127 Po5:      Eu lame:nto. A=gente tem que fazê a coisa d-
              I lament.    We      have  to  do  the thing r-
              I'm so:rry. We have to do the things c-

128           (.) dentro da:: (.) [tudo (   ) lega:l.]
                  inside of+the       all        legal
              (.) inside the:: (.) [all (   ) le:gally.]

129 Gra:                          [E ele qué í=se=emb]o:ra.
                                   And he wants to+go prt away
                                  [And he wants to go=aw]a:y.

130 Po5:      Ein?
              Huh
              Huh?

131 Gra:      Ele qué ir=se=embo:ra.
              he wants to+go prt away
              He wants to go=awa:y

132 Po5:      >Por=isso que=eu tou dizendo pra voltá lo:go.<=
              For this that I  am  saying  to  return soon
              >That's=way that=I'm saying for you to return soo:n.<=
```

-- 8 lines ommitted Graça suggests that Bruno should convince his brother not to leave and Po5 says again that she cannot make the report and then checks the girl's full name --

```
141 Po5:                                    [Eu vo:-] Eu vou cancelá:
                                            I  will-  I will cancel
                                            [I wi:-] I will ca:ncel
```

```
142              esse boletim aqui: (0.5 +key) °vê se eu acho aqui
                 this bulletin   here                   see  if  I  find here
                 this report he:re (0.5 + key) °see if I find it here
```

```
143              pra cancelá:¿°
                 to cancel
                 to ca:ncel it¿°
```

-- 14 lines ommitted. Bruno suggests bringing the abuser into the WPS as a possible solution --

```
158 Po5:     Eu lame:nto.
             I lament
             I'm so:rry.
```

```
159          (11 sec + key)
```

```
160 Bia:     Então pode í:[:]
             So  can  go
             So can we go[:]
```

```
161 Po5:                               [Tã]o libera:dos.
             Are fred
                                       [Yo]u're dismi:ssed.
```

As seen above, complainants do not just give up reporting when they are told they cannot do it. It is interesting to see that complainants fight for a crime report because some studies on women reporting violence seem to place a lot of emphasis on women's need to tell their story, rather than on getting the report (see Trinch, 2003) and/or that the penal response to perpetrators of violence against women (as advocated by feminists) is often rejected by women (Brandao, 1998; Hoyle & Sanders, 2000). The idea that, at least some complainants, do not privilege the telling of their story but do focus their actions in getting a police response in the form of a report and further actions is not also supported by the analysis developed in Chapter 5.

It is also interesting to notice that WPS 14 is treated by Po5 as a 'policeable'[1] case, but is dismissed because of a procedural requirement: the abuser's address. Po5 is responsive to the complainants' attempts to get a report and comes across as being a nice officer even though she dismisses a clear case of abuse. She dismisses the case but is not dismissive to the complainants, but rather explains the procedures clearly making the grounds for the dismissal as well as the next

---

[1] 'Policeable' is used here as a case worthy of police attention. 'Reportable' is a case which is policeable and also fulfils the reporting requirements (of the WPS). See Chapter 5 for a better definition of 'policeable' and its relation with 'reportable'.

procedural steps accessible to the complainants, while she also listens and responds to (negatively but attentively and kindly) the complainants' attempts to get a report. Those aspects – namely, the dismissal of cases which are understood as crimes because of the absence of an abuser's full address, and the connections (or not) between how nice an officer is or is not to the complainants will be examined in section 4.3. Before doing so, I will show a case in which a complainant manages to reverse a dismissing sequence and gets her case reported.

4.2.5 Reversing the Dismissing Process

WPS 18 is an example in which an officer starts the dismissing pattern as shown here but the complainant manages to reverse the dismissal, by providing the relevant information which was being presented as the impossibility for making the report. In this case, the dismissing pattern was a consequence of a clash between what the officer pursued with her questions and the woman's attempts to make her case to be taken as serious. So, before the fragment shown here Po1 pursued a date for an incident of abuse which is reportable. Instead of providing this specific information about a last threat, the complainant presents a serious case of abuse that had happened 2 months earlier and was the base of her current court procedure and had already been registered in the WPS. This presentation of some previous (serious) incident of abuse to attest the seriousness of one's case is not uncommon, but it often acts as a hurdle for women's reporting given the limitations of the police work in terms of single and recent cases of abuse. While officers pursue an isolated 'last' incident of abuse, complainants sometimes produce 'dramatic' presentations of other cases of abuse and do not limit their responses to the question asked as they seek to present their cases in a way that asserts for the gravity of their situation when the 'last incident' might make their cases seem trivial. This is similar to instances of misalignment between 'optimistic' views of doctors and patient's presentations of their cases as 'serious' as analysed by Drew (2006)." This presentation of previous (and already reported) crimes works against the complainant, as Po1 takes the case to have already been 'dealt with' by the police which leads to what can be recognized as the dismissing pattern presented here as I go on to show.

We join WPS 18 when Po1 seeks to establish (for the second time) if the case had already been reported (lines 73-74). The complainant then says 'No' and then

makes reference to papers that she got ready to take to court (lines 76-78). To this
reference of court procedures, the officer produces a third position repair with
'Não' blocking the court topic and clarifying her interest as related to the police
(lines 79, 81). The complainant then says the attorney is asking for another one and
re-states the urgency, as she needs it on that very day. Po1, then, takes further the
dismissal pattern and tries to get Po3's a second opinion about her understanding
that there is no reason to make another report (lines 86-88, 90, 92-93). In this case,
the complainant manages to reverse the dismissal as she starts to talk loudly and in
overlap with the officer's redone attempt to get a second opinion (line 93) fighting
for her report by marking the threats as ongoing (lines 94-96). As a response to Po1
– and having heard the complainant's turn – Po3 does not simply respond to the
scenario presented by Po1 earlier: 'if the case was already registered no need to
make a new report', but makes another conditional: a new report would depend on
a new incident. Po1's response to Po3, then, takes the woman's turn at lines 94-96,
as a presentation of a new case and the complainant repeats, again loudly, that her
abuser threatens her continuously. With this establishment of a 'recent' reportable
matter (apart from the already reported one), the complainant manages to reverse
the dismissal of her case and Po1 seeks to establish the date of the last threat. This
case will be discussed again (together with other cases) with reference to how
officers and complainants deal with misalignments in interaction, in Chapter 6.

#5 – WPS 18

73	Po1:	[Mas no caso j]á tem registra:do=teu
		But in+the case already has registerde your
		[But in this case] is it already re:gistered=your
74		BO:.
		report
		repo:rt.
75		(1.2)
76	Wom:	(Qua-) N:ã:o. Tem um aqui ói, que fui- a-
		Whe- No. Has one here see, that went(1ps) a-
		(Whe-) N:o:. There's one here see, cuz I went- a-
77		fo:i que tá:- tudo pra í pra justi:xa.=
		went that is all to go to Justice
		it we:nt that it's:- all to go to co:urt.=
78		=Quando olhá você vê aí:.=Me dá aí:.
		When look you see there. Me give there
		=When you look you'll see it the:re.=Give it to me:.
79	Po1: →	Nã:o, tou f[ala:ndo a- que eu quero] sabê=
		No, am talking a- that I want know

```
                    No:, I'm t[a:lking a- what I want to] know=
80    Wom:                  [Aí ele (tá e indici-)   ]
                            There he  is and notified
                            [There he (is notifi-)   ]

81    Pol:    =da=delegaci:a.
              of+the station
              =of=the poli:ce.

82    Wom:    Ele tá exigindo o:tro.=O menino- lá a
              He is demanding other. The boy    there the
              He's demanding ano:ther.=The boy- there the

83            procuradori:a que é pá:: levá ainda
              attourney     that is to  take  still
              atto:urney cuz it's to:: take up till

84            ho:je.
              today
              toda:y.

85            (1.2)

86    Pol:    Por que se ela respo- se ele: (.)ameaçou
              Because if she  respo- if he      threatened
              Because if she respo- if he: (.) threatened

87            ela há dois meses atrás, ela já registro:u,
              her has two months ago   she already registered
              her two months ago, she's already repo:rted,

88            num tem porque °registrá no:va que:ixa.°
              no has because    register new   complaint
              there's no reason °to register a new compla:int.°

89            (0.2)

90    Pol:    Num é i:sso?
              No is this
              Isn't it so:?

91    Po3:    mm?

92    Pol:    Se ele ameaço:u (.) ela, dois a-meses
              If he threatened     her    two a-months
              If he thre:atened (.) her, two a-months

93            atrás, (0.8) .tlc e ela já[: f:]
              ago                    and she already m
              ago,(0.8).tlc and she's alre[:ady m:]

94    Wom:                              [E CO]NTINU:A
                                         And continues
                                        [AND CO]NTI:NUES

95            AMEAÇA:NDO! Porque eu num posso nem
              threatening! Because  i no  can  not+even
              THRE:ATENING! Because I can't even

96            [í  em  ca:sa.]
              go in house
              [go ho:me.     ]

97    Po3:    [Depende do ca]:so.=Do a:nterior né:.
              Depends of+the case . Of+the before no+is
              [Depends on the ca]:se.=Of the pre:vious ri:ght.

98            (0.2)
```

```
99  Po3:      Requer um novu:- (0.8) uma nova situação.
              Requires a(M) new(M)      a(F) new(F) situation
              It required a ne:w- (0.8) a new situation.

100           (Prum) novo B[:O:.    ]
              For+one new report
              (For a) new re[:po:rt.]

101 Po1:                   [Entã:o.]=Ela: diss- ele tá
                           So.       She sai-  he is
                           [ So:.  ]=She: sai- he is

102           amea- ameaçando novame:nte¿=
              threa- threatening again
              threa- threatening aga:in¿=

103 Wom:      =É:.=ELE VÉVE=AMEAÇANDO DIRE:TO.
               Is. He lives threatening straight
              =Ye:s.=He keeps=threatening non sto:p.

104 Po1:      Aqui a senhora disse há:- há dois meses
              Here the ma'am said   has   has two months
              You ma'am said it's- it was two months

105           [atrá:s.]
              behind
              [ago:.  ]

106 Wom:      [Aí o pes]soal diz 'o:lha num vá lá que
              Then the people say 'lool no   go  there that
              [Then the pe]ople say 'loo:k don't go there that

107           ele disse que vai lhe pegá que vai lhe
              he said    that will(3ps) you get that will(2ps) you
              he said that he'll get you that he'll get

108           pegá:.=Aí eu num tenho nem condição de
              get. Then I   no   have not+even condition of
              yo:u.=So I don't even have the means to

109           pegá nem rô:pa em ca:sa.
              get not+even clothes in house
              even get my clo:thes at ho:me.

110           (.)

111 Wom:      Por causa da ameaça de:le.
              Because  of+the threat of+he
              Because of his thre:at.

112 Po1: → Si:m.=E aí quando foi a última vez que
              Yes. And then when  was the  last  time  that
              Ri:ght.=Then when was the last time that

113           ele lhe ameaço:u.
              He you threatened
              He threatened yo:u.
```

   This reversal of the dismissing process shows that complainants do understand officer's dismissing procedures as challenges to their report and as a risk of dismissal before the dismissal is fully presented. Moreover, it shows that, with the provision of the right information, complainants can reverse this process and get a police report.

4.3 WPS's Procedural Requirements as Hurdles to Women's Access to Police Reports

A small majority (5 in 9 cases) of the dismissed cases in my corpus was connected to a problem in filling out the form regarding the complainant's or the abuser's details. Apart from one case in which the problem was with the complainant (WPS 11), all other cases had as a reason for the dismissal the fact that the complainant did not have the address of a known abuser (n=4, 44% of the total dismissals). This reporting requirement, that makes reports contingent on complainants' production of an abuser's address, brings an important issue into light: the fact that 'domestic' abusers are not seen as criminals worth investigating.

In these cases of dismissals because the personal details of the abuser were not complete the complainants could, in theory, pressure the officers to make a report as one has the right to make a complaint without those details[2]. Although women are entitled to report a crime in this conditions what is and is not a right in those cases is not always clear for most of the complainants and, I go on to show, not even always that clear to many officers[3]. In any case, it is hard to argue against police officers in terms of rights when they present this kind of information as *mandatory* to the making of a report. Complainants, however, often try to get a report when they are dismissed. Although they never fight for it as a 'right', they may plead, offer different solutions to the case, present their problems as urgent matters (see WPS 14, above, for all of those ways of fighting for a report), but very few of them actually manage to get a report (the only exception to this was WPS 03 in which a police officer accompanying his mother's report-making is allowed to bring the abuser's correct address later).

WPS 14, presented above, shows how a clear case of abuse which was recognised by the officer as a crime and for which the complainants fought repeatedly to get a report, is dismissed because a procedural requirement of the

---

[2] I thought this to be the case, but confirmed this to be correct with a lawyer in January 2007, in Brazil.
[3] This is not only my native grasp of the culture, although this cultural knowledge and my own personal experience as a citzen and as a witness of police action would definitely contribute to this observation. Officers in my study frequently check with their peers and/or superiors doubts they have about: being or not able to make a report (WPS 09, shown in this chapter, shows a case in which an officer does not only get a 'second opinion' about dismissing a case, but actually shows his doubts regarding the WPS's scope limitations), how to qualify a crime in terms of our penal code (WPS 26). and about general procedures of their everyday work.

report-making: the abuser's address. Although 'Po5' justifies the dismissal by saying they have to do things 'right' and 'within the law' (lines 127-128), there is not a legal impediment to making a crime report without the abuser's details, the problem is that the abusers reported in a WPS are not investigated, but are only contacted for a further meeting with the chief commissioner if the complainant produces their address. The fact that there is no legal impediment to the production of a crime report in this condition is not only 'external' to my data, the 'exceptions' of cases such as WPS 03 (not shown here) and WPS 26 (shown below) illustrate this well, as complainants who do not produce the address of their abusers can, in some circumstances at least, get a crime report in the same WPS. The law is clearly not the real impediment for the completion of a crime report when complainants do not have their abuser's address. While WPS 03 shows that it is possible to get a police report with no limitations (the complainant would provide the abuser's details later), WPS 26 illustrates that is possible to make a police report without the address, but that this can mean no further action because of the absence of the abuser's address (see more below). WPS 26 ilustrates the problem mentioned by Po5 in WPS 14 regarding 'pending issues' (lines 75-76): the limitations imposed to the report once the abuser's address is not known are connected to not having a crime report followed up given that abusers are not investigated, and this matter of 'no follow up' was *stated* in the crime report. The police will only notify abusers without having to investigate them.

It is also interesting to notice that the fact that WPS 26 gets a report while WPS 14 does not is not connected to the officers' understandings of what counts as violence against women or how 'nice' they were. Santos (2005), for example, in examining the practices of policewomen in the WPS, shows how officers construct crimes in the making of a police report and apply legal principles to the complainant's stories of abuse, by selectively translating them into more or less serious crimes. This translation of stories into crimes depends, according to Santos, on what officers consider their jobs to be and what they consider to be legitimate cases of violence against women. Santos illustrates this selective translation of stories into crimes presenting officers' varying responses to different crimes according to their ideas about violence against women and their alliance (or not) to feminist principles. Some policewomen who staff the WPS, for example, are

presented as resistant to registering cases of conjugal violence, which should supposedly be recognised as crimes, whereas some other police officers have reportedly registered complaints about sexual harassment, under varying criminal types, even before it was recognised as a crime in Brazil. So, according to Santos, 'pro-feminist' officers may frame crimes in a favourable way to women complainants, whereas 'anti-feminist' officers may not, showing how officers' ideas about 'domestic' violence interferes in how they construct the crimes in their reports. Although this issue of personal views interfering with the way crimes are constructed and processed is very relevant to the understanding of how crimes are processed and how WPSs work, the focus on officers' personal views about violence seems to consider some problems with the reporting process to be more personal then they actually are. What I want to focus here goes beyond officers being (or not being) nice or taking violence against women seriously (or not), but it has to do with procedural aspects of the police job which constrain the report-making and even the understanding of 'domestic' violence as a serious crime. In order to do so, I will first show how a case being processed and/or dismissed depends more on procedural aspects of the work than on how 'nice' officers are or are not. As a counter example to WPS 14 in which an officer who comes across as being nice – and was, in fact, a personal favourite of mine during the recording process as my notes show 'Mariane is the nicest officer' – and the case is nonetheless dismissed, WPS 26 is an example of a more favourable outcome in a case in which the complainant did not present her abuser's full address, but got a report from an officer who does not come across as being as nice to the complainants[4]. WPS 26 was not, however, entirely successful because the police officer in charge explicitly states in the police report that the abuser will not be notified because of the address not being complete. Although the cases are similar but have different outcomes, this result is not connected to the seriousness of the crimes (WPS 14 was a case of sexual abuse against a child which is perceived as more serious than WPS 26 which was a case of a woman being beaten by another woman). The outcome was also not

---

[4] Po6 was, however, 'nice' to me. She took an interest in my research and expressed a positive opinion about it while she also talked about her degree in Psychology and, in another instance mentioned to a complainant that 'it is rare to find a woman not abused by her partner' (WPS 34), showing some understanding of domestic violence as widespread that is markedly different from the understanding of the anti-feminist officers interviewed by Santos (2005), which, as discussed further in this section, saw battered women as 'weak' and often as being responsible for their victimization.

connected to how nice the officers were, Po6, as shown earlier in 'Clash of Worlds'(Chapter 2), did not sound nice at all with her impatient remarks about the woman not knowing relevant information such as her date of birth.

The fragment shown below started just 6 minutes before the end of the interaction which lasted 1 hour and 9 minutes, so after over an hour had been spent on the case. Just before this fragment a few officers and the chief commissioner had come into the reporting room to check one of the police systems, during this time Po6 also had a few problems with the report so Po8 was offering some help. Po6, line 01, makes an observation about there being lots of information missing, which marks their relevant absence as a complainable. Then, Po8 produces a YNI enquiring if Po6 had presented the requirements to the complainant earlier (line 02). This gets a non-conforming SPP as Po6 avoids presenting herself as not having informed the complainant earlier in favour of presenting her doing so at that moment. Moreover, Po6 immediately connects this modified response about what she was doing (rather than had done) to the consequences of the lack of the address for the woman (that is, there would be no use in reporting the abuse) rather than in her own way of conductiong the report-making. Po8 produces a directive, then, (lines 07-08), with a solution for Po6's problem of having practically concluded a report which lacked mandatory information, telling her to state in the report that the abuser was not going to be notified because there was not a full address. During this time they talk about the complainant but not to the complainant and after their interaction is over, Po6 starts typing something on the report. I, then, start talking to the complainant about the address (trying to get some specific information from her and/or some references in terms of how to get there – this is inaudible from the recording, which is heard only as very soft indistinct talk). After this, Po6 announces to the woman (starting on line 28) that the abuser was not going to be notified because of the lack of a full address. She says, then that they would need the address in order to notify the abuser (mistakenly referred to with masculine referents although the abuser was a woman, see chapter 07 for a discussion on the presupposition of a male abuser[5]) and that she would include the address when the woman returned to the police with it (lines 44-45) and then they

---

[5] It is also interesting to notice that the complainant does not produce a correction about her abuser being a woman (see Jefferson, 2007), nor initiates repair to 'check her understanding' about the officer's misuse of the masculine terms.

would be able to notify the abuser. She proceeds to make the referral to the medical institute to examine the injuries from the incident (as mentioned on lines 38-39). So, although there is no meeting scheduled with the chief commissioner, the woman leaves the WPS with a police report and a referral for the medical exam as well as the possibility of returning with the exact address of her abuser and having her notified.

#6 – WPS 26

```
01   Po6:    Tá faltando muitos da::dos sa:be:,
             Is missing     many  data  know
             There's lots of da::ta missing see::,

02           (0.5)

03   Po8:    Cê (já tinha dito pra ela/a ela trazê:./fazê:.)
             You (already had said to her/ to her  to bring/ to do)
             You (had already told her to bri:ng it./ do: it.)
04   Po6:   Eu tou dizendo a e:la porque senão num
             I am  telling      her   because if+not  no
         I am telling he:r because otherwise it

05           vai adiantá de na:da.
             Will forward  of nothing
             won't have any u:se.

06   Po8:    ((2 sec coughs))
07   Po8:   Bota aí: >porque=é=que num vai sê intima:do<
             Put there because is  that no  will be notified
             State the:re >why=it=is=that he won't be notifi:ed<
08        porrque: (.) >tem que butá né::,<
             because         has to  put  no+is
             beca:use (.) >it has to be sta:ted ri::ght,<
09   Po6:  °°Né:.°°
             No+is
             °°Ri:ght.°°

10   Po8:    Porrqu[e=ela ficou de tra]zê=o=endere:ço.
             Because  she was expected of bring the addres
             Because[e=she was to bri]ng=the=addre:ss.
11   Po6:     [>Que olha você-< ]
                 Thas look you
                 [>Cuz  you  see-<   ]
12   Po6:   Você acha que o pessoal va:i (0.9) vai encontrá
             You  think that the people will           will find
             Do you think they wi:ll (0.9) will find
13        esse ba::r.[No Parque Dom Pe:dro Quadra Se:-]
             this bar      In+the Park name name    bloc
             this ba::r.[In Parque Dom Pe:dro Quadra Se:-]
14   Po8:     [Nã:::o¿ Nã:::o. A gente num pode]
                     No      No      We    no  can
                 [No:::¿  No:::.   We   can't       ]

15           entregá:=a coisa sem endere:ço. Ce:rto.
             deliver  the thing without address. Correct
             ha:nd=the thing without the addre:ss. Ri:ght.

16   Po6:    Num é nã:o.
             No is no
```

```
                Isn't it so:.
17              (7 sec + Po8 coughs)
```
--4 lines 10 sec Po8 - Po7 –
```
22 Est:  °°Cê num sabe o endereço ce:rto.°°
                You  no  know  the  address  correct
                °°Don't you know the right addre:ss.°°
23 Wom:  °°Nã:o.°°
                No
                °°No:.°°
24      (20 sec Po6 types and sometimes murmers things as
                reading to herself what she is writing)
25 Est:  °°°(           )°°° ± 1 sec

26              (5 sec)
```
--- 8 sec Wom + Est indistinct talk ---
```
27              (1.0)

28   Po6:   O:lhe eu butei aqui ó: >impedido o cidadão-
            Look  I    put   here see  prevented the citizen
            Loo:k I stated here see: >prevented the citzen-
29      fica impedido de sê intimado por falta do
            stays prevented of be notified   for lack of+the
            is prevented from being notified due to the lack of
30      endere:ço¿
            address
            addre:ss¿

31              (0.4)
32 Po6:   Porque a gente só vai intimá:: (0.5) quando
          Because  we  only will notify        when
          Because we'll only notify hi::m (0.5) when
33      você trouxé o endereço corre:to.=Porque
          you  bring (subj) the address correct. Because
          you bring the right addre:ss.=Because

34          senão a gente não tem condição nenhu:ma.
            if+no we     no have condition none
            otherwise we have no means whatsoe:ver.

35              (0.4)

36   Po6:   Tá ce:rto.
            Is right
            Is it oka:y.

37              (0.7)
38 Po6:   Agora eu vô: (0.2) f:- passá o exame de corpo
          Now I will      d-   pass the exam  of body
          Now I wi::ll (0.2) d:- give you the exam for the
39      delito pr=ocê fazê vi:u.
          Delict for=you to do saw
          body crime fo=you to do oka:y.

40              (0.2)
41 Po6:   Tudo direitinho.=Agora a gente só vai levá
          All right(dim).   Now   we     only will take
          All just ri:ght.=But we'll only take
42      essa intimação quando você .hh trouxé o
          this notification when you   bring(subj) the
          this notification when you .hh bring the

43      endereço certi:nho.=Você pode í até ho:je:
```

```
                    address correct(dim).=You  can  go  even today
                      exact addre:ss .=You can even go to:da:y
44     (0.4) agora passá lá, e pegá,anotá num
                      now  pass  there  and take  annotate in+one
                  (0.4) now go there, and get it, annotate in a
45     papelzinho trazê: e=eu colo:co. C:- Ce:rto¿
           paper(dim) bring  and I put      r- right
                  piece of paper bri:ng it and=I sta:te it. R:- Ri:ght¿
```

As we have seen in 'clash of worlds' Po6 did not really come across as being nice to the complainant in this specific interaction as she remarked with an impatient and mocking astonishment that the complainant did not even know her date of birth. What made this report possible was basically the fact that the officer did not know how to use the computer and made several mistakes during the reporting, having to start whole sections from scratch several times. The problems with the computer and the vagueness of the details presented by the woman – whose abuser was a woman not very close to her, rather than a partner or someone close to the complainant – made Po6 often blame the complainant's lack of precision for all their problems, whenever she started again. So after over an hour of reporting (in contrast with the address request in WPS 14 that took place when 6 minutes of interaction had elapsed), it is mostly Po6's inefficiency in getting the task done that helps the woman to get a police report, not inefficiency in terms of not following the rules and letting the woman return later with the address, but the fact that she had not saved the information in the computer before changing 'windows' and had lost half of the report when already struggling to deal with the computer. So after getting so much help from other officers and taking so long to get the available information into the computer[6], she produces a report rather than fully dismiss the complainant.

This case, which gets a report in which it is stated that there is going to be no further action while the complainant is left with the option of returning to the WPS to add the address to the report, and the exception of WPS 03 in which the complainants are allowed to provide the address later show that, although police officers present the address as necessary information, there is, in fact, no legal impediment to getting a police report without the abuser's address. The problem, as we see on WPS 26 and as explained on WPS 14 is that, without the address, there is no follow up because the police will not investigate the abuser (although they

---

[6] They had just received a second computer when I started my data collection in the WPS. Po6 was, then, just learning to use the police system.

have often more information about those abusers than about other offenders, such as robbers, who are not known by the complainants). From the police perspective, then, getting the details means not simply filing the complaint but actually pursuing the case – at least until the point there is a meeting with the chief commissioner – and not having an address means having a 'pending issue', as Po5 says on WPS 14, as the alleged abusers are not criminals worth investigating.

Some studies on Brazilian WPS have shown that even police officers in WPSs do not always see the work of the WPS as 'police' work and do not consider domestic violence as a crime (Santos, 2005; Silva, 2001). Santos' research on WPSs in São Paulo (2005) shows that there is a divide in terms of officers who consider domestic violence a crime – usually those who had some contact with feminists and some training in gendered violence – and those who do not see the point of the existence of WPSs and do not see domestic violence as a crime – usually those who oppose contact with the feminists. So, also according to Santos (2005), policewomen who do not 'embrace the cause' and oppose alliances with feminists "do not view conjugal violence as a 'real' crime" (p. 125). They see the role of the WPS as being to "reconcile couples", believe that "problems between a husband a wife must be resolved at home" (Santos, 2005, p.125) and blame women for being "weak" and "asking for" being beaten (Santos, 2005, p.125).

In addition to those somewhat disturbing personal views on domestic violence from people who staff WPSs, Santos' interviews with officers revealed an alarming understanding about the abusers they deal with: even the feminist police officers who campaign for women's rights and fight against domestic violence do not see 'domestic offenders' as criminals, but as regular law abiding citzens (outside their houses) who behave badly with their partners, in Santos' words:

> 'policewomen's approach to conjugal violence is contradictory. While most policewomen I interviewed consider conjugal violence to be a "real" crime (with the exception of those who oppose contact with feminists), they do not take it as seriously as other crimes processed through regular police stations, such as robbery, homicide, drug trafficking, and kidnapping. Despite the fact that policewomen are likely to register complaints of conjugal violence, they do not view male perpetrators of conjugal violence as "real" criminals. Even policewomen who "embrace

the cause" see the violent husband as an "honest" man, that is, a father and a worker who supports the family' (Santos, 2005, p. 123)

What we can see in the interactions shown above, and by the analysis of the organization of the WPS's interactions, is that police procedures are structured so as to display a presumption that abusers who have a relationship with the women they abuse are not people worth chasing, unlike criminals who may perpetrate other sort of crimes. The offenders will be required to attend a meeting in the WPS *only* if the complainant provides the police with all the means for the police to find them without having to investigate them. When complainants fail to do so, their cases (with rare exceptions) are dismissed. As the exception to the dismissals show, there is no legal impediment for making a police report when addresses are not known, the only problem then is that officers get pending issues in their records as the case is not taken further because the abusers the WPS deals with are not investigated as other criminals. 'Domestic' abusers are seen as regular citzens (often partners) who may have done something wrong in their house not only by the officers who interact directly with women in the WPS, but by the way in which the WPS procedures are organized. The position policewomen may take regarding conjugal violence as a crime (or not) and the abusers as criminals (or not) may interfere with the police work but the procedural aspects that organize the interactions embody and promote this view as well. Trinch's analysis about how professionals from institutions which give support to abused women are constrained by the official definition of what constitutes, say, battery, and the limitations to the service they provide is useful here:

> "employees are constrained by rules, regulations and institutional definitions. In other words, their interaction with victims is largely defined by the possibilities and the limitations outlined by the institutions for which they work." (Trinch, 2003, p. 82)

4.4 Scope: dismissals when crimes are not under the WPS's jurisdiction

Apart from the procedural aspects of the WPS work that women may be unaware of and may prevent a woman from making a crime report, another problem women reporting abuse may face is related to the WPS's jurisdiction. As seen in chapter 01, what is under the remit of a WPS varies immensely through the States in Brazil as

what is the police duty of a 'specilized unit' (such as the WPS) is defined by State laws. Moreover, with the (at least political) success of the WPSs, the last years have witnessed the creation of more special police units, such as those specialised in crimes against children and adolescents (minors), and the ones that deal with crimes against the elderly. So crimes against children, which were processed in WPSs in the early nineties, are now out of the WPS's jurisdiction and should be reported in another police station specialised in crimes against children and adolescents. Non-gendered crimes (such as robbery) were also not processed in the WPS in Maceió (although other WPSs in the country have registers of processing such crimes), even when the crime was commited by a woman's partner/ex-partner and was not exactly a 'regular' case of robbery (WPS 35). The examples of dismissal presented below show some of those cases: WPS 30 and WPS 09 are cases of violence against the complainants' daughters which are not reported and WPS 35 shows a case of a recently separated complainant who has her possessions removed from her house by her husband but cannot report it, as a non-gendered crime.

Po6, the officer processing WPS 30 (below), had started the report by filling out the personal details of the complainant (as the victim) and the abuser, so she had already filled out the complainant's details and her ex-partner's details when she asked (line 02) when an undetermined 'it' (which is understood by the verb and the context but is not 'there' in the BP sentence) happened, referring to the crime. The complainant's response (lines 04 – 05) does not address 'when', but rather starts a telling presenting another character that had not been mentioned, her twelve-year-old daughter, who turns out to be the actual victim of the crime the complainant was there to report. Po6 takes this as 'background' to the report and produces a third position repair (lines 06-07), blocking this telling from being developed and re-doing her questioning in terms of establishing the abuse (see also Chapter 6 for a discussion on how officers block 'long/relational' stories in the report-making). So Po6 first asks for 'what' the abuse was and then in another TCU latched to this one she produces a YNI asking if he had abused the complainant. Line 08 shows the complainant's negative response to the YNI and the presentation of the victim as the woman's daughter. After a micro gap, Po6 produces a reaction token that produces the woman's response as problematic (line 10), and on line 12 she asks the daughter's age. As the daughter is a minor, Po6 starts a dismissing turn saying the

case is not 'there', meaning, not processed by the WPS and then summons another officer to get support/clarification on the dismissal. 'Agrediu' is then taken by the complainant as 'battery' (its most common use) so she fights for her report (lines 17-18) saying the abuser had not 'agrediu/abused', as in assaulted, her daughter. She gets no response and then continues presenting what happened (line 20), but is again blocked by Po6 (lines 21-22), who says that if the crime is against her daughter it is not processed in the WPS, marking the reason for the dismissal. On line 24, however, the other officer who was called for a second opinion presents an opportunity for the reporting: another type of crime could be reported. After that, Po6 checks again the girl's age (lines 27-28) and then she talks to another officer about the crime being against a minor. The chief commissioner, who was in the room, asks the woman, then, what had happened (line 29) giving the complainant the opportunity to tell her story for it to be assessed in terms of its reportability. Lines 30 to 43 show the complainant's telling, until line 36 the complainant produces a short version of the problem being what the girl's father tells other people about her, then from line 37 to 43, she produces a reported version of the abuse as provided by her daughter, which culminates with the fact that the father had said that the girl had been 'broken into' (line 42). At that point we have the first responses by the police, in overlap with the woman's 'filler' at line 43, Po7 laughs – although it is not clear if he was laughing at that story or if he was laughing at something else – and the chief commissioner starts a TCU (line 45) but soon finds herself in overlap with the complainant and leaves the floor for her. The woman talks about the recent incident (lines 46-47) and then continues talking about the abuser's drinking and being abusive which is connected to an earlier crime report she had made but had not had any result (lines 49-55). The chief commissioner starts dismissing the woman (lines 57-58) saying the crime was against a minor. The complainant, then, takes the floor taken this to be an aggravating factor about the abuse (line 59) and her reason for searching the police help. So, the chief commissioner proceeds with the dismissal saying the case was not under the jurisdiction of the WPS and then presents the police unit in which the case was going to be processed (lines 61-63), and asks the officers to refer the complainant to that unit (line 69)

#7 - WPS 30 (15:40)

```
01              (33 sec)

02   Po6:    Qua:ndo foi que acontece:u.
             When   was  that  happened
             Whe:n did it ha:ppen.

03              (0.8)
04   Wom:   É:- (.) é porque eu tenho uma menina de doze
             Is/Uh  is because  I   have  a  girl  of twelve
             It's:- (.) it's because I have a twelve year

05      anos sa:be¿
             years know
             old girl see:¿

06   Po6    Nã:o. Mas o que foi a=agressã:o.=(Do-=e:le)
             No    But  what was the aggression (Of+he-=he)
             No:. But what was the=abu:se.=(By-=he:)

07           agrediu a senho:ra.
             abused  the ma'am
             abused you ma:'am.

08   Wom:   Nã:o. Num é comigo nã:o=É ca minha fi:lha.
             No.  No is with+me no Is with+the my daughter
             No:. No it's not with me:=It's with my da:ughter.

09              (.)
10   Po6:   °Ih!°

11              (.)
12   Po6:   Quantos anos sua filha te:[m.]
             How many years your daughter has
             How  old  is  your  da:ugh[ter.]

13   Wom:                        [Do]ze a:nos.
                                  Twelve years
                                  [Twe]:lve.

14   Po6:   O:xi num é aqui nã::o:. (Rena:ta.)
             (interjection) no is here no. (other officer's name)
             Gee: no:: it's not he:re. (Rena:ta.)

15              (0.2)

16   Po6:   (Rena[:ta.])
             (other officer's name)
             (Rena[:ta.])
17   Wom:   [Mas=e]le num agrediu minha fi:lha
                  But he   no abused  my   daughter
                  [But=h]e hasn't abused my da:ughter.

18      sa:be¿
             know
             see:¿

19              (0.2)
20   Wom:   Porque=el[e di-]
             Because he sa
             Because=h[e sa-]
21   Po6:   [S::e ] for cum sua filha num é aqui
                      If    is(subj) with your daughter no is here
                      [I::f ] it's with your daughter it's not

22           nã:o.
```

```
                    no
                    he:re.

23                  (1.2)

24    Po?           Só se for out[ra cois::-]
                    Only if is(subjs) other thing
                    Only if it's ano[ther thi::n-]

25    Po6:                      [(Nao acabá)]:=aqui:.
                                No to finish/end      here
                                [(Not to end)]:=he:re.

26                  (.)

27    Po6:          Tem doze a:nos sua fi:lha.
                    Has twelve  years  your daughter
                    Your da:ughter is twe:lve.

28    Wom:          Doze a:nos.
                    Twelve years
                    Twe:lve.
```

-- 13 sec omitted, Po6 says to Po8 that the case was with
   the woman's daughter and then the chief commissioner,
   who was in the room, asks the woman about her case ---

```
29    Chi:          Foi o quê:.=Que oc- ocorre:u.
                      Was what . That oc- occurred
                    What wa:s it.=That ha- happened.

30    Wom:          Porque: ele não mora comigo não mas quando
                     Because  he   no  lives  with+me no  but  when
                    It's cuz he doesn't live with me but when
```

-- 6 lines ommitted: the Woman says that whenever the abuser drinks
he says that his (Christian) daughter has been 'broken into' and
'invites' men to 'go for her' --

```
37                  Aí a vizinha:- aí a minha menina quando foi
                      Then the neighbour then my  girl    when   was
                    Then the ne:ighbour- then my daughter when it was

38                  na quarta-feira de noite ela chegou aí num
                      on_+the Wednesday of night  she  arrived then no
                    Wednesday night she arrived then she didn't

39                  disse nada né:¿=aí quando foi na qui:nta ela
                      say  nothing no+is¿Then when    was  on+the Thursday she
                    say anything ri:ght¿=then when it was Thursday she

40                  disse 'Olha mãe, o pai me chamo:u (.) aí eu
                      said 'Look mum, the dad me called    then  I
                    said 'Look mum, dad ca:lled me (.) then I

41                  fui pra comprá pão pra ele=ele ficou conversando
                      went to buy   bread for  him  he   stayed  talking
                    went to buy bread for him=he kept talking

42                  aí ficou dizendo que os homi me rombo:u, (.) e
                      then stayed saying  that the (pl) man  me broke into
                    then he kept saying that the men broke into me:, (.) and

43                  [num sei o quê:¿]
                      no know what
                    [ whate:ver¿   ]
```

```
44  Po7:    [hah hah hah hah]
45  Chi:    (E [os-)]
            And the
            (And[the-)]
```

```
46  Wom:      [ Aí ] ficô dizendo assim 'Vá lá que a minha
              Then stayed saying like 'Go there that the my
            [Then] he kept saying like 'Go there that my
```

```
47          filha tá arrombada. Vá lá também você que a
            daughter is broken into. Go there  as well you  that the
            daughter is broken into.  You go there as well cuz
```

```
48          minha filha tá arrombada.'
             my   daughter  is  broken into
            my daughter is broken into.'
```

```
-- 38 sec omitted, talks about the abuse and about the
   abuser being difficult and not having appeared to the
   WPS when notified in an earlier report about crimes
   against herself --
```

```
49  Wom:    Que=eu já dei parte dele pela otra vez
            That I already gave part of+him for +the other time
            Cuz=I've already reported him for the other time
```

```
50          na delegacia da mulher quando era alí: né.=
            in+the police startion of+the woman  when was there no+is
            in the women's police station when it was the:re right.=
```

```
51          =Prele saí >dentro de< ca:sa¿=tá cum quatro
            For+him to leave inside of   house   is   with four
            =For him to leave >the< ho:use¿=it's been four
```

```
52          ano que eu num moro mais cum e:le. E ele não
             year that I no  live    more  with  him. And he no
            years that I don't live with him anymo:re. And he
```

```
53          compareceu na delegaci:a.
             appeared in+the station
            hasn't appeared to the station.
```

```
54          (0.5)
```

```
55  Wom:    Ele não compare:ce.
             He no appears
            He does not appe:ar.
```

```
56          (0.4)
```

```
57  Chi:    Então veja é o segui:nte¿=aqui: (.) esse crime
             So  see  is the following¿here   this crime
            So look that's how it i:s¿=he:re (.) this crime
```

```
58          é contra um- a meno:r.
             is against a  the minor
            is against a- the mi:nor.
```

```
59  Wom:    Pois é:. [(Isso é exatamente] purque quero vir)
             So is. This is exactly      because want(1ps) come
            Indee:d. [(that's exactly    ] why I want to come)
```

```
60  Chi:             [ E n t e n d e ¿ ]
                      Understand
                     [ You see¿          ]
```

```
61  Chi:    Só que:: não é competência da delegacia da
             Only that no is competence of+the station of+the
```

```
                Bu:t it's not under the competence of the women's
62              mu:lhe:r. É competência da delegacia de crimes
                  woman. Is competence    of+the station of crimes
                police sta:tion. It's the competence of the police

63              contra o meno:r.
                  against the minor
                station for crimes against mi:nors.

64              (.)

65   Chi:       Tá entende:ndo.
                  Is understand
                Can you see i:t.

66              (0.4)

67   Chi:       Aí a senhora sabe onde é homicídios.
                  Then the ma'am know where is homicides
                Then you ma'am know where the homicides station is.

68   Wom:       °Não.°
                  No
                °No.°

--37 sec omitted officers try to explain where the place is --

69   Chi:       Faz um encaminhame:nto.   (To the officer)
                  Do/make a referral
                Give her a refe:rral.
```

The case above shows a clear blocking of a non-reportable matter at the WPS from the very beginning of the presentation of the crime, in fact, the officer starts dismissing the woman even before having the full elements to do so. When the chief commissioner gets the story told, she leaves the woman to develop the story but has no problem dismissing it as it turns out to be out of the WPS's jurisdiction. Dismissals are not always that clear, even when it is not only a matter of 'allowing or not' a complainant to bring an abuser's address later, but something that is in fact out of the WPS jurisdiction such as crimes against minors. The issue of what is or is not under the WPS's jurisdiction may be confusing even to officers. WPS 09 shown below is an example of this lack of certainty about it: Po3 expressly said to the complainant, who was reporting family problems in connection with an incident of violence which had left her daughter in bed with sustained injuries, that he could only report this physical abuse (lines 10-11), and not the other issues regarding property matters (lines 12-13, 15-16, 18-19). After that (lines 26-27) he leaves the room to check what he had mentioned at lines 2-4: if the daughter (against whom the crime was perpetrated) had to be present to the report, or if (because she was a minor) it was not necessary. He then returns saying he cannot

make the report because the crime was against a minor and had to be processed by another police unit (lines 28-34).

#7 - WPS 09

```
01   Po3:    A senhora pode faze i:sso.=>Que eu disse.<
             The ma'am  ca  do    this. That I said
             You ma'am can do thi:s.=>That I said.<

02           É::: (.) no caso ela é menor. (Como ela é)
             Is       in+the case she is minor. (How she is)
             Uh:: (.) in this case she is a minor. (Cuz she's)

03           menor nem precisa- deixa eu ver isso
             minor not+even need      let me see this
             a minor there's no need- let me check this

04           precisa ela vir aqui:<=
             need    her    to come here
             need for her to come he:re<=

05   Wom:    =Ela tem onze a:nu. [Vai] fazê doze anu
              She has eleven years. Will  make twelve year
             =She's eleve:n.      [She']ll be twelve

06   Po3:                        [É:.]
                                  Is
                                 [yes]

07   Wom:    agora [no dia cinco de fevere:iro.]
             now    in+the day five of February
             now    [on the fifth of Fe:bruary.  ]

08   Po3:          [Aí pode fazê a ocorrência.]
                    Then can make the occurrence
                   [Then you can make the report.]
09           (0.5)

10   Po3:    Pode fazê:: é o registro da ocorrênica pela
             Can do/make uh the register of the occurrence for+the
             You can ma::ke the crime report for the

11           le:sã:o. Que ele (.) causou nela né:. O filho
             injury. That he          caused in+her no+is. The son
             i:njury. That he (.) caused on her ri:ght. His

12           dele. Agora essa questão de bens aí tem que
             of+his. Now this   question of property then has that
             son.   But this matter of property there it has to

13           sê na justiça.=
             be in+the justice
             be dealt by the co:urt.=

14   Wom:    =Eu se:i.
              I know
             =I kno:w.

15   Po3:    De alime:nto. A questão dele dá alimento
```

                    of food. The question   of+he to give food
                    Of alimony:. This matter of him giving food

16   pra sua fi:lha[: (   )   ]resolve
                    to your daughter   *(re)solve*
                    to your da:ughter[r   ] sorted

17 Wom: [Eu sei. Tudo i:sso.]
                                 I know. All this
                          [I know. All tha:t.]

18 Po3:   lá na justi:ça. Pra isso a senhora pode
                    there in+the justice. For this the ma'am can
                    there in co:urt. For this you ma'am may

19   procurá a defensori:a.
                    search the defense body
                    search the legal a:id.

20   (23 sec + key)

21 Wom: #Eu sofri tanto na minha vida nesses quinze
                    I suffered   so much in+the my life in+this fifteen
                    #I suffered so much in my life in those fifteen

-- 4 lines omitted Wom talks about her suffering and cries --

26   (26 sec: Wom cries and Po3 makes his way out of the room)

27   (55 sec Po3 out, Wom keeps crying, then Po3 returns)

28 Po3:   E:: agora tem o seguinte Dona Romilda. É::
                    And now   has the following Ms Romilda   Is
                    U:h: but there's the following Ms Romilda. Uh::

29   Como o crime foi contra a sua filha. Vai ter
                    How the crime was against the your daughter. Will have
                    Given that the crime was against your daughter. You'll

30   que se dirigir à delegacia do menor. Que é
                    that prt refl direct to the police station of+the minor. That is
                    have to go to the police station of the minor. Which is

31   lá no Santo Eduardo. (   ) só se
                    there in+the (neighbourhood)   *only if*
                    there in santo Eduardo. (   ) only if

32   fosse o caso de crime sexual. Como foi o
                    were the case of crime   sexual. How was the
                    it were a case of sexual abuse. Given that it was

33   caso de uma lesão é::: a ocorrência vai ter
                    case of one   injury uh   the occurrence will have
                    a matter of injury uh::: the report will have to

34   que sê feita lá.=Na delegacia do menor.
                    to be done   there. In+the police station of+the minor
                    Be made there.=In the police station of the minor.

WPS 09, above, is another case of dismissal because of a crime being outside the scope of the police station. It is interesting to notice that Po3 does not treat the crime against a minor as not being under the WPS remit. He leaves the room to check if he was able to report the crime without the presence of the abused girl, but not to check if the crime itself was reportable in a WPS when he had already presented this case as reportable to the complainant. Moreover, we can see that in presenting what they 'can do' (lines 10-11), he also contrast this to the solutions the complainant was after (a house and her rights). He presents property issues and alimony as outside the police scope and a matter of 'Justice'. This effort to separate what is the police responsibility and what is the justice system's responsibility is quite common in the WPS interactions. It can be seen in interaction, then, what has been proposed by the literature, i.e., that: "complainants utilize the police to solve civil and criminal grievances, also in part due to the fact that they lack access to the justice system" (Santos, 2005, p.5). Complainants do seek to address matters that are the Justice system's responsibility in their talk, and officers quickly block those matters when they arise in interaction. This case shows that property and rights issues are easily blocked by officers as matters that are clearly out of the WPS scope, whereas other kinds of crimes such as those against minors are not as easily placed as outside the scope of the WPS even by officers who routinely deal with women reporting violence. When the the WPS jurisdiction is not even completely clear to officers, it is not surprising that many women reporting abuse can find the limits of the police responsibility unclear.

#9 - WPS 35

```
01   Po4:     Estado civil.
              Status civil
              Marital staus.

02            (0.5)

03   Wom:     Separada.
              Separated.

04   Po4:     Separada,
              Separated,

05   Wom:     A minha queixa é justamente >porisso<=porque
              The my   complaint is precisely   because+this because
              My complaint is precisely >because of that<=because

06            ele já foi cita:do, (0.2) ontem né dia
              he already was cited         yesterday no+is day
              he's already been ci:ted, (0.2) yesterday right the

07            dezoitcho. Foi citado ontem separacao de
```

```
        eighteen     Was cited yesterday separation of
        eighteenth. It was cited yesterday separation of

08      corpos. .h E hoje (0.5) el- aí ele não saiu,
        bodies.      And today   he  then he no  left
        bodies. .h And today (0.5) he- then he didn't leave,

09      aí hoje quando ele sai::u, (0.2) ele
        Then today when   he    left            he
        then today when he le::ft, (0.2) he

10      saiu cum tudo.=Levou geladeira, levo::
        left with everything.=Took fridge,      took
        left with everything.=Took the fridge, too::k

11      geladeira, levou video, levou televisã:o.
         fridge,       took  video,     took televisi:on.
        the fridge, took the video, took the televisi:on.

12      Entendeu? Aí chegou uma carroça colocô: e saiu
        Understood? Then arrived  a   cart       put       and left
        Right? Then came in a cart put the stu:ff and left

13      levando.=Eu liguei pro oficial de justi:ça, .h
        taking.    I called to+the   officer of  justice,
        taking them.=I called the justice o:fficer, .h

14      ele disse 'Tô chega:ndo.' Só que el- quando ele
        he    said 'Am arriving.'    Only that h(e)- when  he
        he said 'I'm co:ming.' But he- when he

15      chegou com (                ) ele já tinha: (0.5)
        arrived with   (             ) he already had
        arrived with (                ) he had alre:ady (0.5)

16      ido embora. O policial (tava no bar viu tudo)
        went away.  The police officer (was in+the bar saw everything)
        left.  The police officer (was in the bar saw everything)

17      num- num deu    [o (per-)] se foi e muitcho.
        no-  no   gave      the (?)    prt refl. went and much.
        didn't din't give [the    ] went a lot.

18  Po4:                [Ce:rto.]
                        Right
                        [Ri:ght.]

19  Wom:    Aí:: ele foi embo:ra.=Com=as coisas. Aí eu liguei
            Then he    went away.= With=the  stuff.     Then I called
            The::n he went awa:y.=With=the stuff. Then I called

20      pro meu adevogado meu adevogado disse que eu
        to+the my lawyer     my    lawyer   told/said that    I
        my lawyer my lawyer told me to make

21      fosse dá:: queixa, lá no terce:iro. No terceiro
        went (subj) give complaint, there in+the thi:rd(station). In+the third
        a:: complaint, there in the thi:rd[station]. There was no

22      num tinha ninguém pra dá que:ixa.=Hoje. Só segu:nda.
```

        no   had   no+one   to give compla:int.=Today. Only Mo:nday.
        one in the third to make the compla:int.=Today. Only Mo:nday.

23   (0.5)

24   Wom: Aí eu vim dá queixa aqui:.
               Then I came give complaint here.
               So I came here to make a compla:int.

25   (0.4)

26   Wom: A que[stão é e:ssa.]
               The question is this.
               This is [the ma:tter.]

27   Po4:   [M a : : s :] é o segui:nte=houve
                   But   is the following=had
               [B u : : t] the thing i:s=was there

28   agressã:o. Ou amea:ça.
           abuse.   Or threat.
           an abu:se. Or thre:at.

29   Wom: N:ão. Ele simplesmente só chegou com o
               No.   He simply   just arrived with the
               N:o:. He simply just came with the

     -- 40 sec omitted: Wom starts the story again, Po4 produces some understanding checks
     and Nilva continues her story with more details: how the abuser arrived and her talk to
     him in reported speech --

30   Wom: 'Eu tou ligando pro oficial ago:ra¿=Você
               'I am   calling to+the official   now¿=You
               'I am calling the official no:w¿=You

31   não tem direito de fazê=[i:sso.']
           no have   right   of to do = it/this.'
           have   no   right to do=[I:t.'   ]

32   Po4:   [E e:]le.
                             And he.
                     [And h]e:.

33   (0.5)

34   Wom: Calado ta:va, calado fico:u.
               Silent   was,   silent stayed.
               Silent he wa:s, silent he rema:ined.

35   (1.0)

36   Wom: Só fez colocá o restinho das co:isas:,
               Just did put   the rest(dim)   of+the things,
               He just put the rest of the thi:ngs:,

     -- 14 sec omitted Po7 comes into the room and talks in overlap with the complainant –

37   Po4:   >Mas ele num ameaçou a senho:ra né:.<
               But he   no   threated the ma'am no+is.
               >But he did not threat you ma:'am ri:ght.<

38 Wom: Porrque justamente foi i:sso=>porque eu
              Because   exactly   was this=>because I
              Because it was exactly tha:t=>because I

39   não ia-< porque ele: (.) ó: (0.2) ainda
              no would- because he (.)   see (0.2) still
              wouldn't-< because he: (.) see: (0.2) even if

40   que se (afogue) ia testá de (do:ido).
              that prt refl (drawn) would test of (crazy).
              he (drawned) he would plead (insa:nty).

41   Quer dizer, se ele- >podia fazê qualquer
              Wants to say, if he-   could do   any
              That is, if he- >could do any

42   maldade comigo e escolhê atestado de do:ido.=
              evil   with+me and chose   certified of crazy.=
              harm to me and chose to attest insa:nity.=

43 Po4:   =°É.°
                Is.
              =°Yes°.

44   (0.2)

45 Wom: Né:.
              No+is.
              Ri:ght.

46 Po4:   (Mas só) um pouqui:nho
              (But just) a little+bit.
              (But just) a se:cond.

        -- 2 min 45 sec omitted: Po4 leaves the office and the complainant talks to me for a few
           seconds –

47 Po4:   Venha pra cá. Que não é daqui não¿ O da
              Come(imp) to here. That no is of+here no¿ The of+the
              Come here. Cuz it's not from here¿ You ma'am's

48   senho:ra.=>PEGA a sua identida:de por favo:r.<
              ma'am. Get/Take(imp) the your identity please.
              ca:se.=>GET your ID: ple:ase.<

49   (2.0 + noise chair, Wom stands up)

50 Po4:   Tá bem aí:.
              Is well there.
              It's right the:re.

51 Wom: Tá. Ah tá do outro la:do.
              Is. Ah is on+the other side.
              Okay. Ah it's on the other si:de.

52 Po4:   Ah

53 Wom: Huh huh

54 Po4:   Eu vou encaminhar a senhora pro loca:l. Onde

> *I will   refer   the ma'am   to+the pla:ce. Where*
> I will refer you ma'am to the pla:ce. In which

55   deve ser ((end of the recording))
            shall be
            it shall ((end of the recording))

WPS 35 shows a case that was dismissed because it was considered to be robbery (the deputy chief commissioner can be heard saying that it is a robbery case to Po4 when she leaves the room) and this was the justification Po4 gave to the complainant as well once the recording was over[7].

The cases above show one problem with specialised police units, they work within the limits of a restricted (specialised) jurisdiction, which means they cannot, in fact, assist women in all possible forms of violence they experience, but only in one specific form of 'gendered' violence. Moreover, the creation of other 'specialised' units, such as the police station for crimes against minors and the police station for crimes against the elderly, may prevent women from reporting abuse when there are overlaps in categories the victim belongs to.

On the other hand, the existence of the WPS itself has been reported to have created obstacles for women reporting abuse in regular police units. So, in the same way that before the creation of WPS women were not taken seriously when reporting cases of domestic violence in regular police units, women still report the same hostility nowadays (Santos, 2005). Officers in regular police units do so by making women report 'gendered' violence only in the WPS (in the same way that the WPS does not process crimes against minors and, as shown in the cases above, refers complainants to another specialised unit). Those 'gendered' crimes are not, however, out of the regular police units' jurisdiction. That is the creation of the WPS (as other specialised units) did not relieve the regular police stations of registering crimes against women. So, a special unit such as the WPS has a reduced scope, whereas regular police units have the duty to deal with all sorts of crimes. Police officers of regular police units have been found not only to disregard domestic abuse (not seeing it as a crime), but also to use the WPS as an excuse for

---

[7] The case also points to the problem of defininig what counts as violence against women that is under the scope of WPSs given that the case above does not seem to be an 'ordinary' instance of robbery, but could be considered a form of violence a man in a process of separation inflicted on his ex-wife. The fact that the WPS does not ratify this as violence against women within its scope denies women access to justice in a case that could be seen as 'intimate violence'.

not reporting such cases, referring women to report violence they suffer exclusively in the WPS (Hautzinger, 1997; Santos, 2005).

In my data there is evidence of this problem of women not being able to report crimes in regular police units in women's reports of having attempted to make a report in a regular police unit before. They often mention having been very recently to a regular police unit – so their presence in a WPS to make a police report after being to a police unit, say, the day before is evidence of the fact that they did not get a report in a regular police unit – and sometimes they explicitly mention being told to search the WPS when attempting to report a crime in a regular police station. WPS 11, shown below as fragment 10, is one of such cases. The complainant, Bianca, reports having taken the day off to make a report of the crime against her daughter in one regular police unit 'Jacintinho' and having been told to go to the WPS (lines 4-5).

#10 - WPS 11

```
01   Po4:   Tá    com   a-   a:    certidão  del[a=aí.]
             Are with the the certificate of=her there
             Do you have her birth certificate [here]

02   Bia:                                      [Tô: ]
                                                Am
                                               [Ye:ah]

03          ((takes the ID from her handbag))

04   Bia:   Ontem eu tirei o dia pra tá com e:la fui pro
             yesterday I took  the day  to be  with  her  went(1ps) to+the
             Yesterday I took the day off to be with he:r went to

05          Jacinti:nho.=Me mandaram vir pra cá:. Com ela.
            (name of a Police Unit) Give your identity
            Jacintinho.=They told me to come he:re. With her.

06          (1.8)

07   Bia:   Porque se=eu fosse deixá ele ia faze: pi:or.
             Because if=I  were  to let  he  would do worse
             Because if=I were to leave her he would do: wo:rse.

08   Bia:   ((Sniffs))  (0.8)

09   Bia:   Ele foi atrás dela ontem.=>As amiga dela mesmo
             He went  behind of+her yesterday. The(pl) friend of+her even
             He went after her yesterday.=>Her friends themselves

10          falô:,<
             said
             sa:id that,<

11          ((zipping the handbag))

12   Bia:   Querendo ir-se embora e levá ela junto.
              Wanting to go (refl) away  and take  her  together.
             He wants to leave and take her with him.
```

```
13              (3.0) ((+ keyboard))
14  Po4:      ((reading aloud the ID)) <Maria Lúcia: Mi:lton
```

In the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned the problem of lack of information about the procedures of the WPS giving as an example the case of 2 repeated dismissals suffered by Bianca in attempting to report a case of sexual abuse against her biological daughter Maria Lúcia. The fragment above, shows that Bianca had in effect attempted to report the case to a regular police unit the day before. So, she had spent 2 days (out of work) trying to report one incident of abuse. Although she could not legally represent Maria Lúcia, another attempt in her local police station with the girl's legal mother should have made it possible for her to report the abuse.

Women have to fight to access *de facto* established (*de jure*) rights. So although the WPSs have been presented as a positive symbolic institution in making visible that violence against women is not tolerated and in improving women's sense of rights, some of their practices undermine those very rights. Women can fail to have their experience of violence validated and be blocked on their rights to report violence they suffer because of bureaucratic procedures which are presented as binding. Moreover, the very construction of a 'place' for women to report gendered violence has created obstacles to women reporting abuse. This is because the WPS works with a limited scope of violence against women and also because their existence still means that regular police units fail to process the kinds of gendered violence the WPS is specialised in. One of the reasons for the creation of the first WPS was that women were not taken seriously in regular police stations but the WPS did not solve this problem. Although the WPSs have worked in terms of enhancing women's rights and women have used them as a means to deter violence (Brandão, 1998; Hautzinger, 1997, Santos, 2005) and more women have had the opportunity to report violence, regular police stations still disregard gendered violence. Bianca's failed attempt to get a report in a regular police and being transferred to the WPS does not seem to be an isolated case. As mentioned above, the literature on police work in Brazil (see Hautzinger, 1997, 2005) has reported women being dismissed from regular police units and sent to the WPS. Santos (2005) interviews with women who reported crimes in WPSs and had searched regular police units showed that women were often laughed at when attempting to

report abuse in regular police units where officers would say they had 'real', 'serious' crimes to solve and that problems between couples should be solved at home or at WPSs. Although these women who tried to report violence at regular police stations were often happier with the WPS, where the crimes they suffered were reported and treated as crimes (Santos, 2005), women have not – in general terms – acquired better rights. Rather than reinforcing women's rights the WPS became a ghetto in which women's issues are dealt with while other officers from regular police units use the WPS as an excuse not to process those crimes. This aspect of the WPS has operated in fact, another form of discrimitation against women and obstructed women's access to general police, as reported by Hautzinger:

> "at times police from other precincts would send women to the DPDM [WPS] for complaints wholly irrelevant to the DPDM's focus, such as theft. In theory, the existence of a station specialised in crimes specific to women never relieved police in other stations of the duty to register complaints of, say, domestic violence, should a complainant prefer to denounce a crime in her nonspecilized neighbourhood precinct. In other words, the existence of the DPDMs and their specialised law enforcement services indirectly obstructed women's access to general police aid presumably available to all citizens, as police in conventional precincts felt exempted from serving women. Ironically, in this way, the DPDMs contributed to an additional form of discrimination against women."
> (Hautzinger, 1997, p. 38)

Apart from still denying women access to regular police units, the specialised feature of the WPS has also limited women from reporting cases of abuse that are not strictly under their jurisdiction, so they do not offer help in case of non-gendered crimes, nor in case of other categories of crimes that may overlap with gendered crimes such as crimes against elders and minors. When not even officers who deal routinely with crimes against women seem to be completely sure about what they can or cannot report (see WPS 09 just as an illustration), it is not surprising that women who are reporting crimes for the first time may not know where to go to and this is a problem when in their attempt to search for

institutional help their access to criminal justice is blocked rather than facilitated by the creation of specialised units.

Another problem with 'specialised' police stations is that although they have a specific remit and can only work within the boundaries of their jurisdiction – which may cause problems such as the dismissals shown above – is that the way in which they process the crimes is not specialised as well, that is, they use the same procedures and definitions of other police stations when dealing with the 'gendered' crimes they are specialised in. This means that, even when crimes are under the remit of the WPS and a complainant has the relevant information about the abuser to make a report, there can be problems with getting a police report. One of the problems in this case is the clash between experienced violence and reportable violence, even when the crime is understood as a crime, this is going to be examined below.

4.5 Dismissed Crimes: clashes between experienced and reportable violence

Even when complainants have been victimis of a violent gendered crime and have the procedural information officers demand in order to make a report, a woman may still have her case dismissed when reporting a crime. In these lines, perhaps the most dramatic case of violence which does not get a report is WPS 07. In this case a woman reports her experienced violence as being shot by her previous partner. Although there is no doubt that being shot by a partner is a justifiable reason to make a police report in a WPS, and a clear 'policeable' case, the woman cannot make a report because the period she had to report such crime had expired, as (in Brazil) a person has six months to legally represent a crime they were victims of.

At line 07 Po1 prompts the story with a request of information about what constituted the complainant's case. The complainant's telling encompasses lines 09 to 17, until the point that it is interrupted by Po1 on line 18, in which the officer initiates repair – a third position repair – to her enquiry stopping the telling from going further and repairing her line of questioning with a new FPP (lines 18-19). It is interesting to notice that the officer's interference comes after Lucinda's mention of her house, which is not a 'policeable' matter, and is past her revelation of her husband shooting her (lines 14-15), which is taken as 'background information' by

Po1. So, on lines 18-19, Po1 repairs her question asking for the reason why the woman was there on that very day. The SPP (lines 20-21), albeit vague, as it only states that she was there to make a report and does not develop the crime, seems to be taken by Po1 as she follows typing (line 22). Lucinda subsequently asks for clarification about what the WPS is for then (lines 23-24 in a slightly convoluted turn). After a gap, Po1 asks a specific question about there being a case of abuse (line 26), which is non-verbally confirmed by Lucinda (line 27). Po1 asks then when the abuse happened (line 28) and after a gap Lucinda says it was 9 months earlier (line 31). Again a gap follows and Po1 produces subsequently an 'if clause' which gets a very soft (barely there) 'then' clause which is completed in full by Po2's line pointing the problem with the screening phase (line 34). On lines 39-40 Po1 presents the 6 months deadline to represent a crime. After a gap, Lucinda takes the turn again trying to get a report by pointing to the present relevance of her matters: she first presents her intentions of taking her abuser to Justice (line 43), there is no response so she continues adding to her previous turn by presenting her fear (line 45), which is then developed as being a fear of meeting the abuser (line 47). As none of her attempts get a response, she pursues a response with an understanding check (line 49), but there is no answer. Po1 simply opens the door of the reporting room and gets Lucinda to follow her. As Lucinda did not present a crime within the reporting limit her attempts to get a report are not even acknowledged and her experience of abuse (a serious case, albeit 'old') is not even validated by the police.

#11 – WPS 07

```
07  Po1:   É: foi o que: o teu caso.
            uh was  what    the your case
            U:h wha:t was your case.

08          (1.8)

09  Luc:   Porque:: eu morava em (name of a place)
            Because    I used to live in
            Beca:use I used to live in (name of the place)

10          (keyboard 1.8)

11  Luc:   Aí o pai do meu menino (.) o meu marido (.) ele:: (.)
            Then the father of my boy       the my  husband    he    himself
            Then the father of my boy (.) my husband (.) he:: (.)

12          <>se agradou-se de uma mulé_< (1.8) aí ele foi-se embora
```

　　　　　　pleased himself of   one   woman then he went (passive part)/himself away
　　　　　　<>got interested in a woman< then he went away

13　　　　　(1.0)

14　　　　　dispois ele volto::: e::: (1.0) >me agrediu<=com
　　　　　　later   he came back   and   me assaulted with
　　　　　　later he came ba::ck a::nd (1.0) >assaulted me<=with

15　　　　　<u>tres</u> tiro de revolver.
　　　　　　three shot   of   gun
　　　　　　<u>three</u> shots of a gun.

16　　　　　(0.5)

17　　　　　Aí eu tenho uma casa lá:
　　　　　　Then I   have   one house there
　　　　　　Now I have a house the:re

18　Pol:　Não! Mas:(0.2) você veio aqui hoje por causa de que.=O
　　　　　　No   but   you   came here today for reason/cause of what
　　　　　　No! bu:t (0.2) you came here today because of what.=What

19　　　　　que foi que ele [fez.
　　　　　　what was that he   did
　　　　　　　　did   he   [do.

20　Luc:　　　　　　　　　　⌈Pra fazer uma denúncia assim de::.(1.2)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　⎮To   do/make one denounce like/such of
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　⌊To make a report like of::. (1.2)

21　　　　　assi:m (0.2)pra dizer que- sobre esse negócio.
　　　　　　like/such   to say/tell that about   this   thing
　　　　　　li:ke (0.2)to tell you that- about this thing.

22　　　　　(keyboard 2.2)

23　Luc:　>Aqui é sobre o causo de assim de quê que eu não
　　　　　　here is about the case of like/such of what that I   no
　　　　　　>Here the case is about what that I don't

24　　　　　ent<u>en</u>do.= Eu não entendo assim.<
　　　　　　understand   I   no understand such/like
　　　　　　under<u>sta</u>nd.=I don't understand like.<

25　　　　　(1.2)

26　Pol:　Não. Ele te'a:- ele: te agrediu?
　　　　　　No he to you a-   he to you assaulted
　　　　　　No. has he:- has he: assaulted you?

27　Luc:　(0.5)((non-verbal yes - she nods))

28　Pol:　Quando foi.
　　　　　　When   was
　　　　　　When was it.

29　　　　　(0.8)

30　Luc:　Já tá mais ou menos assim cu::m uns nove meses.

 Already is more or less   like   with some   nine   months
 It's now been abou::t more or less nine months.

31   (1.0)

32 Po1:   Se é nove meses, °°(sei não)°°
           If is nine months   (know no)
           If it's nine months, °°(I don't think)°°

33   (.)

34 Po2:   Tem que faze a triagem lá fora.
           has   to   do the screening there out
           Has to do the screening out there.

35 Po1:   E:'.
           Is
           Ye:ah.

36   (0.2)

37 Luc: (E é é.)
            And is is
           (Really.)

38   (1.5)

39 Po1:   Porque voce tem   seis: >meses né?<
           Because you have   six   months no?
           Because you have six: >months don't you?<

40   (.)

41 Po1:   °Pra registrá a ocorrência.°
            to register the   occurrence
           °To make the report.°

42   (0.5)

43 Luc: NÃO MA É PORQUE EU QUERO BUTÁ ASSIM NO JUI::.
           No but is because I want to put like in the judge
           NO BUT IT'S BECAUSE I WANT TO MAKE LIKE TO THE JU::DGE.

44   (0.5)
45 Luc: E EU TOU CUM MEDO DE AND↑Á::!
           And I 'm with fear of walk
           AND I'M AFRAID OF W↑A::LKING!

46   (0.2)
47 Luc: SE ENCONTRÁ CARA CUM CARA CUM ELE.
           Oneself meet/find face with face with he
           FIND MYSELF FACE TO FACE WITH HIM.

48   (0.5)

49 Luc: Entende,
           Understand
           Understand,

```
((The police officer opens the door and leaves with the woman
without answering her question in the room where the recording was
taking place. They go back to the reception room and the woman does
not return, as her case was not acceptable according to the law that
gives women 6 months to report one incident of violence. Later, the
chief commissioner told me that after nine months this woman was
probably just reporting it then out of revenge))
```

This is a dramatic case of dismissal when we consider the seriousness of the crime Lucinda had been a victim of. While the shooting episode is presented by the woman as evidence of how serious her situation is and as a risk factor in her intentions of bringing him to court (line 43) and trying to solve her house issues (line 17), the police treat it as an expired crime. This completely disconsiders the specificities of violence against women, which can take years to be reported because of fear, hope and all sorts of problems discussed in Chapter 1 (Saffioti, 1994).

Such a procedure not only fails to validate this instance of egregious violence suffered by Lucinda (and other women), but also shows the State failure in offering protection to a woman in risk. In doing so, it actually discourages women taking their abusers to court by leaving the woman's safety in her own responsibility[*].

4.6 Conclusion

The most evident problem about the reporting process in the WPS is the fact that a considerable amount of cases (25% of my recorded cases) are dismissed and not processed. This clearly creates some problems to women who try to report abuse (and might not achieve their goal to criminally report their abusers) and to officers who manage their interaction in a way to pursue a police report in terms of pre-established definitions of 'crimes' while they 'block' other issues which are not part of the WPS jurisprudence and work with restrictive bureaucratic procedures for actually reporting crimes that fall under the WPS remit.

The most common reasons for dismissals, as seen above, have to do with procedural aspects of the WPS and their requirement for the address of known abusers. This requirement points to the fact that, although domestic violence has been processed by WPSs and treated as a crime in legal terms, the procedural

---

[*] Although we don't get to hear Lucinda's full story, by the use of place references in the beginning of her telling, it seems to me the case that the complainant might have had to abandon her house after being shot by her partner. In doing so, she would have lost her rights to her property and, in order to fight for that, she would need to justify the home abandoned by reporting the crime.

aspects of the police work show that perpetrators of domestic violence are not seen as abusers who are worthy of police investigation. Although changes in the legislation might affect the way those abusers are perceived, it is necessary that the police procedures reflect those changes as well, so that women can report them *as criminals*.

The procedural requirements of the WPS together with the limitations of their remit mean that not all crimes women experience are actually reported in a WPS. As seen in this chapter, while the specialised nature of those units has sometimes created difficulties for women who experience violence to report abuse in the WPS, the creation of WPSs has also meant that some women have been denied their rights to report crimes processed by the WPS in regular police units. Ironically, in this respect, the creation of WPSs has not necessarily meant women have had easier access to criminal justice.

As the WPSs "are still the single most important means by which violent crimes against women are being criminalized in Brazil" (Hautzinger, 1997, p. 40), it is worrisome that 25% of the women who get past the screening phase in the WPS cannot report crimes that victimize them and their daughters. Even if concrete punitive terms should not be the only measure of the WPSs success – as pointed by the literature those units have been successful in carrying the message that assaults against women are crimes and are not tolerated by the state (Hautzinger, 1997; Nelson, 1996; Santos, 2005) – the dismissal of those cases of violence often produces a sense that the violence they experience is not validated by the State. The state, then, represented by police officers, contributes to the routinization and normalization of violence against women by the opacity of its procedures, which they fail to make available to complainants, its refusal to go beyond them, and its consequent inability to act responsively to the suffering of women reporting violence. Such indifference in responding to pain in terms of the routinazation of police procedures is also captured by the way women seem to be 'processed' as cases in those interactions – as shown in Chapter 5. Other problems which women face when reporting abuse – even when their cases are not dismissed – are analysed in Chapter 6.

5

Phases of the Interaction: Police Strategies for Making a Crime Report

5.1 Introduction

Dismissals (seen in the previous chapter) are not only relevant for cases which are actually dismissed. The 'shadow' of dismissals accompanies the police interactions and the problem of dismissing a complainant can sometimes affect how an officer conducts a subsequent report, affecting the way the police interactions are structured with an orientation to the problem they faced in their previous (failed) report-making process. WPS 33 is a good example of that, as Po7, the officer in charge, had just dismissed WPS 31 after more than 45 minutes of report-making because the abuser's details were not complete. When starting her subsequent interaction (WPS 33), she asks for the complainant's ID, but then immediately makes it salient to the complainant that the abuser's details were also needed (lines 10-12), which is not a 'default' way of structuring the interactions (as I go on to show in this chapter), but shows how the dismissal of one case can affect how officers approach subsequent interactions.

Previous to the start of WPS 33, officer Po3 was making another report (WPS 32) in the room and Po7 had been working on WPS 31 a case which was dismissed and which had counted on the help of Po6 in the dismissing process (as seen on Chapter 4). So, Po6 had just left the room with the dismissed complainant from case WPS 31 and then got Rosa (Ros), the complainant of WPS 33 (the case shown below), to get into the reporting room. We can hear Po6 asking in the anteroom if there were more people waiting to make reports (line 01), then sorting who had arrived

first to see who was next to be served (lines 03-04) and then bringing Rosa to the room to make a report (line 06). As they come to the room, I (the researcher) go to the door to get ethical clearance for the recording, while Po7 asks Po3 if she has to cancel the report she was making before (WPS 31) (not shown). At line 10, then, Po7 starts the report-making asking for Rosa's ID and then, with an increased pitch, she adds to her requesting TCU another TCU produced in higher pitch making relevant the information about the abuser's details.

1 - WPS 33

```
01   Po6:   Tem alguém pra fazê queixa ainda?
            There is someone to  make  complaint still
            Is there somone to make a complaint still?

02          ((some response by the women waiting in the anteroom))

03   Po6:   Che:gue. Quem chegou primeiro? Você
            Arrive(imperative).   Who   came    first?       You
            C'm=he:re. Who came first? You

04          ou você?
             or you
            or you?

05   Wom:   (vinte e três)   ((to Po3, in the room))
            (twenty three)
            (twenty three) ((to Po3, in the room))

06   Po6:   Ela entra:, essa aqui vai fazê:.
            She enters,    this   here will make.
            She go:es, this one will repo:rt.

07   Po7:   Eu tenho que cancelá essa aqui né
            I   have     to cancel   this   here no
            I have to cancel this thing here right

08          Selma? Agora cance:la.
            (Po3's name) Now   cancel
            Selma? Now I ca:ncel.

09          ((door closing noise))
```

   -- *1min.52sec ommited: Est getting consent to record the interaction and Po7 asking Po3 for help in clearing her previous report and starting a new one. Then another officer comes into the room talks to the other officers and leaves. --*

```
10   Po7:   °Dê sua identida:de.°=↑Tó tem que
            Give your identity        See has  to
            °Give me your ID:.°=↑Look you have to

11          tá com os dados da pessoa tudo
            be with  the  data  of the person all
            have the person's data everything

12          certinho aí tá?
            correct (dim) there is?
            exactly there ok?

13   Ros:   Tá:: ( tô com tudo dele        )
            Is       am with  all  of his.
            Ok:: (I have all his          )
```

This kind of added initial information about what is needed in the report-making is very unusual, though. Complainants are not briefed about what the reporting procedures are, nor about the kind of information they need when they start their reporting, which can cause, among other things, repeated dismissals as seen in the previous chapter with cases WPS 11 and WPS 14, as well as other problems to women reporting abuse in the WPS as this chapter will show.

The main focus of the chapter will be on the structural organization of police interactions with abused women in their basic formats and variations. The most important findings from this analysis are: (1) there are two basic ways in which police interactions with women reporting abuse are conducted and these two forms orient to the police job of making a police report and how officers work in determining what cases are under the WPS jurisdiction and what is or is not 'reportable' in a WPS; (2) there are variations to those two basic models and those variations show that there is more flexibility in the police job than the literature suggests and, most important, that women reporting abuse can (and do) have some control over the report-making and influence the strategy used in the making of their report; (3) there are some marked problems with respect to how the police interactions are conducted especially in terms of how the 'opening' and 'presentation of future actions' phases of the police interactions are structured and there are ways in which those phases could be improved in order to better assist women reporting abuse.

This chapter is structured, then, so that I first present how CA has been used to analyse institutional talk and some specific features of this kind of talk that make it different from ordinary conversation. Second, I present some key aspects of my interactions in which women report abuse in order to set the ground for my main focus here: my own analysis of the structural organization (in terms of phases) of the interactions in which women report abuse in my data set. The analysis of the phases of reporting abuse will be presented in the following order: first, I will show the two basic strategies officers use in making police reports and examples of them; second, variations of these basic strategies and their implications will be discussed. To conclude, the structure of the interactions in the care centre will be briefly discussed in order to present an analysis of how some of their openings work in

comparison with the WPS cases and how features of those openings could be incorporated to the police openings in order to optimize their interactions.

5.1.1 Institutional talk-in-interaction

When women report abuse to professionals in a police station or in a care centre for abused women (the kind of interaction studied here) they are not engaging in ordinary conversation. Rather, they are involved in what have been called 'institutional interactions', i.e. task-related interactions which involve a participant who represents a formal organization and a layperson in the pursuit of a practical goal (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The encounters between complainants and police officers in a WPS as well as those between women and psychologists or social workers in a care centre for abused women typify institutional forms of interactions as they involve such specialization and differentiation of roles (help-providers and help-seekers) and this orientation to an interactional goal (in terms of seeking and providing help).

Conversation analysts have studied these interactions as the 'principal means through which lay persons pursue various practical goals and the central medium through which the daily working activities of many professionals and organizational representatives are conducted' (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p.3). Compared with ordinary conversation, institutional interactions have been shown to involve a reduction and a specialization in terms of 'conversational practices available for use' (Heritage, 1984, p. 239). In terms of those reductions and specializations, institutional talk has been shown to: have a distinctive orientation to institutional aims and tasks; to be constrained in terms of how participants may contribute to the business at hand and how they shape their conduct (which may give them a formal character); and to be frequently associated with specific institutional contexts and 'inferred frameworks and procedures' (Drew & Heritage, 1992: 22-25). These differences also mean that institutional interactions are more structured than ordinary conversation and are "often implemented through a task-related standard shape" (Drew & Heritage, 1992: 43). This shape can be more or less fixed in different interactional contexts: it may be stipulated by forms or a fixed agenda, or it can be organized through the management of routines; in any way the recurrence of patterns across interactions shows the participants' orientation

"towards an overall structural organization" (Drew & Heritage, 1992: 44, developing Frankel, 1989 and Zimmerman, 1992). The issue of this orientation to an overall structural organization is important because the definition of the phases of an interaction is not solely dependent on the evidence of them occurring routinely, but depends on the demonstration of those activities as being normatively ordered, part of a larger and coherent social action and oriented to and used to understand and construct social action by the involved parties (Robinson, 2003).

Even though the structural organization of institutional interactions and their relevant phases and transitions from one phase to the next are managed by participants in interaction (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Zimmerman, 1992), their recurrence indicates that "participants may be jointly oriented towards an overall structural organization in their encounters" (Drew and Heritage, 1992, p.44). This structuring of the interactions depends mostly on the professional's conduct as professionals perform a given action routinely whereas clients may do it only once or very infrequently in their entire lives. Those interactions are in this sense 'characteristically asymmetrical' (Drew and Heritage, 1992, p. 47) and are frequently controlled by professionals:

> 'An important dimension of asymmetry between the participants in institutional interaction arises from the predominantly question-answer pattern' which promotes 'little perceived opportunity for the lay person to take initiative (Linell, Gustavson, and Juvonen 1988; Frankel, 1990) and professionals may gain a measure of control over the introduction of topics and hence control the "agenda" for the occasion' (Drew and Heritage, 1992, p.49).

Professionals who routinely perform the tasks at hand also develop "standard practices for managing the tasks of their routine encounters" (Byrne and Long, 1976, quoted in Drew and Heritage, 1992, p.44) so institutional interactions can be seen to progress through standard sequences or phases. Although this progression through sequences requires the collaboration of participants – who may resist the format proposed by the service providers – professionals' ability to conduct the talk tends to shape the interactions as they have more control over topics as well as more knowledge in the area and deal with the interaction as routine (Drew and Heritage, 1992).

It is this structural shape of interactions and the work of professionals in following an agenda and women's resistance (or not) to this control when reporting abuse to the police and/or psychologists and social workers that will be examined below. This chapter, like the thesis as a whole, will focus mainly on the police interactions. The care centre interactions will be used here to provide a contrast to the police interactions and support some of the suggestions for bettering police interactions derived from the analysis of interactions in the two institutions. Before moving to the analysis of the phases of the interactions in the two settings researched, I will present some differences between the two settings in which women reportings of abuse were recorded for this research and some of the impacts of these differences to the organization of the interactions.

5.1.2 Women reporting abuse

The phases of the interactions between women and police officers making a police report and between women and their counsellors and/or social workers talking about their experiences of violence are the focus of this chapter. Similar interactions have already been examined by Ostermann (2003) and her analysis is somewhat different from the one I present here. This section will first show some of Ostermann's (2003) findings and then some features of the interactions which compose my data set will be presented in order to pave the way to my own analysis of the phases of those interactions per se.

Ostermann (2003) studied women reporting abuse in a WPS in the Brazilian Southeast and a Crisis Intervention Centre (CIV), also in the Brazilian Southeast, which seems to offer very similar services to the ones provided by the care centre 'Casa', which I analyse here. Ostermann (2003) proposes that the structural organization of the two settings vary in their shape and complexity, in terms of 'the flexibility the professionals allow (or not) in the order of the sections in the encounters' (pp. 496-497). So, she found that in the police unit (which she calls DDM – keeping the Brazilian acronym) officers were not flexible in how they organized the interaction and once they started a report, they would deem unnecessary other disclosures by complainants, while in the CIV there was more flexibility and disclosures of any kind of information were considered relevant to the institution. In her words:

At DDM, movements out of a section in the encounter are not easily accommodated by the officers, who tend to maintain the current section in the interaction they have initiated. For instance, new information volunteered by the victim once the incident report is already underway (or ready) is deemed 'unnecessary'. The facts previously narrated by the victim have already qualified as an incident report; an institutional response is already being produced (i.e. a BO [crime report] is being typed) and thus any further information is seen as dispensable. At CIV, however, the encounters seem to present more flexibility in terms of moving back and forth among some of the sections, and victims' initiated 'departures' from the overall structural organization – which only the professional is familiar with – are easily accommodated by the triagistas [professionals performing the 'triagem', that is the 'screening' as the first meeting with the women who searched their services]. Any information disclosed by the victim at any point in the encounter is seen as part of an ongoing process of reporting and deemed important for the types of responses the institution provides. (Ostermann, 2003, p.497)

The differences between the two settings, she claims, can only in part be explained by the professionals' orientation to the distinct tasks they perform and the nature of the services provided. This flexibility on how their 'accommodation to the victim's need and to her lack of familiarity with the routines of the institution (...) is also related to the differing ideological stances the professionals hold in each setting' (Ostermann, 2003, p .497).

As I shall demonstrate in the next few sections of this chapter, although some of those observations made by Ostermann (2003) can be confirmed by my data, not all of them can be supported by my analysis of the police interactions. So, although I also found in my data that there was more flexibility in the care centre than in the police station, I will demonstrate that police officers can be more flexible than Ostermannn (2003) proposes regarding those phases and, most importantly, that complainants can (and sometimes do) interfere with the report-making and are able to change the structure officers start working with.

Although Ostermann's analysis in terms of ideologies does seem to make sense when we talk about feminist psychologists and social workers who have chosen to

work with abused women in contrast to police officers who do not choose to work in a WPS and do not get a specific training to deal with violence against women (as seen in Chapter 1), the issue of the ideology of the service providers is not going to be discussed here. I will, however, focus on the *actions* service providers perform and how they perform their tasks in order to present their structural organization and some of their strengths and limitations.

Before developing some of the differences between the two settings, it is worth noting that it is not the setting in which an interaction takes place that makes it 'institutional' (Drew and Heritage, 1992). First, it is possible to have ordinary conversation in an institutional setting, for example, police officers (or any other service providers) may talk amongst each other about things that are not related to the pursuit of an action within the institution they represent, but can be only characterised as a chat amongst friends. This kind of action is absolutely unproblematic and is markedly different from instances in which in the middle of making a police report (that is, an institutional interaction in which they interact with a lay person in order to build a report a criminal offence), officers start chatting with other people in the room or make personal phone calls[1]. Those

---

[1] Those 'interruptive' moments included: WPS 10, in which an officer comes into the room in the middle of the reporting to enjoy the air conditioner and complains about how hot it was; WPS 27 in which the officer interrupts the report-making saying he had left his daughter alone at home and makes a phone call to check on her; WPS 28 in which a friend of some officers comes to the WPS and the officer making a report is interrupted to greet his friend and then leaves the room to introduce this friend to the chief commissioner (shown below); among many other instances in which officers discuss being hungry, tired and/or make plans about what to do after work.

WPS 28

```
08   Po6:    A data de aniversário da senhora é dia prime:iro.
             The date of birth   of+the ma'am is day first.
             You ma'am's date of birth is the fi:rst.
09   Wom:    É dia catorze de outubro.
             Is day fourteen of October.
             It's the fourteenth of October.
10   Po?:    Berna:rdo ó: Seu So:uza.    ((coming into the room))
             (Po7's name) look Sir (surname).
             Berna:rdo loo:k Mister So:uza
11   Po6:    Oh!! Seu Souza!
             Oh!! Sir (surname)!
             Oh!! Mister Souza!
12           (.)
13   Po6:    Como é que vai. Tudo bo:m.
             How is that goes. All good.
             How are things. Is everything alri:ght.
14   Mou:    Tudo be:m.
             All well.
             Yes goo:d.
```

Mister Souza and Bernardo keep on talking and they leave the reporting room so that Bernardo introduces Mister Souza to the chief commissioner. Bernardo is back 1min 38 seconds later.

actions (all of which happen in my data set) do 'sound' wrong because they are markedly distant from the police job of doing a report. On the other hand, one can also have an institutional interaction from one's home when, for example, making a phone call to request a service such as an emergency call (Zimmerman, 1992), on after hour calls to a doctor (Drew, 2006), or a dentist appointment (Land & Kitzinger, 2005).

Although the setting does not make an interaction 'institutional' some features of the setting may influence how an interaction is organized. So, the reporting environment may, of course, influence the reporting and features such as the number of people in the room (e.g. the fact that in the police unit two complainants may report crimes at the same time in the same room – something that does not happen in the care centre), the level of 'privacy' in the reporting etc., may have an impact on how the interactions happen in the two settings. Still, the differences in the care centre and the WPS are more marked than that. Although the reporting of a crime in a WPS and in a first meeting with a social worker/psychologist in a care centre both involve the filling out of a report, the importance of the form to the two institutions (and the interactions in them) is very different. In the WPS, the form is central to the interaction as it is the template for the production of the police report, whereas in the care centre the form is far less relevant to the interaction. In the care centre, the form contains information about the woman and also about her story of violence but it is not as specific as the police report. For example, in the care centre the day and time of the last incident of violence as well as the details of how it happened are not necessary for the institution's file, whereas this specific information is mandatory for the police report. Moreover, the kind of service provided in the care centre allows for a broader definition of abuse than the service provided in the WPS. So, while in the WPS only certain types of crimes are, in fact, 'reportable crimes' and there are also other constraints in terms of the recency of the crime (as seen in Chapter 4), in the care centre a woman who, say, suffered abuse in her adolescence and many years before contacting the care centre, would still be able to talk about it in her session and would very likely be offered counselling by the institution. Moreover, while police reports can only be made about actions that fit pre-established definitions of 'crimes' and within the limitations of time (as crimes expire), place (as only crimes within a given

municipality can be reported), the care centre is free of these limitations and even vague fears and feelings constitute part of the professionals' duties. So, the scope of the police work is far smaller than the scope of psychological help or social assistance and those limitations in terms of what the police work entails do interfere with the organization of the interactions in terms of what officers pursue in the report-making and the cases they dismiss (Chapter 4).

The only existing study which analyses the structural organization of interactions in which women report abuse in a WPS proposes that, in terms of phases, they are organized as: '*opening, BO or file production, provision of information, closing*' (Ostermann, 2003, p. 496, citing Ostermann, 2000, 2002). My own analysis of similar interactions, that is, women reporting abuse to the police also in a Brazilian WPS, but in a different location, expands this model – especially with regards to the phase she calls 'Bo or file production' which I see as an action divided into 3 to 4 phases which are managed by two basic (and different) report making strategies – and will be presented in detail in the following section.

5.2 Interactions in Maceió's WPS: the structural organization of the report-making

As seen in Chapter 1, the most important State response to crimes against woman in Brazil was the creation of police stations that are specialized in dealing with crimes against women, the WPSs. In practical terms, what a WPS usually offers to women who search help is a police report (a 'BO') and a subsequent meeting with the chief commissioner[2]. It is this main response offered by the state via the WPS – the making of a police report – that is examined in my research and recorded in my data collection. Before analysing this overall structural organization of the interaction, it is worth presenting some basic information about the reporting process, including what was not caught on tape during the data collection but is, nonetheless, a constitutive part of the process in which a woman gets to make a police report.

When a woman goes to the WPS in Maceió she talks to some officers at the reception who are supposed to do a screening in order to check if the woman can make a report, that is, if she has all the relevant information needed in order to

---

[2] They can sometimes do more than that – e.g., see WPS 33 in Chapter 2, when the complainant gets the officers to take her to the house she shared with her previous partner but had no longer access to in order to pick up some of her things; they refer complainants to other institutions, etc.

make a report and/or if she has what we can call 'a case' – an alleged crime incident which falls under the WPS remit. After that, the woman either waits for her time to report the alleged crime she has suffered to an officer, or is taken into the WPS's reporting room, where she will talk to an officer who will make the report. This 'pre-reporting' phase is similar to switchboard transfers of calls, as once it is established that the woman has a reportable case she has to be transferred to talk to the right person who will make a report. The obvious difference is, apart from the co-presencial factor, that in this case it is not only the right recipient of the call that is established, but also the case, that is, the reason for their presence in a WPS and the verification of it constituting a reportable case. Unfortunately, as the interactions were only recorded inside the reporting room, it is not possible to analyse what happens when a woman first steps into a WPS, and the details of this 'pre-reporting', but only what happens when she is taken to the reporting room to start the actual report.

Despite this screening process (the pre-reporting phase), not all the cases that come into the reporting room actually turn out to be reportable cases: coming to the reporting room is no guarantee of leaving it with a report (see Chapter 4). This is important to have in mind when analysing the report-making process as officers and complainants do have to work to establish the 'case', given that the screening phase is disconnected from the reporting proper. This means that, although the officers in charge of making reports know women are only sent to the reporting room after having been through an interaction with other officers who establish if their case is reportable, officers who conduct the report are not usually briefed about a woman's case when she gets into the reporting room[3]. So, they know that, in theory, they are going to work with a case that fills the reporting requirements, but they do not know anything else about it.

The necessary requirements to get a report in a WPS (and the ones which are checked in the screening phase) have to do with the WPS's jurisdiction – which varies from state to state but is also connected to federal laws – and with the police files that contain the required information to be filled out in a report. As the report

---

[3] There are a few cases in which such 'briefing' happens. Those are return cases in which a complainant is introduced to the officer who will conduct the report by a different officer and their structure is not analysed in this chapter because they are not 'first visits' and they are exceptions in their format. In my data, they totaled 4 cases (from 36).

follows a standard format, all the required information for making a report is, in the WPS in Maceió, organized by a special computer programme that contains all the forms that have to be filled out and saves the information entered there for the whole police system in the municipality. The forms ask for information about: the victim's personal details (a page on which the woman's name, ID, schooling, profession and address has to be filled out); the abuser's personal details (a page with the same fields as the victim's); and the 'report' part, a page in which the details of victim's and perpetrator's details are recovered and where the date, time and instruments used in the alleged crime are registered, as well as the 'story' of the reported incident, that is, a rendering of the alleged crime is registered. (The kind of information needed for a report is shown in Appendix A in its original form – in BP – and in its English version.)

The analysis of my data set[4] shows that there are basically two different strategies employed by the officers in order to make a police report: one that is oriented to a general understanding of a 'story' before the actual filling out of the report and the compulsory personal details of both the complainant and the alleged abuser (in the event of the incident being considered to be a reportable matter); and another in which the filling out of the forms with the compulsory personal details of the complainant and the abuser is done first and it is the availability of those personal details in full that works as a pre-requisite for the making of the crime report. Both strategies (which are almost equally distributed across the data) orient to the final activity of making a police report but they differ in how they approach the report-making and manage the prerequisites for making a crime report: a case that constitutes a crime which is under the WPS remit and the required personal details of alleged victims and abusers. In 16 (out of 30) cases the officers start the report with questions about the complainant's details, followed by questions about the alleged abuser's personal details and subsequently questions about the date and nature of the abuse. This approach to report-making will be referred to as the 'form-filling' strategy. The other 14 cases start with an orientation to the kind of abuse the complainant is there to report, and they usually start with an officer's request for information about what happened. This request

---

[4] Of the 34 different cases from the 36 audio-recordings I made in the WPS, 4 cases were introduced to the officer responsible for the making of the report by another police officer, so this structural analysis is based on 30 cases of first reportings of a given crime.

usually prompts a telling, therefore, the name of this line of conducting the report will be referred to as the 'story' strategy. Although my corpus shows that there are officers who consistently adopt only one of the two strategies in all the cases in which they conducted a report, there were also cases of officers who varied their reporting strategy through the reports I recorded of them and, as seen on WPS 33 (shown above) one reporting problem with a case could impact on an officer's reporting strategy on a next case.

The 'story strategy' determines whether the concern is 'policeable', that is, a concern that is worthy of police attention. 'Policeable' is a term created by Meehan (1989) in his work on calls to 911 as he "noted caller's interests in showing that their calls were about issues that were legitimate subjects of police interest or intervention" (Heritage & Robinson, 2006, p. 58, citing Meehan, 1989). This term was adapted by CA research on doctor-patient interactions and has been used as 'doctorable', to describe patients' displayed concern to present their condition as worthy of medical attention and, perhaps, treatment (see Heritage and Robinson, 2006). This use in CA is relevant here because this issue of 'doctorability' has been shown to centre on patients' concerns in showing that they are reasonable people and have good reasons to seek the physician's assistance. While complainants in a WPS may have similar concerns about showing 'good reasons' to present themselves to the police, their understanding about what actually falls under the police remit is usually very limited. Research on complainants in Brazilian WPSs have proposed that they frequently want justice (sometimes of a moral order) and are there to 'assert their rights' (Brandão, 1998; Silva, 2001). Complainants' perspectives regarding what constitutes a 'good reason' to go to the police and their expectations regarding the police action frequently conflict with the police job of making a report about one specific incident of a predefined 'reportable' abuse. My data also support the observation that complainants reporting abuse to the WPS present their concerns regarding legal separation and division of property, which are not police duties but matters that have to be dealt with separately within the Brazilian legal system. Police officers are clearly oriented to this discrepancy between what is policeable and what complainants think is policeable by blocking most of complainants' attempts to bring 'house' and separation issues into their accounts and asking complainants to limit their telling to the last incident of

battery/threat and to leave out their 'wishes' and concerns with property (see chapters 4 and 6).

A 'policeable' concern does not always guarantee the making of a police report in a WPS because (as seen in Chapter 4) only cases in which a policeable case is also accompanied by the personal details of both the complainant and the alleged abuser (in cases in which the abuser is known by the complainant – as seen in Chapter 4) are accepted cases for making a police report. So, a 'reportable' case is composed by a policeable crime and the full details of the complainant and the alleged abuser when the complainant knows the abuser[5].

It is clear, then, that the officers' strategies for approaching the report process are designed to manage the requirements of the action pursued: the making of a report. Whereas the police goal, in this moment, is to make a crime report this is seldom the sole goal of women reporting abuse, as they seem to ask for solutions for their problems and rarely understand the requirements and limitations of the police work. So, even if the screening process were flawless and all the complainants left the police with a police report, there would still be problems regarding what kind of information and/or experience is or is not relevant for the complainants to tell the police when seeking help. Whereas some of those interactional problems have been seen in Chapter 4 and others will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 6, the issue of how participants orient to the goal of a getting/producing a report in their interaction will be analysed here. There are two strategies used by officers in order to manage the interactions, which I have called 'the form filling strategy' and 'the story strategy'. They could be summarised as follows:

The Form-Filling Strategy

The officer first takes the personal details of the complainant and her abuser and, later, asks for the details of the reported incident of abuse (typically including questions about the instruments used in the abuse, whether the abuser had been under the effect of any substance and a reasonably detailed rendering of the incident, the 'story'.)

---

[5] This difference between 'policeable' and 'reportable' cases should not exist as a complainant has, in theory, the right of making a report even if she does not have those details, as seen in Chapter 4.

The Story Strategy

The officer starts the report with an enquiry about what happened. The officer may or may not take the complainant's ID before asking what happened, but there is no other request for 'personal details' before the story of what happened is invited. Usually, the officer prompts the telling with a question about 'what happened' and listens to the story until the point it becomes evident it is a 'policeable' case (or not). At that point, the officer shifts to asking for the personal details of victim and abuser, in this order, to later ask for some details of incident (such as date and time, when the story is told in some detail in the first part, or a more detailed telling when the officer gets only a definition of the abuse at first) as well as some checks about the story before moving to pre-closing and closing.

Some reports may take, however, a slightly different order, as the details of the incident may be asked before the details of the involved parties, so in some (but few) cases details such as date and time of the abuse are not asked after the personald details are filled.

The police interactions are basically structured in seven phases, which might not always take place or take different orders in some cases, in general terms, however, the phases can be outlined as follows:

(1) Opening (+ the I.D. request)

(2) Story

(3) The victim's Personal Details

(4) The abuser's Personal Details

(5) Incident Details + Story / Story checks

(6) Presentation of Future Actions + Printing the Report

(7) Closing

The way in which the phases actually occur in interaction depends on the report-making strategy adopted in a given case. So, in the form-filling strategy, phase 1, the opening, is followed by phase 3, the taking of the victim's personal details. The I.D. request, in this case, works as a transition to phase 3 and, in possession of the I.D., the officer starts filling out the Victim's Details, starting phase 3. The report, then, follows all the subsequent phases: while phases 4, 6 and 7 do not depend on the strategy adopted, phase 5 varies slightly, so in the case of the

form-filling strategy, it is in phase 5 that the story will be told for the first time, together with the incident details. In the story strategy, the seven phases take place. In this case, the I.D. request is not followed by any personal information, but rather a story is invited and then – when the case is established as 'policeable – the form starts to be filled out with the Victim's Personal Details. In this case then, rather than have the story told in phase 5, officers often produce 'story checks' and get the incident details while they fill out the 'story' field. In some cases in which the story strategy is adopted, the 'Incident details' may be asked before the victim's personal details, but this is not the most frequent format.

The only remarkable change to the phases according to the chosen report-making strategy has to do with the point in which the case is established. So phase 2 may or may not take place depending on the strategy used, and the presence of phase 2 (the story strategy) means phase 5 is produced as a 'story check', whereas the absence of phase 2 (the form-filling strategy) means phase 5 is the place in which the story is presented for the first time. It can be seen from the summaries above that the 'opening', 'presentation of future actions + printing the report' and 'closing' take the same positions in the different strategies. What changes in the two basic strategies is the *order* of the taking of the personal details, the story and the incident details. Although this change in position of the phases may affect the way the interaction is structured as a whole and how one phase builds upon the other the kind of information requested in each phase remains the same.

It is important to emphasise that the interactions were only recorded in the reporting room (see the descriptions of the police settings in Chapter 2), so whatever happens outside this room cannot be analysed here and this means that the steps complainants take before actually going to the reporting room – the pre-reportings – were not recorded and that 'openings' and 'closings' were only recorded if and when they took place in the room (see discussion of those topics below).

5.2.1 Opening

In the WPS, the reporting proper starts with the complainant (and frequently the officer in charge) coming into the reporting room and taking their positions to start the report-making. Given that my recordings of the interactions frequently started

as the responsible officer and the complainant entered the room, some features of the full opening sequence that may take place outside the reporting room were not captured.

In most cases the opening sequence includes two activities: the participants' entering the reporting room, the officer's offer of a seat to the complainant and/or finding a vacant chair in the room. Opening sequences in the WPS are limited in terms of the range of the activities performed if compared to the interactions in the care centre, where professionals introduce themselves to the complainants and make sure to address them by their first names from the start of the interaction, and where the 'Casa' procedures are often explained to the women. In the WPS, by contrast, officers do not introduce themselves to complainants (there are a few cases in which women *ask* for the officer's name), nor do they explain the official procedures for the report-making. WPS openings are also abridged in comparison to some other openings analysed by the CA literature, such as medical interactions (Robinson, 1998, 2003) and ordinary conversations (Schegloff, 1986). Doctor-patient openings, according to Robinson (1998) contain four tasks apart from the establishing of co-presence between the parties involved:

> 'The opening phase begins when the doctor and patient establish copresence (i.e., when the patient knock and/or enters the office) and includes all communication behaviour up to and including the successful initiation of the patient's chief complaint'. After the establishment of copresence, openings contain four regular tasks: (a) greeting, (b) getting the patient to sit down, (c) securing the patient's identity, and (d) determining the patient's chief complaint (Byrne & Long, 1976; Coupland et al., 1994, Heath, 1981).' (Robinson, 1998, p.102).

The WPS openings are also abridged if compared to 'core opening sequences' in ordinary conversations – which typically comprise a *summons-answer* sequence, an *identificational recognitional* sequence, a *greeting* and a *howareyou*, after which participants move to the reason for the call (Schegloff, 1986). The WPS openings are more similar to emergency calls in the way that they abridge the openings to move quickly to the 'business at hand' and other institutional interactions in which 'the last two sequences [greeting and howareyou] are *routinely* absent' (Zimmerman, 1992, p.435). Although the police interactions are not emergencies, they also move

quickly to the business at hand; this transition, however, does not necessarily means establishing the 'reason' of the complaint. Rather, officers have two options as to how to move to the 'business at hand': they can do so by starting to fill out the report per se – in which case they adopt the 'form-filling' strategy and quickly move to the victim's personal details – or they can start by seeking to establish the reason for the complaint – achieved by the 'story' strategy.

So, in the WPS the opening phase is the means by which officers make the transition to the report-making activity, be it with a request for personal information of the complainants or a request for information about the case in question. This quick transition to the business at hand gives the opening phase a 'routine' feeling and a sense that women are processed as cases which is markedly different from other routine and institutional procedures in which a 'fuller' opening place takes place such as those openings discussed on the literature on medical interactions , but also in the care centre environment (as shown in section 5.4).

In some police interactions, the 'opening' phase is basically non-existent, in the sense that the officer comes to the room with the complainant and immediately asks for the complainant's I.D., which is a common transition to the report making proper (the I.D. is discussed in more detail below). Moreover, a few openings were not recorded in my data collection because in my first recordings I only started taping the interactions once I had got consent from the participant (please see Chapter 2 for more details on the ethic clearance process).

Opening Examples

Complainants often come into the reporting room together with the officer who will make their report. This is because officers typically leave the reporting room with complainants who have just finished a report (or have been dismissed) and get the next person to come to the office with them. In those cases the first thing I have recorded is the officer coming with the complainant into the room and those interactions usually involve the officer coming into the room, offering a seat to the complainant, and taking their own seat in front of a computer monitor, opposite to the complainant's seat. A very short and simple example of an opening is shown in WPS 02. Po2 directs the complainant to take a seat (line 02); then the complainant asks her child to close the door (line 04). Following the closing of the door, Po2 just

clears his throat and asks for the complainant's ID (line 08). Before the woman actually hands some form of I.D. to Po2, she produces a SPP that presents such document as available (line 09), lines 10 to 12, then, show a period in which the woman goes through her belongings to get the I.D., makes some comment about this process (which seems to be related to the state of the document, but is not entirely clear here given the absence of video data), and a period in which some talk non-related to this case takes place. The complainant then (line 13), produces some document and asks if it would be okay, to which Po2 agrees (line 15). With the document, Po2 starts filling out the report with the woman's personal details supplied by her I.D. as he types for a prolonged period (in which some more talk unrelated to this case takes place as well). Po2's following requests for information regarding the woman personal details (as shown on lines 17 and 21), give continuity to the filling out of her details that were not present in the I.D..

 # 2 - WPS 02

```
01              (door opening noise))
02   Po2:       °Senta aí°
                Sit there
                °take a sit°
03              ((Wom sits down and Po2 goes toward his seat)) (1.0)
04   Wom:       Fecha aí. A porta. ((to her child))
                Close there. The door.
                Close it there. The door. ((to her child))
05              ((noise: door closing)) (1.8)
06   Po2:       ((clears his throat))
07              (2.0)
08   Po2:       A identida:de¿
                The identity
                I:D:¿
09   Wom:       °Te:nh.°
                Have(1p.s.)
                °Ye:a.°
10              (1.2)
11   Wom:       .hh (°Em:pe:steo:u.°)
                     (prt + pest past 3p.s.)
                .hh (°Da::mned.°)
12              (15 sec + intervening talk - ommited)
13   Wom:       Pode sê esse ( di) aqui:¿
                Can be this ( ) here
                Can it be this (   ) he:re¿
14              (0.2)
```

```
15  Po2:      >(°Pode.) Cê me dá os dados (dele/depois.)°<
                 Can.    You me give the data   (of+he/later)
              >(°Yes.) You give me the details (of his / later)°<

16      (1min 01 sec ommited – Po2 types + another officer comes into the and talks to the officers who
             were in the room, while, the child talks a bit to his mother.)

17  Po2:     Estado civi:l.
             State    civil
             Marital sta:tus.

18           (.)

19  Wom:     Solteira.
             Single (F)
             Single.

20           (5.2 + keyboard)

21  Po2:     Profissã:o,
             Profession
             Profe:ssion,
```

Although a common feature in the beginning of many police interactions, the ID request is not the only manner in which officers move from the opening into the subsequent phase. Officers may sometimes just come to the room and after organizing the complainant's seating arrangements and taking their own seats they may ask questions about the matter that brought the woman to the station and leave it to the complainant to present her reason to seek police assistance[6], moving to the 'story' phase. WPS 19, shown below, is one of such cases. As soon as Po1 and the complainant (Alicia) come into the reporting room, I, the researcher, approach Alicia to get consent to record (lines 01-02). As soon as I was through with ethics clearance, Po1 requested the complainant's I.D. (line 03). Upon the woman's lack of response Po1 pursues her request for the I.D. (line 05), Alicia then gets her I.D. and hands it in to Po1 (line 06). Following the production of the I.D. Po1 invites Alicia to present what had happened (line 07) and the complainant starts telling her story (line 08).

#3 - WPS 19

```
01           ((door noise: Po1 and Alicia come into the room))

02           ((43 sec. Consent to record + printer WPS 18))

03  Po1:     Dê sua identida:de.
             Give your  identity.
             Give me your ID:.T

04           (0.5)
```

---

[6] This is similar to the way many doctor-patient interactions work, as doctors frequently open the interactions soliciting the patient's problems and then patients present, in second position, their symptoms and the reasons for being there.

```
05   Pol:      A=identida:de_
                Identity.
                The=ID:_

06              ((31 sec. Alicia gives her I.D. to Pol + printer))

07   Pol:      É o q- Foi o quê o teu ca:so.
                Is what Was    what  the your case
                What is- What was your ca:se.

08   Wom:      O meu caso é o seguinte, Eu convivi com
                The my case is the following  I lived together/was close to with
                My case is the following, I had a relationship
```

As the examples above show it is possible to get an ID request in the beginning of a police interaction followed either by a request for information about the 'story' starting a 'story' strategy, or for further information about the compainant's details marking the form-filling strategy. So, both strategies mentioned above may start with a request for the woman's I.D. (usually referred to as 'identidade', literally 'identity', or R.G. – the abbreviation for 'Registro Geral', literally 'General Registration'), but the ID request is not associated with either strategy.

In theory, it is mandatory for people always to carry their ID, but in fact a handful of people, including many women who go to the WPS for help, do not do so. This document can save a lot of time for the officers because it contains most of the alleged victim's personal details that the officers need in order to make a report, namely: a person's name, their parents' names, the person's date and place of birth, the ID number and, frequently, the 'CPF' number – some sort of 'national insurance' number. The fact that the ID contains this official information saves a good deal of the officer's time because it is not unnusual that the complainants find it hard to produce all this information correctly (see 'Clash of Worlds' in Chapter 2) and also because it avoids understanding checks about names and numbers. It is important to point out that, even though the ID contains some of the most important information about the complainant, it does not contain all the personal details which are required in the report making. So, the request for the ID does not necessarily orient the officer's report towards the form-filling strategy but it does initiate the report making and officers can, then, either ask for other personal details, approaching the report with the form-filling strategy, or pursue some information about the abuse and approaching the report with the story strategy.

5.2.2 Story

The story phase determines the reason for the reporting. The presence of this phase also determines the report strategy chosen by the officer as the 'story strategy', while its absence shows the officers' choice for the 'form-filling strategy'. The 'story' strategy is defined, therefore, by the officers' prioritising of establishing the crime to be reported before actually starting to fill out the forms with the complainants' personal details. It is upon establishing the existence of a 'policeable' crime, then, that officers move on to filling out the police forms as they establish if the complaint in question is actually part of the WPS's scope.

The 'story' phase is often introduced by a request for information about the case, as shown above in the fragment extracted from WPS 19 (line 07). It is this interaction (WPS 19) which will be shown to illustrate the 'story' phase which defines the 'story' format. This interaction is quite long, so it will not be shown here in its fullness, but will rather be presented in 4 extracts that show different moments of the telling which composes the 'story' phase and the definition of the case as 'policeable'.

The extract shown below (extract 4) was taken from the beginning of an interaction between the complainant 'Alicia' and a police officer (Po1), after the 'opening' phase shown above. This interaction shows that it may take a long time for officers to 'get' a 'reportable' crime once complainants get into a complex telling. The story is initiated as Po1 requests some information about Alicia's 'case' (line 07). This request is self-repaired by the officer, who starts her inquiry in the present tense, about what 'é/is' the case and later in the same turn repairs it to the past tense 'foi/was'. Despite being subtle, this reformulation points to the police job of making reports of single incidents of abuse/crimes, as it places the verb 'ser/to be' in the past as a finished and singular past occurrence. The construction in the present of 'to be', however, would present the case as something that is still a present problem and carries fewer restrictions in terms of time references and/or in terms of restricting the scope of the telling. Interestingly, Alicia's SPP, the initiation of the telling, is done in the present tense 'é' (line 08), with the construction Po1 had started but subsequently repaired. The presentation of the 'case' in the present and with the phrasing of it as a presentation of 'the following' adumbrates from the onset a multi-unit turn. The departure from the tense

proposed by Po1's repaired turn is interesting because it seems to be a departure from a possibly 'simpler' turn, such as: 'My husband punched me' or 'It was battery' (which are not only possible, but real SPPs produced by other complainants – see WPS 04, section 5). The use of the present tense conveys the sense of a situation that is ongoing, one that could be a recurrent/repeated problem. The presentation of 'the case' as 'the following', on the other hand, seems to defer a presentation in a definitional way in order to present a longer explanation, a telling.

Alicia starts her telling with a whole TCU devoted to showing she is answering the question and means to take a long turn and Po1 does not respond to it in any way to require Alicia to conform to the 'policeable' requirement of a single recent episode, as in other cases in my data.[7] She starts with an ambiguous presentation of her relationship with her alleged abuser as the verb used (convivi) may refer to different kinds of relationship (see footnote 5) and later provides a clarification of their relationship, adding some past information about the parties involved. Alicia repairs her telling, then, and presents her abuser first as just a good friend and subsequently as a romantic partner and someone who (unexpectedly) changed his behaviour as he started to abuse her, which is presented as something he 'num fazia'/'didn't use to do' (lines 40-41). Breaking the chronology to present her previous good relationship with her currently abusive partner can be understood as an effort to show she had no grounds to doubt him before and had not 'brought it on herself'. This is constructed with what has been called "defensive detailing" by Drew (1998, p. 297) to describe "the often extensive detailing with which speakers build a case for an episode being 'trouble' but not a transgression in their part." Moreover, Alicia makes evident the fact that there was a story of abuse in this relationship as the presentation of things he 'didn't use to do' indicates the subsequent doing of those things. This, however, does not constitute a crime story, per se, so Alicia does not get much (verbal, at least) participation by Po1, and she pursues, again, some response from the officer. Po1's participation is minimal and Alicia frequently tries to elicit more from Po1 with understanding checks (lines 16, – shown below – 43, 51, 116 – not shown) and builds up the story with more details whenever her story reaches a possible peak but is not taken up by the officer. Such

---

[7] See Chapter 6 for examples of officers' use of third position repair blocking long tellings from going further as they redo their FPPs in a way to restrict the SPP to a last incident of abuse and/or what had brought the woman to the police 'now'.

'peak' instances – not shown here due to space limitations – include a serious battery instance which had occurred a year before the telling, and the subsequent making and dropping of a complaint to the police; problems her partner had with the law etc., which are not 'reportable' cases, that is, they are not instances which support the making of a police report either because they are crimes that 'expired' or because they do not constitute a crime.

#4 – WPS 19

```
06              ((31 sec. Alicia gives her I.D. to Pol + printer))

07   Pol:       É o q- Foi o quê o teu ca:so.
                Is what Was    what  the your case
                What is- What was your ca:se.

08   Wom:       O meu caso é o seguinte, Eu convivi com
                The my case is the following  I lived together/was close to with
                My case is the following, I had a relationship

09              uma pessoa qua:tro a:nos¿
                a  person   four     years
                with a person for fo:ur ye:ars¿

010             (0.5)

011  Wom:       Ele num- conhecia ele desde:: (.)
                He  no    knew(3ps)    him  since
                He didn- I knew him si::nce (.)

012             dezessete anos=Ele com dezessete e eu com
                seventeen  years  He with  seventeen and I   with
                seventeen years old=He was seventeen and I

013             dezo:itcho. Só que nunca tive nada com
                eighteen       Just/Only that never had(1ps) nothing with
                was eightee:n. But there was nothing

014             e:le.
                he.
                between u:s.

015             (.)

016  Wom:       >Tendeu.<
                (Un)derstood
                >You know.<

017             (.)

018  Wom:       Aí fui pra São Pa:ulo, passei seis anos
                Then went(1ps) to São Paulo     spent    six   years
                Then I went to São Pa:ulo, spent six years

019             lá:, (0.2) >>quer dizer<< fiz uma vida.
                there          want to say   made a    life
                the:re, (0.2) >>that's to say<< made a life for

020             Fiquei viúva lá vim'bora.
                Stayed   widow  there came away
                myself. I was widowed there and came back.

021             (.)
```

```
022  Wom:    Só que quando eu cheguei i- de São Pa:ulo
             Just/Only that when I    arrived  in   of São Paulo
             But when I arrived i- from São Pa:ulo

023          (0.5) >a primeira pessoa que eu procurei
                    the first    person      that  I  searched for
             (0.5) >the first person I called on

024          pra conversá era ele.=Porque era meu
             to   talk     was he.  Because was(3ps) my
             to talk to was him.=Because he was my

025          ami:go.<
             friend
             frie:nd.<

026          (.)

027  Wom:    >Pra tu:do.<
             For  everything
             >For everythi:ng.<

028          (.)

029  Wom:    Namora:do pra tudo.=>Quer dizer nunca
             Boyfriend  for everything Want to say  never
             For boyfrie:nd for everything.=>I mean I never

030          pensei em envolve- me envolvê cum e:le.
             thought(1ps) in involve  me involve   with  him
             thought of involve- getting involved with hi:m.

031          (0.8)

032  Wom:    Me envolvi cum e::le:. E morô cumigo
             Me involve    with he      And lived(3ps) with me
             I got involved with hi::m:. And he lived with me

033          quatro anos.=>Quer dizer< (.) convive-
             four    years   Want to say        be together
             for four years.=>I mean< (.) had a relationsh-

034          assi:m namora:mos, ficamos ju:nto,=
             like    dated(1pp)     satayed(1pp) together
             li:ke we da:ted, stayed toge:ther,=

035          =quatro anos.
             four      years
             =for four years.

036          (.)

037  Wom:    E::: (0.2) depois d- não. >Depois de dois
             And          after  of  no  After   of  two
             An:::d (0.2) after t- no. >After two

038          anos ele passou a morá na minha ca:sa.
             years he  started to live in the my   house
             years he started to live in my ho:use.

039          (1.0)

040  Wom:    Só que: começou a me agredí, >coisa que<
             Only that  started  to me abuse      thing that
             Bu:t he started to abuse me, >a thing that<

041          ele não fazi:a.
             he   no    used to do
             he didn't use to do:.
```

Po1 only intervenes after just over 4 minutes of Alicia's story (on line 144) - after Alicia had developed many asides (about her past experiences and her relationship with the alleged abuser that were relevant to her understanding of the story but did not build a reportable crime) - asking Alicia to say 'in short' what had happened. Po1's intervention trying to redirect the telling with the enquiry: 'But in short, what did he do' can be seen as 'interruptive' as it comes before the end of Alicia's TCU and in a place in which transition is not relevant, in an extended TCU in which Alicia's point had not been concluded. Po1's intervention showing Alicia's telling to be inappropriate is not 'respected' by the complainant, who fights to tell the story her own way. On lines 146-147 Alicia asks for permission to continue to completion of her telling in her own way: she first repeats most of Po1's previous TCU 'o que foi que ele fez' (What did he do/What he did), showing herself to be responsive to it, to which she latches 'let me finish here'. Po1 comes immediately after that with a loud and fast 'Mas ele/But he', which is met by Alicia's conclusive argument for a telling with beginning and end (line: 149, which is not recognisable as an idiom although it seems to have features of some clichéd sayings), a plea that is accepted by Po1 (line 150).

#5 - WPS 19

```
135  Wom:   Porrque eu num i:a- num ia ajudá ele.=Aí
                   Because I  no   would  no would help  him. Then
             Because I wouldn't- wouldn't help him.=Then

136          pra=eu não passá por rui:m,=pra num sê uma
                   for I  not  be taken for  bad   for no   to be one
             for=me not be taken for ba:d,=not to be a

137          mulher que >digamos assim< não dá uma força
                   woman that  let's say           no gives one force
             woman who >let's say< doesn't back him up

138  Wom:   a ele=eu disse prel- 'venda a  minha
                   to him I  said   to him sell   the my
             I told him- 'sell my

139          televisão ou venda meu so:m'. >Porque eu
                   television or sell  my  sound      Because I
             television or sell my ra:dio'. >Because I

140          tenho a minha coisa- as minhas coisinha eu
                   have  the(s) my(s) thing  the(pl) my(pl) little thing(s) I
             have my thing- my little things I

141          compre:i- o que eu tinha em São Paulo (.)
                   bought    what  I   had   in  Sao Paulo
             bo:ught- what I had in Sao Paulo (.)

142          vendi t[u:do e vim]
```

```
                    sold      everything and came
                    I sold a[:ll and came]

143  Po4:                 [Mas em résu]:mo, >o que foi que=ele<
                          But    in short     what  was  that   he
                          [But in sho]:rt, >what did he<

144                  f::ez.=
                     did
                     d::o.=

145  Wom:            =>O que foi que ele fez=dexeu terrminá
                     What   was  that he   did  let I finish
                     =>What did he do=let me finish

146                  aqui<=
                     here
                     here<=

147  Po4?:           =>MAS ELE-<
                     But   he
                     =>BUT HE-<

148  Wom:            Porque tem que entrá e saí.
                     Because has to   enter  and leave
                     Because it has to come in and out.

149  Po4:            Tá.
                     Is
                     Ok.

150  Wom:            Aí quando fo:i: (.) dia- (.) a- aí ele foi
                     Then when   was      day        the then he went
                     Then when it wa:s: (.) day- (.) the- then he went

151                  embo:ra.=>Veio embora< pra::- foi morá no
                     away.     Came away    to     went to live in the
                     awa:y.=>Came away< to::- went to live in the

152                  no interiô. Que=ele=o:- o negócio dele é
                     in the country. Cuz he the    the business/thing of his is
                     in the country. Cuz=he=the:- his thing is

153                  sabe? O negócio dele é:- (.) vim dá murro.
                     You know? The business/thing is    come give punch
                     You know? His thing i:s- (.) come and punch me.
```

Alicia continues her telling and after she finally narrates an incident that happened on a recent date (the day before), narrating threats to her family, Po1 produces an understanding check, asking about threats against Alicia (lines 249 and 251):

 # 6 - WPS 19

```
237  Wom:            E- de- e ontem foi na loja da minha mãe
                     And later/of and yesterday went in the store of the my mother
                     And- la- and yesterday he went to my mother's shop

238                  que a minha mãe tem uma loja no Benedi:to,
                     that the my  mother has ine store in the neighbourhood
                     cuz my mother has a shop in Benedi:to,

239                  e ele disse pra o meu irmão- foi lá escambá
                     and he said to the my brother  went there to scorn
```

```
               and he said to my brother- went there to scorn
240            com o meu irmão, xingou o meu irmão, disse
               with the my brother sweared the my brother   said
               my brother, swore at my brother, said

241            que si:- (0.8) é:: só ia entregá a chave a
               that if        huh   only would give the  key to
               that I:f- (0.8) hu:h would only give the key to

242            mim e que se eu for dá parrte dele=ia pegá
               me and that if  I   go give part of him would take
               me and if I was to report him=he would get

243            minha família de um por um.
               My   family   of one by one
               my family one by one.

244            (1.5)

245    Wom:    E os meus irmão servi pro almo:ço.=Eu vim
               And the my brother serve for lunch.   I came
               And eat my brothers for lu:nch.=I came

246            mais por i:sso. >Eu tou na casa da minha mãe
               more for this.  I am in the  house of the my mother
               more because of tha:t. >I'm in my mother's house

247            desde o dia ci:nco¿< Desse mês.
               since the day  five    Of this month
               since the fi:fth¿< Of this month.

248            (.)

249    Pol:    M[as=ele te a:- e]le ameaçou você disse que=
               But he   to you a  he   threatened you said   that
               B[ut=has he th:- h]e threatened you said that=

250    Wom:       [Desde o dia cin-]
                   Since  the day fi(ve)
                   [Since the fif-]

251    Pol:    =ia um: fazê alguma co:isa com você:.
               would huh: do something    with you
               =he'd huh: do so:mething to yo:u.
```

Pol's turn at lines 249 and 251 shows how Alicia's telling was not very successful given that, at possible completion, recipients should "display an understanding that the story is over and what its upshot or point was" (Schegloff, 1992: 207, developing Sacks, 1973, 1974). This understanding and/or the relevant response, in this context an indication of her story making a 'case' and being 'reportable', is absent on line 244 and Alicia ends up spelling her point out on her subsequent turn. The lack of success in Alicia's telling is even more dramatic as Pol's response to it (249, 251) displays no understanding of the threat to her family as a threat to herself (and perhaps as a reportable matter), as Pol pursues a clear incident of threat made to Alicia herself.

This time, it is Alicia who does not speak promptly after the FPP requesting information, so a 1.0 gap precedes her SPP (253-255) in which she spells out and claims to have already made clear that the threat to her family included herself. This SPP is done in a dispreferred format: it does not provide a default yes/no answer, and points to the question as inapposite given that its answer should be available to the enquirer. Po1 asks, then, in overlap with Alicia's TCU about her abuser's threat to get her, about the threat being made 'just once'. 'Just once' minimises the threat, so Alicia doesn't answer directly, but does so indirectly saying that the abuser had involved a lot of people and given her a deadline after which he would destroy her things. It is only at line 269, then, that by shifting to the question about Alicia's marital status – initiating the personal details phase – that the story phase is clearly over. Po1's orientation to the details is not only a transition to another phase, but marks an orientation to the job of making a report and the establishing of a case/ reportable matter. In this sense, this shift works as a response to Alicia's story as it responds to the action she was there for.

 # 7 – WPS 19

```
252              (1.0)

253   Wom:      Bo:m, como eu tou fala:ndo.=Aí ele falou pra
                Well as   I am    saying  Then he said to
                We:ll, as I'm te:lling you.=Then he told

254              o meu irmão. Se eu desse parte de:le, ia pegá
                 the my brother. If I gave(subj) part of he would take
                 my brother. If I reported hi:m, he'd get

255              de um por um. [Ia  vim  me    pegá:.]
                 of one by one. Would come me take
                 one by one.   [He'd come to get me:.]

256   Pol:                    [(Só/Foi) uma ve:z né?]
                               Only/Was one time no is?
                               [(Just/Was) o:nce right?]

257   Wom:      Ele falou que sim. >Ele falô pr- pra- falou
                He said that yes      He said to   to   said
                He said that yes. >He said to- to- said

258              assi:m, (0.2) num foi só pro meu irmão foi
                 like            no was only to my brother was
                 li:ke, (0.2) it wasn't only to my brother it was

259              pra muitas pessoas que s- ia dá até sexta
                 for many people   that    if/fr- would give until Friday
                 to lots of people that i- he'd give me until

260              fe:ira:, (.) pr'eu aparecê. Se eu não
                                for I to appear.  If  I   no
                 Fri:day, (.) for me to show up. If I don't
```

```
261              aparece ia tocá fogo nas minhas coisas.
                 appear   would put fire  in the  my  things
                 show up he'd set my things on fire.

262              (0.8)

263   Wom:       Butá as coisas tudo na ru:a e tocá fo:go.
                 Put the  things  all  in the street and put fire
                 Put everything on the stree:t and set fi:re on.

264              E dia de sexta fe:ira, sábado ele bebe:u,
                 And day of Friday     Saturday he drank
                 And on Fri:day, Saturday he dra:nk,

265              aí a vizinha ligou pra casa da minha mãe
                 then  the neighbour called to  house of the my  mother
                 then the neighbour called my mother's house

266              diz que ele tava dando murro nas pare:des.=
                 says that he  was  giving punches in the walls
                 apparently he was punching the wa:lls.=

267              =Be:bo.
                 Drunk
                 =Dru:nk.

268              (1.2)
```
                                        Shift to Personal Details Phase (3)
                                    ————————/————————
```
269   Pol:       Você é- o estado civil da senhora é::
                 You are- the status civil of the ma'am is
                 You are- ma'am your marital status i::s

270   Wom:       Eu sou solte:ira.
                 I  am single
                 I am si:ngle.
```

Not only does Po1 make the transition between the story phase into the personal details phase without any explanation or actually making an assessment of the case, but Alicia also does not demand any kind of explanation for this shift nor does she show any problems getting into the form-filling mode. The kind of orientation to the telling as being over and understood as a case without any formal acknowledgement is parallel to the instances of patients describing symptoms to doctors and having their 'doctorability' confirmed by the doctor's move to the history of the problem (see, Robinson, 2003) rather than saying to the patient they have a 'case'.

5.2.3 Complainant's Personal Details

In this phase the officer fills out the form with the complainant's personal information such as: her name (and nickname, if relevant), her parents' names, her place and date of birth, her marital status, profession, schooling and address. It usually starts with the officer's request for the woman's ID and/or other document.

If the complainant has her ID with her, the officer types the information available on the ID into the form without asking the complainant for further details. If the woman does *not* have her ID this information is requested by the officer in charge.

The police system works with a special software that connects the information about victims and abusers to a police network and is specially designed to produce the reports as shown in Appendix A. The computer window in which the officers input the details of victims (and, then, abusers) contains boxes to be ticked and to be filled out. While 'names' have blank spaces to be filled out, items such as 'profession' and 'schooling' have boxes with options to be ticked, and an entry in the 'date of birth' box automatically produces the age of the person.

Example of Phase 3 - Complainant's Details

8 - WPS 10

```
001  Po2:     Tá qua identidade aí:.
               Are with the identity    there
               Do you have your I.D. with yo:u.

002  Wom:     Só a xerox.
                Just the xerox.
               Just a copy.

003           (0.2)

004  Wom:     O restinho da xerox.
               The remainder of the xerox.
               The remainder of the copy.

005           (48 sec: Wom gives the copy of her ID to Po2 + typing)

006  Po2:     Estado civi:l.
               State    civil.
               Marital sta:tus.

007           (0.6)

008  Wom:     Solte:ira.
               Single.
               Si:ngle.

009           (31 sec + key)

010  Po2:     °°>Profissã:o.<°°
               Profession.
               °°>Profe:ssion.<°°

011           (1.0)

012  Wom:     É:: garçone:te. Trabalho como garçone:te=ago:ra.

               Uhh waitress.       Work (1st ps) as    waitress,    now
               U:h: wa:itress. I work as a wa:itress=no:w.

013           (0.8)

014           Ant- (1.0) acho que em alguma outra queixa antes
               (before)           think (1st ps) that in some complaint before that
```

		Pre- (1.0) I think that in some other previous report
015		que tenha fichado:, (0.5) acho que botaram como
		have (1st/3rdps - subj) filed think(1stps) that put(3rdppl) as
		that I have re:gistered, (0.5) I think they put
016		domé:stica¿= ou estudante. Não lembro.
		domestic or student. No remember (1stps)
		domestic he:lp¿=or student. I don't remember.
017		(1.8)
018	Po2:	Estudou até que sé:rie:.
		Studied (3rdps) until what grade
		Until what grade did you stu:dy.
019		(.)
020	Wom:	Até a quinta.
		Until the 5th
		Till fifth grade.
021		(37 sec + keyboard)
022	Po2:	Endere:ço,
		Address
		Addre:ss,
023		(0.2)
024	Wom:	É:: (1.0 + paper noise) Rua Damião Correia
		U:h (Street name)
		U:h: (1.0 + paper noise) two hundred and four
025		(4.2 + keyboard)
026	Wom:	Número duzentos e qua::tro,
		(house number)
		Damião Correia stree:t,
027		(5.5 + keyboard)
028	Wom:	Bom Sa:lto.
		(Neighbourhood)
		Bom Sa:lto.
029		17 sec + keyboard

Phase 3 – as well as phase 4, shown below – is basically composed by minimal adjacency pairs in the question-answer format, with very few exceptions in which those pairs are expanded a bit either by insert expansions or post expansions initiating repair.

5.2.4 Abuser's Personal Details

After getting the woman's details the police officer starts asking about the abuser's details. This phase usually starts with a request for the name of the abuser, which is then followed the requests for the abuser's nickname, place and date of birth, marital status, profession, schooling, parents' names and address. The personal details are saved independently from each other and from the 'story' details. These

personal details of 'victim' and 'abuser' can be imported into the incident report form after saved into the system.

Phase 4 is (as well as phase 3) basically composed by minimal adjacency pairs in the question–answer format. WPS 10 which illustrated phase 3 will also illustrate phase 4 and show this feature of having minimal adjacency and some exceptions in which those pairs are expanded a bit either by insert expansions initiating repair such as (line 35), or post-expansions producing understanding checks (lines 39 and 52). What we see then is an interaction that seems to flow in 'stacatto' as adjacency pairs are followed by silences in which the officer works with the computer and even the transition from one phase to another is simply done with longer periods of typing in silence (line 29).

Example of Phase 4 - Abuser's Details

#9 – WPS 10

```
030   Po2:      O nome de:le.
                The name of he
                His na:me.

031   Wom:      Hamilton Santos.
                (man's name + surname)
                Hamilton Santos.

032             18 sec + keyboard

033   Po2:      °Tem apelido (ele)°.
                 Have(1st ps/3rd ps) nickname   he
                °Does (he) have a nickname.°

034             (.)

035   Wom:      Oi?
                Hi
                Huh?

036   Po2:      Tem apeli:do.
                Have(1st ps/3rd ps) nickname
                Nickna:me.

037   Wom:      Casa:dhoh.
                Married
                Ma:rrihedh.

038             (0.5)

039   Po2:      Casado?
                Married
                Married?

040   Wom:      É:.=Chamam ele de casado.
                Is. Call (3rd ppl) he of married.
                Ye:ah.=People call him married.

041              (3.2 +keyboard)

042   Po2:      Ele é >solteiro, casado, viúvo ou separado<.
```

```
                    He   is  single       married    widowed  or  separated.
                    Is he >single, married, widowed or separated<.

043   Wom:   Solteiro huhuh
             Single
             Single huhuh

044          (0.8)

045   Po2:   Quantos anos ele tem.
             How many years he    has
             How old is he.

046          (0.4)

047   Wom:   Te::m: (.) tri:nta. >>°É de setenta e três°<<
               Has       thirty           Is of seventy   and three
             He::'s: (.) thi:rty. >>°He's of seventy three°<<

048          tri:nta.
             thirty
             thi:rty.

049   Po2:   Sabe a data de nascimento de:le.
             Know (1ˢᵗ ps) the date of birth      of+his.
             Do you know his date of bi:rth.

050   Wom:   Doze do seis,
             Twelve of six
             The twelfth of June,

051          (2.0) keyboard

052   Po2:   Do:ze:,
             Twelve
             The twe:lfth,

053   Wom:   Do se[::is,]
             Of six
             Of Ju[::ne,]

054   Po2:        [Do=se:]is.
                   Of six
                  [Of=Ju:]ne,

055          (0.8) + ((intervening talk by another officer))

056   Wom:   De setenta e trê:s.
             Of seventy and  three
             Of seventy three:.

057          (3.2 + key +door noise)

058   Po2:   A profissão d↑ele¿
             The profession of+his
             His prof↑ession¿

059   Wom:   Vigila:nte.
             Watchman/guard
             Security gua:rd.

060          (3.0 + key)

061   Po2:   Estudou até que sé:rie.
             Studied (1ˢᵗ-3ʳᵈ ps) until what grade.
             Up to what grade did he stu:dy.

062          (0.4)
```

```
063   Wom:    Até a sé:tima.
              Until the seventh.
              Up to seventh gra:de.

064           (2.4 +key)

065   Po2:    Ele é daqui de Alago:as.
              He  is of+here of  State name
              Is he from Alago:as.

066   Wom:    É. Alagoa:no.
              Is. (born in the State referred)
              Yeah. Alagoano.

067           (4.8)

068   Po2:    Endereço de:le¿
              Address    of+his
              His addre:ss¿

069   Wom:    Rua do Santo,
              (Street name)
              Santo Street,

070           (2.0)

071   Wom:    Número noventa e o::ito, Enge:nho.
              Number  ninety  and eight  (Neighbourhood name)
              Number ninety-e::ight, Enge:nho.

072           (21 sec. + key)
```

5.2.5 Incident Details + Story/Story Checks

After getting the personal details of victims and abusers and saving such information in their system, the officers close the 'details' window and open the 'Story' window, to which they import the saved details in order to register a complaint. This 'page' contains boxes to be filled out with specific options (such as the category of the crime, the 'nature' of the crime), box to be ticked (such as substance use: alcohol and/or drugs, and the 'instrument' used in the crime: knife, belt, clenched fist, gun etc.) and a bigger boxes in which the officer types the 'story'. When officers use the form-filling strategy, they move from personal details into the 'story' form and start filling out the form with details about an undetermined 'it', such as when 'it' happened, or they may ask what happened before they start filling in the form. When officers use the story strategy they do not start typing the report immediately, but rather listen to the story until they get a 'policeable' case and then shift to the 'personal details' and only after filling those forms do they open the story form and get the story details right. One important difference, then, is that in the case of 'story strategy' interactions officers' have already established the case as policeable by this point, and as a result they ask more precise questions such as 'when did he last beat you' or 'was it yesterday that he last threatened you'.

In order to illustrate phase 5, I will first continue showing WPS 10, to illustrate how the 'form-filling strategy' works in terms of getting the details of a crime which has not been established and then how a description of the 'story' itself unfolds. After that, I will show this phase when the 'story strategy' is used in the report-making. To illustrate this, part of WPS 19 (which was used to illustrate the 'story strategy') will be presented in order to show how the story details are taken after the case has already been established. The two examples will show, then, some differences between phase 5 according to the strategy adopted by officers in the report making (e.g. the way in which the abuse is referred to), but also the similarities between them as the kind of information which needs to be established in this phase (in which the form to be filled is the form about the story of the abuse) remains pretty much the same.

Example of Phase 5 - Incident Details + Story

10 - WPS 10

```
073   Po2:     E=o=ocorrido-=f:oi qua:ndo i:sso.
               And the occurrence was when this/it.
               And=the=occurre:nce-=wh:en wa:s i:t.

074   Wom:     O:ntem.
               Ye:sterday.

075            (2.8 + keyboard)

076   Po2:     Que ho:ras.
               What ti:me.

077            (0.5)

078   Wom:     Ach:o que era 23 horas. Mais ou menos.
               And the occurrence was when this/it.
               I th:ink it was 11 PM. More or less.

079            (17 sec. + keyboard)

080   Po2:     Foi com o que: que ele fez isso?
               Was with     wha:t that he    did it/this?
               Was with wha:t that he did it?

081            (0.4)

082   Wom:     Oi?
               Hey?
               Huh?

083            (0.2)

084   Po2:     Foi com um mu:rro¿=f:oi.
               Was with a pu:nch¿ =was.
               It was with a pu:nch¿=w:asit.

085   Wom:     E:le deu um murro=agora essa parte das minhas
               He    gave a punch =now   this     part of+the my
               He: punched me=but this part of my
```

```
086              costas eu não cheguei a vê:.
                 Back   I  no   got      to see.
                 back I didn't get to see.

087              (4 sec)

088    Po2:      Foi ao:nde¿=Na sua ca:sa.
                 Was where¿=In+the  your ho:use.
                 Where wa:s it¿=In your ho:use.

089    Wom:      N:ão. F::oi próximo a residência dos pais dele.
                 N:o.  Was  near  the  residence  of+the parents of+his.
                 N:o. It w::as near his parents' residence.

090              (23 sec. + key)

091    Po2:      Qual ba:irro.
                 What neighbourhood.

092    Wom:      Enge:nho.
                 (Neighbourhood)

093              (3.8 + key)

094    Po2:      Tava be:bado.
                 Was drunk(M).
                 Was he dru:nk.

095    Wom:      N:ão.
                 N:o.

096              (17.7 - keyboard)

097    Po2:      O nome de:le=>memo<¿
                 The name of+his=>same<¿
                 His na:me=>again<¿

098    Wom:      Hami:lton, Sa:ntos.

099              (0.2)

100    Po2:      Hami:lton?

101    Wom:      É:. Hami:lton.
                 Ye:h. Hami:lton.

102              (26.8 sec. + keyboard)

103    Po2:      Co- como fo:i.
                 Ho- how was.
                 Ho- how was i:t.

104              (0.8)

105    Wom:      O:i?
                 Hu:h?

106              (0.8 + keyboard)

107    Po2:      Co:nta como fo:i.
                 Tell   how    wa:s
                 Tell me how it wa:s

108              (1.2)

109    Wom:      Como fo:i?
                 How was?
                 How it wa:s?

110    Po2:      Como foi que acontece:u.
                 How was that happen.
```

```
                   How did it ha:ppen.
111                (0.8)
112    Wom:        Eu qua:se- (.) num sei nem explicá:
                   I almost        no know nor  to explain
                   I a:lmost- (.) don't even know how to expla:in

113                porquê: (0.2) nós não briga:mos¿ Eu fui lá
                   because       we no    fought¿      I went there
                   beca:use (0.2) we didn't fi:ght¿ I went there

114                na casa=que ele ligou pra mi:m. >Que nós
                   in+the house=cuz he called to   me.   >Cuz we
                   to the house=cuz he called me:. >Cuz we

115                estamos< separa:dos. .hh Aí ele ligou
                   are<      separated.     .hh   Then he called
                   are< se:parated. .hh Then he called

116                pra mim=pedindo pra mim descer que ele
                   to  me=asking      to   me  to go down cuz he
                   me=asking me to go down cuz he

117                i:- iria dá dinheiro pra comprar assim
                   w:- would give money      to   buy      like
                   w:- would give me money to buy like

118                (o:s) dos meni:nos. Aí eu fu:i. .h Só que
                   (the:) of+the boys.      Then I went.    .h Only that
                   (the:) for the bo:ys. Then I we:nt. .h But

119                ele- só que ele queria que eu durmi:sse
                   he-  only that he wanted   that  I  sleep(subj)
                   he- but he wanted me to sleep

120                com ele lá:=>por isso< eu falei que nã:o¿.
                   with him there for this   I    said   that no¿
                   with him the:re=>that's why< I said no:¿

121                Que não ia durmir ia pra ca:sa, (.) .hh aí
                   That no went to sleep went to   home (.)     then
                   That I wasn't going to sleep was going home (.) then

122                ele fez: "é, (.) já que você não qué então
                   he  did  "        since that you  no   want then
                   he did "uh (.) since you don't want then

123                vamos- vou levar você até o po:nto_" (.)
                   will go(we) will take(I)   you   until  the point
                   let's go- I'll go take you to the sto:p_" (.)

124                Aí eu fui com e:le¿
                   Then I  went with him
                   Then I went with hi:m¿

125                (0.4)

126    Wom:        Próximo a uma padari:a (0.2) .hh >quando
                   Close    to a bakery              >when
                   Close to a ba:kery (0.2) .hh >when

127                menos espero ele foi me agredindo.<
                   least  expect(I) he  went me beating
                   I least expected he started beating me.<

128                (4.5)

129    Wom:        E ele tá ligando pra mi:m, >desde ontem que
```

           And he is   calling   to me,   since yesterday that
           And he's calling me:, >since yesterday that

130   eu não vou em ca:sa.< Porrque: .hh ele me
           I   no   go in   home   Because   he me
           I haven't been ho:me.< Becau:se .hh he

131   liga- (.) tá me ameaça:ndo.

           calls-   is me threa:tening
           calls- (.) is threa:tening me.

132   (41 sec. + keyboard)

133   Po2:   Cê foi buscá dinheiro pra que:¿
           Y'went to get money for what
           You went there to get money for wha:t¿

134   (0.5)

135   Wom: Pra- pra í comprá o leite dos meni:nos.
           To   to go   buy   the milk of+the boys.
           To- to go buy milk for the bo:ys.

136   (1m21.3 - keyboard)

-- *1 minute and 43 seconds (45 lines) omitted: an officer comes into the room first to take a chair to another room, and later to enjoy the air conditioning. She makes some comments about the reporting process while Po2 talks to her and continues typing the 'story' into the computer. --*

172   Po2:   No caminho ele já começou a batê em você=fo:i.
           On+the way   he already started to beat   in   you   was
           On the way he started to beat you=ri:ght.

173   Wom: Fo:i.
           Was.
           Ye:s.

174   (31sec + keyboard + door opens and closes twice)

175   Po2:   Foi só no ro:sto.
           Was only on+the face.
           Was it only on the fa:ce.

176   Wom: No ro:sto, (0.2) nas   co:stas, (1.0) (<então>)
           On+the face,   On+the back,   (>so<)
           On the fa:ce, (0.2) On the ba:ck, (1.0) (>so<)

177   no nari:z,
           on the nose,
           on the no:se,

(3 minutes and 59 seconds go by as the Po2 types the report into the computer. There are some intervening talks between officers which are not shown here (the biggest chunk takes 44 seconds): some officers come in and out of the room to get things from the office and Po4 asks if it is goining to take long for the end of the report, to which Po2 responds he was 'registering' a BO. He keeps on working on the report and the officers leave the room and he gets the paper in position to print the report and 20 seconds later the printing noise starts (so the whole time in which the officer works without talking to the complainant and before starting to print the report makes 4 minutes and 19 seconds)

Unlike the first phases from this interaction, shown here to illustrate the form-filling strategy , the fifth phase – incident details – starts in 'staccato' as well (e.g. when defining 'when', lines 073-074, 'what time' 076-078), but the story is developed in an expanded sequence. The story is prompted by the 'how' question (line 103), itself repaired a few times before a successful version of it (line 110) and then a telling starts (line 112 – 131), which is followed by a few understanding checks (lines 133, 172, 175). Even so, the fragments of WPS 10, shown above produce a clear and short example of the 'form-filling' strategy. The fragments also show how an interaction may run with virtually no hiccups and be easily controlled by the officer in charge in his pursuit of the relevant information for the police report in a reporting conduct that uses predominantly the question-answer format.

In contrast, the example that illustrated phase 2, and by consequence the 'story' strategy (WPS 19) shows an interaction that does not run in the same 'clear' fashion. This feature is not connected to the 'story' strategy, but has to do with the specific case in question and helps to illustrate not only different strategies used in the reporting but also other matters that might come into play, such as a complainant's challenge to an officer's attempt to control what is said, shown in phase 2, of WPS 19. To illustrate phase 5 in cases in which the report-making strategy is the 'story strategy' WPS 19 is going to be used as an example again. Similarly to the 'story' phase, in the 'incident details' the complainant elaborates matters further than requested by Po1, showing a mismatch between the complainant and the officer's perspectives regarding the questions asked (see Drew, 2006 and Chapter 6 for further discussions on those cases of misalignments). So, despite the fact that the officer's questioning line is mostly composed of specific information requests such as 'when' (lines 01 and 04, line 01 being a first FPP about the threat took place and line 04 a pursuit after a 'simple' answer is not provided), 'what time' (line 12), 'where' (line 19) etc., the complainant keeps volunteering further information – not necessarily connected with the officer's request for information, but something connected to the story in a general sense – in an attempt to attest for the gravity of her case as documented by the literature on doctor-patient interactions in after-hours calls (Drew, 2006). So the request for information regarding 'where' the abuse had happened gets as a response 'in my mother's store' (line 21) followed by details about her being threatened indirectly

via her family as she had left her house and was hiding, which leads then to some talk about the things she had left behind, until the point 'where' is pursued by Po1 as an address request (lines 39-40). This 'where' sequence is just finalized at line 60, after Po1 types the information about the place, the address and some references on how to get to the store. Even though the complainant provides more information than requested, very little 'extra' information is pursued by the officer, so it is easy to see how the officer pursues a specific agenda and what the requirements are for this specific 'phase' and for the making of the report. The 'necessary' information can be seen to be quite similar to the ones pursued in phase 5 when the 'form-filling' strategy is used as shown in WPS 10. The main difference in terms of how this phase takes place has to do with the name of the incident, when the crime has already been established in phase 2.

11 - WPS 19

```
001   Po1:    É:-=Foi quando=o- que ele te ameaçîo:↓u¿
              Is/Uh Was when the-/occ- that he prt-you threatened
              U:h-=When was=the- that he threatened yîo:↓u¿

002           (.)

003   Wom:    Teve lá na- Ele ameaça dire:to¿=Porque=eu=
              Was(2ps) there in+the- He threatens non-stop¿Because I
              He was there on- He a:lways threatens¿=Because=I=

004   Po1:    Na última ve:z >que=ele te=ameaço:u.<
              On+the last time that he prt-you threatened
              The last ti:me >that=he threatened=yo:u.<

005   Wom:    O:ntem. >Meu=irmão.<
              Ye:sterday. My=brother.
              Ye:sterday. >My=brother.<

006           (0.2 + key)

007   Wom:    Disse que se=eu desse parte de:le, (.) ia
              Said(2ps) that if=I gave part [= reported] of+he    would
              He said that if=I reported hi:m, (.) he would

008           pegá a família de um por u:m.
              take/get the family of one by one.
              take the family one by o:ne.

009           (2.0 + key)

010   Wom:    Se eu desse parte dele queimava minhas
              If I reported  of+he burned  my(pl)
              If I reported him he would burn my

011           co:isas¿
              things
              thi:ngs¿

012   Po1:    Que ho:ras.
              What hours.
```

```
                        What ti:me.
013                     (.)
014     Wom:            Que horas ele teve na lo:ja=umas: (.)
                        What hours he was in+the store=ones
                        What time he was at the sto:re=aro:und (.)
015                     seis e me:ia.
                        six and half
                        six thi:ty.
016                     (.)
017     Wom:            Da no:ite.
                        Of+the night.
                        At ni:ght.
018                     (22 sec + key)
019     Pol:            Onde é que foi o local que ele te ameaç↑ô↓:.
                        Where is that was the place that he you threatened
                        Where was the place in which he threatened y↑ou↓:.
020                     (.)
021     Wom:            .tlc Na loja da minha mã:e.
                            In the store of+the my  mother
                        .tlc In my mother's sto:re.
022                     (0.5)
```

-- 32 lines omitted --

```
055     Pol:            Ponto de referê:ncia¿=De lá:.
                        Point   of  reference        Of there
                        Refere:nce¿=From the:re.
056     Wom:            Da casa de:le,
                        of+the house of+his
                        Of his ho:use,
057     Pol:            Do- do- (.) da lo:ja.
                        Of the(M)- of the(M)- of the(F) sto:re.
                        Of the- of the- (.) of the sto:re.
058     Wom:            Fica: pro:- fica em frente ao mercadinho
                        Stays   nea-  stays in front of+the market(dim)
                        It's nea:- it's in front of the market
059                     preço bo:m¿=S:upermerca:do preço bo:m.
                        (name of the place)= Supermarket (name of the place)
                        preço bo:m¿=S:uperma:rket preço bo:m.
060                     (1 minute and 15 seconds)
```

After the 'where' sequence is over, the following sequence starts with a more open request about 'how' the reported incident happened (lines 61-62), constrained only about the date, focusing the question to the 17th, 'yesterday'. Again, Alicia's response is not straight-forward, but presents some 'background' information to answer 'how' things happened and Pol's interjections are limited to few understanding checks and pursuits of the answer to the question, together with a lot of typing. Although Alicia's response is initiated by the presentation of what

had happened on the day before (line 64), this presentation is deferred as she develops some background information about what had happened before that (including having called her neighbour, line 65).

 # 12 - WPS 19

```
061   Pol:   Si:m, aí como fo:i.=O fato do dia
             Yes,  then how  was   The fact of+the day
             Ri:ght, then how wa:s it.=The fact of the

062          dezesse:te.=De o:ntem.
             seventeen     Of  yesterday
             seventee:nth.=Of yesterda:y.

063          (0.2)

064   Wom:   De onte:m ele teve na lo:ja, >porrque
             of+yesterday he  was  in+the store  because
             Of yesterda:y he was in the sto:re, >because

065          assi:m<, (.) eu liguei lá pra minha
             like        I  called   there to my
             li:ke<, (.) I called my
```

Alicia continues her telling and reports an interaction between her alleged abuser and her brother, on the day before, but she restricts her telling to her abuser's beating her brother and does not report the threat which, for the police officer, marked her case as 'policeable'. Po1, then pursues what the alleged abuser had done in her mother's house (lines 89-90) as the 'how' question was still unanswered. Alicia corrects it as her mother's store (line 91) and the correction is accepted by Po1 (line 92), leaving Alicia to answer the question.

 # 13 - WPS 19

```
088   Pol:   Sim aí chegô na casa da tua mã:e=e ele
             Yes then arrived in+the house of+the your mother and he
             Right then he arrived at your mother's house=and

089          fez o quê:.=
             did what
             what did he do:.=

090   Wom:   =Na lo:ja.
             In+the store
             =In the sto:re.

091   Pol:   Na loja.
             In+the store
             In the sto:re.

092   Wom:   Aí ele pegou e falou que meu irmão tinha
             Then he got/took and said  that  my  brother  had
             Then he started and said that my brother was

093          a lingua muito so:lta¿
             the tongue too   loose
             much of a blabbermo:uth¿
```

Alicia proceeds her telling about the interaction between her alleged abuser and her brother and only on line 109 Pol produces an understanding check, checking if the reported talk of the abuser was said to Alicia's brother, which Alicia confirms and goes on to finish reporting the threat on line 114. Twelve seconds of typing follow until Alicia starts talking again, about wanting to report the abuser on the very day of the threat and about lots of people witnessing the threat. During this time, Pol remains typing and on line 127 she asks permission to interrupt what was in fact a monologue ('Lice:nça / Excuse-me'), but could be seen as Alicia's interaction with me, and produces an understanding check enquiring what exactly was said to Alicia's brother (127-128, 130), checking the actual threat Alicia had suffered. Alicia starts reporting the threat with an 'if clause', which she repairs to present some other information, so on line 133 Pol produces a slightly modified version of this if clause pursuing the 'then' which Alicia produces on line 134. Pol, then, re-starts typing and Alicia soon starts talking is again extending her previous presentation of the threat. Again, Alicia's extensive talk can also be understood in terms of my presence in the reporting room, as although Pol's actions seemed to discourage her from talk and to show her focus to the typing rather than to what Alicia said, it was still possible to Alicia to tell her story to me, while I looked attentively and nodded, whereas Pol was still in the room and listening.

 # 14 - WPS 19

125	deu vontade de vi:m.=Porrque o carro
	gave volition of come Because the car
	it made me want to co:me.=Because the car
126	quebrô:=
	broke
	bro:ke=
127 Pol:	=Lice:nça, aí ele:- quando ele:- mandô o
	Excuse then he when he ordered the
	=Excu:se me, the he:- when he:- told
128	teu- ele mandou o teu irrm- (0.2) [teu irrmão]=
	your he ordered the your bro- your brother
	your- he told your bro- (0.2) [your brother]=
129 Wom:	[Meu irrmã:-]
	my brothe-
	[My bro:the-]
130 Pol:	=ti dizê::,
	you tell
	=to tell yo::u,
131 Wom:	Que se eu num apare- ia dá o prazo até
	That if I no appear- would give the deadline until

```
              That if I didn't appea- he'd set a deadline until

132           s[e:xta-fe:ira    ]
              Friday
              F[ri:day           ]

133    Pol:   [se você não vol]ta:sse,
               if   you   no      returned(subj)
              [if you didn't co]me ba:ck,

134    Wom:   Ia tocá fogo nas minhas co:isa:,
              Would run fire in+the my   thing
              He'd put my stuff on fi:re,

135           (.) + Key

136    Wom:   E se eu tocasse fogo- e se:- >ia tocá
              And if I  ran(subs) fire   and if  would run
              And if I put fire- and i:f- >he'd put

137           fogo nas minhas coisa< e se eu não
              fire in+the my    stuff  and is I no
              my stuff on fire< and if I don't

138           aparice: pra pegá a bo- a b- essa palavra
              appear    to  get/pick up the sh- the s- this word
              show u:p to pick up my fu-  my f- this word

139           a bosta da minha chave:, .hh quando é-
              the shit of+the my  key        when huh
              my fucking ke:y, .hh when huh

140           quando me vi:sse ia me dá uma su:rra=e
              when   me  saw(subj) would me give a trashing/beating and
              when he sa:w me he'd be:at me=and

141           se eu desse parte dele,=ia pegá a minha
              if   I gave (subj) part of+he   would take  the my
              if I reported him,=he'd take my

142           família de um por um.
              famly      of one  by one
              family one by one.

143           (0.8 +key)

144    Wom:   Dig- disgraçasse a vida dele mas ele
              Disg- disgraced(subj) the life of+his but he
              He'd dis- he'd disgrace his life but he'd

145           também acabava (cum minha/comigo).
              also      finished  with mine /with me
              also finish (with mine/with me).
```

WPS 19 is considerably longer and 'messier' than WPS 10, but it is quite useful in terms of showing some issues involved in the 'story strategy' and some of the problems officers (and complainants) may face and/or try to avoid in the reporting. One factor that may contribute to this messier aspect of this interaction has to do not only with establishing a 'policeable' case – which takes quite a while – but is also connected to how even the supposedly simpler check of the incident details, is used again by Alicia as a way to get back to her story, even though Po1 just types

most of the time. This, however, was probably influenced by the fact that I was in the room and, often engaged in silent recipiency interactions with the complainants when they failed to get an officer's attention. The analysis of my influence in extending complainants' talk cannot, however, be carried out due to the absence of video for my interactions. In any case, the examples shown above are useful in providing an idea of what is pursued in the two different strategies of report making and how they work.

5.2.6 Presentation of Future Actions + Printing

Towards the end of the police interactions officers often talk briefly about future actions, such as the date the complainant and her alleged abuser should present themselves to the WPS for a meeting with the chief commissioner, and/or talk about referring the complainants to the 'IML' (Instituto Médico Legal – Legal Medical Institute) in case of sustained injuries. In most cases, this phase usually comes after a prolonged gap in which the officer types information into the system and then prepares for the printer to be used, but sometimes this talk can occur while the report is being printed, or just after the report has been successfully printed.

Although it does not display the most frequent way of getting the 'future meeting' scheduled (since officers frequently leave the room in order to check the schedule for meetings with the chief commissioner), the example below is interesting because rather than showing a lapse in the interaction during which an officer leaves the room and then returns to announce the date of the meeting, it shows Po6 opening the door and shouting to his colleagues a question about the next available opening. The fragment below (extracted from WPS 27) starts with a few confirmation checks about Po6's understanding about the complainant's case, which are confirmed by her (lines 01-04 and 06-07), as he is in the process of finishing typing the report. Po6 types for about a minute and then he leaves his seat, opens the room door and shouts a question about the 'next opening' to officers outside the room (line 10). After receiving a response he walks back to his seat and then announces the day of the meeting (line 15), although it is just referred to as 'it'. Then, he seems to murmur something like 'finishing' and continues finishing the report. At lines 19-20 Po8, who had just come into the room, asks if 'it' will be

during the morning or afternoon. It is not clear (as we do not have a video recording of the interaction) who the officer addresses in this request for information which is followed by a gap as the complainant does not seem to be aware that she can make a decision on the matter. Meanwhile, Po7 seems to wait for her reply until, at line 22, he makes it clear that the complainant should answer it. The woman declines to pick a period, so at line 31 Po8 anounces it is scheduled for the morning. After getting the period right, Po7 reads what he types about 'this return [meeting]' and types for around 2 minutes before the printer starts. After the printing is over, he stands up, takes the report from the printer and then moves to terminate the interaction by indicating that the woman 'can come', meaning that she can leave the room.

15 - WPS 27

```
01   Po7:    O negócio todo é que você qué pegá a
             The thing  whole  is  that  you  want  to get  the
             The whole thing is that you want to get

02           sua ropa e ele num tá dexando você
             your clothes and he  no  is  letting      you
             your clothes and he is not letting you

03           pegá a sua rô:pa
             get  the  your clo:thes.
             get your clo:thes.

04   Wom:    É:. Pegá as minhas coisa.
             Is.  To get the  my     stuff.
             Yes. To get my stuff.

05           (29sec)

06   Po7:    Num tá machucada nem na:da n[é:.]
             No  is  hurt           nor  nothing  no+is.
             You are not hurt nor  anythi:ng r[i:ght.]

07   Wom:                                [(Si:m.)]
                                          Yes.
                                         [Ri:ght.]

08           59 sec

09   ((Po7 goes to the door, opens it and says))

10   Po7:    PRA QUANDO É QUE TEM VAGA AÍ:.
             For when  is that  has place/opening the:re.
                When is the next opening the:re.

11   Po6:    Di:a qui:nze.
             Day fifteen.
             The fiftee:nth.

12   Po7:    °Dia quinze.°
             Day fifteen.
             °The fifteenth.°

13   ((closes the door))
```

```
14      (3.0 + Po7 walks to his place)
```

15   Po7:   °Então di-° >vai ficá pro dia qui:nze.
              Then da-   will   stay for+the day fifteen.
              °So the-°   >it will be on the fiftee:nth.

```
16              (10 secs)
```

17   Po7:   (°Cabando°)
              [F]inishing
              (°Finishing°)

```
18         5 sec + door opening
```

19   Po8:   É:: lice:nca.=O descu:lpe. Vai marcá pela
              U:h excu:se.=Oh so:rry.   Will(3ps) schedule for+the
              U:h excu:se me.=oh so:rry. You will schedule it for

20   manhã ou à ta:rde.
              morning or at+the afternoo:n.
              the morning or the afternoo:n.

```
21              (1.0)
```

22   Po7:   Diga aí:.
              Say there.
              You tell u:s.

```
23              (0.8)
```

24   Wom: Qualquer horá:rio.
              Any   t:me/timetable.
              Any t:me.

```
25              (0.8)
```

26   Po7:   [Só- é melhor (   ) pra você]
              Just- is best (   ) for   you
              [Just- what's best (   ) for you]

27   Po8:   [A senhora prefere a manhã o]u a ta:rde.
              [The ma'am   prefers   the   morning o]r the afternoo:n.
              [You ma'am prefer the morning o]r the afternoo:n.

```
28              (1.2)
```

29   Wom: Qualquer ho:ra.
              Any   t:me.
              Any t:me.

```
30              (11 sec)
```

31   Po8:   Ficô de manhã: tá:.
              Stayed in+the morning is.
              It's the morning the:n oka:y.

```
32              (0.5)
```

33   Po7:   Má num tem nada aí.
              But no   has nothing there.
              But there's nothing there.

```
34              (0.2)
```

35   Po8:   Eu butei de manhã:. Dia qui:nze.
              I put   in+the mo:rning. Day fifteen.
              I put it in the mo:rning. The fiftee:nth.

36   Po7:   Tá bom.
              Is good.

```
            That's good.
37  ((10sec Po7 starts typing and Po8 leaves the room))
37  Po7:    Essa volta (assim)   ((as he typesPP))
            This return (like)
            This return (like)

38          (2 min 18 sec silence and typing)

39              ((printer for 1 min 40 sec)

40          ((30 sec Po7 taking the report out of the printer))
--- transition to CLOSING ---
41  Po7:    °Pode vi:m.°
            °Can(3ps) come.°
            °You can co:me.°   ((referring to leaving the room))
```

The presentation of future actions, as we see, can be hardly characterised as 'provision of information' in the WPS in Maceió, in contrast to the phases referred by Ostermann (2003) in her study about a WPS in the Brazilian southeast. This action seems to be approached by officers to be another task they have to undertake in completing the report, rather than as something done to a complainant to whom they have to present (often for the first time) procedures with which they are not familiar with.

The problem regarding provision of information is not only restricted, as I go on to show, to information volunteered by officers, but is also a problem faced by some complainants who do not have their requests for information (often about what happens next) answered by officers who are producing their reports. The fragment shown below takes place towards the end of the interaction (WPS 22) and is one such example of a FPP produced by a complainant (Carmen) that does not get a SPP. Carmen had reported an incident of battery which had taken place the day before her reporting and had presented it as being a problem that had accompanied her during her entire 10-year relationship with her abuser. Towards the end of their interaction Po4 goes on to present the information about future actions: the meeting with the chief commissioner, which is simply mentioned with reference to establishing a return date, and her referral to medical exams at the 'IML'. Another officer comes into the room then and Po4 starts talking to him. At line 14 Carmen produces a FPP stating her desire to know what is going to happen to her abuser (simply referred as 'ele/him', see Chapter 6 for an analysis on references to the abuser). This request for information is followed by 10 seconds of typing and about a minute and a half of further talk between the officers and the question is never

answered. On the contrary, the officers leave the room and without an answer Carmen voices (on line 17) her fear of her partner's doing something to her. This is only receipted by me, the researcher, just before Po4 returns to the room and announces immediately the day for the meeting with the chief commissioner.

 # 16 - WPS 22

```
01   Po4:    D'xo vê aqui o di:a >que você< vai vi::m¿
             Let(1ps) see here the day   that you   will  come¿
             Let me see here the da:y >that you're< going to co::me¿

02           (1.2)

03   Po4:    Po'que você vai ser encaminhada no IML né:.
             Because you   will  be   referred        in+the IML no+is.
             Because you're going to be referred to the IML ri:ght.

04   Car:    Hoje?
             Today?
             Today?

05           (1.2)

06   Po4:    Quando você sair daqui você vai para o IML.
             When    you   leave here   you   will +go to the IML.
             When you leave here you go to the IML.

07           (3.2)

08   Pox:    °Ah: puxa vida° isso isso vai dar uma ( )
              Oh (interjection + life) this this  will  give  a
             °Oh:  buggered° this will be (    )

09           (0.6) + ((door noise))

10   Po4:    É daquele é. ((to the Pox))
             Is of+that is?
             Is of that guy is it.

11   Pox:    Mm?
             Mm?

12   Po4:    É daquele cara que::
             Is of+that  guy that
             Is that guy tha:: t

13   Pox:    E:ss:e aí mes[mo  e:ss:]
             This     there really  this.
             Thi:s: one ind[eed thi:s:]

14   Car:                  [Quero saber] o que vai
                            Want(1ps) to know what will
                            [I want to know] what's gonna

15           acontecer com ele¿
             happen   with  him
             happen to him¿

16           (10.0 keyboard)
```

-- over 1m 25s of conversation between Pox and Po4 + a phone conversation between the Pox and another officer, leaving Carmen with no reply to her question about what was going to happen to

her abuser. After the parallel conversation all the agents leave the room and Carmen starts talking to the researcher --

```
17  Car:   Só tenho medo dele (.) dele fazer alguma
           Only have  fear of+he    of+he make/do some
           I'm just afraid that he (.) that he'll do

18         coisa.
           thing.
           something.

19   ((door noise: Po4 returning to the room))

20 Po4:   A audiencia vai ficar marcada para o dia quinze.
          The audience   will  to be  marked  to  the day fifteen
          The hearing will be scheduled for the fifteenth.

21         (.)

22         de Janeiro (.) as nove horas da manha.
           of January        at  nine  hours  of morning
           of January (.) at nine in the morning.
```

While the talk about the scheduled date for the meeting with the chief commissioner invokes a future interaction with the police which is one of the outcomes of the reporting, the printing of the report signals the termination of the report-making, as its final product is being issued. Printing the report (as shown on extract 15), like writing prescriptions in medical interactons, then, 'can constitute closing-relevant environments' (Robinson, 2001, p. 642, referring also to Heath, 1986 and Robinson, 1999). This orientation to the termination of the interaction will be shown by another case (WPS 15), which is analysed under next section,'closing', in order to present the participants' orientation to this presentation of future actions and printing of the report as an indication of an imminent end to their interaction.

5.2.7 Closing

The closing phase is usually very short and commonly involves officers directing the complainants out of the room, and leaving the reporting room with the complainants. The manner in which this is done varies, but officers may do as little as take the report out of the printer and then make their way out of the room and indicate (verbally or not) that the complainant should do the same. Once they have left the reporting room complainants usually still have some things to do: they frequently have to wait for the chief commissioner to sign the report and they may also get referrals for other institutions such as legal aid and/or the legal medical institute.

In terms of their position in relation to other phases closings usually happen just after the mention of a future date (in which a meeting with the chief commissioner and the alleged abuser is scheduled, although this is usually solely referred to as a hidden subject 'it'), and the printing of the report. Those two things act in a similar way that writing prescriptions in doctor-patient interactions in signalling "completion of treatment-related' topics and actions' (Robinson, 2001, p. 642). Also like doctor-patient interactions, these interactions have to deal with the end of talk but also of co-presence and lots of cues about the closing are displayed non-verbally (and have therefore not been captured on my audio recordings). The example below, WPS 15, shows the complainant's orientation to the closing of the interaction before the officer pronounces that it [the report] is 'ready' and starts leaving the room. It shows how the complainant and I were already moving towards closing our interaction, while the officer was printing out the final report.

The case below (WPS 15) involved a couple who had a meeting with the chief commissioner scheduled for the day before this complaint was registered. The couple had been to the WPS on the day before but the man claimed to have had a health problem while waiting to see the chief commissioner and was taken to a hospital. He had returned home shortly afterwards and battered his partner again. So, on the following day, the complainant (Maristela) went back to the WPS to report this incident and was taken to the report room to make a new police report about this latest instance of battery (WPS 15), while officers were sent after the abuser to bring him to the station for the meeting with the chief commissioner (to take place after the report was completed). In this case, there was no need to get a day for a future meeting (which is why it is not in the interaction as shown below), but the printing of the report can be seen to be understood by the complainant as signalling the termination of her report-making. Prior to what is shown in the fragment below, the officer had been through all the mandatory steps in the report and, similarly to WPS 19, Maristela talked for a while and did not get any response by Po1 and, again, during this time I was looking at her, nodding and engaging in some silent recipiency while Po1 kept typing the report. So after prolonged keyboard activity the printer starts and Po1 confirms the abuser's name (line 02). After that, and while the report was being printed out, Maristela talks to me and in our talk we move towards closing our interaction as in our talk we invoke her

future meeting with the chief commissioner. On line 08, Maristela produces a negative interrogative, checking that her abuser had not arrived yet to the WPS (from the reporting room we had not heard any arrival of officers with the man). This comment of hers is related to her subsequent meeting with the chief commissioner (to which her abuser was going to be brought for) and that was expected to happen very soon and was, understandably, a matter of concern to her. After that, I make an idiomatic (and quite optimistic) assessment of it, projecting a successful outcome 'Everything's going to be alright' (line 12) to which she adds 'God willing' and a few more lines about having faith in God (lines 14, 16). Those idiomatic assessments – which have been shown to be, in English, closing implicative (Drew & Holt, 1998) – contribute to the idea that in our interaction parallel to the printing and finishing of the report, Maristela and I orient our talk to what comes next for her and to that being the termination of the reporting action. So, although there is not a verbal pre-closing interaction with the police officer, the printing of the report signals a transition to the termination of the interaction and the complainant and I have our ple-closing sequence. After Pox indicates that the report is ready (line 21), Po1 says it as well, line 22, as her indication of termination to the complainant with whom she was dealing. Maristela stands up, then, and makes her way out of the room and – although this is all there is in terms of recordings as her official closing with the police – she and I also have our closing before she leaves as she thanks me (line 24) and I respond to it (line 25).

#17 - WPS 15

```
01              (20 sec printer noise)

02   Po1:       O nome dele é Telmo Moreira Azere:do.=Num é=i:sso:,*
                The name of+his is (Name).     =No is yhis/it,
                His name is (Name).=Isn't it=so:,

03   Wom:       É:.*
                Is.
                Ye:s.

04              (1 min 27 sec printer noise)

05              (56 sec: silence + keyboard)

06              (21 sec: taking the report out and preparing the printer)

07              (1 min 36 printer + 3 officers talk about other case)

08   Wom:       Num (veio nem cá:/veio nem=um ca:rro)=né. *
                No (came not even here/ came not even one car) no+is
                There hasn't (come anyone he:re/come any=ca:r)=ri:ght.

09              (0.2)*
```

```
10  Est:    (          )

11  Wom:    U:h?*

12  Est:    °°Vai dá tudo ce:rto.°°
            °°Will  give  all   right.°°
            °°Everything's going to be alright.°°

13          (0.2)

14  Wom:    Se Deus quisé:¿=(          ) fé em De:us.
            If God want¿=(      ) faith in Go:d.
            God wi:lling¿=(      ) faith in Go:d.

15          (.)

16  Wom:    Se Deus quisé:.
            If God want.
            God wi:lling.

17          (0.5)

18  Wom:    (                        )

19          (last 2 sec of printer noise)

20          ((3 officers talk for 32 sec + Pol takes paper out
             of the printer)))

21  Pox:    Pronto (mo:ça.)
            Ready (la:dy.)

22  Pol:    Pro:nto.
            Re:ady.

23          (0.8 + Wom stands up)

24  Wom:    Brigada vi:[u.]   ((to Est))
            Thanks saw
            Thanks oka:[y.]   ((to Est))

25  Est:                [De ] na:da.
                        Of nothing.
                        [Not] at a:ll.
```

((Other officer comes into the room and Wom and Pol leave the room))

This is not the only interaction in which complainants and I have our own closing before they leave the room. WPS 16 and WPS 06, shown below, are other examples in which after a brief indication of the report being over by the police (either by saying it is 'pronto/ready' and/or inviting the complainant to follow them out of the room by offering them permission to leave – e.g. 'you can come'), the complainants do follow the officers and make their way towards the door to leave, but they also have a brief closing interaction with me before leaving the room. As a researcher recording the interactions, I had no intention of having any impact on what happened in the report-making, but I found myself in situations in which complainants actively attempted to interact with me and it was not always easy to keep the 'neutrality' I imagined I would assume (See Chapter 2 for discussions about my research practice during my data collection).

18 - WPS 16

Printer: 1min 50 sec during which Po1 talks to Po2, Est asks consent to record the interaction to Wo2

14 sec: officers talk about procedures

Po1:   Pronto.
        Ready.

        (9 sec)

Po1:   ((Takes the paper out of the printer))

        (5 sec + chair noises)

Po1:   °Pode vi:r.° ((leaving the room with Wo2))
        Can(2ps) to come
        °You can co:me.°

Wo2:   Tchau. ((to the researcher))
        Bye.

Est: Tcha:u=obrig[a:da.]
        By:e=thanks.

Wom: [Bom]dia pra °voce°.
                        Good day to you
                        [Have] a good °day°.

        (4 sec + furniture noise until the door is closed)

19 - WPS 06

Po1 and Po2 discuss the correct number of the referral to the medical exams (IML) that 'Wom' would be sent out to do. Po2 leaves the room to check the number and returns saying it.

01 Po2:   9 9 7.

02   (±38 sec keyboard)

03   ((printer noise for about 1 min 50 sec)

04   ((Po1 takes the document out of the printer))

05   (±5 sec)   ((Po1 moves towards the door))

06 Po1:   Cê já pode vi:r.   ((leaving the room))
            You already can come.
            You can come alre:ady.

07   (1.2)

08 Wom: Tcha:u.   ((to the researcher))
            By:e.

09 Est: ((the researcher waves and says °bye° softly to Wom
              as there was another complainant in the room))

10 Wo2:   Tchau.   ((Other complainant to Wom)
            Bye.

11 Wom: °Tchau.° ((To Wo2))
            °Bye.°

If in presenting future actions officers seems to be more oriented to their routine tasks than to informing complainants about the procedures, the same can be said about closings. Closings, as we can see by the examples below, are as brief and impersonal as the openings and officers show virtually no orientation to making their procedures clear to the complainants, who are seldom presented with a chance to ask questions or to present concerns in the end of their report.

In short, the police interactions are structured so that officers write about one single, recent, incident of abuse. There are cases, however, which show a mismatch between what complainants take to be relevant answers to the questions they are asked and what officers seek to address in the report-making (as introduced here with the misalignment shown in WPS 19, and further developed in Chapter 6). Moreover, once this single concern is established and 'reported' officers often proceed with the interaction in order to terminate it quickly and there is not much room for provision of information to the complainants about the process they start with a police report, nor much room for the presentation of further concerns.

The fragments presented above show how the two basic strategies employed by police officers in the report making are used. The first phase (opening), the presentation of future action (phase 6) and the closing phase (phase 7) showed not only how those phases are structured but some problems in terms of how the complainants are 'served' in the WPS. From an impersonal and very abridged 'opening' the interactions produce a feeling that the complainants are being 'processed' as cases, rather then attended. Towards the end of the interactions this feeling of cases processed is also noticeable as the interactions seem to revolve around the officers tasks that are progressively completed while women are often left uninformed about the 'next procedures' even when they request specific information about them. Moreover, the interactions seem to end abruptly once the report is printed and women are simply directed out of the room.

The CA literature on doctor-patient interactions has addressed some issues regarding how to maximize the potential of patients bringing up their other concerns (see: Heritage, Robinson, Elliott, Beckett, & Wilkes, 2007; Robinson, 2001) to the physicians. Although it is probably easy to see how it would be beneficial for the women to receive further help and information from institutions they seek help from, this might not be perceived by the police as being their job, or even as

desirable. So, it is not just a matter of recommending officers to enquire about 'other concerns' when they, in effect, avoid 'other concerns' throughout the reporting (see Chapter 6). In some cases, however, suggestions for improving those interactions are a direct consequence of spotting a problem: if the problem is that questions are not answered, it is easy to suggest an improvement by saying officers should produce SPPs to complainants' FPPs requesting information about some part of their jobs. In any case, there is potential for improvement of those interactions in a way that does not challenge what is or is not considered to be the police job (such as making room for more than a single concern, which is what a police report is meant to deal with). Suggestions for improving those interactions will be analysed in section 5.4, from a comparison with the openings of the care centre 'Casa' and some of its features that could be adopted in the WPS – while still remembering that "the work that institutional professionals must do is more amenable to their institutions than it is to the needs of their clients." (Trinch, 2003, p.72). These suggestions, as I go on to show, can make the police interactions sound nicer and more 'attentive' while also 'educating' the complainants about the police work and their limitations as their jobs are conducted to the present date.

Before moving to the 'casa' interactions and suggestions about how to better the opening phase in the WPS, another issue will be discussed. While some fragments, such as the ones from WPS 10, show how an officer can conduct the interaction with a question-answer format, mostly composed of minimal adjacency pairs giving an idea of a very well structured interaction in which officers control the report making with no disturbances; some fragments, such as the ones from WPS 19, show how officers may pursue a reportable matter, when the report does not run as smoothly as in WPS 10, but their control over the interaction is far from being absolute and complainants can dispute officers' control over their telling. So the 'policeability' of a case can, as seen on WPS 19, take a long time to be established and an officer's pursuit of the reason for a woman's complaint on that very day (albeit interruptive to the story) is an effort to verify if the matter is indeed 'policeable' and to redirect the telling to the business of making a police report. Officers' actions show their orientation to the risk of taking a very long time to understand a 'story' which they may not be able to make a report (if it is not under the WPS jurisdiction and is not 'policeable' or if the complainant does not have all

the mandatory information about the abuser and it is not 'reportable'). The other risk, contrastingly, is to go through the form and fill out all the personal details of the alleged victim and abuser and only later find out some problem with the story that would not make it reportable. So, getting the 'core' reportable issue established and/or getting through with the details of the relevant parties (victim and abuser) is crucial to the police work and is pursued by the officers. Moreover, although officers do have a measure of control over the interaction (in the way they conduct the report, define what is reportable, select what to write in the report and may or may not pick up topics offered by complainants) complainants can also resist officer's control and fight to tell their stories in their own way.

5.3 Variations

This section will show how the basic forms of report making can be altered during the report making, that is, how a report which starts with a 'form-filling' strategy may turn into a story and how a report which starts with a story prompt may quickly turn into form-filling. So, the way that officers start making the report does not always define how it is conducted. There are three cases (WPS 17, 25 and 35) in which the complainants find a way to direct the reporting format either by changing the format the officer was pursuing or by conducting it before a clear format was established – those cases are examined under 5.3. 1 'Variation 1'. Whereas in these three mentioned cases the complainants work to tell their story and manage to do so, in some other cases when the officer starts a request about a story, complainants who are asked about 'what happened' pass the opportunity to tell a story and just produce a brief definition of what happen (such as: it was an assault, or I was threatened by my husband). In those cases establishing a 'policeable' case is very straightforward so the officers shift (in most cases) to taking the personal details and later pursue more details about the story. It is interesting to notice, then, that a form a report is started does not necessarily define it and that, although officers frequently get to dictate the shape of the interaction, some complainants, such as Alicia shown above, can – and often do – have a say on how the interaction takes place. The fragments I will show below show variations to the strategies officers use in their report-making.

5.3.1 Variation 1: Complainants direct the interaction and tell their story

The first form of variation presented here is distinct from the basic strategies shown above in two aspects: (a) the complainants are the ones who take control over what they talk about (either by changing the approach the officer had chosen to conduct the interaction or by presenting their story before being asked about it and, therefore, before letting the officer chose their preferred strategy); (b) personal details (and/or not defined strategies) are turned into stories.

The case below, for instance, started with Po4's request for the complainant's ID, was followed by some time in which Po4 typed the woman's data into the system and then a question about the complainant's nickname followed by a question about her marital status (line 01 below). The complainant first answers the question: 'separada/separated', but she subsequently uses this as a means of introducing her story, which was related to a problem she had had because of her separation:

 # 20 - WPS 35

```
01   Po4:    Estado civil.
             State civil
             Marital staus.

02           (0.5)

03   Wom:    Separada.
             Separated.

04   Po4:    Separada,
             Separated,

05   Wom:    A minha queixa é justamente porisso porque
             The my   complaint is justly for+that because
             My complaint is precisely because of that cuz

06           ele já foi cita:do, (0.2) ontem né dia
             he already was cited,         yesterday no+is day
             he's already been ci:ted, (0.2) yesterday right the

07           dezoitcho. Foi citado ontem separacao de
             eighteen.  Was(3ps) cited yesterday separation of
             eighteenth. He was cited yesterday separation of

08           corpos. E hoje (.) el- aí ele nao saiu,
             bodies. And today he- then he no left
             bodies. And today (.) he- then he didn't leave,
```

The complainant not only introduces her story, but she is allowed to present her point with no intervention by the police officer. In this case, however, her success in telling her story only helps her in terms of stopping her from losing the time she would spend going through the 'form-filling'. Her story, as shown in the

previous chapter, turned out to be outside the WPS's remit. So, although 'policeable' in a regular police unit, it was not policeable in that WPS[8], so the case was dismissed. The officer just intervenes and stops the woman's story to check the case was really not reportable and then dismisses the woman. In any case, we can see here a clear example in which a woman's effort to tell her story was successful, the problem here was with her story and not the way the report was conducted.

The fragment below, extracted from WPS 17, shows an instance in which the complainant directs the report strategy before the officer has clearly defined what strategy he was going to use – he had only obtained her ID and started typing her identificational information. To the complainant, however, the typing of her document details into the computer was a signal of the officer's taking her matter as a reportable complaint which she, herself, was apparently not convinced was so. She asks, then, Po3 if he would not like to listen to her story before making the report in order to verify if a report were to be really made. It is interesting to notice that although the woman takes the role of proposing the next relevant course of action and by doing so ends up directing the reporting strategy, she does so by putting herself in a position of less authority in terms of qualifying her situation as a policeable matter or not. This position, however, does not reflect the position she really takes in the telling as she manages to tell her story her own way, and before the forms are filled, as shown below:

 # 21 – WPS 17

```
Just after a brief opening, Po3 requests the complainant's ID:
01  Po3:    Tá co=um documento.
            Is with=one document
            Have you got an ID with you.
02  Wom:    Oi?
            Huh?
03  Po3:    Documento de identida:de.=(   ).
            Document of identity
            Your ID document.=(   ).
04  Wom:    (((looks for her ID for about 10 seconds))
05  ((Pol:  Pode avisar que (    ) ou))
06  Wom:    Uh:: a identida:de e o que mais hein?
            Uh:: the identity and what more huh?
```

---

[8] Other WPSs across the country may report such crimes (see Silva, 2001). This aspect of the differences of remit of WPS across the country create, for example, a difficulty in terms of developing national informative campaigns, for instance, about the duties of the WPS

```
            Uh:: the ID: and what else huh?

07-09       ((Talk between Po1 and Po3 - not clear))

10  Wom:    Só a identidade é?
            Just the identity is?
            Just the ID is it?

11          ((1.5 +printing + intervening talk))

12  Po3:    Pegue=o CPF também °>que aqui num tem o número
            Get the CPF too   that here no has the number
            Get=your CPF as well °>cuz its number is not

13          de:le°<.
            of his
            he:re°<.

14 - 22     58 sec + intervening talk + Po3 working with the computer

23  Wom:    Lice:nça,=>qual o seu no:me<?
            License    which the your name
            Excuse me,=>what's your na:me<?

24  Po3:    °Miguel.°

25  Wom:    O Migue:l, .hh é: no ca:so:-, você: pega assim
            Uh (Po3's name)  is  in+the case   you   take   like
            Uh Miguel, .hh in this ca:se-, yo:u're taking like

26          meus documento é pra que:.
            my(pl)    document is  for what
            my documents for wha:t.

27          (0.5)

28  Po3:    >Pra< colocá aqui na: qualificaçã:o.
            To     put    here in+the qualification
            To put here i:n the characteriza:tion.

29  Wom:    S:e:i. Mas você num- primeiro num qué escutá:=
            Know(1ps). But you no first   no want to listen
            I: see:. But don't you- want to li:sten first=

30          =assim pra ve se: (0.5) nuh:- (.) >assim o que eu
            like to see if    no- (.) >like what I
            like to see i:f (0.5) duh:- (.) >like what I

31          vou falá:,
            will say,
            will sa:y,

32          (0.8)

33  Po3:    Pode fala:. (Até:.)
            You can ta:lk. (Until)
            You can ta:lk. (A:lso.)

34          (.)

35  Po3:    Po[d=dizê:]
            Can(3ps) say
            Go[=ahe:ad]

36  Wom:       [Porque] >talvez até o que eu vou fala-=num- ser
               Because maybe even what I will say  no  to be
               [Because] >really maybe what I'll say-=isn't-

37          pode ser nem- uma coisa nem tão seria né:.=Só:
```

```
              can  be nor   a thing nor so serious np+is. Just
              may not even be- a thing that serious ri:ght.=But
38            assim uma aju:da¿=Assim só pra cunversá:.<
              like a help.   Like just to talk.
              Just like some he:lp¿=Like just a ta:lk.<
39  Po3:      °Uhum°
40  Wom:      Assim que:, (0.8) assim eu convivo cum uma
              Like cu:z, (0.8) like I live/have been with a
              See cu:z, (0.8) see I've been with a
41            pessoa tem dois anos sabe,=.hh e se:mpre
              person for two years know(3ps), .hh and a:lways
              person for two years youknow,=.hh and this
42            essa pessoa- >eu num sei se< é porque: ele
              this person- >I don't know if< it's beca:use he
              person a:lways- >I don't know if< it's beca:use he
```

WPS 17 makes visible, albeit as its reversal, what the 'story strategy' – presented with WPS 19 and discussed above – does interactionally. The 'story strategy' shows how officers sometimes check if complainants have a 'policeable' matter of concern by starting the reporting enquiring about their case and getting their reasons to be there. Only after getting the 'policeable' reason for the complaint officers change, then, to the person's details and start working with the computer and the actual report forms. Although listening to the problems is part of the police job and report-making, the actual typing and filling out forms makes the police work more visible while it also defines the purpose and outcome of the telling as being a police report. WPS 17 makes this matter apparent as the complainant stops what could be seen as the report proper from being formalised until she tells her story and the officer can, then, assess what is the response he can offer. By doing so, she shows her doubts about having or not a policeable case (lines 36-38) and leaves it to the officer to assess her case. Although she in fact takes control, then, over the structural shape of the report making process, she does so by placing herself in a subordinate position of having doubts about her case being a case for a police report. At the same time, however, she seems to challenge the police response, as she does not show an orientation to trying to get a report from the police but rather to her telling.

In any case, when analysing the different strategies officers can take, the personal details format shows, in a way, more faith in the screening system as a reliable procedure to establishing that the cases that come to the reporting room are indeed 'reportable' as it starts with the actual typing of the report into the

police system. The story strategy, on the other hand, is used to first check the 'story' to be ok before actually starting the actual job of making a new report – which makes this strategy a bit more similar to doctor-patient interactions when doctors seek to establish, in the beginning, the reasons for patients to seek their assistance.

Perhaps the most obvious case of a woman taking control over her interaction with the officer is WPS 25, a case in which the complainant (Roberta) starts her story before the officer had even been through with the opening phase: Po6 had not taken his seat yet, but was trying to get his way to it when the complainant asked his name and launched her telling. This case is unique in terms of the woman's assertiveness not only from the opening of the interaction, but also throughout it as she, a final-year law student, works to get a report in her own way. Although Po6 suggests (lines 62-63) adding Roberta's complaint to her 'aunt's' (actually her mother's) report, Roberta states how she wants it done and gets it her way (although Po6 never comes back to continue her report, but sends another officer to do so).

#22 – WPS 25

```
01  Po6:   Pode senta aí. ((standing near the door))
            Can  seat  there.
            You can sit there.

02  Wom:   °Bom dia.° ((as she enters the full room))
            Good day
            Good morning.

03  Po6:   °Como é que faz pra saí do caminho.°
            How is   that do/make to leave of+the way
            °How can one get out of the way.°

04          Deixa eu passá pro outro lado.
            Let   me   pass  to+the other side
            Let me go to the other side. ((referring to going behind the desk))

05          ((Informed consent: + chair being pulled))

06  Wom:   [Ah tá!]=>Tá certo<.  ((consent to the recording))
            Oh is!      Is right.
            [Oh ok!]=>It's alright<.

07  Po6:   O senhor vai fazer um BO também.
            The sir   will make    a report too
            Are you going to make a report too sir.

08  Wom:   É meu irmão.
            Is my  brother
            He's my brother.

09          ((chair pulled))
```

```
10  Po6:    Infelizmente num tem cade(h):ra. Huh
             Unfortunately  no  has   chair
             Unfortunately there's no cha(h):ir. Huh
```

((the brother who had started coming into the room, goes back to the waiting room))
_____/_____

```
12  Wom:    Não não tudo bem.=>>Como é o nome do senhor?<<
             No  no  all  well.  How is the name of+the sir
             No no it's ok.=>>What's your name sir?<<

13  Po6:    Bernardo.

14  Wom:    Bernardo minha mãe teve aqui de manhã:, .hh
             (Po7's name) my mother was  here of morning
             Bernardo my mother was here this mo:rning, .hh

15           é: registrando um BO:, (.) contra o marido
             huh registering  a report      against the husband
             uh: making a report, (.) against her

16           de:la.=>Que é uma pessoa agressiva, que já
             of+her. Who is a    person aggressive   who already
             hu:sband.=>Who is an aggressive person, who's already

17           bateu em várias v- v:aria[s ocorrê:ncias,]
             beaten in several    several    reports
             beaten in several s- s:evera[l repo:rts,]
```

-- The telling continues for 33 lines (omitted) while Po6 helps Po7 with her doubts about how to work with the computer and the complainant has to stop and resume her telling a few times in order to capture Po6' attention --

```
51  Wom:    Ele tá:: (.) entrando em desespero porque::,
             He is       entering  in despair  because
             He is:: (.) getting desperate beca::use,

52           ela sempre ficou com ele- são quinze ano:s.
             she always  stayed with him are fifteen years
             she's always been with him- fifteen ye:ars.

53           E agora ele tá vendo que a gente tá tirando
             And now he is seeing  that  we  are taking
             And now he's seeing that we're re:ally

54           me:smo.=Os filho:s. Então eu tenho medo dele
             really. The sons.   So   I   have fear of+he
             taking her.=Us ki:ds. So I am afraid he

55           faze alguma coisa realmente.=Ele é uma pessoa
             do  some  thing  really.    He is a person
             may really do something.=He is an extremely

56           extremamente viole:nta, (0.2) e o problema
               extreme;y    violent       and the problem
             violent pe:rson, (0.2) and his problem

57           dele é comigo que desde a primeira vez fui eu
             of+he is with+me that since the first    time was me
             is with me cos since the first time I was the one

58           quem leve:i pra delegaci:a. Foi- ele f:ico
             who took   to  police station. Was  he stayed
             who too:k to the poli:ce. He went- he wa:s

59           preso por causa de mim então o problema dele
             arrested for cause of me  so    the problem of+he
             arrested because of me so his problem
```

```
60           é comigo.=
             is with+me
             is with me.

61           (0.5)

62  Po6:     A gente pode:, (.) pega esse aí mesmo que a sua
             We    can              take  this   there same/really that the your
             We ca:n, (.) take the same one that your

63           tia:- (.) fez e acrescentá então.
             aunt       did  and add         so
             aun:t- (.) did and add it then.

64  Wom:     Não.=Eu prefiro registrá outro.
             No.  I    prefer   to register   other.
             No.=I prefer to make another report.

65  Po6:     (    ) + ((chair noise as he is on his way to leave the
        room))

66  Wom:     Não é minha tia não é minha mãe. Eu quero
             No is  my    aunt no    is my  mother.  I want
             She's not my aunt no she's my mother. I want

67           registrá otro.
             to register other.
             to make another report.

68  Po6:     Eu tenho que pegá que eu to: sem a senha desse
             I  have  to get      that I am    without the password of+this
             I have to get that I am without the password for

69           negócio aí:.
             thing   there
             this thing there.
```

((Po6 leaves the room to get his password and the previous report as a reference for the making of the new report, as requested by Roberta. Although Po6 does not return to make the report Po8 does so and Roberta gets a report with the information she wanted in it and pretty much directs the report-making))

While the fragments above are clear examples of complainants' efforts to tell their story, departing from a format chosen by the officer or by directing the interaction from start, this is not the only noticeable variation. There is probably no surprise that the most visible change in the format happens when women start telling their story, which is something they know they will have to tell the police (they just don't always know what the police considers to be relevant). It would be hard to imagine, however, a complainant who started to conduct her report by saying 'I am Maria da Silva, I'm thirty two and I am a gardner', which actually does not happen in the data. The type of variation shown above, women working to tell their story, although in accordance with some views that put great emphasis on women's needs to tell their stories of abuse, as they may be seeking "a person in a position of authority who can listen to their account and validate their feelings and

concerns" (Trinch, 2003, p. 163), is not the only variation observed in my data. The variations that change the report-making from the 'story' format to the 'form-filling strategy' do not start with information about their personal details, but rather do not show an orientation to telling the story and have a tendency to make the story 'disappear' as, when given a chance to start their telling, some women pass their chance to do so. So, contrary to WPS 17, which shows a woman's orientation to telling her story and some reluctance in getting the police response in form of a formal report before having her case assessed and having agreed on having a report made, some cases show complainants who do not tell their stories when given an opportunity to do so, but rather present a definition of their problem orienting to the making of a report and to their problems as policeable matters, while they defer the opportunity of actually telling a story. These cases will be examined below.

5.3.2 Variation 2: Stories not told turning into form-filling strategies

This second variation is more subtle in terms of complainants' actions as, rather than actively producing an opportunity to tell their story, which is quite visible, the variation involved here is the opposite: when given the opportunity to tell their stories some complainants defer the production of a telling and just present some definition of the crime they have been victims of. So, rather than orienting to getting their story told, those women orient to the crime report. They do so either by saying that they are there to get a police report (e.g. WPS 36, shown below), or by succinctly presenting a definition of the crime they are there to report when given the opportunity to tell 'what happened'. WPS 36 and WPS 04, shown in this order, are good examples of this form of variation:

#23 - WPS 36

```
01   Po4:    Q'foi que houve.
             W'was that happened.
             What happened.

02   Wom:    É: eu vi::m prestar uma que:ixa, (0.2)
             Is I  came  to render  a    complaint
             Uh: I ca::me to make a compla:int, (0.2)

03           contra o me:u, (0.2) marido.
             against the my         husband
             against my, (0.2) husband.

04           (0.8)

05   Wom:    Ele:::, tem me agredi:do, (0.2) assim
             He      has me assaulted        like
```

```
                He:::, has been abu:sing me, (0.2) like
06              violência né? Viole:nto.
                violence   no?  Violent.
                violence right? Vi:olent.

07              (.)

08    Wom:      Ele te::m, (0.2) me agredido assi:m
                He has           me assaulted   like
                He ha::s, (0.2) been abusing me li:ke

09              verbalmente e:, (0.4) °fisicamente°.
                Verbally a:nd,          physically
                verbally a:nd, (0.4) °physically°.

10    Po4:      Cê mora=aonde¿
                You live  where
                Where do=you live¿

11    Wom:      Eu moro em Clima Bom:.
                I live   in  (neighbourhood)
                I live in Clima Bom:.
```

Fragment 23 shows, at line 01, Po4 asking an open question about 'what happened' to the complainant. Rather than presenting a story about something that 'happened', the complainant responds by saying she is there to report her husband (lines 02-03), orienting to the police report as her goal. This is, however, not considered to be 'enough' information about what happened by Po4 and a gap follows on line 04. The complainant resumes her turn, then, on lines 05-06, saying she had been abused by her husband. A micro gap follows but, as soon as the case is established as a 'reportable' (with a strong reportable matter 'physical abuse' presented in a temporal frame that presents its occurrence as continuous but also recent) (lines 08-09), the officer shifts to 'form-filling'. This phase shift is achieved by Po4's asking about the woman's personal details (her address, line 10). So, in this case, the woman does not tell a story but rather orients to her goal of getting a report and then offers some basic information about the nature of her complaint that grants her the reporting.

Another example in which a complainant passes the opportunity to tell a story, this time by simply offering a brief definition of the sort of abuse she has been through, is case WPS 04, shown below:

24 - WPS 04

```
((The opening - the complainant coming into the room and sitting
down - was not recorded))
01    Key:      -

02              (5 sec)

03    Pol:      (E assim/O caso assim) foi o que:.
                And like/ The case  like     was what
```

```
                     And like/The case like was wha:t.
04  Wom:     O meu foi agressã:o; do meu irmã:o.
             The my  was assault     of the(M) my brother
             Mine was abu:se; by my bro:ther.

05           (         [   )]
06  Pol:                [Ele] lhe bateu né?
                         He  in you  beat  no is?
                        [He']s beaten you right?

07  Wom:     É:.=°Me agrediu (                )
             Is. Me abused
             Ye:s.=°He abused me (            )

08  Wom:     Tinha ma:rca¿
             Had (I/it) a mark
             There was a ma:rk¿

09           (.)

10  Wom:     (Agora) saí:u.
             Now  left
             (But now) it vanish:ed.

11           (10.5)
```

--- 13 lines omitted: the researcher gives the complainant a copy of the informed consent and tells her she can keep it in case she has any doubt and assures her that if she feels any discomfort, the recording can be stopped any time ---

```
25           (5.5)

26  Pol:     Cê me dá sua identida:de.=Dona (    ).
             You to me give your identity. Ma'am
             Can I have your I:D:.=Miss (    ).

27  Wom:     Minha identida:de num tirei nã:o.
             My identity      no took no
             My I:D: I haven't got one no:pe.
```

Fragment 24 shows at line 03 Po1 asking the complainant about her case with an open request for information about what her case was. In responding to that, the complainant gives a definition of what happened as being 'agressão/abuse/assault', rather than telling a story about what happened. The provision of a definition of a crime, as seen above, is just checked by the police officer in order to determine what kind of abuse and the officer offers the 'strongest' case, which is physical abuse (line 06) to be then confirmed by the complainant (line 07). This is enough, as we see above to start the personal details phase and to leave the actual telling of the story to be done just later in the reporting. So while the officer opens the relevant files in the computer, the complainant says some things about sustained visible injuries she had, but that had disappeared and the researcher talks to the complainant about the recording (lines

08 – 25) and then the officer asks for the complainant's ID, to start filling out her personal details (line 26).

As seen so far, the analysis of the phases of the police interactions with women reporting abuse in a WPS has shown that officers can chose from two basic strategies when they make police reports. Although officers do have a degree of control over the way in which the interactions are conducted and over what is reported or not, women reporting abuse can also interfere in the form the report making proceeds. Women can, as seen on WPS 19, protest when officers try to condense their tellings, while keeping on the same general reporting structure, but they can also change the course of a report. This can be done in the two reporting directions, that is they can change the form-filling procedures to tell their 'story' (WPS 35) and they can tell their stories before a strategy is defined (WPS 17, WPS 25); but they can also pass their opportunity to tell their story and move into the form-filling strategy just by offering a definition of their cases (WPS 04, WPS 36).

Another feature of the police interactions which was remarked upon earlier was the problem regarding women's (lack of) knowledge about the police work, the reporting process and its consequences. The lack of information about the requirements for a police report as well as the actual work of the police and what could be expected from them, means complainants and officers lose a lot of time and effort when cases are not policeable or reportable. This also means women may be unable to report crimes against them, or face more challenges in reporting abuse – such as trying to get information about the abuser and having to return to the WPS and wait to see an officer more than once, so some of them may give up making a complaint altogether, while the time wasted by officers who cannot complete reports make the waiting longer for other women and all those things create hurdles to the report making. Moreover, women who search for the police help may leave the unit (with or without a report) knowing little more about her rights and what is going to happen to their abusers. This kind of problem regarding lack of information about procedures for making a report and consequences of making a report could be minimized by some minor procedural changes in the officers' way of conducting the reports. Those changes are proposed based on the analysis of some of the opening phases recorded in the care center for abused women 'Casa' and they will be analysed in the next section.

5.4 The Care Centre

As briefly outlined in the beginning of this chapter, the interactions in the care centre were in many respects quite different from the police interactions, but similarly to the police interactions, their first interactions with women seeking help also involved some kind of form filling. So, also similarly to the police interactions, in the care centre the first interactions with help-seekers were also divided into two basic formats: one which privileged at first a form-filling strategy to subsequently get to the woman's story of life/abuse and another one which would start from the woman's story to only later turn to the details needed to fill out the form. The importance of this form, however, is quite different in the two environments so whereas in the WPS the police report is the immediate goal of the interaction, in the care centre the form is not as relevant. The form in the care centre is where a woman's personal details will be registered (including her contact details) and also where her story will be registered but this works as a support for further visits and actions and this first encounter can result in far more relevant outcomes, such as: offers of social and/or psychological assistance in the care centre and/or referrals to other professionals (e.g. lawyers, psychologists, doctors); a place in a shelter; and other kind of 'solutions' to women's problems.

In terms of the distribution of the strategies professionals use to conduct the interaction, the 'story' strategy is by far the most used, as the great majority of the interactions start with the story (n=16, 80%). Even when the service providers say they will fill out a form first, it works more to account for their note taking, than to direct the telling, as counsellors and social workers frequently start with a question about how the woman found out about the 'Casa', or why they decided to seek help in the 'Casa', which often prompts a telling. When those tellings start, then, professionals seldom make attempts to keep a woman's report in a certain format, even if they say at first that they will start by filling out a form.

Although Ostermann (2003) suggests that one remarkable difference in terms of the two environments is in terms of existing and non-existing flexibility in terms of how the interaction is conducted in those places, my own findings indicate that one important difference between the two environments is how the procedural steps and eventual changes to those steps in order to adapt to each woman's situation are made more evident in the care centre. As presented above, police officers did adapt

their preferred procedures to complainant's demands in some cases. Officers did not, however, orient their action in terms of explaining their procedures and/or choices to complainants, while counsellors and social workers frequently did so while they also emphasized that they could be flexible in their conduct. This practice of presenting the usual procedures and the possibility of adjusting an interaction to a woman's preference was quite efficient in terms of presenting part of their job as procedural and impersonal, whereas proposing the professional's attention to be customised to the woman's plight and centred on the woman. I will show below three openings from the 'Casa' in order to illustrate how this 'attentiveness' is produced in the care centre. Before showing specific examples of those interactions, however, I will present some of the features of openings as they happen in general in the care centre.

5.4.1 Usual openings in the 'Casa'

Given that in the 'casa' appointments are scheduled in advance, the professional in charge of the screening – this first interaction – knows the name of the woman they will see and, frequently, has some information about her case (usually some reference letter from another institution or some brief information the woman may have provided over the phone when scheduling the meeting). The 'casa' is not an open building like the WPS, on the contrary, it is always locked, almost often patrolled by some kind of police officer (but only inside the building) and the building is not identified on the outside. So, a woman needs to have scheduled an appointment and have the correct address of the building when she comes. She will then ring a bell, and a receptionist, the police officer or one of the social workers or psychologists will let the woman in. This is done by checking the woman's identity (as they know who they are expecting) and or by checking what the woman is after (e.g. a woman may say she is there for an appointment). The woman is then taken to the waiting room and is offered coffee and water and if she has a child with her the child will be given some toys. The professional in charge of the screening will then approach the woman herself and take the woman to one of the interview offices. In most interactions I recorded, the professionals would also introduce me, after introducing themselves, and then I would ask permission to record the interaction. When in the office, the professional and the woman would take their seats and then the professional would introduce herself again to open the screening

proper (usually as: 'As I said, I am X and I am a psychologist/social worker and I will be with you today...').

5.4.2 Some examples of openings in the 'casa'

I will first show one of the only 4 cases which start with an orientation to filling the form. All those cases are clearly introduced in a way that presents the form as an easy procedural part they have to go through before understanding the woman's story, which is more intricate. Not only does this procedure allow for the production of attentiveness, it communicates procedural taken-for-granted institutional protocols to people for whom they may not be clear as they do not know how exactly the 'Casa' works and what to expect from the institution.

The opening of 'Casa 10', starts with the social worker (Ana Lúcia - Alu) coming into an interview room with the woman (Ivanilde), while I (the researcher) talk about some of the ethical details with Ivanilde. Then, Ana Lúcia excuses herself for forgetting her glasses and leaves the room to fetch them. The researcher adds, then, that the woman should feel free to interrupt the recording at any moment, in case it causes any discomfort, when, after approximately 1:50 minutes of recording time, Ana Lúcia returns to the room (line 01). Ana Lúcia says she is going to start and writes the complainant's name down in the form (line 05), then on line 07 she starts presenting what she is going to do with the complainant: she re-introduces herself (lines 10-11) and presents the procedures for 'first times' at the casa as first composed by general questions (as in any institution) to build her file to then focus on the woman's problems to see how they can help (11-21) and checks if this is ok:

#25 - Casa 10

```
01              ((door closing noise))
02              ± 3.5sec
03    Alu:      (começá=aí na- começá=I- na-) conti:go.
                Start=there in+the start=I- in+the with you
                (We'll start=there in- start=I- in-) with yo:u.
04              (1.0)
05    Alu:      °°(Ivani:lde.)°° ((writing the name on the form))
06              (3.0)
07    Alu:      Bo:m, (.) Ivanilde é o segui:nte,=
                Good         Ivanildes    is the following
                Ri:ght, (.) Ivanildes here's what we'll do:,=
08    Iva:      =M[m.]
```

```
09  Alu:      [tá]:? É::- eu- >eu já te falei que eu
              is        Is/Huh  I   I  already you told  that I
              ok:? Uh::- I- > I have already told you that I

10            sou Ana Lú:cia=Eu sou assistente social
              am   (first names)  I  am       assisnatnt social
              am Ana Lú:cia =I am a social worker here<

11            aqui< da ca:sa,[.hh]h >A primeira vez que a
              here  of+the house     The first        time that a
              in the hou:se, [.hh]h >The first time that the

12  Iva:                    [Uhm.]

13  Alu:      mulher vem nos procurá nós começ::-< (.)
              woman comes us   seek   we sta(rt)
              woman comes to us we star::-< (.)

14            fazemos prime:iro- u:h: >umas perguntas<
              do/make    first         some  questions
              make fi:rst- u:h: >some general<

15  Alu:      gera::is¿=De da:dos seus:¿ [Tá?]=Como te
              general(pl)  Of  data yours¿   Is? How you
              que::stions¿=Of yo:ur de:tails¿ Ok?=Like all

16  Iva:                              [Uhum]

17  Alu:      referiram todos os luga:res >pra gente<
              referred   all  the  places      for us
              the places that referred you >for us<

18            fazê o seu cada:stro. Depois nós vamos
              do/make the your file.   Later  we  will
              to make your fi:le. Later we are going to

19            procurá entendê:_ (.) o que tá acontecendo
              seek  to understand     what  is happening
              try to understa:nd_ (.) what is happening

20            com você_ (.) pra vê o que que a gente pode
              with you      to see  what  that we     can
              to you_ (.) to see what is it that we can

21            ajudá. Tudo bem?
              Help.     All well?
              help with. Alright?

22            (0.2)

23  Iva:      Mm hm

24  Alu:      Tem algum problema a gente começá por aí?
              Has some    problem   we   to start from there
              Is there a problem for us to start from there?

25  Iva:      Nã::[o.] (.ntlc)
              N::[o.] (.ntlc)

26  Alu:          [Se] você quisé começá conta:ndo
                  If   you  want to start  telliing
                  [If] you want to start te:lling

27            tamb'é:m a gente pode invertê[:.]
              too       we   can   reverse
              we can  reve:rse it inste:a[d.]

28  Iva:                              [Nã]:o. .ntlc
                                      [N:]o . ntlc
```

```
29                 .ntlc

30  Alu:    Não¿
            No¿

31  Iva:    Nã:o.
            N:o

32  Alu:    °Não.°
            °No.°

33  Iva:    °Não.°
            °No.°

34  Alu:    °Tá bo:m°
            Is good
            °Alri:ght°

35          (1.8)

36  Alu:    Seu nome inte:iro é I: va: ni:l de:,
            Your name entire  is        Ivanilde
            Your fu:ll name is I: va: ni:l de:,

37  Iva:    >Rodrigues Costa de (     )<
            (surname)
```

This beginning of the interaction shows clearly that it is possible to do institutional talk and attentiveness to the person requiring attention. The social worker does 'institutional' talk by presenting the interaction in procedural terms, showing what the institution does (as a 'a gente/we') and making visible the fact that the interaction involves a knowledgeable, trained, person who is used to performing some tasks in order to provide a helping service to the woman, who is informed about the procedures. She is then, attentive to the fact that what is a repeated procedure for one of the parties may be extraordinary and/or uncomfortable to the other and attemps to make it more comfortable as an 'usual procedure' which is done for everyone, while she also brings the concern about the woman's own problem and a quest for a solution into her opening.

The example below also shows a reasonably long opening in which a psychologist (Marina) takes a complainant (Sandra) to the room, after checking if she is ok with my recording. Once in the room, Marina talks about the seating arrangements and asks the complainant if she has had coffee, water and checks if she might want something else to drink. At line 23 she starts explaining what they will be doing in their first contact, which she presents as something they do in order to know 'what's going on' and 'what to do', and presents their activity as 'talking'. The form is not explicitly mentioned, but Marina says she will be writing (as in taking notes). As she checks Sandra's understanding of it, Sandra asks if she

can start talking (line 37). This request, prompts Marina to move into the issue of how sandra found out about the care centre and her reasons for being there, which opens the floor for the woman to tell her story. She does not only start asking about the story, though, but she makes (after a bit of laughter) this transition as a response to Sandra being anxious to tell her story. This interaction, then, brings the 'procedural' information and shows flexibility to adapt the interaction to the woman's needs not by saying that they can be flexible (as Casa 10), but by making the transition to the story as a response to the woman's 'need' to tell her story.

#26 - Casa 20

```
01   Mar:    (Vamu entrá agora [entã:o.)]
              Will(1ppl) enter now  then
             (Let's   go    then  [no:w.)  ]

02   Wom:                         [(Mm hm)]

03   Mar:    E a Estefânia já  falou   com  você:[:.]
             And the Estefânia already talked with you
             Estefânia has already talked to yo:[:u].

04   Wom:                                        [Já] falou
                                                  Already talked
                                                 [Yea]h she's talked

05           cumi:gu.
             with me.
             to me:.

06   M/E:    (Já viu é isso.)
              Already saw is this
             (Has done it already.)

07   Mar:    Então tá bom. Vamu entrá?
             Then is good. Will(1ppl) enter.
             Ok then. Let's go?

08           ((5.5 - they walk into a room))

09           ((door closing noise))

10   Mar:    °(Vamu vê uma cade:ra pra Estefâ:nia)°
              Will see a  chair  to Estefânia
             °(Let's get a cha:ir for Estefâ:nia)°

11   Est:    Já tem aqui:.
             Already has here.
             There's one he:re.

12             ?

13   Est:    Tem aqui:.
             Has here.
             There's one he:re.

14   Mar:    Cê qué (              )
             you want
             Do=you want (         )

15           (.)
```

```
16   Mar:     Ficá mais a vonta:de.
              Stay more at ease/comfortable
              To be more co:mfortable.

17             (3.4)

18   Mar:     Cê (já) tomô um cafezi::[nho, uma á:]gua,
              You already drank a little cofe a water,
                Have you had some coffe[e::, some w]a:ter,

19   Wom:                             [(        já)]
                                          already
                                      [(      yes)]

20   Mar:     (.)(tá com) se::de,
                  is with thirst
              (.) (are you) thi::rsty,

21   Wom:     Não. (          )não.
              No.  (          ) no.

22             (2.2)

23   Mar:     Sandra:, ho::je: a gente vai faze: um primeiro
              (name), today  we   will make a first
              Sandra:, toda::y: we will make our first

24            conta:to. Né:¿
              contact. No is
              conta:ct. Ri:ght¿

25             (0.2)

26   Mar:     A gente: a gente chama aqui na casa de tria:gem¿
              We         we      call    here in the house of screening
              We: we call it screening here in the ho:use¿

27             (0.5)

28   Mar:     Uh:: pra=agente sabê: (0.2) né: o que que tá
                    for we   to know   no is what that is
              Uh:: for=us to kno:w (0.2) ri:ght what's

29            acontece:ndo, o que que a gente pode tá faze:ndo,
              happening  what that we  can be  doing
              ha:ppening, what we can be do:ing,

30            né:¿ Por u- a ca::sa¿ Tá:. Então eu vou tá: (.)
              no is¿ For a- the house¿ Is. Then I will be
              ri:ght¿ For a- the ho::use¿ Ok:. So I will be: (.)

31   Mar:     conversando com você:, vou tá escrevendo um
              talking   with you  will be writing a
              talking to yo:u, I will be writing a

32            pouqui::nh[o:]
              little  (dim)
                  li::ttl[e:]

33   Wom:                 [Ah] tá:.
                            Oh is
                          [Oh] Oka:y.

34             (0.2)

35   Mar:     Vi:u¿
              Sa:w¿
              Ri:ght¿
```

```
36                  (.)

37   Wom:           Posso começá entã:o.
                    Can (1ps) start then
                    Can I start the:n.

38   Mar:           Huh huh huh Tá ansio::sa. Huh huh .hhhhh Então
                    Huh huh huh Is anxious  Huh huh  .hhhh Then
                    Huh huh huh You're a::nxious.Huh huh .hhhh Then

39                  vamu lá:, (.) como é que você tomou conhecimento
                    will there  how  is that you took knowledge
                    let's go:, (.) how did you find out about

40                  da ca:sa.
                    of the house.
                    the ho:use.
```

Even when the service provider does not present the procedural aspects of the interaction, they can make reference to the protocol while showing attentiveness to the woman's need to tell her story. The case below, for example, does not have an opening like the examples above – probably because of a combination of two factors: the fact that my ethical clearance got in the way of a 'traditional' opening and that the woman started crying as she took her seat in the office. What we have then, is the psychologist's request for confirmation of acceptance (or not) to the recording of the interaction. As Irany's confirmation is done before she gets enough information about the recording and in overlap with further explanation about the use of the data and, after that, Irany starts her story, Letícia orients to her way of conducting the interview as responsive to the woman's need to tell her story (her cry and subsequent telling of the story in the first opportunity she had) and marks the form as secondary to that. Rather than 'skipping the protocol completely', however, we have the reference to the protocol being left aside in favour of the counsellor being sensitive to the woman's cry and need to tell her story, as Letícia presents her invitation for the woman to speak as a change to a 'default' way of conducting the interaction in order to respond to Irany's need to unburden.

In more detail: in Casa 16 my recording and the ethical clearance gets in the way of the psychologist's production of a procedure oriented opening as she starts the interaction by clarifying the woman's consent to take part in my research as the woman's cry had made me reluctant to ask her consent to record the interaction. The recording of Casa 16 started when the woman (Irany), the psychologist (Letícia) and I (Est) were already seated. Although I had already been introduced to Irany and had started to present my research to her, Irany had started crying as soon as

she had sat and taken the 'reporting position' and I stopped the ethical clearance. Letícia, then, started talking, asking Irany if there was any problem for me to record her interaction (lines 4 – 12). Irany says then 'no' (lines 13-14) to the 'no problem' question, which accepts the recording, but she does so in overlap with Letícia's continuation of her presentation of the issue of identity protection in my research, to which I add more information about the recording being done only if she feels comfortable with it and her rights to stop the recording at any time (the recorded part of this fragment takes about 1 minute and 15 seconds). As we finish the request for ethical clearance, Irany, does not respond to it again, but rather, starts talking about her situation (lines 50-52) so Letícia stops it from going further until Irany confirms that there is no problem in recording. As Irany does so (lines 55-56, 58, 60), Letícia refers to the form as something to be dealt later (lines 63, 65-66) orienting to Irany's crying and prompt start of her telling as a need to unburden that should take preference over the form.

<u>Casa 16</u>
```
01              ((Irany cries))

03     ?        (      )

04     Let:     Não só queria sabê como é porque::- como é
                No just  wanted  to know how is because     how is
                Well I just wanted to know how it is beca:use- how

05              que é pra senho:ra pelo segui:nte, ela tá
                that is to+the ma'am for+the following,  she  is
                it is to you ma'am because of thi:s, she is

06              fazendo esse estu:do, e ela tá conversando
                making/doing this study       and she is talking
                doing this stu:dy, and she is talking

07              com as pessoas que vêm pela primeira vez aqui
                with the  people  who come for+the first    time here
                with the people that come here for the first time

08              .hh pra vê se as pessoas tem algum- uma
                    to see if the  people   have some(M) one(F)
                .hh to see if the people have some- a

09              questão alguma- um- uma:- um proble:ma, se
                question  some(F) one(M) one(F) one(M) problem  is
                issue some- a- a:- a- pro:blem, if

10              ela vir a grava:r °>esse< primeiro nosso
                she come to record      this  first    our
                she comes to reco:rd °>this<° first co:ntact
                                                  _____/Ira cries

11              conta:to<=.hhh=Isso ela vai usa:r exclusivamente
                 contact            This she  will use   exclusively
                of o:urs<=.hhh=This she's going to u:se exclusively

12              pro estudo de:la,.hh uh num vai publicá no:me[:,] .hh]
```

```
                     for +the study of+her        no    will   publish    name
                     for her stu:dy,.hh uh she's not publishing na:me[s:, .hh]
13   Ira:                                                            [Nã]:o.]
                                                                     [No]:. ]

14           °N[ão.°]
             °N[o.°]

15   Let:         [Num ]tem nenhum ri:sco
                   No    has none    risk
                  [There']s no ri:sk
```

   ((Leticia and I continue the ethic clearance for about 45 seconds – and about 30 lines - the very end of my addition to Letícia's check is shown below)

```
46   Est:    é pra senhora ficá confortá:vel,  e:: pra ajudá
             is for+the ma'am to stay  comfortable     and  to help
             for you ma'am to be co:mfortable, a::nd to help

47           (talvez outras mulheres) que possam estar numa
              perhaps  other    women   who may  be    in+a
             (perhaps other women) who might be  in the

48           mesma situação.
             same situation.
             same situation.

49           (0.8)

50   Ira:    É: a minha situação é::: apenas: sei lá
             is/Huh the my  situation is   only     know(1ps) there
             U:H my situation i:s:: o:nly I don't know

51           eu (0.2) num sei se eu ((inaudible microphone
             I          no know is  I
             I  (0.2) don't know if I

52           noises followed by a mini-pause in the recording))

53   Let:    (     ) se existe alguma- algum problema pra
                      if   exists some(f)   some(M) problem for+the
             (     ) if there is some- some problem for

54           senhora se a Estefân[ia gravá:.= Nenhum problema]
             ma'am  if the  Estefania   record  None    problem
             you ma'am if Estefân[ia reco:rds it.=No problem.]

55   Ira:                        [Nã:::o. De maneira  nenhu:]ma.
                                  No.     Of manner  none
                                 [No::.    Not   at   a:]ll

56   Ira:    Nã[o.]
             N[o.]

57   Let:      [Tá-]=Então tá[:! Huh huh huh huh]
                Is   So  is
               [Right-]=That's ri[:ght! huh huh huh huh]

58   Ira:                       [Me=ajuda mais ai]:[nda.=Po]de=
                                  Me  helps more even    Can
                                 [It=helps me even mo]:[re.=You c]an=

59   Est:                                        [H: huh]

60   Ira:    =ficá sossega[:da.]
             stay   tranquil
             =be   at  ea:[se.]
```

```
61  Let:                           [Entã]o tá bo:m.
                                    So    is  good
                                   [That's] goo:d the:n.

62              (0.2)

63  Let:    Tá. Então vamo [lá- depois a ge]nte faz a=
            Is. So      will go there later    we  do/make the
            Right. So let's[go- we later w]e fill the=

64  Ira:                    [   ((coughs))  ]

65  Let:    =fi:cha. To vendo que a senhora tá precisando
            form      Am seeing that the ma'am    is needing
            =fo:rm. I see that you ma'am needs

66          falá[:.=Depois] a gente faz a fi:cha.
            to talk.  Later  we           do/make the form.
            to ta[:lk.=later] we do the fo:rm.

67  Ira:         [((coughs))]

68  Ira:    ((coughs)) Meu pobrema é o segui:nte,
                       My  problem  is  the following
                       My problem is the following,
```

The fragments above show that openings in the care centre are substantially different from the ones in the WPS. Although the two openings involve getting into a new room and taking seats, police interactions' openings stop there whereas openings in the care centre are longer and involve the establishing of the identities of the parties (the professionals introduce themselves and either check the complainant's name or address her by the name) and frequently involve a bit of information about the Casa's procedures. So, in the opening of the care centre interactions professionals frequently orient to the institutionality of their interactions by making procedures they are familiar with but are not obvious to the women that seek their help explained to them. Moreover, the Casa's professionals are not only flexible in their procedures, but they also make their flexibility apparent in the way they conduct the interaction and how they expose the interactional protocol. Those features of the opening help to make the interactions sound 'nicer' and more attentive to the women they serve and usually take a very short time to be done, while they can offer information about what they have to go through in the interaction and what they aim to do for the women. The police interaction could benefit a lot from openings like this. Even though officers' introducing themselves and explaining something about the procedure could take some time to be performed, a well structured opening could actually save their time in the long run. That is, an opening that also informed the complainants that what officers can do in their first interaction is to produce a police report and that this

task involves some required information could help them detect cases that are going to be dismissed sooner and also could help them to direct the tellings in a way that avoided (or minimized) clashes with complainants as they would know a bit more about what was relevant to the police work.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the police interactions and the phases that constitute those interactions which are centred in the making of a police report. The analysis of phases of interactions is useful in showing how interactions are organized and how they orient to the pursuit of a practical goal. The analysis of the organizational aspects of the WPS interactions have shown that there are two main ways in which the interactions are organized and that those ways are oriented to different kinds of requirements which are essential to the report-making: that a case is both policeable and reportable, as well as the fact that the screening process that preceeds the reporting proper is fallible in detecting those requirements. Reportings, as we have seen, are seldom as tightly controlled by the officers as the literature can make us believe (Ostermann, 2003). First, officers' attempts to control complainants' tellings can also fail and complainants may tell their stories in their own way and/or interfere with the structural organization of the telling by changing a reporting strategy an officer might have chosen.

Although we can see that there is more flexibility in the police interactions than the literature makes apparent, this flexibility is seldom attentive to the women's need, as they are in the care centre. The problem of 'attentiveness' is not only restricted to this flexibility though. The police interactions produce, in general, a sense that women are processed as cases and there is a general orientation to the accomplishment of tasks, rather than to serving and informing women who seek the police help. Sometimes this orientation to the requirements of the form produces a sense of mismatch between what complainants and officers deem to be relevant responses to the questions asked (this issue will be developed further in Chapter 6). Although interactional problems and misunderstandings are part of interactions and may never be completely avoided, there are ways in which this specific problem of lack of information and apparent disregard for the complaints can be addressed. Through an analysis of openings in the care centre, which produce an idea of attentiveness to the complainant and do sound like 'nicer'

interactions, we can see that with about one or two minutes of structured openings that contained a procedural explanation about the police reports and, perhaps, 'check listed' the requirements and explained the outcome of the report making, police officers could, in the long run, save their time by the early detection of dismissals and could conduct the reporting in a way in which complainants' knew what kind of information was relevant to the making of the report.   This frontloading of the limits and possibilities of the police interaction would not only produce a 'nicer' opening to the interaction, but it could also work to inform women about the actual type of assistance provided by the WPS, the outcomes of the reporting and could help them to structure their tellings. This would also save the officers from the problem of going through misalignment sequences and then have to orient to the form as their limitation once the reporting process comes to a standstill (this orientation to the form after problems happen will be briefly discussed in Chapter 6).

6

Misalignment in Interaction: Managing Misunderstandings between Complainants and Police Officers

This chapter deals with clashes of perspectives in interaction and the technology through which these become apparent. In my analysis I focus mostly in the interactions between complainants and police officers, but in order to show the technology for dealing with these clashes I also draw on instances of misalignments between police officers. I consider first third position repair and then other strategies for managing misalignment. Third position repair has been documented by Schegloff as the "last available systematically provided opportunity to catch (among other troubles) such divergent understandings as embody breakdowns of intersubjectivity" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1301). But as I will show it is not the only way of managing misalignments/clashes etc., as the way in which misalignments are managed in interaction will constitute the main focus of this chapter. This chapter contributes (a) to understanding women's problems in reporting violence because of clash between their lived experience of ongoing violence vs. demands of police forms to have a single reportable recent experience (b) to CA knowledge about the technology of repair and its alternatives for dealing with misalignments.

6.1 Clashes of perspectives: complainants and officers clashing pursuits of reports

As I showed in Chapter 4, problems in reporting violence are not restricted to cases in which police officers are insensitive to women's experiences of violence. They can also result from a clash of perspectives between service providers and help-seekers. It seems that the problem does not lie in the fact that service providers are unwilling to help, rather there is a problem inherent to the nature of the help provided and its discrepancy with what is actually sought by women, as also

propoposed by Trinch (2003), Brandao (1998). So, women's displayed understandings of what is relevant in reporting their experience of violence in abusive relationships, for example, do not always fit the legal paradigm of singular instances of crime (Trinch, 2003) and what women seek as an institutional response may be different from what the police actually offer (Brandão, 1998). So, problems in reporting violence in a WPS are not only restricted to getting or not a report (as seen in Chapter 4), but can be seen in the way that different perspectives about what is and what is not relevant to the police report arise in the process of making it. Even when complainants are not dismissed, this mismatch between officers and complainants in a pursuit of a report can be easily seen in cases in which an officer's questioning gets a sequentially relevant second which is understood to be a second to this first but is taken to be a misunderstanding of the question (or sometimes simply to be not answering the question) by the officer who undertakes to fix the problem in third position, clarifying/re-doing, restricting the scope of their own previous turn. In other words, this mismatch between what complainants and officers take to be relevant information to the report-making can be clearly seen in cases of third position repair and in other cases in which an officer's turn in third position shows they take the response to reveal a problem in terms of what they actually requested. So, when responding to requests of information by the officers the complainants' responses sometimes engage in aspects that are relevant to their presentation of the story which are deemed irrelevant by the officers who, then, block the woman's responses from going further and pursue reportably relevant matters.

These instances of misalignment often show the officer's orientation to the requirements of the form, in contrast to women's previous responses which do not fit those requirements. Misalignment is used here as "form of asymmetry of perspective between them regarding the question" asked by the officer (Drew, 2006, p. 423) as Drew's study on misalignment between callers and doctors in after hours calls. In the police context it can be seen that participants have a different orientation to the officer's question about 'what happened'. Complainants see it as a request for presenting/explaining their (full) story, that is for making their situation understood, and often provide the officer with some response that adumbrates a long (relational) story which presents an abusive relationship from its

beginning. Officers, on the other hand, pursue straightforward, context free pieces of information such as definition of a type of crime and the date of abuse. Whereas in Drew's analysis of after hours medical calls the misalignment between participants was manifest in a circumstantial way, that is, rather than having an overt misunderstanding participants just seemed to be going in different directions in the way they built their questions and answers, the misalignment in police-complainants interactions were often overtly manifest as misunderstandings and managed in third position. Officers employ, as I go on to show, different strategies for dealing with instances of misalignment (in their interactions with complainants and between themselves). Some of those are clear cases of third position repair (as they follow the canonical pattern studied by Schegloff (1991, 1992) – presented in section 6.2. Some cases are not, however, and point other ways of dealing with misalignments and they compose the main focus of this chapter and are developed in sections 6.3 – 6.5. The following two sections present clear cases of third position repair in English and in Brazilian Portuguese. Section 6.2 shows an outline of third position repair in its canonical form as presented by Schegloff (1992, 1997) goes on to show the use of third position repair in BP and some interactional imports of its use in a WPS. Sections 6.3 – 6.5 deal with those other forms of managing misalignments and their use in terms of the context in which they are studied, showing mismatches of understandings between complainants and police officers in the report-making process in a WPS.

6.2 Third Position Repair: A place for the examination of different understandings in talk

Intersubjectivity is grounded in 'participants' understanding of one anothers' conduct' (Schegloff, 1997, p. 1295). So, 'it is fundamental to conversation that participants construct or design their talk so to be understood in the way they wish to be understood' (Drew, 2005). Through talk 'speakers can display aspects of their understanding of prior talk ... in doing so, they can reveal understandings that the speakers of that prior talk find problematic – in other words, what they take to be misunderstandings.' (Schegloff, 1992, 1300). When a speaker finds an interlocutor's responsive talk to reveal a problem in understanding their prior turn, the speaker of that prior turn can manage this problem by repairing their own talk – the trouble source of the misunderstanding – in third position, doing third position repair (Schegloff, 1992).

Third position repair offers an opportunity, therefore, for participants 'to catch (among other problems) divergent understandings that embody breakdowns of intersubjectivity' (Schegloff, 1991, p.158). This also makes third position repair a good place to examine people's different understandings in interaction.

> "speakers ordinarily address themselves to prior talk and, most commonly, to immediately preceding talk. In doing so, speakers reveal aspects of their understanding of the prior talk to which their own is addressed. And in doing so, speakers can reveal to speakers of the prior talk understanding that the latter find problematic, that is, misunderstandings. When this occurs, speakers of the misunderstood talk can undertake to repair the misunderstanding, and this can thus constitute third position repair, repair after an interlocutor's response (second position) has revealed trouble in understanding an earlier turn (the repairable in the first position). The ordinary sequential organization of conversation thus provides for displays of mutual understanding and problems therein, one running basis for the cultivation and grounding of intersubjectivity" (Schegloff, 1991, p. 158).

In canonical forms of third position repair the misunderstandings addressed 'concern the substance of the talk, either its lexico-semantic-topical reference or its action-pragmatic upshot.' (Schegloff, 1991, 166). Examples 1 and 2 show cases in which the problem addressed is a topical reference one and example 3 shows an action-pragmatic problem. In all cases shown below:

> "the third position repair turns (marked by the c arrows) are addressed to repairing some trouble in understanding a prior utterance by the same speaker (marked by the a arrows), trouble revealed by an intervening turn by another (marked by the b arrows)" (Schegloff, 1991, p. 159)

#1

```
a -> A:   Now what was that house number you said [you were-
      B:                                           [NO phone. No.
      A: Sir?
b-> B: No phone at all.
c-> A: No I mean the uh house number,[ y-
      B:                             [Thirdy eight oh one?
      A: Thirdy eight oh one.
```

 # 2 CDHQ 152

```
a-> A: Which one::s are closed, an' which ones are open.
b-> Z: Most of 'em. This, this, this, this ((pointing to map))
c-> A: [I 'on't mean on the shelters,
c->    I mean on the roads.
    Z: Oh!
```

 # 3 SPC, 74

```
    G: Well what did Miss Jevon say when you spoke to her.
    C: She said she would be glad to talk to you and she would be
       waiting for your call.
    G: Boy, it was some wait. Everyone else in that clinic has been
       just wonderful to me. Both the Diabetic Clinic and the
       Psychiatric Clinic. It's just that woman.
a-> C: Well, what are you going to do, Mr. Greenberg.
b-> G: Well that's true. When you are a charity patient, when you
       are a beggar, you can't do anything about it, you just have
       to take what's handed out to you, and-
c-> C: No, I mean about yourself. What are you going to do for
       yourself. . . .
```

The fragments shown above are examples of third position repair as presented by Schegloff (1991). The first two fragments show a problem with a reference whereas the third fragment shows a problem with the action in question. Those are the uses of canonical cases of third position repair as proposed by Schegloff (1991).

This does not mean that this is the only way people deal with these kinds of misalignments. People, for instance, may 'abdicate' the opportunity to repair a prior turn - to use Jefferson's construction (Jefferson, 2007) – and may produce a subsequent turn as a next question, as presented by Schegloff:

> "If "next turn" is understood as indeed displaying a misunderstanding of its prior, then speaker of that prior-of the trouble-source turn-need not initiate repair, but can "let it go," in other words, he or she can treat the responsive turn as if it were sequentially appropriate and correct. The misunderstood speaker may then later redo the misunderstood talk of the trouble-source turn as a "new utterance"; that is, do it not in the manner of "doing it again," but doing it for "another first time," to use Harold Garfinkel's felicitous phrase" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1329)

Extract 4 (below) presented in Schegloff (1992) illustrates this possibility well. As Schegloff (1992) demonstrates, Betty's turn at lines 05 - 06 presents an inference about Bud, but Ann's response (lines 06 – 08) reveals her to have taken that inference to be about herself. As seen from the examples above, in the following turn, Betty could deal with this displayed misunderstanding with a third position

repair, but she choses not to do so. At line 10, she does a sequentially appropriate response to Ann's complaint ('Awww.'). Then, at line 12, she produces a new version of the trouble-source turn, but as if it were being said for the first time, rather than connecting it to its prior saying.

#4 - (NB)

```
01   Ann:     Well I tellyuh b- uh Bud might go back up t'the
02            boat, He's out ridin' a bike now en 'e thought
03            'eed [go up'n getta pa:per.
04   Betty:        [Oh::.
05   Betty:   Oh 'e wasn' going- 'e didn' go fishi-eh-deh
06            [didn't go go:lfing then
07   Ann:     [Oh I can't go-
08   Ann:     Huh. Oh God I can't go inna boat fer a lo:ng time.
09            'E siz "No boating er no::,"
10   Betty:   Awww.
11   Ann:     ["-golf"
12   Betty:   [Bud wasn't playing golf?
13   Ann:     No.
14   Betty:   Oh::::…
```

Although speakers have third position repairs as an available option, they might chose to privilege other actions rather than undertake repair and reveal another person's misunderstanding of their talk. People can also, as I go on to show, use other strategies to deal with cases of misunderstanding and misalignment in third position. The following sections of this chapter will examine some strategies used in Brazilian Portuguese to deal with such cases of misunderstanding. First, I will show instances of third position repair in BP, showing how they have the same features of those shown to exist in English. The subsequent sections, which show cases in which a similar technology to that one of canonical third position repairs is used to address clash of perspectives in third position, seem to validate Schegloff's cautionary advice for analysts:

> "to remain alert to an action-formation resource pool, in which practices, deployed always in some position, can accomplish *different* actions; and actions can be accomplished through a *variety* of situated practices" (Schegloff, 1997, p. 505)

Practices for dealing with misalignments, which are similar in terms of the form they take and the 'technology' they employ, but perform different actions, are going the focus of this Chapter and will be discussed in the following sections and subsections.

6.2.1 Canonical Cases of Third Position Repair in Brazilian Portuguese

One interesting feature of those cases of misunderstanding is that a speaker's responsive turn to a prior does not display any problem with the preceding turn, it rather, shows no difficulty producing a second relevant next which displays an understanding of it. This understanding is, later, claimed not to be the 'intended' one by the first speaker who repairs their own turn and clarifies it. So, these instances of third position repair allow us to see different understandings regarding what is relevant as a response to different participants and this is relevant to understanding the mismatch of perspectives between complainants and officers in a WPS. This section will show some examples of third position repair in Brazilian Portuguese in its canonical form. Those examples are very similar to the canonical cases of third position repair as they were first proposed in English.

The first example I present here (WPS 21) is a straight-forward example of third position repair in BP. It involves a mishearing which is also related to a problem regarding what is relevant to the 'story' of abuse and to the making of a 'crime report' and will be explained in some detail before its presentation. The subsequent fragments will illustrate the third position repair structure, but their content will only be examined in more detail in the next section which will focus on their analytical import for the interactions in the WPS, whereas this section will focus on the structure of third position repair.

All the fragments shown below are annotated with arrows in order to illustrate the structure of third position repairs. An arrow marked as t1 marks the turn which contains the trouble source and which is repaired by its speaker in third position (marked as t3) after a subsequent responsive turn to t1 is produced (marked as t2) and this turn is taken to reveal a misunderstanding of t1 by its speaker.

In WPS 21, the complainant, Fabiana (Fab), had been brought to the WPS by the police because of a street fight which had left her visibly injured: she had bumps and bruises in her face and body and also fairly deep scratches in her face and arms which showed bright red blood. We join the interaction when the officer in charge, Po6, starts asking about more specific details of the incident of abuse, after having already elicited the basic personal details of the complainant and her abuser's and having established the time of the incident. The trouble source turn (t1) in this case

is Po6's question (line 01) 'Com o que / With what' [did the abuse happen]. This question is designed to elicit a response that is required as a mandatory field in the report (see Appendix A), which offers (on the computer screen officers work with) alternative 'instruments' of abuse (such as 'knife', 'clenched fist', 'belt' etc.). In contexts like this in which the abuse had not been presented, this question about 'with what' and undefined 'it/this' happened is often problematic in the WPS, as it is in WPS 21. This is taken to be 'Como que/ How' [the abuse happened] by Fabiana (note that 'Com o que' is very similar to 'Como que'), who starts a telling about milk distribution (line 02) and then introduces her abuser's daughter (line 04) as a character. Not only does this subsequent turn (T2) fail to answer what kind of instrument was used in the abuse, but it also prefigures a long story (rather than a possible shorter 'how' response on the lines of 'she said I was queue-jumping and punched me in the head'). This T2, then reveals a misunderstanding of T1, but is understood to be responsive to T1 and Po6, then, seeks to address this misunderstanding by repairing her T1. Po6 blocks the telling adumbrated in t2 from going further (lines 05-06), and then (probably with non-verbal aids) disambiguates the referent 'this' as the woman's bodily injuries and not as the crime and offers a candidate response that the instrument that caused the injury was nails. This candidate response is produced in overlap with Fabiana's attempt to respond and her first response (line 07) just assigns the crime to the woman who had abused her and, then, with another TCU provides the 'instrument' response, which was not clear in the first place.

#5 - WPS 21

```
01   Po6:  t1,  Com o que foi que aconteceu isso aí.
                 With what   was  that  happened  this  there
                 What did this happen with.

02   Wom:  t2,  É porque eu pego le:ite¿=E ela pega le:ite.
                 Is because I get   milk. And she  gets milk
                 It's because I get mi:lk¿=And she gets mi:lk.

03             (0.5)

04   Wom:  t2,  Aí a filha dela tem quarto a:[nos e (aí)]
                 Then the daughter of+her has four  years and then
                 Then   her  daughter  is    fo:[ur and (then)]

05   Po6:  t3,                               [ Nã:o.   ] Isso aí
                                                 No           This there
                                             [  No:.   ]This

06         t3,  foi o que.=F[oi   com=a=mã:-  com a  u:n]ha fo:i.
```

```
                        was    what.  Was      with the h:- with the      nail was
                        was what.=Wa[s with=the=h:- with the na:]ils wa:s it.
07    Wom:                        [Foi   e:la.=>Com=a=u:nha<. ]
                                  Was  her    With the nail
                                  [It was he:r.=>With=the=na:il<.]
08              (33 sec)
```

Other examples of third position repair from the recordings of police interactions are shown below. All the examples show arrowed turns (t1, t2, t3) where t1 is the trouble source turn, t2 is a turn responsive to t1 (which does not initiate repair on t1) and t3 is the turn in which the speaker of t1 initiates repair on his/her own prior talk (t1) in order to deal with a problem of understanding displayed by t2.

#6 - WPS 31

```
03    Pin: t1, Ó o que foi que acontece:u¿
                See/Listen what   was that   happened
                So okay what happene:d¿

04    Wom: t2, Oia minha fia, já tem sete anu que
                Look  my   daughter, already has seven year that
                Look young lady, it's been seven years

05         t2, o meu menino mora cum essa mulé:,
                the my   son   lives with this woman
                that my son has been living with this wo:man,

06    Pin: t3, Não. O que foi que aconteceu agora.
                No.   What was that happened   now
                No. What happened just now.

07         [(°Co:nta/Pro:nto°)]
           [  (Tell / Ready)      ]
           [(°Te:ll/Re:ady°) ]

08    Wom:  [    Ago]ra? Agora pouco memo dumi:ngo
             [        No]w? Now    little   really  Sunday
             [        No]w? Now just recently on Su:nday

09         ela chegou na minha casa, .hh deu duas
           she arrived  in the my    house        gave two
           she got to my house, .hh gave two

10         pancada na porta quando eu pensei que=ela
           blows   on the door    when  I   thought that she
           punches on the door when I thought=she
```

#7 - WPS 20 (7:20)

```
03              (19 sec)
04    Pol: t1, Foi quando que aconteceu i:sso.
                Was when   that happened   this/it
                When did it ha:ppen.

05              (0.2)

06    Wom: t2, Bom, isso aconteceu e::m: nós tamos em
                Well, this/it   happened  in  we   are in
                Well, it happened i:n: we are in

07         t2, dois mil e três=de dois mil e um pra
```

two thousand and three of two thousand and one to
two thousand and three=from two thousand and one to

08 t2, dois mil e dois¿=>Mais ou menos.<=Tá
two thousand and two¿ More or less. Is
two thousand and two¿=>More or less.<=There's

09 t2, com um ano e cinco meses que eu tou
with a year and five months that I am
a year and five months since I've got

10 t2, com a ba:nca¿
with the stall
the sta:ll¿

11 Po1: t3, Não. Quero saber da amea:ça que ele
No. Want to know of+ the threat that he
No. I want to know about the thre:at that he

12 t3, [(fez)]
did/made
[(made)]

13 Wom: [Si:m.] De hoje- foi hoje me:smo¿=
Yes. Of today was today same/really¿
[Ri:ght.] Today- it was on this very da:y¿=

#8 – WPS 36

01 Po4: t1, [Si:m. Quando fo:i E]:dvalda que:,
Yes When was name that
[Ye:h. When wa:s E]:dvalda tha:t,

02 t1, as=a: agressão de:le >essa ú[ltim]a?<
the(pl) the(s) aggression of his this last one
the=his abu:se >this la[st on]e?<

03 *door closing noise* --> [door]

04 (1.2)

05 Wom: t2, Em média te:m, [(0.2)] cinco anu
In average has five year
On the average there's bee:n, [(0.2)] five years

06 door noise --> [ ]

07 Wom: t2, assi:m.=
like
li:ke.=

08 Po4: t3, =NÃo!=AGO:RA.=Ele agrediu você quando?=
No! Now. He abused you when
=No!=No:w.=When did he abuse you?=

09 t3, =Ontem, antes de o:nte:m,
yesterday before of yesterday
=Yesterday, the day before ye:ste:rday,

10 Wom: Ontem ele me agrediu assim não f:-
Yesterday he me abused like not ph
Yesterday he abused me like not ph:-

11 fisicamente né? Com pala:vra[s.]
physically no With words
physically right? With word[s.]

The fragments presented above illustrate the same kind of problem: a responsive turn to a request of information about the crime that victimized the complainant is interrupted by an officer who initiates repair – in third position – to their own turn reducing the scope to the question to a recent, 'last', incident which has supposedly occasioned the reporting of the abuser. In a more structural presentation, it could be said that: a request for information about the case of abuse to be reported (t1), gets an answer (t2), which is treated by t3 as a misunderstanding of t1, which is then repaired by the officer. So, in their canonical form, those cases of third position repair show the same structure found in cases of third position repair displayed in the data derived from the English speakers. These examples show that instances of third position repair exist in Brazilian Portuguese and that they are used by a speaker that seeks to address some understanding on their earlier turn, which they find problematic (a misunderstanding). The specific use of third position repair in the WPS will be discussed in the next section in which a detailed discussion of these cases will be presented.

6.2.2 Some Analytical Imports: The Use of Third Position Repair in the WPS

Sometimes the problem involved in a case of misunderstanding which is repaired then, in third position, can be a very straight forward mishearing of something that was said – e.g WPS 21, shown above – more often, however, the problems of understanding have to do with the kind of information is considered relevant in order to provide a relevant second to a first in terms of a 'story' or a 'crime report'.

All the cases of third position repair shown above illustrate common clashes between how women present their stories of violence and what officers seek to hear as reportable violence. Those cases of misalignment are visible on the surface of the talk when women respond to enquires about what happened to them by producing talk that projects a long story. Complainants are, then, frequently interrupted by officers in the process of presenting their story as officers repair their FPP in order to limit their enquiry to the 'last' incident of abuse. By presenting their problems as the outcome of a long series of events or by placing the abuse in a relational familial web and background information about characters who abused them, complainants go about reporting the abuse in a manner that makes sense to the understanding of their whole history of abuse, whereas the police focus is on a single, more specifically the last, incident of abuse. So, in those

cases it is very common that officers stop women from going further on this telling about their history of abuse and repair their turn in order to limit relevant responses to the last incident of violence[1]. This issue of responsive turns to requests of information about the crime that victimized the complainant being interrupted by an officer who initiates repair – in third position – to their own turn reducing the scope to the question to a recent, 'last', incident which has supposedly occasioned the reporting of the abuser will be developed in more detail below, as the three fragments #6 (WPS 31), #7 (WPS 20) and #8 (WPS 36) shown earlier to illustrate the case of third position repair just schematically are presented in detail in the following paragraphs.

In fragment #6 (WPS 31) Po6 asks the complainant about what happened, i.e. the violence she has come to report, (line 03) and at lines 04-05 the complainant starts a telling which presents her problem with a reference to a 7-year-old relationship and as a development of something connected to the two characters introduced (her son and his partner). The complainant has clearly not finished her telling as she does not describe any violence, but only sets the scene for her telling, while her continuing intonation also signals that there is more to come. Po6, however, produces a third position repair in line 06, stopping this telling from going further. She first says 'Não/No', which initiates the repair, followed by a repaired version of her turn on line 03. This repaired turn omits 'ó' (used to get attention at the start of the turn at line 03) but dispensable (Schegloff, 2004), at line 06, and adds the word 'agora/now' in the end of the TCU, constraining the telling of a history of abuse to a report of a recent incident of violence. An increment to the TCU is designed to elicit the response, which is produced in overlap with the complainant's new response, which refers only to the last incident of abuse (starting on line 08) and is marked as so first with the understanding check with "agora", and then with "agora pouco memo" which shows that the woman understands that her telling is to be constrained to the most recent instance of abuse which she, in turn, goes on to present.

Extract #7 (WPS 20) is another example of different understandings between what is regarded as a relevant 'story' by officers and complainants. Unlike WPS 31, which

---

[1] This contrasts with WPS 19, shown in chapter 04 when the complainant gets to tell a long story of abuse to the officer in charge.

shows a request of information about 'what' happened, WPS 20 shows an officer's request for information about 'when' the abuse, indexed as 'isso/it', happened. Like the fragment from WPS 31, this request for information generates a response that does not refer solely to the last incident, but rather refers to the beginning of her problems some years earlier (lines 6 – 10), so the officer produces a third position repair in order to get an specific date for the last (reportable) incident of abuse: Po1 initiates her third position repair with 'Não', blocking this kind of response and then re-does her request for information to focus on the man's threat to the complainant, unpacking the reference 'isso/it' (lines 11-12).

Extract #8 (WPS 36) is another example in which the police officer in charge pursues a single recent incident of abuse after a complainant's presentation of something that points to a "history' of abuse rather than one separate incident. Po4's t1 in this case already shows some orientation to making the question about 'what happened' more specific to the 'last' case as Po4 self repairs her turn (in transition space), adding 'essa última/this last one' to the end of a TCU about 'when' the abuse was (lines 01 – 02). In WPS 36, however, the complainant clearly has some difficulties in providing a single incident and time as it does not capture her situation. The complainant's reponse (t2), lines 05-07, departs from the questioning as it does not provide an information about the last incident, but rather about an 'average'. On line 08 then Po4 initiates a third position repair with 'Não/No', which blocks this response from going further. She then produces 'agora/now', a redone version of 'essa última' and asks again when the abuse happened. Latched to this, another TCU is produced, this time a list construction in which days are presented in their relational time to the present day 'yesterday, the day before yesterday' as candidate responses to the question. Differently from the previous examples, WPS 36 shows a case in which the complainant's difficulty in providing a response conforming to the kind of information pursued by the officer goes beyond a misunderstanding of what the request for information about the abuser entails. So, rather than providing an answer to this specific question, the woman builds on the time candidates presented by Po4 and says that she was abused on the previous day but with words rather than physically.

In order to illustrate the officer's orientation to the form-filling requirement of a single recent incident of abuse, which is assumed to be the cause for the reporting

of the abuser, clashing with the complainants' presentation of the abuse in their responses to the officers' enquiries, the continuation of WPS 36 will be presented below. The fragment shown below is *not* a case of third position repair, but it is shown here to illustrate what is privileged in the report-making and how those instances of misalignment can go on and officers might turn to explicit references to the form in order to justify their pursuits of a recent single instance of abuse to report.

Extract 9, shown below, starts just after the end of #8 when the complainant's displayed difficulty in providing a date for the abuse she was there to report. The police officer, then, pursues the date for the last case of physical abuse (lines 12-15). While lines 14 and 15 make explicit reference to the report making, lines 12 and 13 make relevant the pursuit of physical battery, which shall be discussed in a bit more detail. At first, this type of pursuit might be taken to reveal an officer's disregard of a woman's experience of violence as violence, unless it takes the form of physical violence. The pursuit of battery and sustained bodily injuries as their first option is, however, also explicable as those crimes are considered to be more serious and more often punished than verbal abuse ones. As shown on a previous study on the WPSs, with the "percentage of reported cases formally investigated and taken to court system pending prosecution rarely higher than 2 percent", and a "smaller percentage resulted in prosecution and conviction" (Hautzinger, 1997, p.39) it is not surprising that "the offenses formally prosecuted and punished tended to be only the most serious, demonstrable sort: primarily battery causing serious injury, and occasionally rape when reliable witnesses were available" (Hautzinger, 1997, p.39). This makes it equally not surprising that officers pursue cases of sustained bodily injury in their reports and this action is not simply explained by officers insensitivity to women's pain but it is guided towards making a strong claim of violence (one that can stand up in court). Women complainants, on the other hand, are not familiar with police statistics and punishment rates, nor with the reporting models and their experience of violence may not be well represented in a police report by a description of the last case of abuse. The clash of those two perspectives are common interactional problems in the police environment and can be perceived as 'frustrating' by women who do not have their experiences of verbal abuse validated as such and are cornered into presenting a date and a time for

abuses they perceive as happening all the time; and also by officers who do not get satisfactory responses from the complainants and have to pursue a reportable answer. To complainants, however, this can cause negative feeling towards the reporting situation if one considers as Trinch (2001) listening to a woman's story as a type of advocacy in terms of "empowering clients and validating their concerns and feelings" (p. 475).

As the complainant displays some difficulties with this response (first with 'let me see' and then with a word search – at line 16), Po4 keeps pursuing a date, this time presenting as candidate responses some days of the week (line 17). As it turns out, the cases of physical battery were not recent (lines 18-19), so the officer pursues a reportable matter with different (repaired) versions of what had brought the woman to the police to report her abuser (lines 20-21; line 23; line 25) as the complainant shows some difficulties in producing a response in the first place (which is quite different from the cases shown above in which complainants produce a response in second position and it is only in third position that their responses is treated to reveal a problem). As soon as the complainant starts answering positively to the question about verbal abuse (line 27) with 'Foi/Yes', Po4 comes in overlap with the woman's talk asking if the abuser had made any threat to the woman (line 28). A threat, which is pursued by the officer, is the strongest case of verbal abuse and the complainant provides the strongest type of verbal abuse, a death threat (lines 31-32). The 'date' is, however, pursued again (line 33) and this pursuit of a recent and strong case of abuse continues for a long time as the complainant cannot single out one instance of recent abuse. In this clear case of misalignment, Po4 makes explicit reference to the form requirements (lines 38-41) to account for her pursuit.

#9 – WPS 36

12	Po4:		[Ma]s a
			But the
			[Bu]t the

13		agressão fí:sica, qual foi a última
		aggression physical which was the last
		physical aggre:ssion, when was the last

14		vez:. Que=eu preciso pra butá aqui
		time That I need to put here
		time:. Cuz=I need it to put it here

| 15 | | na da:ta. |

on the date.
on the da:te.

16 Wom: °D'xovê:, a última ve:is:,° (0.2)
         Let me see   the last   time
         °Le'me see:, the last ti:me,° (0.2)

17 Po4: Domi::ngo, sá:bado, quando f[oi?]
         Sunday   Saturday   when   was(3ps)
         Su::nday, Sa:turday, when was[it?]

18 Wom: [Nã:]o.
                                 No
                                 [No]:.

19   Já:- já tem tempo já:.
         Already already has time already
         It's:- it's been some time alre:ady.

20 Po4: E o que foi que levô você a vir ho:je
         And what was that took you to come today
         So what was it that made you come he:re

21   aqui:.
         here
         toda:y.

22   (0.2)

23 Po4: Foi por conta de que da agressã:o.
         Was due to   of what   of the aggression
         Was it due to what the abu:se.

24   (.)

25 Po4: Só (.) oral foi?
         Only oral was
         Only (.) verbal was it?

26   (0.2)

27 Wom: F::o:i assi[:m   de:-   de:::]
         Was   like   of   of
         Ye::s: li[:ke   due:-   du::e]

28 Po4:   [>Mas ele fez alguma amea]:ça.<
                     But he did/made some   threat
                     [>But did he make any thre]:at.<

29 Wom: F::=Si:m. °Sim°.
         (Did/Made)=Yes. Yes
         Ye::=he di:d. °He did°.

30 Po4: Fez   ameaça [de qu]ê?
         Did   threat   of what
         He made a threat [of wh]at?

31 Wom: [Fe:z.] De mor:te. °°De
                          Did   Of death   Of
                          [Ye:s.] Of de:ath. °°Of

32   m[orte.°° Ele] tem me ameaçado de mor:te=
         death   He   has me threatened of death
         d[eath.°° He] has been threatening me with de:ath=

33 Po4: [Qu↑a:ndo.]
         When

```
                [ Wh↑e:n. ]
34  Wom:        =tem assi::m (0.2) há um:: (.) d'xovê
                =has like             has one/hum    let me see
                =for abo::ut (0.2) it's been a:: (.) let me see

35              a me ameaç- me ameaçá de mor:te ele te:m
                to me threat- me threaten  of  death   he has
                to threate- he ha:s threatened me with de:ath

36              assi:m, há um mê::s. ↑Que a gente- pra
                like   has one month  That  we       for
                for abo:ut, it's been a mo::nth ↑Cuz we- to

37              marcá   assi:m:[:]
                mark    like
                register li::ke[:]

38  Po4:                        [É] por:que eu vou precisá pra
                                Is  because  I will need   to
                                [It's]beca:use I'll need it to

39              butá aqui a da:ta.=>>Tá entende:ndo?<<=
                put here the date     Is  understanding
                input here the da:te.=>>Understa:nd?<<=

40              =>Aí eu tenho que:,< (0.8) você vai
                 Then I   have to            you  will
                =>Then I have to:,< (0.8) you will

41              tê que dizê aqui >pr'eu pude< colocá:.
                have to say here   for I to be able to place/put
                have to say here >to enable me< to pu:t.
```

The fragment above shows an officer's orientation to the requirements of the form in her pursuit of a recent date of abuse and, later, an explicit orientation to the form itself accounting for this pursuit. In the police context it can be seen that participants have a different orientation to the officer's question about 'what happened'. Complainants see it as a request for presenting/explaining their (full) story, that is for making their situation understood, and often provide the officer with some response that adumbrates a long (relational) story which presents an abusive relationship from its beginning. Officers, on the other hand, pursue straightforward, context free pieces of information such as definition of a type of crime and the date of abuse. Misalignments in police-complainants interactions are often overtly manifest as misunderstandings and managed through repair operations. Officers faced with a complainant's responsive turn which adumbrates a long story rather then present a local, recent, single incident of abuse generally block the 'story' when it starts to be told. Sometimes complainants display difficulties in providing responses to these repaired questions produced by officers as they seem to constrain their stories in a way that does not capture their situation

and/or reduces it to something that - similarly to the 'no problem' scenarios presented by doctors which were not endorsed by callers' extended responses about their symptoms, as analysed by Drew (2006) – restricts their telling to some version which they do not seem to endorse.

This problem regarding how complainants and officers frame the violence in their tellings and in the report is, in my data, a common interactional problem. This problem is not exactly surprising when domestic violence has been shown to be often experienced as a "continuum of violence" (Kelly, 1988) and when such violence which is experienced as 'perpetual' is displaced from its history of abuse to conform to a report format that focus on single episodes of violence (Trinch, 2003). Moreover, complainants are not aware of the reporting rules – which are pursued by officers – but they have their understanding about what is relevant to their life-story of abuse which creates a clash:

> "women's stories tend to represent domestic violence as a relationship and not as just an incident of violence. (...) Service providers try to construct rule-oriented accounts by focusing on behavior already considered to be criminal by the system. " (Trinch, 2003, p. 160)

This isolated pursuit of the last incident as 'the reason' to seek police assistance seems to be taken (as in case WPS 36, shown above) as problematic by complainants who have 'weak' claims of abuse based on last incidents only. So complainants may 'understand' the intended limitations of a request of information about the 'last' incident of abuse and yet resist such limitations and find ways of presenting their story of abuse in order to attest to the seriousness of their case and present themselves as having 'good reasons' to seek for police help. This is in accordance with what has been previously shown in the literature, that women's decision to report is not based on the 'last' abuse:

> "For many battered women, however, it seems that their decision to come into the system is not based on what happened the last time the abuser did something. Instead, their stories reveal that their decision is based on a tangled series of events" (Trinch, 2003, p. 212)

Again, while this emphasis on one recent incident of abuse may be unproblematic for regular crimes (such as robbery) some specificities of domestic violence make

the reporting awkward for women who may have their 'history' of abuse disregarded and/or some forms of abuse not taken as 'serious' in the officers' pursuit of serious incidents of battery. From the police perspective, this pursuit of a single reportable crime is part of how they conduct their job and what they are supposed to fill out in the report and they also explicitly orient to the demand of the form in accounting for their request.

This section has shown cases of third position repair in its canonical form in Brazilian Portuguese. The first subsection was designed to show the 'schematic' presence of third position repair in Brazilian Portuguese fragments, attending for its use in cases in which a speaker repairs their own previous turn after another speaker's responsive turn to this previous turn shows some problematic understanding of it. The second subsection was designed to show specific uses of third position repair in the WPS and misalignments between officers and complainants regarding their answers to questions about the violence women suffered. Although as a resource, third position repair is available in BP (as well as in English), there are other ways in which speakers seek to address similar problems of understanding in talk. Subsequent sections of this chapter (sections 6.3 to 6.5) will discuss the use of other resources by speakers managing similar problems of understandings in BP.

6.3 'Eu sei mas / I know but': separating relevant 'new' information from what is 'known'

Problems of understanding are not restricted to interactions between officers and complainants, nor are they exclusively dealt with (and made apparent) by instances of third position repair. The two examples shown below are extracts of interactions between police officers. They show some problem of understanding of a turn which gets a responsive second which is then shown as a misunderstanding of their first turn. The way in which this kind of problem is dealt with is slightly different, however, to the cases shown above. In the fragments shown below the officers produce a third turn with 'Eu sei / I know' which marks the information received in second position as already known and not the desired information they requested in their first turn and/or not 'new' information and not relevant to their first turn. Rather than producing a negative in the beginning of their turn and sequentially deleting the response originally received, their third turn presenting this second

turn as 'known' does 'receive' this answers – albeit as 'undesirable' – as true and previously 'known'.

Extract 10 (WPS 12), shown below shows Po5's request for confirmation (lines 03 – 04) of her understanding of what to do regarding a complainant's case as presented by the deputy chief-commissioner (Dcc). This request for confirmation is negatively framed and receives a confirmatory response with another negatively framed turn, which starts with Dcc's 'Não'. Dcc, however, extends this confirmation with an explanation about the reason for this special procedure which she had already explained (lines 05 – 07) and then starts the presentation of what should be done in this case. Before the Dcc finishes her turn, Po5 starts a turn (line 08) in which she produces this information as already known 'Eu sei / I know', which renders further explanation unnecessary, and then presents again her firstly intended request for confirmation as limited to checking that 'nothing else' was needed. This turn, then, receives a simple confirmatory response with 'Não/No'.

#10 - WPS 12

```
01  Dcc:     Pra você orientar depois a procurar a
             For you   to orient    later   to search the
             For you to orient her later to go for the

02           defensoria pública.
             defense(r)  public
             legal aid.

03  Po5: t1, Certo. Não vai precisar faze:::r (.)
             Correct. No will   need       to do/make
             Right. It won't be necessary to do::: (.)

04       t1, intimacão nada não né?
             notification nothing no no+is
             the notification and anything right?

05  Dcc: t2, Não porque o termo de compromisso já
             No because the term of commitment already
             No because the conciliatory term has

06       t2, foi feito agora tá sendo feito
             was done/made now  is being  done
             already been done now is being done

07       t2, agora, então você coloca
             now   so   you   put
             now, so you state

08  Po5: t3, Eu sei.=Mas mais nada.
             I know. But  more nothing.
             I know.=But nothing else.

09  Dcc:     Não.
             No.
```

Similarly to the examples of canonical cases of third position repair shown above, this example (WPS 12) shows a problem of understanding of a request for information. In this case, however, the intended confirmation was provided. It was just the 'extent' of the need for information that was shown to be erroneous and is interrupted. Similarly to the cases of third position repairs the response in second position is not fully endorsed, but in this case part of response is accepted, as correct and already known and, as such, part of it is shown to be unnecessary. While third position repairs simply block some answer as 'irrelevant', those 'Eu sei' cases mark the reason of such irrelevance as being the provision of information that is *known already*. So, while they acknowledge the 'correctness' of the information provided in second position, they do not endorse such response as they mark it as 'unnecessary'.

The next example (#11 - WPS 26) is slightly different but it also shows some information as unnecessary. In this case, a first turn is interrupted by a second which attempts to correct (as OI repair implementing the repair solution) this first one, but (in third position) this information in second position is presented as known and not needed. WPS 26 shows a request for information (line 01), followed by a responsive SPP (lines 04 – 07) which explains the problem encountered by the officer Po6 in producing the report. Interruptively to this explanation, Po6 produces a NTRI which also produces a correction of a problem with the reference 'nome dela / her name' (lines 08 – 09). As shown in Chapter 7, abusers are routinely assumed to be male and in this case, the abuser was actually a woman and this is what Po6 clarifies in her turn: that the name shown in the computer was the abuser's name (the author of the crime), and not the complainant's. This is claimed, however, to be known by Po8 (line 10), who first says 'Eu sei / I know' and subsequently produces a turn introduced by an adversative conjunction 'mas/but' and then goes on to produce the illustration she had started on line 06, with the hypothetical 'se voce tivesse / if you had' (lines 06 and 12), and produces the explanation which was requested about Po6's problem of producing the report (which had occasioned the call for help).

#11 - WPS 26

```
01   Po6:    Olha aqui né não.
             Look  here  no+is no
             Look here isn't it so.
```

```
02  Po8:    Mmm,

03          (1.8)


04  Po8: t1, É ela num foi encaminhada purquê:- (cê) alterou
              Is she no went   forwarded      because   (you)  altered
            Uh she wasn't forwarded beca:se- (you) changed it

05       t1, né agora >>Porque você num tinha salva:do-=se você
              no+is now  because    you  no  had    saved   if  you
            right but >>Because you hadn't sa:ved it-=if you

06       t1, tivesse posto o nome dela aqui (ó:) (0.2 +cough)
              had(subj) put  the  name  of+her here.   see
            had put her name here (see:) (0.2 + cough)

07       t1, Qua[ndo fosse]    procurá  o   [BO-]
              When  went(subj) to search    the report
            Wh[en you went] to look for the [report]

08  Po6: t2,    [ N:ã:o!  ]                [A Reg]i:na é a au- é
                   No                       The (name) is the au(thor) is
                [ N:o:!  ]                  [ Reg]i:na is the au- is

09       t2,             quem fez a- é a auto[ra (  -)]
                         who did feet  is the. author
                  the one who did th- is the auth[or (  -)]

10  Po8: t3,                             [ Eu  s:e]::i.
                                            I know
                                         [I   kn:o]::w.

11          (.)

12  Po8: t3, Mas aí assim, por exe:mplo se você tivese (...)
              But then like  for example    if  you  had(subj)
            But then it's like, for exa:mple if you had
```

Again, similarly to the examples of canonical cases of third position repair shown above, this example (WPS 26) shows in third position that a second turn coveys some misunderstanding of the first and this is managed in third position. Differently from the cases of third position repair, rather than blocking second turns from going further and positioning them as not desired responses, these cases mark some sort of clarification provided by a second speaker as unecessary and known – but not necessarily as 'wrong' and /or 'completely' inappropriate. While third position repairs block a second turn as not responsive to the first turn as 'intended', these cases of 'Eu sei' mark the response as – albeit correct – not relevant in the specific context, while they acknowledge the fact that the answer received is correct as they position it as 'known' before, it is in fact irrelevant to the issue at hand.

These cases are similar to some other cases shown below which have turns also in third position and deal with some kind of misunderstanding/misalignment initiated

by 'Sim'. Like 'eu sei' cases the examples shown below also do a bit more than just block some kind of misunderstood response as 'not wanted' as they restrict what constitutes a relevant (and an irrelevant) part of the answer that has been provided. Like 'eu sei' cases, they do present one aspect of the response as correct/known but rathen than presenting the information presented as 'unecessary' because of having too much extra information, they also point to something that is missing.

6.4 'Sim mas' (Right but): another strategy for the Management of Misalignments

Similarly to the cases shown above, the cases examined below show a first turn (t1) which gets a second and responsive turn (t2) which is shown to reveal some problem by the speaker of (t1) in their production of a third turn (t3) in third position, which makes (t2) problematic. The cases shown below are introduced by 'Sim' + 'mas'/but which are similar to the cases of third position repair and of 'Eu sei + mas' shown above.

Unlike the cases of 'Eu sei' shown above, they are not cases in which a second speaker attempts to 'add' some clarification and/or inform the first speaker about something she might not be aware. The cases which get 'Sim' are very similar to those which get 'Nao'-initiated third position repairs except that those initiated with sim receipt the second turn, instead of rejecting it and sequentially deleting it by redoing the prior turn to which it was responsive. In other words, whereas third position repairs reject the co-conversationalist's prior as an inappropriate response, these third position turns accept it as 'known' and/or 'presupposed' and, in a way, correct (for something if not for the question), while also inadequate and pursue the matters further clarifying the scope of their request for information.

Before moving on to the analysis of the examples of the instances, I will consider the issue of the translation of the instances of 'Sim', presented here, as 'Right'. As mentioned in Chapter 3, one important reason for chosing 'Right' as a translation to 'Sim' was its versatility. This versatility is important here as well. 'Right' can receipt some information (as other tokens such as okay) but is not an adequate response to news (Gardner, 2007). Moreover, as Gardner proposes, with 'Right' a speaker can communicate to a prior speaker that s/he "recognizes that what has just been said is designedly linked to something that had been said elsewhere ... what has just been said is building upon, or dependent upon, something that had

been said earlier" (2007, pp. 319-320). Although the cases of 'right' studied by Gardner (2007) are quite different to the cases of 'Sim' studied here, the 'Sim' cases do not preface a turn which endorses a response from the prior, but in some cases they acknowledge that the second turn followed from their prior, although not being adequately fitted to the first, as I will go on to show.

The examples shown below show instances of the phenomenon introduced above marked with arrows showing t1, t2 and t3 in the same manner that the cases of third position repair were presented earlier.

Extract 12 (WPS 30), the example presented below, like the 'Eu sei' cases shows an interaction between two officers. Just before the opening of #12, Po7 had had a problem with the computer and had asked for Po8's help, presented his problem and was told by Po8 that the information he was after could be accessed from the network independently of which computer was being used to access the system. At line 1, Po7 requests her help directing their attention to the computer 'Então vamu aqui/Let's do it here', and then says he intended to look for the information he had mentioned earlier – but which he does not repeat at this point – and then completes his request at line 03, explicitly asking for 'how' it should be done, and then narrates the steps saying 'procedure' showing the computer screen. This (the turn at line 03) turns out to be the source of trouble: Po7 finds from Po8's response – a directive about what to do as a procedure (line 04) – that Po8 had taken him to be asking for procedural steps whereas Po7's problem was actually related to a connected with some 'frozen' window which he could not leave and which had stopped the – claimed as already known – procedure from working (line 05). This idea of 'known' already is similar to the cases of 'Eu sei' and is accomplished with 'Sim' and the adversative construction: 'But it is closed here' (line 05). This construction shows t2 to be 'correct' (and known as correct) but also 'inappropriate' as a response to the prior. At line 07 (after a micro gap) Po7 attempts again to get Po8's help, which was not firstly achieved by his request for help at line 03, by asking specifically 'How do I leave from here'.

#12 - WPS 30

```
01  Po7:    É:(  ). Então vamu aqui:. Mas eu quero procurá_
             Is ( ). So let's go here. But I want to look for
             Ye:s ( ). So let's do it he:re. But I want to look for it_
02           (.)
```

```
03   Po7:  t1,  Como fa:z, (.) 'procedime:nto'.
              How does       procedure
              How is it do:ne, (.) 'proce:dure'.

04   Po8:  t2,  Aí bota naquela::- o (    )
              Then put in that  the
              Then put in tha::t- the (    )

05   Po7:  t3,  Sim. Mas tá fechado aqui:.
              Yes. But is closed here.
              Right. But it's closed he:re.

06              (0.2)

07   Po7:  t3,  Como é que eu saio daqui.
              How is that I leave of here
              How do I leave from here.

08              (0.5)

09   Po8:       Mm

10              (1.2)

11   Po8:       Tshh

12              (2.2)

13   Po7:       (Deixa/fechá) pra lá.
              Leave/close for there
              (Forget it. / To close it there.)
```

There are also cases in which 'Sim +mas' initiated turns in third position are used in cases of misunderstandings between officers and complainants. They often involve far more mundane tasks that do not really threaten the core of the reporting, so they are not exactly big interactional problems, but are nonetheless strategies for managing problems of understanding in interaction. WPS 32 is one of those cases as it has two examples of 'Sim' turns produced to fulfil an officer's curiosity – although the information is not relevant to the report. In this case, the complainant had already told her story to Po4 but had her case dismissed (WPS 23) because she did not have the address of her abuser (See Chapter 4 for a discussion regarding dismissals). She returns to the WPS on the following day and talks to Po4 again, so they go through the filling out of the personal details of the victim and Po4 asks for some information about the alarm the complainant had installed in her room, which had saved her from her husband's alleged attempt to kill her. Po4's questioning is done first as a presentation of her thoughts about the alarm the night before (following the complainant's first visit to the WPS) and a question about 'como foi/how was' the alarm in question (lines 01-03). This request for information about the alarm turns out to be problematic. Not only does the officer repair her own turn searching for the word 'alarme/alarm', but her construction

ends up being ambiguous. After some laughter and Po4's reiteration of her interest on the matter, the complainant responds with what was a constant feature in her telling: the attribution to her actions to God and not answering 'how' the alarm was per se (i.e. what type of alarm it was), but 'how come' she installed an alarm in her house (line 07). Po4, then, produces in third position a turn with 'sim' and then the adversative conjunction 'mas/but' to disambiguate her question, asking how the alarm 'é/is' (line 08), which turns out to be problematic as well. The complainant's first attempt to respond to it (line 09) is aborted as Po4 again reinforces her interest by depicting herself thinking about the alarm when in bed, their joined laughter, and the officer's reported plan to enquire about the alarm in the complainant's subsequent visit (lines 10 – 18). The complainant starts her response in a manner that adumbrates a long story, starting with buying the alarm (lines 19-20), rather than immediately providing a description about the alarm itself. Once again, Po4 produces a turn with 'sim mas/ yes but' asking for 'que/what' alarm (line 21), clarifying her request as referring to the 'type' of alarm rather than about 'how' the alarm story was and getting, then, the intended response about the type of alarm (lines 22-23).

#13 - WPS 32

```
01  Po4:  t1 ⟶  (Foi) o:ntem eu tava pensa:ndo onte à no:ite_
                 Was yesterday I was  thinking   yesterday at night
                 (So) ye:sterday I was thi:nking last ni:ght_

02        t1 ⟶  como foi ess- esse:: (1.0) esse alarme que tu
                 how  was thi- this          this  alarm  that you
                 how was thi- this:: (1.0) this alarm that you

03        t1 ⟶  buta:sse.
                 put
                 pu:t.

04  Wom:         Huh [huh  huh]

05  Po4:             [huh ju(h)]ro! .h Ontem à noite eu tava
                          swea (1ps)    Yesterday at night  I was
                     [huh I swea(h)]r! .h last night I was

06               pensa[:ndo=Fiquei pensando em ca:sa.]
                 thinking     Stayed  thinking  in house
                 thi:n[king=Kept thinking at ho:me. ]

07  Wom:  t2 ⟶      [Foi De:us vi:u.  Foi  De:u:]s.
                     Was God  saw.  Was  God
                    [It was Go:d see:. It was Go:]d.

08  Po4:  t3 ⟶  Sim mas como é:.=E- e[-ess-   ] À noite eu=
                 Yes but  how  is. Th- th- thi-     At night I
```

```
                  Right but how i:s it.=Th- th[- thi-] At night I=
09
                                        [É assim.]
                                         Is like
                                        [It's like.]

10   Po4:   =to alí na cama pensando i:sso:.=
            am   there in+the bed thinking    this
            =was there in bed thinking about i:t.=

11   Wom:   =Huh h[uh ]

12   Po4:          [Ju](h)ro! Que eu esqueci de perguntá[:,]
                    Swear (1ps)! That I forgot    of ask
                   [I sw]ea(h)r it! Cuz I forgot to a:s[k,]

13   Wom:                                              [Ãh]:,
                                                       [Uh]:,

14   Po4:   Eu digo mas amanhã ela vai voltá-=eu disse a ela
            I say    but tomorrow she will return I  said  to her
            I thought but tomorrow she'll return-=I told her

15          que amanhã eu to lá:,=
            that tomorrow I  am there
            that tomorrow I'll be the:re,=

16   Wom:   =M[m:],

17   Po4:     [>E] sá:bado, >purrque agora eu tô £aqui:(h)
               And Saturday because    now  I  am here
             [>And] Sa:turday, >because now I'm £he:re(h)

18          o dia to:do també[:m.]
            the day whole too
            the who:le day as we:[ll.]

19   Wom: t2'                  [(Fez)] assi:m, eu comprei o
          →                     Did    like    I bought the
                               [(It was)] like thi:s, I bought the

20          ala:rme,
            alarm
            ala:rm,

21   Po4: t3'→Sim mas que ala[:rme.]
             Yes but   what alarm
             Right but what ala[:rm.]

22   Wom:                    [E assi-] Ela é uma ciga:rra¿=
                              And lik- She is a   buzzer
                             [And li-] It's a bu:zzer¿=

23          =Uma sire:ne.
             A  siren
            =A si:ren.
```

WPS 18 had started with the form-filling strategy, so the officer had been through the details of the victim and the abuser when the fragment below started. Lines 01-03 show the end of the filling out of the address and line 04 starts a new sequence in which Po1 attempts to establish 'when' the abuse, referred only with the indexical (isso/this), had happened. As this questioning does not get a response, Po1 presents a shorter, re-done, version of her FPP (line 06) which does not 'unpack' the indexed

reference but just repeats the core of the question (probably taking the problem in responding as originated from the topic shift and not connected to the turn design). The question is still problematic for the complainant who produces an open class repair initiation[2] (line 08). Rather than just redoing a question about 'when' the officer, then, tries to establish what happened, first enquiring about what the abuse was and then latching to the question a candidate response – a ameaça/threat – to it[3]. The complainant's response does not simply address the candidate response which was presented as a YNI. Although it starts with 'Não/No' it does not deny the threat but rather starts a more complex response which does not agree with the formulation of 'a threat' but rather presents 'non-stop threats' (line 11). She latches to that TCU another one saying she was outside her house because of that (12) so the 'non-stop' threats are treated as 'background' information for the development of one deciding reporting factor by the officer. The complainant continues developing this issue about being out of her house and constant threats (lines 14-16), and when she says she has taken the matters to court (and stops developing the threat itself) Po1 comes in third position with a turn initiated by 'Sim mas'. As seen in Chapter 4, matters such as 'Court and property' are 'non-policeable', Po1 starts an interruptive turn pursuing the reported crime. This pursuit repairs the first FPP (line 10) about 'what happened' focusing on the reason for searching the police on that date, while it leaves the second FPP (line 10) – the candidate understanding of the abuse as a threat – out. This repaired questioning is not as straight-forward as many others shown here probably because of the fact that the turn at line 10 had two TCUs one which pursued a reason for reporting in an open manner and other that was structured as a YNI with a candidate understanding of the problem. Po1's produces a turn in third position with 'Sim mas' (lines 18-19), which takes the information produced by the complainant as understood and as background to the

---

[2] The translation might make this repair operation ambiguous as 'what' could be addressing 'it' – as in, 'It what?', but this is not possible in Portuguese. This kind of questioning would be accomplished with 'O que?' but not with 'Que' alone, which (in this case) does not address any specific problem with the previous turn and is an open class repair.

[3] This case (together with other cases from my corpus) seem to suggest that officer's first presupposition about a reportable incident is that it is a case of battery. Difficulties in producing a date for the abuse then make officers assume that it is not a case of battery (in which case the complainant would likely provide a date for the abuse without problems) and take the case to be a threat (which is the strongest case of verbal abuse).

reportable matter which it attempts to advance, as the relevant reportable matter[4]. Rather than producing a reportable crime, the complainant's SPP produces her reason for being at the WPS as to get a crime report which she would take to her attorney (lines 21-22) and this gets no response (gap on line 23), so she adds on line 24 that that day was her deadline to appeal [to the court]. This shows that, although the complainant herself treated her 'non-stop' threats as background to the reason why she was in the WPS: because of the non-stop threats she was going to appeal to some court case against her partner which she had lost and she had been told by the State attorney that she had to get a new report by that very day, which was her deadline for filing an appeal to the courts.

14 - WPS 18

```
01   Pol:    Número vinte e qua:tro da casa num=é:.
             The house number is twenty fo:ur isn't=i:t.

02   Wom:    É:.
             Ye:s.

03           (19 sec +key)

04   Pol:    Foi qua:ndo que ocorreu isso:?
             Was when that  happened it/this
             Whe:n was that it ha:ppened.

05           (0.6)

06   Pol:    Quando que ocorre:u.
             When that happened
             When did it ha:ppen.

07           (0.5)

08   Wom:    Que:?
             What
             Wha:t?

09           (0.4)

10   Pol: t1> É:: foi o quê:¿=Amea:ça fo:i?
             Is/Uh was what¿  threat was
             U:h: what was i:t¿=A thre:at?

11   Wom: t2> Nã:o é porque ele vem me ameaçando dire:to né:.=
             No  is because he  comes me threatening straight no+is
             No: it's because he's been threatening me non-sto:p ri:ght.=

12       t2> =Eu tou fora de casa pur=causa de:le.
             I  am  out of house for=cause(because) of+his
             =I'm out of the house because of hi:m.

13           (0.4)
```

---

[4] This case is remarkably similar to the instance of third position repair shown in Chapter 4 regarding the dismissal of WPS 07.

14   Wom: $\xrightarrow{t2}$ Tou aqui=embaixo na casa da minha fi:lha. Aí
                Am here   down in+the house of+the my daughter. Then
                I'm down=here at my daughter's ho:use. So

15          $\xrightarrow{t2}$ eu tou sem=condixões de í=em ca:sa porque ele
                I   am without condition of to go=in house because he
                I have no=means to go=ho:me because he

16          $\xrightarrow{t2}$ disxe que se eu fô lá ele me pe:ga. Aí eu tou
                said   that if I go(subj) there he me get. Then I am
                said that uf I go there he'll ge:t me. So I've brought

17          $\xrightarrow{t2}$ cum ele na justixa né:.=Tou a- to[u (_a_endo)]
                with him in+the justice no+is. Am a-   am (gerund of a verb)
                him to court ri:ght.=I'm a- I'[m (ing)]

18   Po1: $\xrightarrow{t3}$ [Si:m.=Mas a]
                                                Yes. But the
                                                [Ri:ght.=But you]

19   senhora veio hoje pur causa de quê:.
                ma'am   came today   bcause   of what
                ma'am came today because of wha:t.

20   (.)

21   Wom: (Fui ontem) lá: dá:- dá: procuradori=e pra pegá
                Went yesterday there of/give of/give State attorne(y)=and to get/pick up
                (I went) the:re (yesterday) to:- to:- the State attorney=and

22   o BO pra levá ainda hoje pra lá.
                the BO to take still today to there
                to get the report to take it there

23   (2.5)

24   Wom: Que=eu só tenho até ho:je pra [recorrê:.]
                That I only have until today to appeal
                Cuz=I only have until toda:y to [appe:al.]

In the fragment shown below there is a sequence of repair initiations as the police officer requests an 'address' (line 01) and gets, from the girl's grandmother, *only* the information about the neighbourhood in which they lived (lines 03, 05, 14), in responses that are interpolated with repair initiations about who is being addressed and whose address is being requested. In third position, then, Po5 produces a turn initiated with 'sim mas' (line 15) clarifying the information intended for the 'address[5]' as a a full address composed by street name and house

---

[5] In more detail: Po5 produces a request for the address information (line 01) and after a small gap the girl's grandmother (Gra) produces a SPP with the information about the neighbourhood (line 03). After another 0.2 gap (line 04), showing no uptake from the police officer, Gra recycles her SPP with a repeat of the neighbourhood. This, again, does not produce any uptake and after a small gap, there is a repair initiation by Gra in the first post expansion of this sequence, as she starts an OI asking a speaker selection question 'It's with me isn't it?' (line 07) (meaning, 'you're addressing me, right?'). Po5 produces a SPP that confirms Gra as someone who could answer her question with "Mm", but the interaction gets stalled again as the officer waits then for the full address while the grandmother treats the question as answered. As there is no typing and the officer still waits for a response (which unfortunately we cannot analyse with the adequate non-verbal cues) Gra initiates a second

number as the requested address information in line 01, with a turn initiated by 'Sim mas/Right but': 'Right but isn't there a numb- a stree:t name nothing?' (line 15), which definitely clarifies the need for a full address composed by street name and house number.

#15 – S: 9 – Address - WPS 14 (± 5:23)

```
01   Po5:   t1
                 >Endere:ço,
                 Address
                 Addre:ss,

02          (0.2)

03   Gra:   t2
             > É::, Tabuleiro No:vo.
                 ((Neighbourhood))

04          (0.2)

05   Gra:   t2
             > >Tabuleiro No:vo<.

06          (.)

07   Gra:   É cumigo né?
                 Is with me no
                 It's with me isn't it?

08   Po5:   Mm

09          (0.4)

10   Gra:   Cum ↑ela¿
                 With her
                 With h↑er¿

11          (0.2)

12   Po5:   É    e:[la.]
                 Is her
                 It's he[:r.]

13   Bia:            [>É ]da< ru:a.
                     Is of the street
                     [>It]'s the< stree:t.

14   Gra:   t2
             > É: é: da menina é:. Tabuleiro No:vo.
                 Is is of the girl is    (neighbourhood)
                 It's the girl's it's. ((neighbourhood))
```

post expansion, in which she produces a candidate understanding, initiating repair again on the issue of speaker selection: 'with her¿', to which the officer replies 'It's her' in one SSP that attempts to provide the repair solution, confirming that the issue is about the girl, and is followed by a second SPP by Bia (the girl's biological mother), which provides a more definite repair solution, as it repairs the understanding of the matter displayed on the Repair Initiation '>It's the< stree:t.' (line 13). This second SPP starts to clarify the problem as being the lack of necessary information to fulfil the request of an address on line 01 and the need of information about a street name and not only about the neighbourhood (nor a problem about who is replying to the question). At line 13, however, Gra recycles her SPP to the request for the address, reaffirming her answer as appropriate as it refers to the girl's address and informs the neighbourhood correctly: 'Yeah it's the girl's it is.' + the name of the neighbourhood repeated: 'Tabuleiro No:vo'. ('my answer stands' style of answer). This answer is followed, then, by Po5's attempt to fix this misunderstanding with a turn initiated by 'Sim mas/Right but': 'Right but isn't there a numb- a stree:t name nothing?' (line 15)

```
15   Po5:  t3,   Sim mas num tem núme- nome de ru:a n[ada?]
                 Yes but   no  has  numb- name of street nothing
                 Yes but isn't there a numb- a stree:t name or some[thing?]

16   Bia:                                                            [Uhum]

17   Gra:      Te:m. [Te:m.]
               Has.   Has
               There is. /Ye:s. Ye:s.

18   Bia:         [ >Tem que tê. Tem ]    [ que tê né?< ]
                   There has to have. There has to have no?
                  [>There has to be. There] [has to be right?<]

19   Luc:                                        [(            )]

20              Sônia Sampa:io,=
                ((starts giving the address))
```

Like the previous examples shown above, #14 shows that a t2 responsive to a t1 is deemed problematic by the speaker of t1 who attempts to fix this in third position (t3) to clarify what was meant by the question in the first place. Unlike the earlier examples, however, in this case the officer's attempt to resolve the misunderstanding (and get an appropriate response from the complainants) does more than simply repair her own turn, it also addresses what was missing from the responsive turn. The turn at line 15 points to this expectation of a 'full address' as having been presented earlier, but also as not delivered by the complainant, which makes the issue of responsibility for the 'not answering the right question' something which is more attributable to the complainant's responsibility – remembering that other initiated repair 'is vulnerable to being understood as communicating that responsibility for repair-related trouble belongs to troublesource speakers' (Robinson, 2006). This issue of responsibility makes this case clearly different from the cases shown previously, as it is clearly not a case of self repair.

In general terms, while canonical third position repairs simply block talk produced in second position as irrelevant or incorrect; 'Sim mas' in third position allows for the coexistence of the two (different) perspectives/answers for answering the question while they explicitly mark one perspective as *the* contextually relevant one. That is, 'Sim mas' in third position treats the talk in second position as relevant or correct (for something) but not fitted to the question asked. The contextually relevant perspective for answering the question is often marked with a redone version of one's prior turn as being the one relevant for that context, while this marks the one previously produced by the other speaker as

irrelevant. Although there is a remarkable overlap between the two phenomena, there are also some differences that warrant distinguishing the two. Both of them are strategies for dealing with misunderstandings which are produced in third position and build a contrast with what another speaker provided as a second and what was/is actually contextually relevant next. This contrast is not built as a 'next question' but as what had always been intended by the speaker own prior turn in the first place, thereby pointing to a 'trouble' in first position. The cases shown above, however, are on the boundaries of repair: while some seem to be in fact operating to repair the turn in first position (as the 3 first examples shown in this section, from WPS 30 and WPS 32), not all cases can be demonstrated to be doing so. The main difference between these strategies – which also bears relevance to the matter of categorizing them as repair operations or not – lies on how this contrast is built. By simply discarding as irrelevant some response produced by another speaker, the canonical cases of third position repair (shown in section 3.2) sequentially delete the previous response while, in the case of 'Sim mas' turns in third position the contrast between relevant and irrelevant response is built in a way that first acknowledges the response received to then contrast it with what is actually relevant. So, while those turns initiated with 'Sim' do not endorse a responsive turn to a first turn as appropriately fitted to the prior, they do acknowledge the coexistence of the two possible perspectives (in responding to their prior turn) and produce one as being *the* relevant one, thereby restricting what is relevant.

The examples shown in the following section although similar in format to those seen above, are cases which fall outside the 'boundaries' of repair and are, in effect, producing a pursuit of an answer and, therefore, mark a fault from the other speaker in not answering the pursued matter.

6.5 Advancing the Matters: the Use of 'Sim' in the Management of Misalignments

In this section I examine cases in which a misalignment displayed in third position and is initiated by 'Sim' and followed by either a redone version of a FPP in first position or by 'aí/then' which pursues a progressive development, rather than modify the prior as the cases in which the adversative conjunction 'mas' is used.

The fragment presented below (WPS 18) shows two instances of the technology examined in this section. It shows Po1's request for the information about the 'last time' of abuse which, similarly to the previous examples, does not get a date as a response and this date is pursued. At line 112 (which is itself a pursuit of a response for a question regarding the last day of abuse asked considerably earlier on) Po1 asks for the *last time* 'última vez' the woman had been threatened. The woman's turn (at line 114) although responsive to the Po1's turn, does not provide a date for the 'last time' but rather produces the threats as continuous. On line 115, then, Po1 re-does her turn, insisting on the relevance of a response in terms of the *last time* (being the abuse 'continuous' or not). Wom, then, produces a time reference 'last week'. Po3 interferes with the reporting then and produces as a next question a request for a day (line 117). In the sequence, Po1 develops this request making explicit reference to what is needed in the report (lines 118-119). Instead of providing a day, however, the complainant gets back to telling about her visit to the attorney on the previous day, which is not responsive to the officer's request for the date of abuse, but is the immediate source of her need for another report, as her story there had made them ask for another report. Po1, then, produces another pursuit about the last day of abuse (lines 123-125). As the complainant only produces 'ever present', hearsay, threats, Po3 takes over the questioning line regarding the date and changes the questioning line, producing an understanding check about her being threatened the week before (lines 133-134), which gets a positive response (line 135), and is followed by another question, this time produced as 'new', that is, disconnected from the other attempts prefaced by 'sim' which mark previous answers as somewhat problematic while re-stating the question, and produces some candidate responses (lines 136-137).

#16 - WPS 18

```
112 Pol: ᵗ¹⟩  Si:m.=E aí quando foi a última vez que
              Yes. And then when was the last  time   that
              Ri:ght.=Then when was the last time that

113           ele lhe ameaço:u.
              He  you threatened
              he threatened yo:u.

114 Wom: ᵗ²⟩  Ele ameaça dire:to.
              He threatens straight
              He threatens me non sto:p.

115 Pol: ᵗ³⟩  Sim a última vez que=ele te=ameaçou.=
```

```
                    Yes the last    time    that   he   you   threatened
                    Right the la̲st time that=he threatened=you.=

116 Wom:    =A semana passa:da.=
            The  week   past
            =Last wee:k.=

117 Po3: t̲1̲→  =Que di:a. Pra=ela colocá o dia aqui:.
            What  day.  For=her to put the day  here
            =What da:y. For=her to put the day he:re.

118 Po1:    Que sempre pede aqui que di:a, (pra
            That always  asks   here  what day  (to/for
            Cuz it always asks here what da:y, (for the

119         que:ixa,)
            complaint
            compla:int,)

120 Po3:    (            )

121 Wom:    Aí eu fui lá onte na procuradoria e
            Then I went there yesterday in+the attorney and
            Then yesterday I went there to the attorney and

122         contei lá n[é:.]
            told  there no+is
            told it there ri[:ght.]

123 Po1: t̲1̲/̲3̲→          [S:i̲]:m. A- aí sabe (dá o/não)
                        Yes.   The then know  to give the /no
                        [R:i̲]:ght. The- then (don't/do) you know

124     t̲1̲/̲3̲→ qual foi o=último >dia que ele lhe
            which was  the last    day    that  he  you
            which was the=last >day that he

125         ameaçou você:.<
            threaten you
            threatened yo:u.<

126         (0.2)

127 Wom:    É eu sei que quando eu ligo pra lá os
            Is I  know that  when    I  call to  there the(pl)
            It's I know that when I call there the

128         vizinhu dizem 'olhe num vem aqui não
            neighbour say 'look   no   come  here  no
            neighbours say 'look don't come here

129         puque fulano tá lhe ameaça:ndo, tá (.)
            because so-and-so is you threatening  is
            because so-and-so is thre:atening you, is (.)

130         bebendo na sua po:rta, dizendo que vai
            drinking in+the your door, saying    that    will
            drinking at your doo:r, saying that he'll

131         lhe pegá se=você chegá aqui ele pe:ga¿=
            you get  if=you    arrive    here  he  gets
            get you if=you come here he'll  ge:t you¿=

132         =[Aí (pe         ) ]
             Then pe/ge
            =[Then (ge        ) ]

133 Po3:    =[Semana passada ele] lhe=ameaço:u num
              Week    last       he       you  threatened  no
```

```
                      =[Last    week    he  ] thre:atened=you wasn't
134                   [foi.]
                       was
                      [it. ]

135 Wom:              [F:o:]i.
                       Was
                      [Y:e:]s.

136 Po3:              Foi qual dia da sema:na. Segu:nda,
                      Was what    day of+the week. Monday
                      Was which day of the wee:k. Mo:nday,

137                   te[:rça,     qua:rta,   ] [Lembra nã:o.]
                      tuesday    wednesday        Remember no
                      tu[:esday, we:dnesday, ] [Don't remember.]

138 Wom:               [O dia eu num sei não].=[Tô lembrada nã]:o=
                        The day I no know  no.  Am remebered no
                       [The day I don't know].=[I don't remember i]:t=
```

It is important to notice that, although the second case of pursuit (lines 123-124) takes the same form as the previous one (line 115), in the latter case the complainant had not really produced a SPP to Po3's turn. So, although they have the same 'structure' – there is a t1 and another speaker produces some talk and then the first speaker produces a turn which is a redone version of t1 – this structure is not 'parallel' to the one of third position repair in terms of 'positions' in relation to the trouble source because, as this case clearly shows, this strategy does not produce a self-repair on a previous question, but rather presents it *again*, pursuing the matter as not answered. This might also help to see that 'Sim' is less accepting of the prior than the translations 'Right/Yes' might suggest. In order to preserve the 'structure' shown here, the extracts in this section will still be numbered as t1, t2, t3 although the 't3' is a pursuit and treats the prior question as not answered. The 'responsiveness' of the 't2s' in this section varies according to the extracts, but the case above has the clearest extremes: line 114 is responsive to t1 and yet it does not fulfil the request for a 'last time', but rather avoids the 'last time' formulation in favour of presenting the problem as 'continuous'; the subsequent t1 (not introduced by the officer in charge of the report-making) does not get a SPP (being the other extreme to the t2 at line 114) but the complainant continues to present her reason for being there. Although this (as mentioned at lines 121-122) is is in fact the complainant's reason for making a report – she was told to make a report to appeal [to some kind of cause against her abuser she had lost], this is in effect not a SPP to line 117.

Another example in which 'Sim af' is used when a SPP to the officer's FPP does not present the kind of answer the officer was pursuing (when trying to get a chronological development of the incident in question) is shown below as extract #17. The focus of the analysis will start with the officer checking her understanding of the sequence of events that lead to the abuse (lines 20-21). As the complainant presents an account for why, despite the threat of violence, she went to her abuser's house, rather than what 'exactly' she had said to the abuser, Po5 produces in third position (Lines 31, 33, 35 and 37) a re-done version of her earlier question, pursuing the developments of the interaction when the complainant had showed up to the abuser's place and after he had attempted to stop her from taking her things, with a repaired version of it (lines 39-40). So, lines 01-03 establish the reason for the battery and then on line 05-06 the woman provides some more information about the abuse while the officer works in the report, and keeps doing it for a few seconds (line 07). Then, Po5 pursues a 'then' linear progression of the story (line 08), which is not immediately responded (micro gap at line 09), so it is repaired to a more specific questioning line (line 10) which places the action in the 'house' and asks for the 'then'. The woman presents then her abuser's blocking her from taking her things out of the house and the beating as result (line 11-16). The officer then works on the report – she says outloud what she writes (lines 17-18) and then types the information in the computer (line 19). Po5 goes on to pursue the chronological development just before the battery (what had lead to it), producing a candidate version of what the woman had said (lines 20-21). The woman produces an account with her reason to go to her abuser's house to get her things – showing that she takes lines 20-21 as a challenge of perhaps having 'brought it on herself' when her abuser had told her he would not let her take her things. Following this account (lines22-30), Po5 produces a turn initiated with 'Sim af' pursuing the chronological development of the story from the point in which she had told the abuser she was going to take her things until the actual battery, which was not provided by the woman. On lines 31,33,35 and 37 Po5 places the story in the linear chronology: she recapitulates her previous questioning summarising the telling up to present (lines 31 and 33), then recapitulates her t1 (lines 20-21) at lines 35. The complainant produces agreements to the officer's talk (lines 32, 34, 36). As the answer to 'how it was' (line 37) just after the officer's construction of the facts in

this temporal line, is not immediately forthcoming (microgap on line 38), the officer repairs her request for information again, this time specifically asking how the complainant acted after the abuser told her he would beat her, and offering a candidate answer 'kept quiet' (lines 39-40), which is then responded by the woman (lines 41-43) in terms of responding to the abuser and with an account for doing so.

#17 - WPS 13

```
01   Po5:   Ele b- ele bateu na senhora porque a
            He b-  he  beat  in the ma'am    because the
            He b- he beat you ma'am because you

02          senhora foi pegar a roupa, né?
            ma'am  went to get/pick up the clothe clothes, right?
            ma'am went to get your clothes, right?

03   Wom:   Fo::i. Fui pega:r.=As minhas co:isas.
            Was/Went(3ps). Went(1ps) to get. The my  stuff
            Ye:ah. I went to ge:t.=My stu:ff.

04          (0.2)

05   Wom:   Aí não queria pegou a po:rta >fecho<
            Then  no wanted(1ps,3ps) took(3ps) the door closed
            Then he didn't want got the doo:r >closed it<

06          co'cadiado não deixo: eu saí:.
            with padlock   no let(3ps)  I    to leave
            with the lock and didn't le:t me le:ave.

07          (16.2 + keyboard)

08   Po5:   Aí a senhora foi buscar as roupas e aí?
            Then the ma'am went  to get/fetch  the clothes and then
            Then you ma'am went to fetch your clothes and then?

09          (.)

10   Po5:   Foi buscar a roupa na sua ca[:sa,] e aí?
            Went(3ps) to get/fetch  the clothes in the your house and then
            You went to fetch the clothes in your ho[:use,] and then?

11   Wom:                               [Fo:i]
                                         Was
                                        [Ye:h]

12   Wom:   Aí ele falou que eu não ia pegar
            Then he said     that I   no  would get/take
            Then he said I wouldn't take

13          nada não. Aí >disse que< (      )
            nothing no Then said(3ps) that
            anything no. Then >he said that< (      )

14          não podia pegá disse que ia jogá tudo
            no could    get/take said  that  would throw everything
            couldn't take said that he would throw everything

15          fora e ia quebrá minhas coisas. Aí
            outside and would break my    stuff   Then
            away and would break my stuff. Then

16          ficou bate:ndo.
```

```
                 stayed  beating
                 he kept be:ating.

17  Po5:    >°(                  ) ia buscar suas
                 would fetch    her
            >°(                  ) would fetch her

18          roupas°< em sua ca:sa.
            clothes   in  her house
            clothes°< in her ho:use.

19          -- (key: 8.8)--
             t1
20  Po5:    ──> Aí a senhora falou '↑Nã:o eu vou pega:r↓
                Then the ma'am  said    No I'll take
                Then you ma'am said '↑No: I'll get it↓
             t1
21          ──> °assim [mesmo°'
                 so      same
                °even [so°'
             t2
22  Wom:    ──>        [Fo:i. P'que >(naquele dia) ele
                       [Was . Because   on that    day  he
                       [Ye:h. Cuz >(on that day) he
             t2
23          ──> mando (dizê pra) a menina< ↑Diga a sua
                ordered to say to    the girl    Tell    the your
                told the girl to (send the word)< ↑Tell your
             t2
24          ──> mãe que ela num for pegar as coisa ela
                mother that she  no  go  to get  the stuff  she
                mother that if she doesn't go get her stuff
             t2
25          ──> eu vou jogá tudo no meio da ru:a. Diga
                I  will  throw everything in the middle of the street. Tell
                I'll throw everything in the middle of the stree:t. Tell
             t2
26          ──> a ela que'eu vou dá até ho::je. Que ela
                to her that  I  will  give until today.   That she
                her that I'll give her until toda::y. That if she
             t2
27          ──> num vim pegar as coisas de:la, eu vou
                no come to get    the stuff  of hers     I will
                doesn't come to get her stu:ff, I'll
             t2
28          ──> jogar tudo na ru:a.=As coisa dela, móviu
                throw  everything on the street. The sutff of hers, furniture
                throw everything on the stree:t.=Her stuff, furniture
             t2
29          ──> dela e vou quebrar tudi:nho.=Vou metê o
                of hers and will break    every little thing. I'll thrust the
                and I'll break every little thi:ng.=I'll thrust
             t2
30          ──> facão nim tu:do.
                machete in  everthing.
                the machete in everythi:ng.
             t3
31  Po5:    ──> Si:[m,=aí] a senhora foi busc[a:r ele disse=
                Yes    then the ma'am   went to fetch   he     said
                Ri:[ght,=then] you ma'am went to g[e:t he said=

32  Wom:          [(   )]                    [Aí eu fui=
                                             Then I went
                  [(   )]                    [Then I went=
```

```
33   Po5:  t3,   =que ia] lhe bate: [ia lh]e agredi¿
                 =that would to you beat   would to you assault
                 =he would] bea:t you [would a]buse you¿

34   Wom:        =pega:r.]              [Fo:i.]
                 =ge:t.                  Was
                 =ge:t.    ]            [Ye:h.]

35   Po5:  t3,   [E a]í a senhora disse '↑Mas eu vou pegar=
                 And then the ma'am said    but  I  will  get
                 [And th]en you ma'am said '↑But I'll get=

36   Wom:        [Foi.]
                  Was
                 [Ye:h.]

37   Po5:  t3,   =assim me:sm↓o'. Como foi?
                  so     same     How was
                 =even so↓:'. How was it?

38               (.)

39   Po5:  t3,   A senho:ra-  ele disse que ia lhe bate:,
                 The ma'am    he  said  that would to you beat
                 You ma'a:m-  he said he would be:at you,

40         t3,   a senhora fez como? Ficou quietinha?
                 the ma'am  did  how? Stayed little quiet
                 you ma'am did what? Kept quiet?

41   Wom:        Nã:o. >Fiquei quieta não.< >>(Também vô)<<
                 No    >Stayed  quiet  no<     Also will
                 No:. >I didn't keep quiet no.< >>((Also went))<<

42               em cima de:le. >>Ainda (          dá
                 on  top  of him     Still         of the
                 over hi:m. >>Still (                of the

43               arranhadura))<<
                 scratch
                 scratch))<<
```

As seen above, those cases of 'sim' + 'redone interrogative' and/or 'Sim ai' are pursuits of responses, which are taken to be 'unanswered' and are presented *again* so that the person has another go at responding *again*. Rather than a case of engaging in self-repair and/or acknowledging the fact that the question answered allowed for an interpretation which was (although possible) not the one which was intended in the first place, those cases leave the 'respondent' with the responsibility for not having answered (at least fully answered) the question posed. In the WPS context, those constructions are used by officers to regain control over the interaction and avoid derailing answers, dealing with women's presentations of troubles that are not not fully relevant and/or developed to answer the police questioning.

6.6 Strategies for Dealing with Misalignments: Summing up findings

In sum, I have shown in this Chapter 4 ways in which misalignments can be managed (apart from the cases in which a speaker abdicates the opportunity to make the misunderstanding apparent): 1) Third Position Repairs, which block a responsive turn to their prior as not relevant; 2) Eu sei (I know) cases, which address problems in which too much information is given, although this information is 'correct' and claimed to be 'known'; 3) 'Sim mas' (Right but / Yes but) cases; which acknowledge a responsive turn as being possibly correct (as some kind of take on the matter), albeit not adequately fitted to the prior; 4) 'Sim' + redone interrogatives and 'Sim + aí/then'; which are pursuits of answers in cases in which a responsive turn to a t1 is considered to be not (at least fully) answered. I discuss these strategies in more detail below.

While canonical third position repairs, typically launched with 'Nao', simply block a responsive turn as 'not relevant', other strategies of dealing with misalignments often concede that the answer provided is possible (and often known to be the case) whereas they present as *relevant* some type of response that does not fit the one provided, marking what would count as applicable responses. In the data presented here, 'Eu sei' marks the problem with the responsive turn as being the provision of information that is *known already*. So, while the speakers acknowledge the 'correctness' of the information provided in second position, s/he does not endorse it as a response to the prior, but instead, marks it as 'unnecessary' and 'irrelevant' to the issue at hand. 'Sim' initiated turns often position the information as 'not enough', that is, although part of the information is correct and often has already been presented and has been 'taken' already, they are still not fully fitted to the prior. Third turns initiated by 'Sim' are also different in terms of the actions they perform. While cases of 'Sim mas' are similar to third position repairs and have been presented to be on the boundaries of repair; 'Sim' cases which are not followed by the adversative conjunction 'mas' often do pursuits rather than repair. So, 'Sim mas' cases in third position allow for the coexistence of two (different) perspectives in responding to their prior – acknowledging a problem of interpretation carried by their own previous turn – but they explicitly mark *the* contextually relevant one as not fulfilled, not attended. 'Sim' cases which do pursuits, on the other hand, in presenting the question to be answered *again*, mark

the response given as not fulfilling the job of (fully) answering to the prior to the point that it is taken as 'not answered' and place the responsibility for not providing a relevant answer on the other person.

As a resource to address misunderstandings, canonical forms of third position repairs seem to be 'stronger' than those other strategies for dealing with misalignments. While 'Sim' initiated turns leave it open for the second speaker to develop the matters in the same direction (to its fullness), canonical cases of third position repair block a responsive trajectory from going further.

I want to show one more piece of data which shows how 'Sim' in third position leaves open a development in the 'same direction' of the SPP treated as displaying a misunderstanding of the FPP, but furthering a previous response. 'Sim' and 'Não' are not only used in different contexts but they are also treated differently by the speaker of t2 in their further responses to t3. In the fragment I show below, the police officer first uses 'sim' (line 11) and then 'nao' (line 13) to fix a problem of understanding. After a request for information ('where did he do it?', lines 08-09) which turns out to be problematic, as it was responded appropriately ('at home', line 10) but not according to the terms intended by the officer, Po5 produces, in third position, a turn initiated by 'Sim' and then a redone version of her previous request ('what is the ad- repeat the address, line 11). The complainant, however, starts producing another SPP in overlap with the officer's turn. This SPP furthers the matter in the same direction, that is, she produces a place reference that re-specifies her first reference. Again, the officer treats this as inappropriate, this time producing a canonical third position repair, blocking this kind of place reference altogether. The 'casa/house' referent is correct and was known by the officer, so 'sim' takes it as such, then the officer starts asking what the address was, but repairs it to 'repeat the address' as she had already taken the address in the personal details phase, but did not have it available at that moment. 'Sim' at line 11 is taken by the complainant as projecting some problem with her prior responsive turn. Although 'Sim' seems to accept and endorse the response 'Lá em ca:sa' in a way that 'Não' does not, the woman nonetheless hears 'Sim' in conjunction with the launch of an interrogatively designed question as oriented to some problem in her prior talk. She displays this by interrupting Po5 to provide a more specific place reference in response to the previous turn. In other words, she

redoes her SPP in response to 'Sim' + 'launched interrogative'. She does not treat the interrogative as the next question in the series – although without 'Sim' it could be taken as such. At line 12, the complainant displays an analysis that 'Sim' targets insufficient specificity of place reference. This understanding is specifically interdicted by Po5 with 'No', which initiates third position repair on her previous turn which was partially produced in overlap with the complainant's response at line 12, and is produced in the clear on line 13. This is again fixed, this time a canonical third position repair initiated by Não and followed by a request for the address which is again repaired in favour of a request for a repetition of the address, this time, produced in the clear (line 13). 'Não' in this case, seems to be used to effectively block the type of place reference the complainant was using, regardless of it being known or not before, and an address reference is produced.

#18 – WPS 12 (Rodo)

```
01  Po5:    Ele (lhe) a- ele usou um pa:u.=Num fo:i?
            He (you) a- he    used   a stick. No was
            He a- (you)- he used a sti:ck.=Wasn't i:t?

02          Pra lhe ameaçá:?
            To  you threat
            To threaten yo:u?

03  Wom:    Fo:i. Um rodo.
            Was.  A mop.
            Ye:s. A mop.

04  Po5:    Um pau né. [Coloq-]
            A stick no+is. Plac-
            A stick right. [Plac-]

05  Wom:               [Pegou o] rodo.
                        Got  the  mop
                       [Got the] mop.

06          (.)

07  Wom:    >Botou nos pés da ca:ma= 'Se você cun[versá]
             Put  in+the feet of+the bed.  If  you  talk
            >Put at the foot of the be:d= 'If you t[alk]

08  Po5:  t1                         [Ele- F]oi
          →,                          He   Was
                                     [He- W]here

09        t1  aonde que ele fez i:sso.
          →,  where that he   did this/it
              did he do i:t.

10  Wom:  t2  Lá em ca:sa.
          →,  There in house
              At ho:me.

11  Po5:  t3  Si:m. Qual é  o  en- [repita o endere:ç]o.
          →,
```

```
                      Yes. Which is the ad- repeat   the   address
                      Ri:ght. What is the ad-[repeat the addre:]ss.

12  Wom:  t2'                              [No    qua:rto:.   ]
          -->
                                           In+the bedroom
                                           [In the be:droom. ]

13  Po5:  t3'  Não. O e- repita o endere:ço.
          -->
               No. The a- repeat the address
               No. The a- repeat the addre:ss.

14  Wom:       É::: na- no Bom S[a:lto né:.]
               Is   in+the(F) in+the(M) (neighbourhood) no+is
               It's::: in- in Bom s[a:lto ri:ght.]
```

The case above supports the idea that canonical third position repairs are stronger than the Sim + redone interrogatives in third position in terms of blocking the relevance of some type of response and this can be examined as well in other examples shown here. Whereas there were two cases shown here of two consecutive turns in third position initiated by 'Sim' (#16 – WPS 18 – and #13 – WPS 32), there were no instances of a consecutive use of a canonical third position repair. Moreover, in the context of the WPS, the use of canonical third position repairs were often associated to 'stronger' problems, as I go on to discuss in turn.

6.6.1 Strategies for Dealing with Misalignments in a WPS

As seen above, problems of understanding and misalignments can be addressed in third position by different strategies which produce actions that are interactionally different. In the WPS the instances in which canonical third position repairs are used are often associated to establishing the reportable crime while blocking a telling about a long history of abuse. Rather than attempting to get complainants to cut to the chase, by using third position repairs officers are often trying to establish the crime in question and/or if the complainant is in fact eligible for a crime report. This means that third position repairs are often found in contexts which pose threats to complainants in terms of allowing them to complete (or not) a report. Apart from the examples of third position repairs shown in this chapter (fragments 5 to 8), three other cases were already shown in Chapter 4 and were part of dismissing contexts: WPS 07, WPS 30 were cases in which officers used third position repairs in the process of establishing the reportable crime and the cases turned out to be dismissed, and WPS 18 shows an instance of third position repair which is followed by a dismissal sequence which is reverted by the complainant.

'Sim' initiated turns in third position have been shown to do quite different actions, from acknowledging a response as possible and yet not the contextually relevant one, to pursuing a response while taking it to be still unanswered in contexts which often do not challenge the report, but rather pursue some specific information further. These cases were often used in situations which did not pose a threat to the report-making. There was only one case in which 'Sim mas' – perhaps the 'friendliest' of the strategies studied – was used to establish a crime #14 (WPS 18). Unlike the other cases, however, a case of continuous 'threats' had already been presented by the complainant, so a crime had been presented, the matter was to establish what instance was going to be reported on that day. All the other instances in which 'Sim mas' is used are quite 'mundane' and do not challenge the reporting.

'Sim' and redone interrogatives, cases are often found in 'non-threatening' contexts, regarding the core of the report-making, as they often 'advance' details of the matter and were often found in instances in which the case had already been decided as 'reportable'. This by no means is to say that they are produced in the 'friendliest' environments. On the contrary, some instances of pursuit are taken as challenges by the complainants (see #17, WPS 13) and, in some cases, they are used to pursue a type of response which had been resisted, in terms of its formulation, by the complainant (see #16, WPS 18). In any case, rather than completely block some response as irrelevant, 'Sim + redone interrogatives' were often associated with the pursuit of some kind further developmentof sequential and/or chronological development of a story. So, while some of the third position repairs were often produced in the context of determining the reportability of case and were associated with cases of dismissals or potential dismissals, blocking aspects of responses, third position turns initiated with 'Sim' seem point to a problem regarding not getting an answer to its fullness. So, they are used to gear the matter forward presenting the question *again* in the pursuit of an answer.

One example, WPS 18, shown in this thesis in this Chapter and also in Chapter 4, shows the three strategies used to deal with misalignments in the context of the making of a police report. 'Sim mas' (#13) was used (as discussed above) in a similar way that canonical third position repairs are used in determining a reportable crime. The difference in question was that the complainant had already presented

that she was suffering ongoing threats, so the existence of a crime had already been established. The officer's attempts in her use of 'sim mas' was to stop the complainant's answer from derailing into court matters and defining *the* reportable matter (not establishing the existence of one reportable matter). As seen above, 'sim mas' is not as strong as canonical third position repairs, so this attempt by the officer is followed by the complainants' presentation to her reason for going to the WPS to the completion of the course of answer she had started, which connected it to the legal need for a report, as requested by the District attorney. A long misalignment sequence follows as the complainant, to attest for the gravity of her crime, narrates her previous problems with her abuser: him running after her with a knife, being reported, but not showing up to the WPS. In not restricting her telling to answer the questions asked, the woman and the officer get in misalignments which are somewhat similar to those studied by Drew (2006). Drew (2006) found that, in after-hour calls to doctors, callers attempt to counter doctor's optimistic lines of questioning by providing more details about the patient's symptoms, in Drew's words:

> "By not restricting themselves to answering only the question asked, but continuing and describing - generally in very dramatic terms - other signs or symptoms from which the patient is suffering, callers appear to attempt to counter the optimistic implications of the questions, by providing details which are alarming and suggest a more pessimistic view of the illness." (Drew, 2006, p.432)

Complainants' 'dramatic' presentation of further cases of abuse rather than limiting their responses to the question asked in order to assert the gravity of their situation, while officers pursue an isolated 'last' incident which might make the complainants' situation seem more trivial than the way complainants seek to present their cases, is similar to instances of misalignment between 'optimistic' views of doctors and patient's presentations of their cases as 'serious'. This presentation of previous (and already reported) crimes works against the complainant, as Po1 takes the case to have already been 'dealt with' by the police which leads to what can be recognized as the dismissing pattern presented in Chapter 4. The decisive check about the reportability (or not) of the case is introduced in WPS 18 with a third position repair which definitely manages to

change the reporting focus from the legal problem to the police work. The 'Não' initiated third position repair is produced (blocking court matters) and in the context in which the officer takes the woman's response to reveal that her case had already been reported and, then, starts a dismissing sequence as she consults with another officer about dismissing the case. This dismissal context is understood by the complainant who fights for a report reaffirming the existence of 'new' cases (see Chapter 4). After the dismissing process was reversed, 'Sim' turns are used in the pursuit of a date for the abuse. As the complainant does not produce a date but insists on the abuse being 'continuous' (#15), the officer's turns acknowledge this information as having been taken and yet not being the matter of relevance then, which is in effect treated as 'not answered' and present the question again making a response about a specific date relevant again. So, while canonical third position repairs are often used to displace the reason for going to the WPS (the reportable crime) from the 'relational' contexts that produced them and/or from, a history of abuse, 'Sim' initiated turns are often used to pursue, then, in this temporally displaced incident a chronological, linear, development of the events.

The cases of misalignment between complainants and officers, as presented here, were often connected with the police job of police officers to make a report of one single recent episode of abuse, while women understood officer's requests of information about their cases as an invitation to present a life story of abuse. Domestic violence is not, however, like instances of a contractual crime and or instances of isolated crimes such as robbery. It is originated and presented by women as a relational matter and often as a continuum, as presented by the feminist literature (see Kelly, 1988). Moreover, the focus on the 'last' incident often does not do justice to women's story of abuse and they may resist (as shown in WPS 36 and WPS 18) the presentation of only a last incident of abuse when it might not endorse the idea that they have, in fact, 'good reasons' to report their abusers. Displacing the incidents of abuse from their story has been shown not only to be problematic in terms of not offering an accurate representation of the experience of violence of women, but also because it can cause negative feelings about the reporting (Trinch, 2001, 2003) and the difficulties created by such process of turning life-stories of abuse into a crime-report of one incident of abuse were made apparent in this chapter.

7

Referring to the Abuser: Cultural Understandings of Violence Against Women Manifest in References to an Abuser in a Women's Police Station

Drawing on the two different strategies for conducting the report-making (as discussed in Chapter 5), this chapter analyses how abusers are presented in a WPS. In doing so, it reveals the underlying cultural understanding that women suffer violence at the hand of men who are in a close relationship with them.

7.1 Person Reference

The process of referring to objects and actions in conversation/talk-in-interaction involves the selection from alternative (and correct) lexical resources (Schegloff, 1972, 1997, 2000). Rather than simply calling things and persons because they 'are' their identifying names, then, the selection of an identifying term from a range of possible formulations "is a locus of interactional order, exploited to accomplish determinate actions." (Schegloff, 2000, p. 715).

The selection of person reference, the word used to refer to a person, is important as the way people are identified in conversations is a resource for invoking common sense notions about members of a culture (Sacks, 1969; Schegloff, 1972). Category terms are part of a culture's inventory which composes 'a society's understanding(s) of the "sorts of people" they are, what they are like, how society and the world work – in short, its culture' (Schegloff, 1996, 465).

Moreover, references to third persons in conversation are organized in terms of preferences (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979) and practices (Schegloff, 1996) which

allow us to claim that 'something special' is happening when preferred practices are breached. That means it can be seen, for example, when reference terms such as proterms are doing 're-reference', that is referring and nothing else, and when something else is being accomplished by their use (Schegloff, 1996). Also, based on the finding that references are massively 'accomplished by the use of a single reference form' (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979, p.17) despite the availability of a large body of possible references to a person – such as their names, in term of their professions ('my lawyer'), their relationship with the person referring to them ('my daughter') etc. – and the fact that those possible references are combinable, Sacks and Schegloff propose that 'when reference is to be done, it should preferredly be done with a single reference form' (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979, p.16). The import of having preferences in reference practices is that breaches on these preferences are accountable, that is:

> "when more than a single form is used, it is accountable; that is, when more is used, parties to the interaction inspect it to find 'why that now'" (Hacohen & Schegloff, 2006, p.1305, drawing on Schegloff and Sacks, 1973:299)

This study will draw on these and other conversation-analytic examinations of how persons are referred to in both English (Kitzinger, 2005, Sacks 1972, 1992; Sacks & Schegloff 1979; Schegloff, 1996, 2000) and non-English data (Hacohen & Schegloff, 2006; Oh, 2007) in order to show how references to third persons are done in Brazilian Portuguese when women report abuse to the police. The focus of this chapter will be on how alleged perpetrators of crimes are first referred to in the making of police reports in a WPS, and the implication of these first references both to the ongoing action of reporting a crime and to the understanding of the abuse in terms of the shared cultural knowledge those references unveil.

7.2 Reference to the abuser in a WPS

In the police context there is no expectation of recognition of third parties in the service of getting the institutional work done. This means that, in the WPS, non-recognitional reference forms are usually used to refer to the alleged perpetrator of a crime, as there is no expectation of them being recognizable by the officer making the report. So, 'recipient design' has to be considered in terms of the action of making a police report. As far as references to third parties are concerned in the

making of a police report it is paramount for the officers to elicit from the complainants the name of the alleged perpetrator of the crime and his/her relationship with the complainant.

As seen before in Chapter 5, the data studied shows two different strategies employed by the officers in order to make a police report: one that is oriented to a general understanding of a 'story' before the actual filling out of the report and the compulsory personal details of both the complainant and the alleged abuser (in the event that incident is considered to be a reportable matter); and another in which the filling out of the forms with the compulsory personal details of the complainant and the abuser is done beforehand and it is the availability of those personal details in full that works as pre-requisite for the making of the crime report. These two strategies have different consequences for how the first mention to the abuser is produced in the making of the reports: in the instances in which the officer asks a general question about what happened and the complainant starts telling a 'story', the abuser is presented in terms of the complainant's relationship with the abuser; when the officers conduct the report in a way that they first get the complainant's personal details (name, profession, address etc) and then switch to the abuser's details, the first reference is done as a name, so rather than privileging a 'story', this way would privilege the 'filling out of the form'.

The two strategies differ not only in the kind of sequential environment they take place in, but also in the level of constraint they carry: while in the story mode the questions are usually about what happened, in the form oriented strategy the officers usually ask for a name. The latter scenario is more constrained, as the production of the relevant SPP has to be done in terms of a name. Even though the presentation of the name of the alleged abuser does not seem to be a problem for most of the complainants, it does not seem to be their chosen way of referring to 'who' was the abuser, which is mostly done in terms of their relationships (as will be shown later in this chapter).

This chapter will show how those strategies of making the report impact on the reference of the alleged perpetrators of the crimes the women report and what they show us about cultural understandings of violence about women. We will firstly present the most constrained environment in which the women can present their abusers – the one in which they are asked about their names – to later focus

on the instances in which women are free from 'format' constraints to present their assailants and make their relationships relevant in a story context.

From the 36 audio-recordings of women reporting abuse that make the corpus of this study 9 instances have been excluded from this analysis because they did not have clear instances of 'first references to the abuser'[1]. Out of the remaining 27 cases one instance is a correct 'guessing' of the abuser as the complainant's husband and half of the other 26 cases have first references produced in the context of a request for the abuser's details while the other half is produced when the women start telling their story of abuse. There are 13 instances in which the complainants have no pre-established 'format' to follow when referring to their assailants and present their abusers according to the relationship they have with them, and 13 cases in which the officers make some kind of request for the abuser's details.

Both the 'guessing' case and the 13 requests for details about the abuser are high in terms of constraints to the production of a SPP. These fourteen cases make the foundation of the first analytical section of this chapter and the remaining thirteen cases will be analysed subsequently, building on the findings of the first section.

7.3 Men's Violence Against Women as a Cultural Commonplace

This section will focus in the 14 cases in which the officer responsible for making the police report asks the complainant for the abuser's details. In 7/14 (i.e. half of the cases) the officer designs the question so as to display a presumption (which turns out to be correct) that the abuser is male. In the remaining 7 the question is designed in a gender-neutral way and in the 5/7 when the woman's reply displays that the abuser is male this fact is not treated as relevant new information or remarked upon but simply incorporated into the officer's subsequent talk (i.e. even when the question does not display the presumption of a male abuser, the subsequently revealed maleness of the abuser is treated as unremarkable). In the

---

[1] Nine cases were excluded from this analysis because two of them were return visits (WPS 14 and 32); four of the cases were introduced to the officer responsible for the making of the report by another police officers (WPS 12, 13, 15 and 16), so we do not have access to the very first mention of the case, and three of them do not have clear instances of 'first mentions', as this part of WPS 03 is inaudible, the story of the abuse of WPS 11 starts outside the reporting room and the first mention to the abuser is missing from the record, and I have notes – but not an audio-recorded version – of the first mention of the abuser on WPS 23.

two instances in which it turns out the abuser is female we have 1 instance in which the gender is remarked upon and treated as surprising and a subsequent instance (by the same officer) in which the female identity of the abuser is not treated as remarkable. Rather than countering the 'surprise' of a female abuser, however, closer examination of the latter shows that the gender neutral questioning adopted by the officer disregarded strong evidence of a female abuser in the first place.

In sum, there is strong evidence that officers in Brazilian police stations assume that violence against women is committed by men and not by women. Men's violence against women is a social fact (e.g. as revealed through surveys, police prosecution statistics etc) displayed in micro-interactional contexts. Through the analysis of those interactions it is possible to see how culture and commonsensical presumptions (in this case about who perpetrates violence against women) are made manifest in talk.

7.3.1 Culture and Talk

The role of culture in talk has been on debate for some time. Some analysts claim that one needs to go 'beyond' what is in the talk to explain it, i.e. in order to examine ideological aspects of language one needs to draw on social theory and external knowledge about a culture's heterosexism, sexism, racism etc (Billig, 1999; Wetherell, 1998). Conversation analysts, however, "see cultural norms as endogenously constituted by interaction, embodied and displayed in the details of talk" (Kitzinger, 2006, p.75), and argue for close attention to the data in order to unveil taken-for-granted practices of a given culture in the interaction and according to the understanding of the participants (Kitzinger, 2005, 2006; Schegloff, 1997). That means we have to understand the interaction and 'its endogenous constitution' as well as what it was for the parties involved to see 'what political issue if any it allows us to address' (Schegloff, 1997, p. 168).

7.3.2 Some 'Facts' About Perpetrators of Violence Against Women

Research shows that it is overwhelmingly men who commit violence against women: men account for three-quarters of the crimes against women in the US (Stone, citing Bachman, 1994) and 85% of the victimizations by intimate partners (Stone, citing Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000). Researchers in the US and the UK have argued that this kind of victimization by intimate partners is the most

common form of violence suffered by women (Dobash & Dobash, 1980/1979, Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1981/1980, Stanko, 1988), that women are more likely to be physically abused and assaulted, as well as killed in their own homes or near them (Straus et. al, 1980; Stanko, 1988) and half of all female homicide victims are killed by their husbands or boyfriends (Kantor & Jasinski, 1998, citing Kellerman & Mecy, 1992).

Similar claims can be made about perpetrators of violence against women in Brazil. 85% of the threats of battering, 80% of the armed threats; 84% of the 'heavy battering', 88% of the lighter physical assaults, and 79% of the instances of forced sexual intercourse have been attributed to (ex)boyfriends, (ex)husbands and (ex)partners in Brazil (Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2001). Moreover, 70% of the femicides in Brazil have been attributed to ex-husbands, ex-boyfriends and/or ex-partners who do not accept the separation and most of the perpetrators have a history of threats and/or abuse towards those women (Jornal da Tarde, cited by Saffioti, 1994, p. 162).

In a Women's Police Station, specialized in dealing with crimes against women exclusively, the proportion of abusers known to the complainants and in very close relationship with them is not only very high, but also establishing such relationship complainant-assailant is a mandatory field to be filled out in the making of the police report. In the corpus of women reporting abuse used in this study the abusers are family relations or very well known to 31 of 34 complainants. There are 36 audio-recorded interactions which involve 34 different complainants (2 are returns of previously dismissed cases) and 9 different police officers. In the majority of the cases women are reporting violence (or threats of violence) against themselves (n=31) from a man (n=29) referred to as a husband or partner (or ex-husband/ex-partner) (n=23), i.e. 'intimates'. A few other cases report violence against other women (daughter, n=3) and a few report violence from men other than partners (brother, n=2; mother's partner= n=1, a known man, n=2). Only 3 cases involve female assailants only and 2 cases involve both male and female assailants.

7.3.3 Microanalysis and 'Macro' Cultural Issues

The 'facts' about perpetrators of violence presented above are what we can call 'macro' sociology. An important question is then 'How does it relate to the 'micro'

sociology of interaction?'. A 'critical' approach to data analysis would propose this kind of macro sociological knowledge to be fundamental to the understanding of the analysis and something that should be included in the analysis itself. Contrary to this approach, and according to the conversation analysis approach to data analysis, we will argue that there is no need to bring these facts from outside to the analysis, but rather offer an endogenous account of it and show how the cultural commonplace of men's violence against women is endogenous to the interaction.

CA (as discussed in Chapter 2) is a useful instrument "for studying culture, understood as constructed through and by particular practices for managing interaction" (Kitzinger, 2005, p. 221). People's knowledge about their culture is displayed in their talk and can be unveiled and demonstrated without the resource of a supposed 'insider's knowledge'. Culture is manifest and constituted in everyday talk that is not noticed or responded to and CA can show the ways in which a taken-for-granted world is produced in talk (Kitzinger, 2005) both by unveiling those 'unnoticed' practices and by commenting on what is noteworthy to the participants.

Once we understand that it is from the evidence of the micro-analysis that we can make sense of broader 'cultural and ideological' issues and see what matches (or not) the macro-sociological propositions, the task of the analysis is precisely to avoid trying to read presuppositions into the data, but rather pay attention to those norms that provide for the orderliness observed in order "to discover the taken-for-granted practices of the culture *in the interaction itself*" (Kitzinger, 2006, p.75)

7.3.4 Getting the Details Right: The Presumption of a Male Abuser

In more than half (8/14) of these interviews, officers' questions are so designed as to presume a male abuser[2]. In each case, it subsequently becomes apparent that this presumption was correct and the interaction runs off smoothly with respect to this presumption. One of the most telling cases of this correct presupposition of a male abuser on the part of the police officer making the report is the singular case of the officer's correct guess of the abuser's relationship with the complainant (WPS 22). In this case the complainant starts the interaction with mentions of having

---

[2] For half the cases (n=7/14) this presumption of a male abuser doesn't follow any earlier presented evidence of a male abuser. In one case, WPS 28, however, the officer's questioning incorporates some ambiguous evidence that the abuser was a man and will be considered separately from the cases above.

received many blows in her head and starts crying when the officer starts asking for her details. The officer asks her, then, the question: 'It's your husband is it'.

 # 1 - WPS 22

```
Wom starts talking as soon as she enters the room:
```

```
01   Wom:    >Minha< cabeça (.) das pancadas que
             My      head        of+the blows   that
             >My< head  (. ) from the blows that

02           eu já le:ve:i. Tá¿=>eu quero falar
             I al;ready took. Is¿     I  want  to say.
             I've already got. Right¿=>I wanna say it

03           logo que vai que eu me esqueça.<
             soon  that will that I  me forger
             soon 'cuz I may forget.<

04           (0.4)

05   Wom:    Pode se:r?
             Can be
             Can it be?

06   Po4:    O que?
             What?

07   Wom:    Pra tira:r (.) um eletro¿=>Alguma coisa.<
             Too  take       a electro         some thing.
             To ha:ve (.) an EEG¿=>Something.<

08   Po4:    Nã:o. Você tá com alguma ma:rca. No
             No. You are with some mark. In+the.
             No:. Do you have any ma:rk. In your

09           corpo.
             body.
             body.

10   Wom:    Tô:. Mas eu já levei muita pancada
             Is.    But I already took much blow
             Yeah. But I've already taken so many blows

11           na  cabe[ça].
             in+the head
             in my he[ad].

12   Po4:            [Nã]o. Mas aí a gente daqui da
                     No.    But then we    of+here of+the
                     [N]o.  But then we here in the

13           delegacia (.) a gente só pode lhe
             police station    we  only   can you.
             police station (.) we can only give

14           for[nece:r]
                supply.
             y[ o: u ]

15   Wom:        [Eu  s]ei. Tá bom.=
                  I   know.  Is good.
                 [I  kno]w.  It's ok.=

16   Po4:    =A guia do IML=
             The form of+the.(medical legal institute)
```

```
                      =The referral to the IML=

17  Wom:    =Um hum tá ce:rto.
                      is correct
            =Mm hum it's ok.

18  Po4:    Aí: você vai ter que procurar um médico.
            Then you  will have to    look for   a   doctor
            The:n you will have to look for a doctor.

19          (0.8)

20  Po4:    A par:te.=né? Pra fazer esses e⌈x a m e s⌉
            separate  no  To  make/do these  |  exams  |
            Se:parately.=Right? To do these e⌊x a m s ⌋

21  Wom:                                    ⌈>Agora qu⌉e=é que
                                            | Now   that | is that
                                            ⌊>N o w  t h⌋at's just

22          difícil que só.<
            difficult that only.
            so difficult<.

23  Po4:    N:ã:o. Num existe isso não exi:- (3.4)
            difficult that only.
            N:o:. It doesn't exist doesn't exi:- (3.4)

24          Entedeu?
            Understood (3ps)
            Right?

25          (2.0)

26  Po4:    Dá tua identida:de.
            Give your identity.
            Give me your ID:.

27  Car:    Mmm?

28  Po4:    Tua identida:de.
            Your identity
            Your ID:.

29  Car:    ((opens the handbag to get her ID))

30  Po4: →  Foi o que.=É marido é.
            Was what.  Is husband is.
            What was it.=It's your husband is it.

31  Car:    É. Infelizmente.
            Is. Unfortunately.
            Yeah. Unfortunately.

32          ((long keyboard sound - Po4 typing))
```

More than a generic 'he' or simply any male abuser, the case above is a search for a confirmation of the abuser as the complainant's husband. A husband is, nonetheless, a male abuser and that is what is important for the point being developed now. There is evidence, however, that male abusers are usually understood to be closely related to the complainants and this issue will be examined later in this chapter.

This presumption of a male abuser can also be seen when officers ask for the details (usually the name) of the abusers in the beginning of the interactions, using constructions such as 'What is his name' before any mention of any information about the abuser. Some of the first pair parts (FFP) of those question-answer adjacency pairs are presented below:

```
A)  Po2:     Nome de:le.
             Name of he
             His na:me.

B)  Po2:     Como é o nome dele.
             How  is  the  name  of he
             What is his name.

C)  Po1:     Como é o nome de:li.
             How  is  the  name  of he
             What is his na:me.
```

All the questions presented above refer to the 'nome dele', literally, the 'name of he' or 'his name'. Gender is, then, clearly marked by the possessive pronoun 'dele/his' in the questions, as opposed to the femine 'nome dela/ name of she/ her name' or a neutral alternative that would make the pronominal use problematic – there is no gender-neutral pronoun in Portuguese – and would have to be something like: 'O nome da pessoa que fez isso com voce. / The name of the person who did this to you', 'O nome da pessoa. / The name of the person.' (examples taken from real instances in which a non-gender specific question is asked by the officers).

A noticeable feature of this way of asking a question about the abuser's name is that it is produced as a request for a name of a 'he', a locally subsequent reference form that is presented, however, in locally initial position. When a speaker introduces a reference to a third person into talk we can identify the 'form' and 'position' in which it is done. That is, the first time a person is referred to in a spate of talk it takes a 'locally initial reference position' and the subsequent occasions in which this person is referred to are 'locally subsequent referent positions' (Schegloff, 1996). As far as reference forms are concerned, there are also 'locally initial' and 'locally subsequent' reference forms. Examples of locally initial reference forms are full noun phrases and names, while pronouns (he/him, she/her, they/them) are designed to be locally subsequent reference forms (Schegloff, 1996, 450). The 'default', 'unmarked' way of referring to third persons is,

then, "composed of locally initial reference forms in locally initial reference positions, and locally subsequent reference forms in locally subsequent reference positions" (Schegloff, 1996, 450). This can also be seen in BP data (as shown in extracts: #23, #34, # 35, presented in Chapter 3, just to cite a few).

When a locally subsequent reference form is used in locally initial position, such as Schegloff's example 'Is he still alive?' when Kennedy was assassinated, a sense of community is produced, as the reference is done with the presumption that speakers and recipients know what is on each other's mind (Schegloff, 1996, 451). In some of the police extracts a similar demonstration of this 'communal knowledge' is achieved with the use locally subsequent reference forms in locally initial position when asking about the abuser's name. Such correct presuppositions of shared knowledge about who is being referred to can be seen when police officers ask in locally initial position for the perpetrator's name just by using a proterm – a locally subsequent reference form – with questions such as 'What's his name?'.

Rather than being a very infrequent occurrence, this kind of question with a locally subsequent reference form in locally initial position makes up for about half the cases in which the officers make a request for the name of the abuser. There is only one instance in my corpus in which the officer does not get an answer and subsequently repairs her own turn in terms of 'Who did this to you' (WPS 08), which will be analysed later. Most of the interactions, however, run smoothly after the request for the name of the abuser in a way that presumes his male identity. That is, in most of the cases the question about 'his name' is followed by the complainant's answer, in which a male name is presented, and the interaction progresses smoothly. The SPP to the questions shows, then, that the presumption of a male abuser of the FPP was correct (see arrowed lines). Even though the fragment in which the question about 'his name' and the subsequent answer to the question is quite short, it is relevant here to show the interaction from the very beginning in order to show that the very first reference to the abuser takes the locally subsequent reference form 'his' in locally initial position, showing the presupposition of a male abuser and of the referent 'his' as being sufficient to make it understood as 'the abuser' and make the transition from 'alleged victim's details' to 'alleged abuser's details'.

#2 - WPS 10

```
001   Po2:    Tá qua identidade aí:.
              Are with the identity    there
              Do you have your I.D. with yo:u.

002   Wom:    Só a xerox.
               Just the xerox.
              Just a copy.

003           (0.2)

004   Wom:    O restinho da xerox.
              The remainder of the xerox.
              The remainder of the copy.

005           (48 sec: Wom gives the copy of her ID to Po2 + typing)

006   Po2:    Estado civi:l.
              State     civil.
              Marital sta:tus.

007           (0.6)

008   Wom:    Solte:ira.
              Single.
              Si:ngle.

009           (31 sec + key)

010   Po2:    °°>Profissã:o.<°°
              Profession.
              °°>Profe:ssion.<°°

011           (1.0)

012   Wom:    É:: garçone:te. Trabalho como garçone:te=ago:ra.
              Uhh waitress.      Work (1st ps) as    waitress,    now
              U:h: wa:itress. I work as a wa:itress=no:w.

013           (0.8)

014           Ant- (1.0) acho que em alguma outra queixa antes
              (before)          think (1st ps) that in some complaint before that
              Pre- (1.0) I think that in some other previous report

015           que tenha fichado:, (0.5) acho que botaram como
              have (1st/3rd ps - subj) filed think(1st ps) that put(3rd ppl) as
              that I have re:gistered, (0.5) I think they put

016           domé:stica¿= ou estudante. Não lembro.
              domestic    or    student.      No remember (1st ps)
              domestic he:lp¿=or student. I don't remember.

017           (1.8)

018   Po2:    Estudou até que sé:rie:.
              Studied (3rd ps) until what grade
              Until what grade did you stu:dy.

019           (.)

020   Wom:    Até a quinta.
              Until the 5th
              Till fifth grade.

021           (37 sec + keyboard)

022   Po2:    Endere:ço,
              Address
```

```
                        Addre:ss,
023                     (0.2)
024     Wom:            É:: (1.0 + paper noise) Rua Damião Correia
                        U:h            (Street name)
                        U:h: (1.0 + paper noise) two hundred and four
025                     (4.2 + keyboard)
026     Wom:            Número duzentos e qua::tro,
                        (house number)
                        Damião Correia stree:t,
027                     (5.5 + keyboard)
028     Wom:            Bom Sa:lto.
                        (Neighbourhood)
                        Bom Sa:lto.
029                     17 sec + keyboard
030     Po2:    →  O nome de:le.
                        The name of he
                        His na:me.
031     Wom:            Hamilton Santos.
                        (man's name + surname)
                        Hamilton Santos.
032                     18 sec + keyboard
033     Po2:            °Tem apelido (ele)°.
                         Have(1st ps/3rd ps) nickname    he
                        °Does (he) have a nickname.°
```

This example shows that just after answering the questions about her own personal details, the last one being about her address (more specifically her neighbourhood), there is a period in which the officer fills out the form – marked by the sound of the keyboard – and then the complainant is asked the question 'Nome dele / His name'. This question is clearly understood to be referring to the name of the abuser and there is no delay or any problem in understanding the question and/or providing an answer to it: the name of her assailant. Even though there was no previous mention to any man this 'he' could be referring to, the 'he' is understood to be unproblematic, as the man who abused her and a person she knows the name of and the presupposition of the question is treated as correct.

Other similar cases to the one above are:

#3 – WPS 05

Wom is making a police report with her friend Wo2 and the officer responsible for the case is Po2, who starts taking Wom's personal details: name, date of birth, marital status, profession, education, name of her father and mother, address followed by:

```
01   Po2:       É o que ali:=É Corde:l, é::,
                Is what      there Is (neighbourhood) is
```

```
              What is the:re=Is it Corde:l, is::

02  Wom:      Corde:l.
              (neighbourhood)
              Corde:l.

03            (10.8 + keyboard)

04  Po2:  →   Como é o nome dele
              How is the name of he
              What is his name

05            (0.5)

06  Wom:  →   Riva:l- João Riva:ldo,  (0.2)  °(da Silva
              (male name  male names)              (surname1)
              Riva:l- João Riva:ldo,  (0.2)  °(da Silva

07  Wo2:      JO[ão Riva:ldo,]
              (name)
              JO[ão Riva:ldo,]

08  Wom:        [ão Riva:ldo,]  (0.2)  °(da Silva
                 (name)                (surname1)
                [ão Riva:ldo,]  (0.2)  °(da Silva

09  Key:                              [-  –  –  –  –

10  Wom:      ou dos) Santos°.
              or   (other surname)
              or dos) Santos°.

11  Key:      –  –  –  –  – ]

12  Key:      (0.8)

13  Po2:      João Rivaldo,
              (name)
              João Rivaldo,

14            (1.8)

15  Wo2:      dos Santos.
              (surname)
              dos Santos°.

16  Key:      (2.0)

17  Po2:      Tem apelido ele.
              Has  nickname he
              Does he have a nickname.

18  Wom:      [R:iva.
              (nickname)
              [R:iva.

19  Wo2:      [R:iva.
              (nickname)
              [R:iva.
```

In this case the answer is not revealed as promptly as in the previous case, but more than a problem understanding the question and/or to whom it would be referring to, the slight problem the women face in producing the name of the abuser seems to be related to some uncertainty about his actual name. Even though there is a 0.5 gap before the production of the name, neither the officer nor the

woman provide or ask for any clarification about the 'he' the question refers to. Rather, the answer is provided by the woman after the delay with a name she then repairs, but is still part of the abuser's name and the root of his nickname, indicating then, more problem regarding the adequate reference to the abuser in the police unit than a problem understanding the question itself.

#4 - WPS 18

```
01            (Neighbourhood)
02             (lapse/gap)
03   Pol:  →  Como é o nome de:li.
             How  is  the  name  of he
             What is his na:me.
04             (0.8)
05   Wom:  →  De:li? Marrcos >Pontes< da Si:lva.
             Of he? (male name)
             Hi:s? Marrcos >Pontes< da Si:lva.
06   Pol:     Marrcos:. Po[:ntex: da Si:lva.]
             (male name)
             Marrcos:. Po[:ntex: da Si:lva.]
07   Wom:                [Po:ntes da  Si:lv]a.
                          (surnames)
08             (4.5)
09   Pol:     Tem apeli:do.=Ele:.
             Has  nickname. He
             Nickna:me.=Has he:.
```

Even though there seems to be a question regarding whose name the question (at line 03) is about with the repetition of 'Deli' on line 05. The delay in producing the response is marked by the 0.8 gap followed by the repetition of 'deli' as the understanding of what is being requested. Such delay seems to be related to the change from complainant's details to abuser's details, as – even if the officer provides a non-verbal confirmation of 'deli' as being the correct hearing – there is no explanation offered in order to clarify 'deli/ his' identity and the answer to the question is produced with no problems.

In these interactional fragments nothing special seems to be happening: the transition from the complainant's details to abuser's details may raise some doubts about the correct hearing of the request for 'his' name and/or about the full name of the assailant, as we have seen above, but there is no problem in understanding the question about 'his name' as the name of the abuser and the answer is provided shortly after the question is posed. We can see, then, that both officers and

complainants share the cultural understanding that violence against women is committed by men and this is reflected in and reproduced by the talk.

7.3.5 Gender Neutral Questions: (Un)Remarkable Gendered Identities

In the other half (6/14) of the instances the question is designed as gender-neutral. In the same way that there is no neutral pronoun in Portuguese, nouns are also not neutral and in most cases assume different forms depending on the gender of the subject they agree with. The construction of a non-gendered request for the name of the abuser is accomplished, then, in terms of questions about the name of 'the person who did this to you' and some times simply about the name of 'the person'. Some examples of those requests are:

A)   Po6:   Como é o nome da pesso:a¿ Que fez isso com
                How is the name of the person. That/Who did this with
                What is the name of the pe:rson¿ That did this

                você:.
                you
                to yo:u.

B)   Po6:   O nome da pesso:a- do:- (.) que fez i:sso.
                The name of the(F) person of the(M) that/who did this.
                The name of the pe:rson- of the:- (.) that did thi:s.

C)   Po6:   Como é o nome da pess:o:a.
                How is the name of the person
                What is the person's na:me:.

There is some evidence that the gender neutral alternative to referring to a unknown abuser from the police officers' perspective is somewhat fabricated to avoid the gender implication of the questioning as we can see in the repair of ' da pessoa do- que fez isso com voce'.

#5 - WPS 24

01   Po6:   O nome da pesso:a- do:- (.) que fez i:sso.
                The name of the person   of the(M)   that did this
                The name of the pe:rson- of the- (.) that did thi:s.

02   Wom: (>Avelino<) Robe:rto da Silva.
                 (male name)

03   (5.2 + key)

04   Po6:   °Roberto da Si:lva°

05   (0.5)

06   Po6:   Tem apeli:do.
                Has nickname
                Does he have a nickna:me.

In this case 'the person' is followed by a preposition 'of' in its contracted form with the definite masculine article 'o', which is abandoned (deleted) and the officer picks up the sentence as left after 'pessoa'. It is clear here that the masculine article has been abandoned, but there is a complication to the matter to be taken into consideration as there are no neutral nouns in Portuguese and even the special nouns that have one form in the masculine and feminine versions do have to agree with masculine or feminine articles.

At first glance the word 'vítima/victim', for example, is a feminine word and takes the feminine article 'a', while the word 'autor/author' (as in author of a crime, perpetrator), the one which is in the form to be filled out, is a masculine word and takes the article 'o'. The word 'vítima' (as well as 'pessoa'), however, is what we call a 'sobrecomum', (literally 'above common') noun, i.e., is a noun which does not change its form in either of the two possible genders it can adopt and which can only take the feminine article 'a' even when agreeing with a masculine subject (e.g. Maria foi **a vítima** do crime / George foi **a vítima** do crime). The word 'autor' (perpetrator), on the other hand, has a masculine form 'autor' and a femine form 'autora' (e.g. Maria foi **a autora** do crime / Pedro foi **o autor** do crime). The word 'agressor/abuser', which could together with 'autor' be 'projectable' after 'do' on line 01, is also a masculine word and its feminine version would be 'agressora'. In case of unknown gender, however, there is a tendency to use the masculine versions of a noun as the 'non-specific' one and that is what is available in the police report 'autor'.

The constructions that depend on a masculine noun, such as autor/aggressor, which would be produced by just following the steps of the form the officers fill out, seem to be avoided by the police officers in their 'non-gendered' questions. The officers depart from the wordings of the questionnaire they fill out and resort to a different formulation (in terms of the person, more specifically, 'da pessoa', again a 'feminine' noun which is actually a *sobrecomum* noun) in order to accomplish a non-gendered question.

Even when left to only 'name of the person[3]', though, those questions are answered without much difficulty. The case shown below is an example of a delayed

---

[3] It is interesting to notice, however, that this non-gendered questioning form in terms of requesting a 'person's' name is only employed by one police officer

answer: after being asked for the name of the person the complainant delays the production of her second pair part with an insert sequence which produces a candidate understanding of the request as 'that I want to report', as an appendor question, repairing Po6's previous turn. With confirmation of her understanding to be correct she then produces the name of her abuser:

#6 - WPS 29

```
01  Po6:    Como é o nome da pesso:a.
            How is the name of+the person.
            What is the name of the pe:son.

02          (0.5)

03  Wo2:    Quieu quero dá a que:ixa.
            That+I want  to give a complaint
            That I want to repo:rt.

04          (0.5 + officer agrees non-verbally)

05  Wo2:    Rubens (        ) dos Sa:ntos.
            (male name)

06  Po6:    Ru:be:ns,

07  Wo2:    É:. Rúbens.
            Is (male name)
            Ye:s. Rúbens.
```

Although these questions might seem to leave open the gender of the abuser, nonetheless we can see a gender-presumption working interactionally. In most (4/6) cases the complainant's response makes it apparent that the abuser is male. As seen in the examples above, the women present the names of their male assailants, which are clearly recognized as male names, and the interaction progresses smoothly. Some other examples are presented below:

#7 - WPS 30

```
09  Wom:    Terre:iro.
            (name of Neighbourhood)
            Terre:iro.

10          (16.5)

11  Po6:    Como é o nome da pess:o:a.
            How is the name of the person
            What is the person's na:me:.

12          (0.4)

13  Wom:    É João Cícero da Si:lva.
            Is (full name of a male)
            It's João Cícero da Si:lva.

01          (6.8)
```

```
02  Po6:      Tem apeli:do e:le:.
              Has nickname   he
              Does he: have a ni:ckna:me.
```

#8 - WPS 02

Po2 gets the woman's (Wom) personal details (as shown in Chapter 5) and then goes to get the abuser's details:

```
09  Po2       ((Name of the neighbourhood)) é?
              ((Name of the neighbourhood)) is it?

10  Wom:      É:.
              Is
              Ye:s.

11            (3.0) + Wo1: falando ao celular

12  Po2:      (Num é.)
              No is.
              (Isn't it.)

13  ((Wo1: talks to her lawyer over the phone))

14  Po2:      °Contra quem a que:ixa.°          (14:46)
              Against whom the complaint
              °The complaint is against whom.°

15  Wom:      Uh?
              Huh?

16  Po2:      Contra que::ixa,
              Against complaint.
              Complaint aga::inst,

17  Wom:      João (Rodrigues)
              Name of a man + surname
              João (Rodrigues)

18  Po2:      João (Rodrigues/com ge:)
              Name of a man + surname & spelling question
              João (Rodrigues/with a ge:)
```

In no case is the gender of the abuser then remarked upon or topicalised by the police officer. The gender of the abuser is not treated as news or surprising nor does it become interactionally salient. The interaction continues and the officers either receipt the names while typing them into the computer, or engage in some kind of clarification of the spellings or their understanding of part of the name, or finally move to a different question.

In contrast to the uneventful answers above, we can see a case in which a gender neutral question is answered in a way that displays a female abuser and this is treated as interactionally salient.

#9 - WPS 21

```
01  Wom:      Cordel.
              (neighbourhood)
```

```
02              LAPSE ((approx 1 min and 17 sec))

03  Po6:        Como é o nome da pesso:a¿ Que fez isso com
                How  is the  name  of the person.  That/ Who  did this   with
                What is the name of the pe:rson¿ That did this

04              você:.
                you
                to yo:u.

05              (1.0)

06  Wom:        Parece que o nome dela é Nádia José.
                Seems    that  the  name hers  is (woman's name)
                It seems that her name is Nádia José.

07  Po6:  →     Ah foi mulher fo:i.
                Oh was   woman   was.
                Oh it was a woman wa:s it.

08  Wom:        Fo:i.
                Was (it).
                Ye:ah.

09              (0.5)

10  Po6:        Lembra o nome exa:to (ou não).
                Remember(2ps) the name exact  or  no.
                Do you remember the exa:ct name (or don't).
```

Even though the question is asked in a gender-neutral fashion the response it gets displaying a feminine name is received with surprise. In contrast to the cases considered above, here the officer does not receipt or ask some question about the name, but rather produces a change of state token 'Ah/Oh' (Heritage, 1984), which shows the 'novelty' the female identity was for her and remarks upon the fact of the abuser being a woman.

In remarking upon the gender of the abuser with surprise the officer marks the 'unexpectedness' of a female abuser and 'invoke[s] and reproduce[s] mundane understandings of what is normative for their culture. When they do this, participants display, in action, the commonsense knowledge of members of their culture' (Kitzinger, 2006, p. 75)

Among those 13 cases there is one other instance in which the abuser is a woman but here her gender is not remarked upon. Rather than countering the notion proposed of an expectation of a male abuser, however, this case provides further evidence of this expectation. In WPS 26 there is evidence of the female identity of the perpetrators in the very beginning of the interaction, but when asking for the abuser's name the officer does so in a gender-neutral manner:

#10 - WPS 26

```
The officer asked for the complainant's ID, but the complainant said
she didn't have it with her. Some simultaneous talk from two
officers go on and the woman starts telling her story
```

```
01   Wom:      (          bar         ) ela fe:z=
                (          bar         ) she di:d=

02   Po6:      =Quando foi i:sso.
                When  was it/this
               =When was i:t.

03             (0.5)

04   Wom:      Ela me tele- foi assim ela tava ( [   )]
                She  me c(alled) was  like    she was
               She called m- it was like she was ([    )]

05   Po6:                                        [Na:]o.
                                                 [No:].

06             Quando fo:i.
                When  was
               When was i:t.

07   Wom:      F:oi o:ntem.
                Was  yesterday
               It w:as ye:sterday.

08   Po6:      Qual teu no:me.
                Which your name
               What's your na:me.
```

As we can see, the woman starts her story introducing a character 'she' who 'did' something she doesn't finish to say as the officer asks the question about 'when' it happened. Again, in her answer to the question the complainant says 'she' twice and starts what sounds to be the beginning of a story to explain 'what happened'. At this point, the officer comes in overlap and in third position repair redoes her question of 'when', gets an answer and goes back to the form filling task, that is, starts asking for the woman's personal details. After doing so, the officer continues with a question about the abuser's name. The question, as we can see, is a gender-neutral question:

#11 (continuation of #10 - WPS 26)

```
01   Po6:      Como é o nome da pessoa que fez isso com
                How  is the name of the person. That/Who  did this   with
               What is the name of the person who did this

02             você:.
                you
               to yo:u.

03   Wom:      Cremi:lda.
                (a woman's name)
               Cremi:lda.
```

```
04            (2.2)
05   Po6:     Cremilda de quê:.
              (name)   of what
              Cremilda wha:t.
06            (.)
07   Wom:     Só Cremi::lda mesmo. O resto num sei nã:o.
              Just (name) really.    The  rest   no   know(1pp) no
              Just Cremi::lda. The rest I don't kno:w.
```

In this case, there is no remark or any evidence of the police officer being 'surprised' by the female identity of the abuser. Rather, as in the previous cases of male abusers, the officer simply continues her questioning pursuing the full name of the abuser.

One important difference of this case in relation to the others, however, is that both in the previous cases there was no mention of the abuser prior to the question for their names, so the officer had no previous evidence of the gender of the abuser. In this case, however, the complainant says 'she' in the very beginning of the interaction, when asked about 'when' the incident had happened. In these kinds of 'partial' presentations, the reference to a 'he' in the beginning of the interaction is regularly understood to be referring to the abuser. Another interesting aspect of this interaction which also points to the presupposition of a male abuser is the fact that (as shown in Chapter 4), once the case gets dismissed, the officer 'forgets' that the abuser was in fact a woman and refers to the abuser by using masculine terms.

WPS 28 is an example of an instance in which a 'he' referred in the beginning of the interaction, in the middle of presenting the place of the abuse is (correctly) taken to be referring to the abuser. WPS 35 is another example of 'he' being correctly taken as the abuser, which is shown later in this chapter, as it is produced in a different sequential environment. The 'naturality' in which these cases of early presentations of a 'he' is taken to be referring to the abuser contrasts with the reluctance in taking 'she' presented in WPS 26 as such. WPS 28 shows how the officer incorporates the male identity in his questioning with elements from the presentation of 'he' in the beginning of the interaction:

#12 - WPS 28

Po7 who had just finished WPS 27 leaves the room with the complainant and comes with the 'next' complainant 'Wom' into the room. He talks about some issues related to the computer system with another officer while I get the consent to record the interaction

from the woman. The officer had already asked for the complainant's
name and ID, when they sit down and he starts talking again:

```
02   Po7:     Tem- identida:de e CPF te:m.
               Have- identity and (tax document) have.
               Have- have you got ID: and CPF:.

03   Wom:     >Dexei< na Ba:rra.
                Left(1ps) in the name of place
               >I left< it at Ba:rra.

04   Po7:     Você veio da Ba:rra- Barra de São Migue:l.
               You came  of the neighbourhood neighbourhoods' full name
               You've come from ba:rra- Barra de São Migue:l.

05   Wom:     Barra de Santo Antô:nio.
               Neighbourhood's full name
               Barra de Santo Antô:nio.

06            (.)

07   Po7:     Você- isso foi em Ba:rra de Santo Antônio.=
               You  this  was in  neighbourhoods' full name
               You- this happened in Ba:rra de Santo Antônio.=

08   Wom:     =Nã:o. Isso foi aqui na: s- Jaque:ira.
                No  This  was here  in the neighbourhoods' name
               =No:. This was here i:n s- Jaque:ira.

09            (.)

10   Wom:     Que meu irmão mora lá e eu tava morando cum
               That my  brother lives there and I was living       with
               Cuz my brother lives there and I was living with

11            ele por aqui na Jaque:ira.
               Him  by  here in the neighbourhoods' name
               him around here in Jaque:ira.

12            (gap + intervening talk by other officers)

13   Po7:     Faz quanto tempo que ele tá morando aqui.
               Has  how  time   that  he  is  leaving    here
               For how long has he lived here.

14            (.)

15   Wom:     Nove me:ses.
               Nine months
               Nine mo:nths.

16            (0.8)

17   Po7:     Qual é a data de nascimento da senho:ra.
               Which is the date of birth        of the ma'am
               What's your date of birth ma'am.

18            (0.8)
```

The first lines of WPS 28 show the officer's request to the complainant's ID
becoming a matter of reportability. As the woman says she left her ID at 'Barra' (a
dispreferred SPP that leaves 'no' implicit), the officer requests confirmation that
she had come from 'Barra de São Miguel', possibly orienting to the fact that Barra
would be outside the authority of the WPS. The woman corrects the officer's

understanding by simply saying 'Barra de Santo Antonio'. The matter of 'place' becomes explicitly relevant next in terms of establishing the place in which the crime took place. Both 'Barras' referred in the talk are beach villages outside the municipality of Maceió (respectively 32km to the South and 48km to the North) and, therefore, outside the authority of the WPS in Maceió. This means that had the crime happened in either of those places, it wouldn't be reportable at the WPS.

The next question from the officer (line 07) starts with 'Você/You' as the subject, following the pattern of the previous question in line 03, which projects a verb and a complement to follow (such as 'Você apanhou na Barra? You've been beaten at Barra'), the turn is, however, repaired and the subject 'you' is reformulated to 'isso/this', a prospective indexical which refers to the abuse without defining what type the abuse is being referred to. This repaired question avoids the previously projected construction in which the verb used would define the abuse, which hadn't been presented by the complainant yet. The use of 'isso/it, this' to refer to a non-explicitly named abuse also happens in WPS 26, in terms of a time definition. In WPS 28, it is used to define the place, this time connecting the abuse to the place in which it happened, and making the issue of reportability more evident. The complainant's SPP to this question is again a dispreferred one, but this time it does not leave 'no' implicit, but produces it as the first part of the answer to the officer's enquiry. The contrasts between 'aqui/here' and 'lá/there', in the second part of her answer, makes 'brother' and the subsequent 'ele/he' mentioned subsequently possible to be distinguished as, 'the brother' who lives 'there' and a man 'he' who lived 'here' and, very importantly, *with* the complainant, as 'to live with' frequently carries partnership connotations.

It is interesting to notice that, the place was relevant to define the abuse in terms of its reportability and that this condition helps to make this 'he', presented in the environment in which the abuse was relevant, to be understood (correctly) to be referring to the abuser.

In this case, when it gets to the point in which the officer goes through filling out the complainant's date of birth, schooling, place of birth, telephone number, name of her mother and father details and moves to take the address in which the

abuse happened[4], the officer incorporates the 'he' mentioned in the beginning to his questioning, as the abuser. Differently from the previous 'assumptions' of male abusers, however, the mention of 'he' from the part of the officer is done with elements of the 'he' presented on line 10: the officer brings the 'he' in the context of referring to the place of the abuse (line 04). Although this use of 'he' in line 04 shows the re-use of a reference partially presented in the beginning of the report-making it does not necessarily place him as the abuser. It is the later request for 'his name' (line 15) that adds to it in order to show that the first presented 'he' is incorporated in the questioning *and* assumed to be the abuser.

#13 (continuation of #12 - WPS 28)

```
01  Po7:     Cê apanhou na Ba:rra.
             You were beaten in the  neighbourhood
             You were beaten in Ba:rra.

02  Wom:     Não. Foi aqui em Maceió. >(San) Jaque:ira.<
             No.  Was here in Maceió.    neighbourhoods' full name
             No. It was here in Maceió. >(San) Jaque:ira.<

03           (0.4)

04  Po7:     Aí ele morava na (   ) Jaque:ira (  )
             Then he lived   in the      neighbourhood
             Then he lived in (   ) Jaque:ira (  )

05           (.)

06  Po7:     Rua do Ara:me¿
             Street name
             Street do Ara:me¿

07  Wom:     Rua do Arame me:smo.
             Street name     same/really
             Street do Arame indee:d.

08  Po7:     Tem certe:za.
             Has(2ps) certainty
             Are you su:re.

09           (±10 sec)

10  Po7:     Tem número lá.
             Has(2ps) number there.
             Is there a number there.

11           (0.5)

12  Wom:     Casa ci:nco.
             House five
             House fi:ve.

13  Po7:     Como é:? Ci:nco?
             How  is? Five?
             What is i:t? Fi:ve?
```

---

[4] This part of the interaction was omitted from the main body of the text in order to make the text more readable.

```
14                (±20 sec)

15   Po7:         Qual é o nome de:le.
                  Which is the name of he
                  What is his na:me.

16                (0.2)

17   Po7:         >Num é aquele cara que tava sentado
                   No is  that  guy   who    was seated
                  >Isn't he that guy who was sitting

18                aqui:.<⁵
                  here
                  he:re.<

19   Wom:         É:. É aquele home aí.
                  Is. Is that  man  there.
                  Ye:s.  He is tha man there.

20   Po7:         Qual é o nome de:le.
                  Which is the name of he
                  What is his na:me.

21   Wom:         ((Afonso Vilela da Cos:ta.))
                  Male name + Surnames
                  ((Afonso Vilela da Cos:ta.))
```

This case provides a nice contrast to WPS 26 in which when presenting 'when' an abuse referred to as 'isso' happened. In WPS 26 the abuse is made relevant in a very similar way to the 'where' issue of WPS 28, but in contrast to the displayed understanding of the 'he' mentioned in this environment to be 'the abuser', the complainant's presentation of a 'she' in WPS 26 is not connected to the abuser in further questions.

For the reader's convenience, the fragments of the relevant questions about the abuser's name in WPS 26 and WPS 28 are reproduced below, in order to display their contrast in terms of the way they 'retain', or not, previously mentioned gendered proterms in the definition about the abuser.

In WPS 26 the question about the name of abuser after a 'she' had been referred to in connection to the abuse, simply mentioned as 'isso / this/it', assumes a gender-neutral form:

---

⁵ Even though the officer had seen a man with the complainant he did not have to be *the* abuser. There is evidence that the officer assumed and/or figured out that this was the case, rather than have any previous knowledge about it. Even though the man had been brought to the WPS with the woman by the police, Po7 was in the reporting room when they were brought to the station; the case was not introduced by another police officer; and, if the officer knew they had been brought by the police, it would be unlikely that he would question the place in which the abuse took place in order to check its reportability. The case WPS 21, the one in which the female identity of the abuser is remarked upon was also a case in which the two involved parties were brought to the WPS by the police, even so, the officer making the report turned out to be surprised about the gender of the abuser.

(From #11)

```
01  Po6:    Como é o nome da pessoa que fez isso com
```
How is the name of the person. That/Who   did this   with
```
            What is the name of the person who did this
```

In WPS 28 the question about the abuser's name after a 'he' had been referred to in connection to the abuse, simply mentioned as 'isso / this/it', assumes a (male) gendered form:

(From #13)

```
15  Po7:    Qual é o nome de:le.
```
Which is the name of he
```
            What is his na:me.
```

Thus, in contrast to WPS 28, it is clear to see that, rather than providing evidence for the ordinariness of a female abuse, WPS 26 shows the resistance in accepting a female abuser. The officer seems to resist the understanding of a mention of 'she' when presenting other aspect of the abuse as the presentation of the abuser in a position in which a 'he' is frequently taken to be the abuser. This resistance is further supported (and noticed) by the way the same female perpetrator is referred to in the end of this interaction (which is dismissed). Po6, as shown in Chapter 4, uses masculine terms to refer to the abuser.

Both officers and complainants produce and understand the use of masculine proterms in first position to be referring to the perpetrators of the alleged instances of crimes women are there to report. The same does not happen, however, with feminine proterms: police officers sometimes use masculine proterms in first position to refer to the abusers, but not feminine ones. The only case in which an officer makes a remark upon the gender of the abuser involves a female abuser after a gender-neutral request for the abuser's name. Also – in contrast to the incorporation of a suggested male identity of the abuser in the beginning of an interaction to the subsequent questioning – in the case in which a female abuser is suggested in the beginning of the interaction, the questioning about the identity of the abuser does not assume the feminine form, but rather, remains neutral.

Gender presumptions are displayed in proterms, articles and their combinations with prepositions, gender-normative names and reflect a taken-for-granted culture without being specifically oriented to unless the presumption turns out to be wrong (see Kitzinger, 2006; Kitzinger & Land, 2005 for examples of cultural

presumptions of partners as heterosexuals and living together made apparent when the cases turn out to be different than this expectation). The gender presumption displayed here is that abused women suffered violence at the hands of men, a presumption that almost always turns out to be correct and is not specifically oriented to as a presumption, but can be made apparent through the analysis of the interactions both in terms of what is seen as unremarkable and what is 'noticeable' as a breach and remarked upon.

The presumption of a male abuser does not seem to be the only one to be true about the studied interactions. It will be subsequently examined how police officers display a presumption that the alleged abusers are closely related to their victims, as it was hinted by the first case presented here (WPS 22), the one in which the abuser is correctly assumed to be the complainant's husband. We will show how women's presentation of their alleged abusers in terms of husbands, partners and other closely related males such as 'brother' are treated as non-remarkable by the police officers (in the same fashion as the male identity of the abusers were taken for granted). In contrast to those cases we will show the instances in which an abuser is not presented in a way in which a close relationship can be inferred and the relationship between the complainant and her alleged abuser is questioned (WPS 20), or the identity of the abuser is not easily grasped (WPS 06), or a close relationships is nonetheless assumed by the officer (WPS 25).

In order to examine those cases, it is worth considering the case in which the request for the abuser's name with the use of the locally subsequent reference proterm 'his' is not successful and is subsequently repaired by the police officer in terms of 'who' the abuser was. This case helps to illustrate the point developed further in this chapter that, when free from the constraints of a FPP made as a request for a name and having to present 'who' their abusers were, women do so in terms of their relationship with the abuser. In WPS 08 when the officer uses a locally subsequent reference term in locally initial position and makes a request for the name of the abuser in terms of 'his name' the complainant does not promptly answer her question and the police officer repairs her question to 'who' the abuser was, making the question unambiguous by clarifying the problem with the use of the proterm in first position.

Rather than simply producing the name of her abuser and, therefore, treating the officer's repair initiation on her own turn as a clarification on the proterm referring the abuser, the woman treats the officer's turn as two questions and answers them according to the canonical order in which two questions are responded to. That is, the response by the complainant fits the canonical practice for responding to a turn which makes two responses relevant, with the presentation of the two responses in reverse order than it was produced: the second question is responded firstly and, secondly, the first question (Sacks, 1987).

14 - WPS 08

Pol starts the report by taking the complainant's personal details: name, date of birth, marital status, profession, education, name of her father and mother, address:

```
19  Pol:    Endere:ço,
            Address,

20  WoM:    Rua São Pedro (.) número cinqüenta e dois (.) Narcisinho.
            Street (name)          number  fifty  and two        (neighbourhood)
            Fifty two (.) São Pedro Street (.) Narcisinho.

21          Keyboard - cough (someone)

22  Pol:    Muita gente lá fo:ra. ((asks some other police agent))
            Many    people  there out
            Are there lots of people outside.

23          (.)

24  Pol: →  Nome de:le¿
            Name   of he
            His na:me¿

25          (.)

26  Pol: →  Quem foi que te agredi:u.
            Who  was that  to you  assaulted
            Who assaulted yo:u.

27  Wom: →  É o pai da minha filha Gilvan Pereira
            Is the father of the  my daughter    (male name + surname
            It's the father of my daughter Gilvan Pereira

28       →  da- do [Firmamento
            (surname)

29  Pol:           [Gilvan,(.) com jota com gê:?
                   (name)      wiht 'j' with 'g:'?

30  Wom:    Com gê.
            With 'g'

31  Pol:    °Gilvan° Pere:ira,
            (name + 1st surname)

32  Wom:    Do Firmame:nto.
            (2nd surname)

33          (Keyboard)

34  Pol:    Solte:ira.=Solteiro e:le.
```

Single(F/you). Single(M) he.
```
Si:ngle.=Is he si:ngle.
```

It is interesting to notice that rather than treating the officer's TCU on line 03 as self repair on her previous turn in the service of clarifying the proterm ambiguity of her request for the name of the abuser with a locally subsequent reference form in second position, the woman treats the officer's turn as two questions. The change from the constraint of the production of a name as a SPP to the presentation in terms of 'who' the abuser was, makes it possible for the woman to introduce the abuser in her own way first, in terms of her relationship with him to later provide his name. The complainant, then, does not just provide the name of her assailant, but firstly takes the opportunity to answer the question by presenting the abuser in relational terms 'the father of my daughter' and later present his name.

The way this question is answered makes clear one aspect we are going to develop in this paper. Among many possible (and correct) ways to refer to people there is a selection of a form of reference when referring to the abuser and this chosen reference may be relevant to the person making a report. In WPS 08, it is clear it mattered to the complainant to make the relationship she had with her assailant relevant to this case. It is worth noticing that the woman does not simply present a name (when the question 'who' could be explaining what 'name' was being talked about), but that she presents her relationship before this name is presented, responding to a 'who' question in terms of her connection with the abuser.

7.4 Presenting the Abuser in One's Own Terms: Reference to Alleged Perpetrators of Crimes in a Story

In the 13 cases in which the officer responsible for making the police report asks the complainant for some information regarding 'what happened' to them the women frequently launch a 'story' about the crime they want to report and present their alleged abusers very early on their tellings, and in terms of their relationships with them. Those relationships are presented, then, by placing their alleged abusers in categories such as 'husband', 'brother', 'neighbours' etc.

The use of categories, as mentioned before, is tied to the notion of rights and obligations members of a category have in relation to other members of the same

category (Sacks, 1972). Categories such as the category 'members of a family' are, according to Sacks (search for help) 'paired relational categories', that is, its members are in 'standardized' relational pairs (e.g. parent – child) that constitute a locus for rights and obligations (Sacks, 1972, p. 37). By 'standardized' Sacks means following the criteria: the parties (A and B) know their paired positions (e.g. a father A knows his son B to be his son and him to be the father of B, while the son knows he is the father's son and that A is his father); also a third person 'C' who knows A and B to be in that paired relationship knows what the rights and obligations between A and B are (p. 37).

From those rights and obligations associated with paired positions of members of a given category in such 'standardized' fashion, it follows that 'conversationalists are able to assess the expectable behaviour of variously categorized third persons' (Sacks, 1972, p.38), only by knowing the paired position of this third person. Given that categories are frequently invoked in the presentation of the perpetrators of crimes in a WPS, those ideas of expectations connected to the positions of members of a category are going to be relevant for the understanding of the presentation of the abusers in this study.

7.4.1 'Default' Presentations of an Alleged Abuser: A Single Reference Form Early on in the Telling

The instances analysed here show that women making complaints to the police who are invited to talk about their cases usually start the presentation of the abusers very early in their talk and refer to them in a way that makes their relationship relevant – and not, for example, by their names, an alternative form chosen by many officers, as in the 13 instances analysed above. This is not 'marked' as:

> "For others than speaker and targeted recipient(s), on initial occasions
> of mention, if recipient(s) are figured *not* to know, or know of, the one(s)
> to be mentioned, then (some) category term(s) can be used to do
> referring." (Schegloff, 2007)

Some good illustrations of the way women choose to present their stories and the abusers very early in their talk and by showing their relationship with the abuser are:

#15 - WPS 01

```
01   Po1:    Foi o quê.=Ass- assim que=aconteceu.
             Was what Like   like      that happened
             What wa:s it.=Li- like that=happened.

02   Wom:    O meu caso=é=o segui:nte eu- (.)eu tou
             The my case=is the follo:wing  I      I am
             My case=is the follo:wing I- (.) I've been

03      →    separada do meu marido primeiro de fato depois
             separated of the my husband  first   of fact   later
             separated from my husband first de facto later

04           de direito.=To separada judicialmente=e quando
             of right/law.  Am separated judicially/legally and when
             de juris.=I'm separated legally=and when

05           a gente fez a parrtilha dos be:ns, ele ficou
             we      did the partition   of the properties he stayed
             we had the partition of our pro:perty, he kept

06           com os carros eu fiquei com a minha ca:sa. .hhh
             with the cars  and stayed(1ps) with the my  house
             the cars and I kept my ho:use. .hhh

07           Só que agora ele tá assim me incomoda:ndo.
             Only that now  he is like  me bothering
             But now he's bo:thering me.
```

#16 - WPS 27

```
01   Po8:    Foi o quê?=Que acontece:u.
             Was(3ps) what? That happened.
             What was i:t?=That happen:ed.

02           [((noise))]

03   Wom: →  [(    tou)] me separando do meu espo:so.
                   am(1ps) myself separating of the(M) my(M) spouse(M).
             [(      am)] getting separated from my husba:nd.

04           E ele num qué me deixá tirá na:da.
             And he no  want me leave take away/off anything.
             And he doesn't want to let me take anythi:ng

05           °Assim° ele (      )(na casa de minha mãe) pra
             Like   he           in the(F) house of my(F) mother to
             away. °Like° he (      ) on my mother's house) to

06           cunversá:¿ Aí quando chegou na casa de minha
              to talk        Then when  arrived(3ps) in the(F) house of my(F)
             talk¿ Then when he arrived at my mother's

07           mãe ele disse se você vol[tá, (.) vo]cê
             mother  he  said(3ps) if  you to return     you
             house he said if you ret[urn, (.) y]ou

08   Po8:                             [ ((cough))]

09   Wom:    vai vê.=Aí tou sendo ameça:da.
             will see Then am(1ps) being threatened
             will see.=Then I'm being thre:atened.
```

The two cases presented above show the assailants' relationship with the complainants in the very first sentence of the story – note that WPS 01 starts with a short preface 'The case is the following' and the abuser is presented immediately after that, in the first sentence of the story proper, as in WPS 27. The abusers are presented as the 'husband' ('marido/esposo') of the complainants, in one word that defines who they are in relation to the women presenting their cases of abuse.

Whereas the crimes may take more than a few words to establish as such (hence the preface in WPS 01, projecting that there may be a considerable amount of things to be said), the assailant is presented with one referent that shows the relationship between the complainants and assailants and this is accomplished in the very beginning of the women's stories. Another example of the presentation of the abusers in the woman's telling is:

#17 - WPS 36

```
01              (1.0)

02   Po4:       Foi o que que houve.
                Was(2ps) what that happened.
                What was that happened.

03              (0.5)

04   Wom:       Oi?
                Hi
                Huh?

05   Po4:       Q'foi que houve.
                W'was that happened.
                What happened.

06   Wom:       É: eu vi::m prestar uma que:ixa, (0.2)
                Is I   came   to render  a     complaint
                Uh: I ca::me to make a compla:int, (0.2)

07      →       contra o me:u, (0.2) marido.
        →       against the my           husband
        →       against my:, (0.2) husband.

08              (0.8)

09   Wom:       Ele:::, tem me agredi:do, (0.2) assim
                He      has me assaulted          like
                He:::, has been abu:sing me, (0.2) like

10              violência né? Viole:nto.
                violence no? Violent.
                Violence right? Vi:olent.
```

In this case the complainant clearly presents her reason for going to the police unit (I came to make a complaint), her assailant (against my husband) and the sort of crime had victimized her, with some idea of a time reference/recency of the

abuse (he has been abusing me, like violence). From this presentation of her 'case' the complainant leaves the way open for the officer to assess the 'reportability' of the case.

The presentation of the assailant, the type of crime and, some times, some idea of when it happened are usual features of the beginnings of the stories of abuse of the women who go to the WPS.

As in the cases in which the male identity of the abuser is not made relevant in talk, the same 'naturality' is found in presentations of the alleged abusers terms of categories that present them as males and in close relationships with their victims.

The use of the presentation of the abuser in a very simple pair-positioned category to launch a story can be seen in those cases in which the women are prompted to tell their stories, but also in an individual case in which the complainant takes advantage of the mention of her marital status (while the police officer fills out her form) to tell her story. In this case the woman's abuser is not introduced by her with any category, the abuser is simply referred to as 'he', but is understood to be her ex-husband because of the position in which this 'he' is presented, even though there isn't an initial reference to the abuser himself:

#18 - WPS 35

```
01  Po4:    Estado civil.
            Status civil
            Marital staus.

02          (0.5)

03  Wom:    Separada.
            Separated.

04  Po4:    Separada,
            Separated,

05  Wom:    A minha queixa é justamente >porisso<=porque
            The my   complaint is precisely   because+this because
            My complaint is precisely >because of that<=because

06          ele já foi cita:do, (0.2) ontem né dia
            he already was cited        yesterday no+is day
            he's already been ci:ted, (0.2) yesterday right the

07          dezoitcho. Foi citado ontem separacao de
            eighteen     Was cited yesterday separation of
            eighteenth. It was cited yesterday separation of

08          corpos. .h E hoje (0.5) el- aí ele não saiu,
            bodies.      And today   he   then he no left
            bodies. .h And today (0.5) he- then he didn't leave,
```

Some cases in which the relationship between assailants and complainants are not as straightforward are slightly different in the way the abuser is presented. In those cases the 'position' is the same, as the abuser is presented very early on in a telling prompted by a question on the lines of 'what was your case'. The difference between those cases and the previous ones can take two forms: the first one is in terms of word selection, as the abuser is presented with one referent that does not place him (those cases we have always involve a male assailant) in a paired-position with the complainant; and the second one in terms of a breach in the preference for minimization, that is, the abuser is presented by more than one referent.

In the first case the word selection in presenting the abuser does not place the abuser in a paired-position with the complainants, which leaves the relationship and the gender of the abuser to be figured out slightly later (but only very slightly). The word used in those cases is 'person' accompanied by the verb 'conviver' (translated here as 'to be with'/'to live with'), which is also ambiguous as it can be used in a variety of more or less close relationships[6].

#19 - WPS 19

```
01              (1.0)

02   Pol:       É o q- Foi o quê o teu ca:so.
                Is what Was   what  the your case
                What -is. What was your ca:se.

03   Wom:  →    O meu caso é o seguinte, Eu convivi com
                The my case is the following I lived together/was close to with
                My case is the following, I've been with

04         →    uma pessoa qua:tro a:nos¿
                a   person   four     years
                a person for fo:ur ye:ars¿

05              (0.5)
```

#20 - WPS 34

```
01   Po6:       Foi o quê. Agressão foi?
                Was  what.  Aggression was
                What was it. Aggression was it?

02   Wom:       F:o:i. É:: eu convivo com uma pessoa há
                Was   Is  I  live with  with a  person there is
                Ye:a:h. U::h I've lived with a person for

03              dois ano:s. Na minha ca:sa, e:: assim
```

[6] Convivi, the past of 'conviver' is ambiguous as it can mean: 1) to live together with someone, 2) to have a daily/frequent relationship with someone, 3) to be sociable (Webster's Dicionário Eletrônico Português-Inglês Inglês-Português, based on the printed version edited by Antonio Houaiss e Ismael Cardim). It's not established at this point, then, if the woman lived with the person as a partner or was in close association with them.

> *two years. In my house and like*
> two <u>y</u>ea:rs. In my ho:use, a::nd like

04 sempre discutimos né? Mas nunca chegou
   always discuss (1p.pl.) no? But never arrived
   have always argued right? But it had never

05 ao ponto de:- de agredi:r. Só que
   to point of of assaulting. Just that
   got to the point o:f- of assaulting. But

06 ontem assi:m °>por-<° duas horas da
   yesterday like for/around two hours of the
   yesterday li:ke °>around-<° two in the

07 manhã:,mais ou menos, é: ele chegou em
   morning more or less is he arrived at
   mo:rning,more or less, uh: he got

08 casa embreaga:do e aí começou a me batê:=
   house drunk and then started to me to beat
   home dru:nk and then started to be:at me=

The cases above seem to allow the complainant to start the story with the presentation of the assailant, but without placing him (all the cases of presentations of the assailants as a 'person' involved male assailants that were the complainant's partners) in a specific category, but leaving it to the story to their relationships with those men to position them as their partners.

Those women could be managing a special difficulty in Brazilian Portuguese in terms of refering to co-habiting people in long term relationships, as the words 'married', 'husband', 'wife' as well as the 'in-law' terms are colloquially used to refer to non-married couples and their family relations, but are not applicable in legal and formal contexts. Despite the possible problem of using those words in a formal context it is worth noticing that they are used anyway in the WPS – but later amended – by many non-married complainants (WPS 27 in which the word 'husband' is used but later it is made clear that they were not legally married, or even the correctly guessed 'husband' on WPS 22 who turned out not to be legally married to the complainat). Still, the word 'namorado/boyfriend' seems to be less serious than the actual relationship; and the words 'parceiro/companheiro' possibly translated as 'partner' are not exactly good options, as 'parceiro' is pretty much restricted to the 'clinical' use of risk of transmission of STDs from sexual partners and/or (together with 'companheiro') to the context of playing sports with, working with someone.

It is worth noticing, nonetheless, that even when the presentation of the category is not done at the first opportunity and the reference 'person' is used as

the first reference to the abuser to be clarified later, the understanding of this first mentioned 'person' as the abuser and the relationship this 'person' has with the complainant are not compromised in the subsequent presentation of the abuser. It is also worth noticing that the person reference 'person' is always paired with the verb 'convivi' and that the abuser is quickly understood to be the woman's partner. So, even though the participants engage in a bit more interactional work to present their relationships with their abusers, there is no interactional problem in understanding those alleged abusers as those women's partners and the interaction progresses smoothly, with no remarks or clarification asked by the police officers.

There is also no problem understanding the abusers presented with more than one reference form. That is, despite the breach on the minimization preference, already presented as liable to accountability 'Why there? Why now?', the interaction progresses smoothly even when the presentation of the abuser is not done in terms of only one, simple, reference. There are only two instances of those non-minimal reference forms in my corpus. One of those instances, the one which will be examined in detail here, accomplishes the extraordinary feature of implicating the father of the boy first mentioned in the reported instance of abuse (and the partner of the complainant, as a matter of fact) in the crime and making him – the father – the 'complainable' character of the story, through the breach in the preference for minimization. This case and how this extraordinary shift on who the complaint is about will be analyzed in more detail below, drawing from Sacks's propositions about membership categories and the expectations associated to them.

#21 – WPS 09

```
01   Wom:    Oia o segui:nte, (0.2) o acontecimento
             Look the following,        the happening
             See, (0.2) what happened

02           foi e:sse.
             was this
             was thi:s.

03           (.)

04   Wom:    Hoje de manhã:, (0.5) a minha menina
             today in the morning   the my    girl
             This mo:rning, (0.5)  my daughter

05           ligou o som.
             turned on the sound
             turned on the radio.
```

```
06              (0.5)

07   Wom:       Aí no que ligou do- o som, o irmão dela
                Then as soon as turned(3ps) on of- the radio the brother of her
                As soon as she turned on of- the radio, her brother

08              (.) ↑meio irmão só (.) só por parte
                half    brother    only   only  by part
                (.) ↑half brother only (.) only from the

09              de pai >num< sabe?
                of father  no know (3ps-'you')
                father's side y'know?

10              (.)

11   Wom:       Aí foi puxo a tumada do so:m.=>Sem
                Then  went(3ps) pulled the plug of the sound without
                Then he went and pulled the plug from the socket.=

12              deliga o som<.
                to turn off the sound
                =>Without turning the radio off<.
```

The assailant is presented here not in a minimal way, as presented in the cases above, but rather in a more complex, noteworthy fashion from lines 07 to 09. Once the girl is presented as 'my daughter', her assailant is presented first as 'her brother', then 'half brother only', then 'only from the father's side'. As we have seen before, the category members of a family are in 'standardized' relational pairs that constitute a locus for rights and obligations (Sacks, 1972). From those relationships between the paired members of the family category and the rights and obligations they presuppose we can analyse the steps taken by the complainant in her presentation of the abuser. When the complainant presents the perpetrator of the crime as her daughter's brother (step 1) she is presenting a brother-sister pair which has its own 'standardized' rights and obligations attached to such positions.

In terms of the earlier discussed features of categories and the kinds of expectations they carry, it is worth mentioning that the word irmão/brother is used in Portuguese in expressions such as 'X é como um irmão pra mim/X is like a brother to me' and variations 'X é meu brother/X is my brother (meaning friend and like a brother)' or 'mano/bro'. There is a sense of being a comrade or at least someone you would not expect violence from, as we can see not only from the knowledge of those expressions, but also from the evidences from the corpus of women reporting abuse to the police. In WPS 25, for example, the complainant makes a remark on how unthinkable it would be to be assaulted by her brother, after the complainant of WPS 26, who had been beaten by her brother, leaves the

room; and WPS 04, in which the complainant reporting an incident of battery perpetrated by her brother goes on to say the conflicts were caused by her sister-in-law.

Moreover, such presentation of the assailant as her daughter's brother leaves his identity to the possible understanding of the brother 'B' being the complainant's own son as well, which would imply responsibilities for herself as the 'mother' of the perpetrator of the crime she was reporting.

Those relational assumptions about the complainant's relationship with the abuser, when presenting the abuser from the perspective of a victim other than the self, is possible even though the complainant does not present the abuser as 'my son'. We can see this form of misunderstanding in WPS 25, a case in which the relational assumption is made even though the complainant does not say my father, but my mother's husband, still, the officer assumes this person to be the complainant's father.

#22 - WPS 25

```
01  Wom:    Bernardo minha mãe teve aqui de manhã:, .hh
            (officer's name) my mother was   here of morning
            Bernardo my mother was here this mo:rning, .hh

02          é: registrando um BO:, (.) contra o marido
               registering    a bulleting of occurrence against the husband
            uh: making a report, (.) against her

03          de:la.=>Que é uma pessoa agressiva, que já
            of her  Who/That is a person aggressive    that/who already
            hu:sband.=>That is an aggressive person, that's already

04          bateu  em  várias  v- v:aria[s  ocorrê:ncias,    ]
            beat   in  several      several    occurrences
            beaten in several s- s:evera[l    repo:rts,       ]

05  Po7:                               [>Que  é  o  seu pai]<.
                                        Who/That is the your father
                                       [>That's your father]<.

06  Wom:    Não. M(h)eu pai nã(h)o.=>>°Graças a Deus.°<<
            No.  My    father no.       Thanks   to God
            No. N(h)ot m(h)y father.=>>°Thanks God.°<<
```

In step 2, however, the complainant makes the relational pair between brother and sister weaker, as the 'brother' is then transformed into 'half brother only', which has not so strong 'obligations' towards his only half sister. The complainant's own position, however, is not distanced from the perpetrator's 'B' as her daughter is with 'step 2'. It is with step 3 ('only from the father's side), then, that the complainant's relationship with the perpetrator becomes distinctively weaker, as

she does not belong to a mother – son relational pair with her daughter's assailant. The distancing from both the complainant and the victim from the perpetrator of the crime is clearly accomplished in this progression of presentations of the abuser. This is not, nonetheless, the only accomplishment of this third step. By presenting the father, the complainant implicates him in the relational pairs of father – son (with the perpetrator of the crime) and father – daughter (with the victim). Both pairs comprise obligations that involve the father in terms of some responsibilities regarding the abuser – a responsibility that the complainant herself is free from – and regarding the victim, in terms of caring, which the father is later shown to neglect. The father is therefore involved in a double problem: he is responsible for the criminal but fails to do anything about it (e.g. educate, punish, give an example, disown), becoming somehow an accomplice in the crime; he is also responsible for the victim, whom he neglects (rather than care for, look after or protect).

We can see then that, rather than 'just' being more specific about the 'true' identity of the perpetrator of the crime, the non-minimal reference of the abuser is more than a simple reference and carries implications for the understanding of the abuse and the ones responsible for that. More than just distancing herself from the abuser as 'only' her daughter's half brother and 'only' from the father's side, the complainant brings the figure of the father into the crime picture and makes him the target of her complaint. Even if he was not the immediate assailant in the reported case, he was the one responsible for the situation which made the case happen in the first place.

What is worth noticing from those 'default' and non-default interactions is that they manage the issue of presenting the abuser without breaking the progress of the interactions. The presentation of the abusers is not remarked upon or particularly 'noticed' in any way (with the exception of the assumption of a closer abuser in the case of WPS 25, presented above). As in the cases in which the male identity of the abuser is not made relevant in talk, the same 'naturality' is found in presentations of the alleged abusers terms of categories that present them as males and in close relationships with their victims. Even when the presentation of the category is delayed and 'person' is used, the understanding of this first mentioned 'person' as the abuser and the relationship this person has with the complainant is not compromised in the subsequent presentation of the abuser. Even more

elaborate presentations, such as non-minimal reference forms which are 'accountable' to be doing something special and should be investigated in terms of what is it that they're doing that is special get no special attention from the officers as somehow 'problematic' in terms of correctly identifying the abuser.

It is worth examining, then, what is noticed and remarked upon by police officers, when making police reports. A way in which the smooth progressivity of the interaction may be disturbed – in a similar way the revelation of a female identity was 'remarkable' –is related to the relationship between alleged victims and abusers.

As seen in the presentation of WPS 09, the complainant engaged in a non-default practice of referring to an abuser and managed to distance herself from the abuser. One of the risks proposed in the analysis was to leave the identity of the abuser to be understood as 'her son'. The special workings of her presentation in terms of distancing herself from 'the boy' was one way in which this analysis was defended, but an evidence of the understanding of abusers as closely related to the complainant, even when their terms of reference do not position them with the use of a close term to the self, but a close term to the victim, was shown with the example of WPS 25.

As seen in WPS 25 (shown above), there is evidence of a tendency to assume (at least male) abusers to be closely related to the complainants. In WPS 25 the abuser is referred to by the complainant as her 'mother's husband' and engages in a presentation of traits and facts about this abuser with the use of the relative pronoun 'que' 'who/that'. In line 04, in a point in which the complainant's TCU is clearly not yet possibly complete, the officer comes in overlap with her using a parallel construction with a declarative relative clause saying: 'that's your father'. The complainant's turn was delivered as a list and the officer's addition to with the same construction is heard as the officer's finishing the list for the woman, showing his understanding of her situation. The officer's display of his understanding of the abuser being the complainant's father turns out to be wrong and is denied by the complainant.

Another example of how the officers expect victims to be in close relationships with their abusers can be seen in WPS 20. In this case, when asked by the officer for the name of her abuser, rather than just providing a name, the complainant

produces herself as not familiar with her abuser as she reports to know only his first name (line 05). The officer's questioning, then, as opposed to the previous cases, is not about 'nicknames' or other details of the abuser, but about what is the nature of victim-abuser relationship.

#23 - WPS 20

```
01   Wom:    Número trinta e um no Bom Sa:lto.
             Number   tthirty and one in+the (neighbourhood)
             Number thirty one in Bom Sa:lto.

02           (13.8)

03   Pol:    Como é o nome de:le.
             How is  the name of+his
             What is his na:me.

04           (.)

05   Wom:    Só conheço ele como Be:nto.
             Only  know(1ps) he  how name
             I just know him as Be:nto.

06           (0.8)

07   Wom:    N:[ã:o    ]
             No

08   Pol:       [>Ele é] o que se:u.<
                 He  is    the what your
                [>What's] he to yo:u.<

09           (0.2)

10   Wom:    Bom ele: é:: (.) f:ilho de uma pessoa que
             Good he 's      son    of  one person that
             Well he: i::s (.) the so:n of a person to whom

11           eu devia pra ele=o pai faleceu né? Porisso-
             I owed   to  he the father passed away no+is For+this
             I owed him=his father passed away right? Thatswhy-
```

Again, this issue does not seem to be completely separated from gender issues, as the evidence of abuser's being usually understood to be closely related to the complainants at the WPS seems to work for male abusers only. In WPS 20, an abuser presented as not well known to the complainant has his relationship with her questioned, something that does not happen in cases of female abusers (see WPS 21 and WPS 26 presented in this chapter).

In the same complainant's interaction with the researcher, we can see the orientation – this time from the part of the complainant – of the possible 'abnormality' of her case. When asked for permission to have her interaction with the police recorded, the complainant says yes but contrastively presents her case as being possibly different (to what would be the expectation of a researcher studying

women's complaints in a WPS and to what is generally expected to be the scope of a WPS), as, according to her it was *not* a 'case of husband and wife'. Both the presentation of the case as different and as possibly not interesting to the researcher and the placing of it as outside the expected 'husband-wife' paired category, shows the complainant's orientation to the expectation of close relationships, more specifically, of romantic partnerships.

#24 (beginning of 23 - WPS 20)

```
                    (...)
01   Est:   E eu só tou pedindo a autorização para
            And I just am asking the authorization to
            and I am just asking authorization to

... ethic clearance ...

02   Wom:   Então, num tem problema né¿=Só que é o
            Then,   no  has  problem  no is¿ Just that is the
            Well, there is no problem right¿=But what

03          seguinte, o meu caso pode ser até um
            following  the my case   may  be  even  a
            happens is, my case may be a bit

04          pouco difere:nte e ao mesmo tempo (.) igual.
            little bit different  and at the same time   equal/same
            di:fferent and at the same time (.) equal.

05          Porque o meu num é: (.) marido e mulher.
            Because the mine no is     husband and woman/wife
            Because mine isn:'t (.) husband and wife.

06   Est:   Não tem problema n[enhum. ]
            No  has  problem    not one
            There's no problem a[t all.]

07   Wom:                  [Não tem pr]oblema ne[nhum?]
                           No  has  problem    not one
                           [There's no problem a[t all.]

08   Est:                                      [Nenh]um
                                               Not one
                                               [Not] a

09          problema.
            problem
            problem.
```

Both officers and complainants seem to orient to the 'normality' of cases of close relationship, most specifically, romantic partnerships, between alleged victims and abusers. All the evidence shown here take us back to the first case, WPS 22 (partially reproduced below for the reader's convenience), in which the correct identity of the abuser was 'guessed' by the police officer. Rather than being a wild guess that turns out to be correct, the guessing of the perpetrator as being the

complainant's husband fits the two expectations the regarding the identity of the abuser: that he is a man and closely related to the complainant.

(from #1 - WPS 22)

```
28   Po4:     Tua identida:de.
              Your identity
              Your ID:.

29   Car:     ((opens the handbag to get her ID))

30   Po4: →   Foi o que.=É marido é.
              Was what.   Is husband is.
              What was it.=It's your husband is it.

31   Car:     É. Infelizmente.
              Is. Unfortunately.
              Yeah. Unfortunately.

32            ((long keyboard sound - Po4 typing))
```

In this first example we can see the officer's presumption of male abusers and 'family' relations of the complainants, we can also see this presumption from the complainants' perspectives. While in WPS 20 the complainant specifically remarks upon her case *not* being a case of 'husband and wife', the 'unremarkable' character of the 'guessing' in WPS 22 places it clearly as a commonsensical shared assumption, rather than a lucky guess. The woman in WPS 22 does not display any surprise in terms of the officer's assumption (something that could be expected from a wild guess) and the officer does not make any remark on her correct guess either. The non-remarkable features of this guessing shows it as part of the cultural understanding of the abuser identity.

7.5 Conclusion

Culture is indigenous to talk-in-interaction. Through careful examination of what is treated as unremarkable and is not 'noticed' by the participants taken-for-granted aspect of culture can be unveiled by CA analysis, in contrast to instances in which such presumptions turn out to be equivocal and are remarked upon.

The presumptions displayed here are that abused women suffered violence at the hands of men, and at the hands of people who are in close relationships with them. These presumptions are not separate, however, as we can see from the 'unexpected' instances of female abusers which also reveal no expectation about a close relationship between alleged victims and abusers. Rather, as we can conclude with the presentation of the cases above, the general expectation combines the two presumptions studied here in two different moments. The abuser, thus, is expected

to be a man an in a close (usually romantic) relationship with his victim. These are presumptions that almost always turn out to be correct and are not specifically oriented to as a presupposition, but can be made apparent through the analysis of the interactions both in terms of what is seen as unremarkable and what is 'noticeable' as a breach and is oriented to by the participants.

8

Conclusion

8.1 Overview

This thesis has explored some features of interactions between abused women and professionals from institutions that offer assistance to them. In this thesis I focused my analysis on my police interactions and used my counselling data and ordinary conversation data as support for some of my analysis. I have used conversation analysis to develop an understanding of how women seek help and some problems they face when doing so. In this chapter, I offer and assessment of the thesis as a whole as I, first, provide an overview of the key findings of this thesis' analytical chapters (and sections of chapters); then discuss the contributions of my research to 3 main areas: (i) to the understanding of women's help-seeking processes in a WPS, (ii) to services for abused women in Brazil, (iii) to conversation analysis in terms of working with women reporting abuse, of working with Brazilian Portuguese data and of contributing to pure CA; then I consider the strengths and limitations of my thesis and, finally, I consider some directions for further research and provide a brief personal assessment of undertaking this research.

8.2 Thesis Overview: Summary of Findings

Chapter 2 presented the rationale for using Conversation Analysis (CA) as a methodology to study women's help-seeking, and discussed some key methodological issues in my research. It also included 2 analytical sections which I discuss here in terms of their contributions. The first analytical part involved the analysis of my own research conduct during the process of data collection. This contributed to feminist research ethics by grounding what is often an abstract

debate about research involvement in the analysis of actual instances of research practice. Based on recorded instances of my research practice I showed that complainants sometimes attempted to get me involved in their reporting and how my own behaviour changed – in the dilemma of working with two competing models of research practice – and from non-involvement I changed to active involvement with some of my research participants. The other analytical section showed the clashes between the worlds of most of the women who report abuse in a WPS and the world of police forms, showing how the presuppositions of the forms often do not match the reality of the complainants.

Chapter 3 is a 'technical' CA chapter (which arose out of some translation issues in the early stages of my work) in which I analyse responses to Yes/No Interrogatives (YNIs) in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) in their conforming 'default' form and nonconforming forms, showing what they do interactionally. The analysis of BP data showed that a default answer to an affirmative YNI in BP (the most common type of answer, uneventful, non-expansive and not done for any special cause) is composed by a repeat of the verb used in the FPP. Contrastingly, the use of 'sim', is uncommon and done for cause in BP, being found in contexts in which: 1) an agreement is avoided and people produce confirmations rather than an agreement to the proposed first; 2) when there is some problem with the next action implicated in the FPP to which 'sim' is less than the fully desired relevant next and 3) when there is some kind of misunderstanding and/or misalignment and a previous negative response is fixed. This chapter also contributed to the discussion of translation (presented in Chapter 2), by providing an illustration of how important it is that a translation reveals the action accomplished in the original language as well as the form by which such action is accomplished. Moreover, it showed how important it is to understand the interactional use of language given that syntactically equivalent (and 'felicitous') constructions may not be equivalent in terms of the actions they perform (as shown by the syntactically equivalent confirmations produced with *ser* and *sim*).

Chapter 4 contributed to the understanding of police interactions with women reporting abuse in Brazil by analysing women's unsuccessful attempts to report their abusers, that is, instances in which women go to the WPS to report some abuse they suffered but end up having their cases dismissed. In a first level, the

analysis of what was *missing* in complainants' reports showed what is required by the police for a crime report and, yet, is not expected to be relevant by complainants who are not aware of the procedural requirements of report-making. More specifically, the analysis presented in Chapter 4 showed that procedural steps of the report-making, rather than the law or how nice officers are (or are not), often dictate what gets and what does not get reported in the WPS. The analysis of those cases of dismissals exposed not only some clashes between what is expected from and what is actually provided by the WPSs, but also some problems with the procedures of this institution which, despite having been created to protect women, sometimes creates hurdles to women's access to criminal justice.

Chapter 5 analysed the structural organization of the report-making process in a WPS, looking at the strategies police officers use for making a police report and the issues they manage. It also showed that, although professionals do have a measure of control over the interactions, women are active agents in the police interviews and they can employ strategies for taking over and/or resisting police control of the interaction. Moreover, the study of the structural organization of police interactions in contrast with some of the counselling interactions has enabled me to derive practical suggestions for improving the openings of the interactions in the WPS. This improved openings, as I suggested in Chapter 5, can help to minimise the feeling that many police interactions were shown to produce: that women are 'processed' as cases rather than attended in the WPS. These suggested openings can produce 'institutionality' and 'nicety' at the same time they make the interactions potentially more efficient in terms of securing the 'requirements' to reporting and guiding the complainants through what is actually relevant to the report-making.

Chapter 6 dealt with misalignments in the police interactions and the ways in which those instances of misalignment were managed. It presented different techniques for dealing with misalignments in talk and their interactional differences and similarities. I showed 4 strategies for dealing with misalignment: 1) Third Position Repairs, which block a responsive turn to their prior as not relevant; 2) Eu sei (I know) cases, which address problems in which too much information is given, although this information is 'correct' and claimed to be 'known'; 3) 'Sim mas' (Right but / Yes but) cases; which acknowledge a responsive turn as being possibly

correct (as some kind of 'take' on the matter), albeit not adequately fitted to the prior; 4) 'Sim' + redone interrogatives and 'Sim + af/then'; which are pursuits of answers in cases in which a responsive turn to a t1 is considered to be not (at least fully) answered. Moreover, I showed how 3 of those strategies were used by the police officers in different contexts. So, while canonical third position repairs were found to be used to identify a reportable crime and were associated with determining the reportability of a case or not, 'Sim' initiated turns were often used in context in which the reportability of the case was not in check. 'Sim + redone interrogatives' were found to be used in context in which a response was not provided, or was not provided 'in full' and were often associated to the pursuit of a chronological development of the story. So, while canonical third position repairs were used to displace the reason for going to the WPS (the reportable crime) from the 'relational' contexts that produced them and/or from, a history of abuse, 'Sim' initiated turns were often used to pursue, then, in this temporally displaced incident a chronological, linear, development of the events.

Chapter 7 built on the differences in strategies police officers adopt to conduct the making of report in terms of the first references to the abuser. In analysing how these references are accomplished, it showed, in action, the presupposed cultural understanding that women suffer violence at the hands of men who are in close relationships with them. In doing so, this chapter not only revealed some cultural understandings regarding violence against women in a WPS, but it also provided another evidence to how culture is manifest in interaction and can be revealed by the study of talk as prescribed by the conversational analytic approach to data analysis.

8.3 Contributions

In this section, I summarise the contributions this thesis offers to: (1) understanding women's help-seeking experiences in a WPS; (2) to services for abused women in Brazil; and (3) to conversation analysis.

8.3.1 Contributions to Understanding Women's Help-Seeking Experiences in a WPS

In Chapter 1, I presented the problem of violence against women in Brazil and its low reporting rates. Moreover, I presented some research on women's experiences reporting violence which proposed that women often received inadequate

treatment by unprepared officers (Boselli, 2004; Saffiotti, 1993; Soares, 1998; Williams et. al., 2000) who often do not see violence against women as a serious crime (Suarez & Bandura, cited by Silva, 2001; Santos, 2005). The study of *actual* instances of women reporting abuse has contributed to the understanding of some of the problems women face when seeking help in a WPS. By having direct access to women's difficulties reporting their abusers, this thesis has shown that those difficulties ranged from getting into the world of the reporting forms and its requirements (Chapter 2), not getting a report due to procedural blocks even when their experiences were recognized as crimes by the police (Chapter 4), being 'processed' as cases by a bureaucratised institution without receiving clear explanations about the process (Chapter 5) and sometimes having problems presenting their experience of abuse while officers pursued a report (Chapter 6).

The literature has criticised the fact that police officers in most WPSs do not receive any special training to deal with violence against women and do not understand the specificities of violence against women (Saffiotti, 1993; Williams et. al., 2000). Although such training can be relevant to their work, the problems women face when reporting abuse go beyond officers' understanding of violence (as shown in Chapter 4). The interactions recorded in the WPS show that rather than hostility from the officers, several problems women face when reporting abuse are connected to procedural aspects of the police job and the requirements of the form which officers have to fill out in order to produce a crime report. Officers might be 'nice' to complainants and yet dismiss them because of procedural requests of the report-making (Chapter 4). Moreover, officers also often explicitly refer to the form when difficulties surface in the report making (Chapters 4 and 6) and, by doing so, account for the need for some information which is resisted or not provided by the complainants (Chapters 4 and 6). So, they mark the requirements of the report as occasioning their pursuits for information women find hard to provide (Chapter 6) and/or to their dismissal of complainants' cases (Chapter 4) and minimise what could be perceived as them challenging the complainant's reports. However unpleasant, some of the officers' actions which at first might come across as 'challenging' the report and/or not validating women's experience of abuse (which is an important issue for feminists, be it verbal, physical or sexual abuse) can be seen to be oriented to building a strong crime report (see Chapter 6). The fact that

those 'challenges' produced by the officers in terms of pursuing a strong report can be seen to be done for women's best interests does not make them unproblematic for the complainants (see Chapter 6). The report-making process is often structured and conducted, as seen in this thesis, in a way that is not far from what Boselli (2004) presented in terms of officers identifying the last instance of abuse and the abuser disregarding a life of abuse (see Chapter 6). This means that there is often a clash between the officers' pursued activity of filling out forms for a report and women's treatment of questions about their experience of abuse as being a place to present a history of abuse (Chapter 6). In these circumstances, women do not have their experiences validated by the professionals of the institutions they seek help from and, unable to tell their stories, get negative feelings about the reporting situation (see Trinch 2001, 2003). Although officers orient explicitly to the forms and the requirements of the report-making sometimes, those occasions are present in cases in which considerably long misalignments take place (so cases of misalignment and failed pursuits of some kind of information make the officers orient to the form – Chapter 6 – and also instances of dismissals Chapter 4).

The problems of the interaction are not only restricted however to the 'nature' of the interaction which means a relational story of domestic abuse must be turned in the report of a single pre-established crime (as already reported by the literature: see Trinch, 2001, 2003). The analysis of the interactions showed serious problems regarding information complainants possess about the police work and the information which they receive in the WPS. Women often come to the WPS knowing little about the reporting requirements and the actual police job and are often left uninformed about those issues as well as to what to expect from the police (Chapters 4 and 5). Moreover, the focus on the form requirements often means that women are 'processed' as cases, rather than 'attended' by the officers. In this sense, the interactions in the WPS are remarkably different from the ones of the 'Casa' where women are treated in a professional (and procedural) way that is markedly nicer. In the 'Casa' social workers and psychologists work to create the sense that the attention they provide to the women is focused on the women's needs. This comes across as 'nice' and validates the women's rights to be there. This contrast has inspired, together with the analysis of some of the problems found in the interactions, the suggestions for some ways of improving the

interactions in the WPS, which are discussed in more detail in the next section. In short, frontloading the kinds of information which are mandatory to the report and making sure that women understand what is expected from them and what to expect from the police reports (making clear what the police service and its limitations actually were) could not only provide a more attentive (and nicer) opening, but it could also save this problem of referring to the form later, and reduce the instances of long misalignment sequences and bad feeling created in the reporting. In short, although laudable, those efforts to point to the form are often done after a painful pursuit of a response, so a better presentation of the report-making process and the outcome of this process before problems arise (e.g. in the opening of the interactions) would improve the interactions.

As seen above, what this thesis has shown to be the most important problems with the interactions had to do with (1) the information complainants had and acquired (better, did not acquire) in their interactions with the police (Chapter 4 and 5); (2) the form and the procedural aspects of the police job (Chapter 4 and 6). Some problems with the form have to do with the nature of the job of making a police report and, although they cannot be completely eliminated, they can be minimised in interaction. Other problems with the form and the procedural aspects of the police work have to do with issues which go beyond the interactions – such as the delimitations of the police remit, the definitions of a crime and the requirements for a crime to be reportable (Chapter 4). These other problems cannot be solved by suggestions for better practice in interaction, they have to be acknowledged, and (through other means), fought to be changed. At any rate, frontloading these problems to the complainants in the beginning of the interactions (as well as limitations of the police work) would be a way of minimising the impact of problems that cannot simply be dealt with by communication practices, but need deeper changes.

Before moving to the contributions and recommendations for the services for women in Brazil, it is important to notice that, although this thesis focused mostly on the difficulties encountered by women in their experience of reporting abuse to the police, the findings were not only about problems. It was also shown here that, although officers do have a measure of control over the interactions and "attempt to structure the interview and the victim's responses to achieve the speech activity

of reporting " (Trinch, 2003, p. 117), in the WPS (as well as in other environments, such the ones studied by Trinch) complainants are not powerless. Complainants, (as seen in Chapters 4 and 5) fight for a report, can influence and sometimes direct the course of the report-making process.

8.3.2 Contributions to Services for Abused Women in Brazil

This thesis has also provided possible practical contributions to the interactions between women reporting abuse and service providers in Brazil, in terms of improving women's experiences of reporting abuse, by suggesting changes to the talk involved in the interactions. The single most important recommendation was to re-structure the police openings (Chapter 5) so that they presented what is needed in order to make a police report, what is achieved by a police report and what the limitations to the police scope are. This kind of opening (based on the openings from the care centre) would not only make the officers sound more 'attentive' to the complainants – making them friendlier while preserving the institutional aspects of the talk – but it would also make the interactions more efficient. This efficiency would be improved in a number of ways because the frontloading of the information needed to the report-making and the actual police job could help them to: avoid late diagnosis of dismissals and, therefore, would save time in the long run; set the limits of the police scope and, thereby, prevent some topics which are of concern to women but are not part of the police scope from taking a big share of the reporting time (especially if officers also frontloaded the fact that they can refer complainants to other institutions in case they need other kinds of assistance, such as legal help); avoid, or at least minimise the cases of misalignment in which the officers need to make the form explicitly relevant to justify some specific need for some kind of information. This kind of help would mean that the police work would be more 'efficient' while attending, rather disregarding, the complainants' needs for information and while also providing a friendlier interaction with them. The kind of 'efficiency' which can be suggested in CA terms is not always 'friendly' to complainants, however, and cannot always be in accordance with 'feminist goals' and/or be tailored 'for women' – this will be discussed under the 'limitations' section as follows.

Another suggestion follows from the diagnosing of the problem: as seen in Chapter 5, the complainants were not informed about the outcomes of the process

once the report was made and the 'information about future interaction' was seldom more than just a presentation of the day in which the complainant would have to return to the WPS. Often, this presentation was done with no clear reference to what the officers were talking about as they referred to 'vai ficar marcado para/(it) will be scheduled to'. In one way, the idea of frontloading the information about what is needed for the report as well as how the police work would make this 'it' known in the beginner. It would not be too much work for officers to present it more clearly, say, mentioning the 'meeting with the chief commissioner' and use this phase also to explain what the woman needs to do if she is required to go to the Legal Medical institute (IML) and/or to explain to her issues related to referrals to legal aid and other relevant organizations. Moreover, the evidence that some requests for information about what happens next and/or to the abuser are not answered, produces an obvious solution: the relevant production of a SPP.

The suggestions above are fitted to the police job as it is offered today and they are the only practical communicational suggestions I offer here. Although I believe they would make a difference to the reporting, their impact is limited. Perhaps another suggestion would be to reconsider the police job in a WPS. Today, the WPS is a place in which women have restrictions to report their abusers (as seen in Chapter 4) but the interactions follow the requirements of regular crimes. There are many things to be questioned: the existence of the WPS, the forms, the legislation – but these are aspects which go beyond the scope of this study. The suggestion I made above – to reconsider the police job in a WPS – is circumscribed to communicational practices. Even if the forms and the WPS legal restrictions are not changed to attend the specificities of domestic violence[1] - which they should - the difference the WPS offers to complainants could be in the treatment offered by the officers. This is a simple conjecture as it would, in effect, make the police job less police-like and might not be practical and/or desirable for the police in Brazil. It could make sense given that, although the WPSs were created to provide a special service to women, they often fail to help women given the limitations of the law, the scope of the WPS and its procedures (Chapter 4).

---

[1] For example, the recency factor could be relaxed so that a delay in reporting an instance of abuse could be accepted, which could mean a case of a woman being shot by her partner, such as WPS 7 shown in Chapter 4 is registered by the police.

8.3.3 Contributions to Conversation Analytic Research

This thesis contributes to work on talk-in-interaction in three main ways. It develops and expands previous conversation analytic work on YNIs and repair in Brazilian Portuguese (a language in which it had not been explored), it applies the method of conversation analysis to the area of women reporting abuse to the police and it contributes to previous feminist and institutional conversation analytic work. Each of these contributions will be discussed in turn.

Contributions to institutional talk in interaction.

This thesis contributes another *institutional* setting to the corpus of conversation analytic work, more specifically, this thesis contributes to the understanding of how interactional resources (such as third position repairs and other means of managing misalignments, as well as references to abusers) are employed during talk-at-work. In addition, mapping the phases of the interactions (Chapter 5), and the patterns of dismissals (Chapter 4), this thesis offers an overview of what constitutes the work involved in making a police report as well as the information police officers seek to obtain in the making of a report (Chapters 4 and 5) and what they avoid (Chapter 6).

The steps that constitute the making of a report were presented both in terms of what makes a failed report (Chapter 4) and the structural organization of the police interactions (Chapter 5). As mentioned in section 8.3.1, these chapters showed that officers orient to the requirements of the report in conducting their activities and in doing so, are more focused on the completion of the tasks which compose the report-making than on the women's stories, suffering and concerns. Although officers are not as inflexible to the women's demands and are not simply left 'unfazed' by the complainant's efforts to present their concerns as the literature suggested (Ostermann, 2003; Boselli, 2004), their focus can still be seen to be placed in identifying a single case of abuse and getting a short description of this abuse. One problem with the police concern about identifying and describing one single instance of recent abuse is, as shown above, the fact that sometimes the 'last incident' of abuse which the officers seek to identify for the report-making sometimes does not 'explain' the violence the complainants suffered and the reporting perspectives clash (as seen in Chapter 6)

The analysis of misalignments in interactions showed that canonical third position repairs – initiated with 'Não – constituted the strongest way of blocking an unwanted response and were often used to establish if a complainant was in fact eligible for a report. 'Sim' initiated cases, although different in the actions they performed, were less efficient in blocking unwanted courses of answers because they left it open for a development of an answer 'further' (as incomplete) but in the same direction. So, 'Sim mas' turns in third position were often used to fix misunderstandings in cases which less crucial matters were in question, whereas 'Sim' and redone questions were used to do pursuits. The instances of 'sim' doing pursuits were often associated with getting the details of the abuse and developing a chronological understanding of the story. So, while canonical 'Não' initiated third position repairs were used to identify a single, recent, reportable crime displaced from a history of abuse, pursuits with 'Sim' were often used to elicit a linear development for the story of this single episode of abuse previously identified.

Contributions to conversation analysis.

This thesis extended CA findings originally proposed in English language to Brazilian Portuguese. This 'extension' of findings did not simply involve applying prior conversation analytical findings to BP data. For example, the discussion about conformity in YNIs was not limited to presenting 'default' responses in BP as being composed by verb repeats by following the 'default' criteria presented by Raymond (2000, 2003). The study of positive responses to YNIs covered the 'default' responses, the 'non-conforming' responses with 'sim' – and their interactional use – and the ways of doing marked or unmarked confirmations with 'ser/to be' or 'sim'. In doing so, the study of response to YNIs in BP offered an illustration of the importance of studying language in interaction in order to understand how language is used in producing actions, rather than syntactically correct (or not) phrases.

Moreover, by detailing the form and use of strategies employed to deal with misalignment in a WPS, this thesis contributed to conversation analysis as it extended the findings on third position repair to Brazilian Portuguese, it examined other strategies for dealing with misalignment which are similar to cases of third position repair but had not yet been studied in CA, and it examined the different

uses of these strategies in the institutional setting studied here. In this sense, this is not only an extension of a CA finding to BP and a contribution to the understanding of police interactions in Brazil, but a contribution to CA knowledge about the technology of repair and its alternatives. In Chapter 6, I analysed third position repairs in BP as well as 3 other forms of dealing with problems of 'adequacy' in terms of managing in third position a somewhat problematic response provided by a second speaker. Although similar, those strategies carry different restrictions to how the issue at hand was and should be responded to and have different implications in terms of speakers' responsibilities regarding such interactional mismatch. I showed that the canonical case of third position repair is the strongest strategy for blocking an undesired response from going further as it blocks a responsive turn as 'not relevant'. Other strategies of dealing with misalignments often concede that the answer provided is possible (and often known to be the case) whereas they present as *fitted to the context* some type of response that is not the one provided, marking what would count as applicable responses. 'Eu sei' marks the problem with the responsive turn as being the provision of information that is *known already.* 'Sim' initiated turns often position the information as 'not enough', that is, although part of the information is correct and often has already been presented and has been 'taken' already, they are still not fully fitted to the prior. While cases of 'Sim mas' are similar to third position repairs and have been presented to be on the boundaries of repair; 'Sim + aí/then / redone interrogative' do pursuits rather than repair. So, 'Sim mas' cases in third acknowledge the second turn (but do not endorse it) as a different perspectives in responding to their prior, but they explicitly mark *the* contextually fitted one as not fulfilled, not attended. 'Sim' cases which do pursuits, on the other hand, present a question to be answered *again*, marking the response received as not fulfilling the job of (fully) answering to the prior to the point that it is taken as 'not answered'. In doing so, they place the responsibility for not providing a relevant answer on the other person.

Contributions to feminist conversation analysis.

Finally, this thesis contributes to conversation analysis as a *feminist research tool* in terms of studying researcher's involvement and ethics of doing feminist research (Chapter 2), by showing how culture is manifest in talk (Chapters 2 and 7), and by using CA to advance feminist concerns in doing research not only about women but

for women, with the potential of applying CA to propose changes in communicational practices to better women's experiences when reporting abuse (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Moreover, this thesis has provided yet another evidence of how CA can be an appropriate method for doing feminist and political research, and by doing so it contributes to building a cumulative body of work on feminist conversation analysis.

8.4 Strengths and limitations

In this section, I discuss some of the strengths of the research presented in this thesis, while I also acknowledge of its limitations, as they have become apparent doing the course of doing this research.

8.4.1 Strengths

One strength of this work is the use of naturalistic data to the study of 'delicate' interactions of women reporting violence. The use of naturalistic materials has given me access, as shown in this research, to some of the troubles women face during the reporting of abuse they suffered. This not only illuminates our understanding about this process, but has made it possible for this research to produce some suggestions for bettering those interactions and improving women's experiences of reporting abuse (as discussed under the 'contributions' section).

Another strength of this research lies on the successful application of CA for feminist research and its necessary counterpart, the successful adherence to the principles of CA, which meant the research contributed to the cumulative body of conversation analytic findings. So, this research was successful in contributing to CA and in applying CA as a tool for understanding instances of talk which are of relevance for feminist research (i.e. women reports of violence) and has contributed to feminist research. Moreover, by combining those two things, this thesis has been successful in showing the appropriateness of using CA for feminist research.

While the strengths of this research have been developed in the 'contributions' section of this chapter, and are therefore just briefly mentioned here, the limitations of this study have not been discussed in any detail and will take considerable more attention from me. Although the 'limitations' are discussed

with more length and detail than the outlined 'strengths', they by no means out-do the strengths of this work.

8.4.2 Limitations

The biggest limitation of this research is related to its data. Although it is 'delicate' data and I have been grateful (and lucky, actually) for getting this type of data, they have limitations which must be acknowledged. First, I only have audio recordings of co-present interactions; second, the sample of the research is small and is not representative of Brazil and/or of women's experience in reporting violence, but offers a partial picture of practices in one WPS in Brazil; a third aspect that can be seen as a limitation was my presence during the recordings of the interactions (Wowk, 2007), but this is disputable as it can also be seen as an advantage (Griffin, 2007). In terms of 'data' limitations, I will focus my discussion on the first item presented here. The second limitation is one that is common to a great many qualitative research, and is somewhat connected to my methodological choice in the first place, given that CA has not been traditionally concerned with issues of 'representative samples', especially when those demographics which are used to build 'representative samples' are built from presuppositions which precede the data analysis. So, I acknowledge the limitation here, but will not develop it further. The third possible limitation has been partially discussed in Chapter 2 and can be perceived as a limitation (my presence could 'contaminate the research') or an advantage, especially because I do not have audio recordings of the interactions (a limitation discussed in more detailed below) and my presence allowed me to understand the interactions better, to meet my participants and to make notes which have been relevant in the course of my analysis. In any case, there are features of recorded interaction which are elusive to memory, coding systems and note taking (as discussed in Chapter 2), so of course my presence does not make up for the absence of recorded images of the interactions, as I discuss in the following paragraph.

The analysis of audio recordings of interaction in which people are co-present, as the analysis presented here, has been considered problematic in CA analysis as an important dimension of the interaction is lost to the analyst. This was a problem for me in terms of presenting and validating my data, but also in terms of what I lost in my analysis of the interactions I have recorded. In many instances the

presence of visual images of the interaction would be extremely useful for the research: there are cases in which I cannot be certain of who said something, who was addressed by a certain speaker and/or what kind of action the officer was engaged during certain period of talk and/or absence of talk. Moreover, in the cases in which the complainants start talking to the officers and then switch their focus to talk to me, the researcher sitting next to them, while the officers can still hear what they are saying, my analysis would be richer if I could tell when their change of addressee took place or, in the cases I interfered, how and when exactly I approached the complainants and if officers observed those interactions at all. Although I do have my field notes and I have written down things such as times in which officers leave the room, visible sustained injuries, some marked gestures and/or room arrangements during the interactions, they are never as detailed as the interactions and the matters of concern for me as an analyst were seldom restricted to the ones I wrote down when I was in the reporting room.

Other limitations had to do with the coverage of my analysis. I started my PhD with the very ambitious task of studying women's reports of abuse in two different settings, which provide different services to women, using a methodology which is based on the analysis of the details of the interaction. During my research my focus was gradually taken by the WPS while the Casa data was being left aside. I did try to 'rescue' my 'Casa' data during the writing as I progressed with my police findings and I went back to see how things worked in the care centre's interactions. I had, however, to get used to the idea that the PhD is a part of a researcher's work and not one's final word and focus on developing what I had – while fighting against the concept of a thesis word limit – to get detached from my 'Casa' data. The thesis became, then, mostly a thesis about the interactions in a Brazilian WPS in which interactions in another institution – the casa – and ordinary conversations over the phone were used to build some comparisons and to extend the analysis beyond the realm of the police work. An obvious avenue for development in my work, then, is the study of my 'Casa' interactions in their own rights.

Another limitation of this study is connected to my intention of *giving back*, and returning my findings with contributions to the institutions. That is, one of my concerns in this research was to derive practical recommendations to the service providers of support for abused women in order to contribute to their work and to

ameliorate women's experiences of help-seeking. CA has been very useful in order to help me to propose some practices to the institutions, but there are problems with the *kind* of contribution available. Although some of the recommendations can, I believe, actually improve those interactions, in some cases they would simply 'improve' them in terms of being more 'effective' but that would not necessarily mean 'better' especially not in terms of better help-seeking experiences for the women. For example, the case of WPS 26, analysed in Chapter 4 about dismissals, showed a problem with a report that took a very long time and yet did not produce a 'full report', but was rather what could be considered a practically 'void' piece of paper. The kind of contributions suggested on Chapter 5 in terms of how to structure the police openings in terms of making the police work and their requirements for the reporting clear to complainants could contribute to make the problem with WPS 26 relevant earlier. That is the problem would be diagnosed and dismissed in the beginning of the interaction. In this respect, what my analysis could offer to the police would be useful in terms of 'time saving' but, to the woman, it would only mean her case was going to be fully dismissed earlier. In order to actually reduce the number of dismissed cases and, in this way, contribute to women's experience of reporting their abusers, it would be necessary to change the requirements of the crime report and other police procedures so that 'domestic abusers' were investigated as other criminals instead of making police response to their crimes contingent on complainants' provision of their full address.

8.5 Suggestions for further research

8.5.1 Casa

As mentioned on the 'limitations' section, I have not managed to study the care centre interactions from my 'Casa' corpus with much depth in this thesis. This has limited my ambitious project to write about women help-seeking practices to a research of women reporting abuse to the police, with some support data from other types of interactions. An obvious avenue for development in my work, then, is the study of my 'Casa' interactions in their own rights. In this thesis their service was praised for being felicitous in performing institutional niceties in their openings, but more could be said about (and gained from) the analysis of their phases in general terms. Moreover, apart from the felicitous aspect of their work, I would be interested in developing some of the problems they face, as the care

centre's counsellors and social workers can be very attentive but are seldom apt to solve all the problems that women who search for their help face. Although women are not 'dismissed' in the same way they can be in the police stations as professionals are equipped to deal with broader definitions of abuse, women reporting abuse may sometimes feel their plight is being trivialized and/or dealt inappropriately and may reject the solutions which are (cordially) presented to them. Some of those cases have been brought together in a little collection which also develops part of my interest in the use of the word 'Sim' in BP, and has to do with the way in which women can reject advice that they consider unsuitable to their situation.

*Note: the transcripts presented in this Chapter are 'working' transcripts only.

Casa 05

```
The social worker Maria Lúcia starts presenting the future actions
as they are often done towards the end of the Casa interactions.  In
this case Dona Helenice was in serious risk, but was not keen on
going to a shelter because she would lose her shack and all she had
if she did so.  Maria Lúcia had said to Dona Helenice she would try
and find other alternatives with the city council, but she tried to
get Dona Helenice to start working for other solutions as well:
```

```
04   Mal:   eu vou ligar para o setor de habitacao da prefeitura
```
I   will   call   to the   sector of   habitation   of+the municipality
```
            I will call to the habitation department of the city council
```

```
05          mas isso nao é rá:pido.
```
but this   no is fast
```
            but this is not fa:st.
```

```
06          (.)
07   Mal:   Mas se a senhora entrar numa situacao de risco
```
But if the ma'am enter   in+a   situation of risk
```
            But if you ma'am get in risk
```

```
08          aí a gente vai colocá a senhora num albergue,
```
then we   will put the ma;am in+a hostel
```
            then we will put you ma'am in a hostel,
```

```
09          numa casa de convivencia.
```
in+a house of living+together
```
            in a shelter.
```

```
10          (.)
11   Mal:   Só que a senhora vai ter que abandonar o
```
Just that the ma'am will   have to abandon the
```
            But you ma'am will have to abandon the
```

```
12          barraquinho da senhora
```
shack(dim) of+the ma'am
```
            little shack of yours.
```

```
13   Hel:   Sim. Só que eu consegui 3 meses na casa
```
Yes. Just that I got 3 months in the house

		Right. But I got 3 months in the casa
14		Sofia de um abrigo só que eu não pude ir
		(name of shelter) of a shelter just that I no could go
		Sofia for shelter but I couldn't go
15		Se eu abandoná 3 meses_
		If I bandon 3 months
		If I abandon it for 3 months_
16		Eu abandonei 15 dias eu perdi
		I abandoned 15 days and I lost
		I abandoned it for 15 days and I lost
17	Mal:	Além de invadi, podem ocupá o barraco.
		Apart from invading can(indeterm subj, them) occupy the shack
		Apart from invading it, someone may occupy the shack.
18	Hel:	Sim senhora
		Yes ma'am
		Yes ma'am.
19	Mal:	Eu sei disso.
		I know of this
		I know that.
20		(.)
21	Mal:	Mas outra saída é alugar um outro barraco e ir
		but other exit is to rent one other shack and to go
		But another way out is to rent another shack and go
22		para outro lugar.
		to other place
		to another place.
23	Hel:	°°°>Sim senhora<°°°
		Yes ma'am
		°°°>Yes ma'am<°°°
24	Mal:	Ou vender e ir para outro lugar.
		Or to sell and ir to other place
		Or to sell it and go to another place.
25	Hel:	°°°>Sim senhora<°°°
		Yes ma'am
		°°°>Yes ma'am<°°°
26	Mal:	A senhora já pensou nisso.
		The ma'am already thought in+this
		Have you thought about it already ma'am.
27	Hel:	Já pensei só que lá onde eu moro é muito dificil
		Already though just that there where I live is much hard
		Yes I have but there where I live is too hard

This is just one aspect of the Casa interactions which has attracted my interest and it is closely related to a 'technical' interest for the word 'sim' as I explore in the next sub-section.

8.5.2 'Sim'

The other uses of 'sim', is also something on my next 'to do' list. I have this big collection of 'sims' in every position, doing different things and, so far, have only

been able to analyse 'sim' in the context of responses to YNIs and, as the cases in third position analysed in Chapter 6. There are still more cases of 'sim', in first position, which seem to be very interesting but haven't been fully analysed. Those cases seem to be connected to the use of 'Okay' as presented by Trinch (2003), in terms of the service providers efforts attempt to regain their roles of 'interviewers' conducting the interaction. Quite a few of those cases have been used in this thesis when discussing other aspects of the interaction, but the way those cases worked was not analysed in their own right. Those examples included:

Sim in first position

S-13 – Computer (WPS 36)

```
WPS 36:

    Po4:    Oh sa:co! né? Esse computador
            Oh bag! No?    This   computer
            Oh pe:st! Right? This computer

            também, tem hora que dá uma::-
            too      has  hour  that gives a
            ?        sometimes plays u::p-

            °tá saindo no nome da otra
            is    leaving in the name of the other
            °is coming out in the name of the other

            delegada° ((softer as Po4 leaves
            chief commissioner
            chief commissioner°

            her seat and progressively gets

            farther from the mic and leaves

            the room))

((Po4 soon ± 11:32 returns with another officer -- Pow -- to help
her with the computer problem. Pow stays in the room until ± 20:30))

    Pow:    Esse sistema foi feito pra pssoa-
            This system     was made  for the person
            This system was made for the person-

            ganhá tempo né? Mas agora num
            win   time  no  But now    no
            save time right? But then they don't

            explicam pra: >ninguém< né:? .hh
            explain(3pp) to    no one     no
            explain to: >anyone< ri:ght? .hh

            A pessoa vai descobrindo assim `a
```

       The person goes discovering   like
       One will find out like

       toa.
       aimlessly.
       aimlessly.

  Po4:   °É:. Va:i.°
       Is Goes
       °Ye:h. Wi:ll.°

((Pow talks to someone outside the room while leaving it and then
Po4 starts talking to the complainant again))

  Pow: (descobre). EI DUDU SAÍ DA PORTA
       Discovers Hey nickname leave the door
       (discovers). HEY DUDU LEAVE THE DOOR

       RÁPIDO!
       Quickly.
       QUICKLY!

       (.)

  Pow   [EU (   )]

  Po4: → [Si:m. Quando fo:i E]:dnalva que:,
       Yes When was name that
    → [Oka:y. When wa:s E]:dnalva tha:t,

       as=a: agressão de:le >essa Ú[ltim]a?<
       the(pl) the(s) aggression of his this last one
       the=his abu:se >this la[st on]e?<

  door closing noise -->   [door]

       (1.2)

  Wom: Em média te:m, [(0.2)] cinco anu
       In average has   five year
       On the average there's be:n, [(0.2)] five years

'Yes but' (not in third position)

The 'Yes but' construction used in different contexts than the ones of 'third position' analysed here. It seems to be used by the police officers to regain control over the interaction and avoid derailing answers + dealing with women's presentations of troubles that are not under the police scope (cases in which the woman says 'the problem is' and the officers say 'Yes but now...'). They often have to do with things that the women 'want', so the officers seem to recognize that the presentation of what they want follows from either their enquiry or something that was discussed in a prior moment - like Gardner's (2007) presentation of 'right' – but then present a contrast to mark that this is not the police job and the will *not*

deal with what the complainants want. This is also useful in order to check the clashes between what women expect from the police and the association of their 'wishes' with something that is not only related to 'court/justiça', in terms of them looking for asserting their rights, but also with concepts of 'justice/justiça', that is them fighting for what is (morally) right:

WPS 09

```
04  Po3:    Mas esse acordo aqui na delegacia a
             But this agreement    here in the police station the
             But this agreement here from the police station

05           senhora qué que ele:::[: faça o quê?]
             ma'am   want that he        do   what
             you ma'am want hi::::[m to do what?]

06  Wom:                      [  É:.=Que q-]
                                  Is    that t-
                              [Uh:.=That t-]

07           Quero entrá num-num acordo cum ele.=
             Want  to enter in one in one agreement with him
             I want to get in one-in one agreement with him.=

08           =Pr'ele me ajudá eu criá os meus- os
              For he   to me help  I  to raise  the my the
             =For'im to help me raise my-

09           filhu dele os três filhu dele .hh e
             kid   of his the three kid   of his  and
             his kids his three hids .hh  and

10           arrumá um cantinho pra mim enquantu:
             fix/get  a little corner for  me  while
             get a little place for me whi:le

11           meus filhu tão na escola.=Depois que
             my  kid    are in the school  After    that
             my kids are studying.=After

12           meus filhu saí da escola eu eu procuro
             my  kid    leave of the school I  I    search
             my kids leave the school I I search for

13           um canto e vou embo:ra.
             A corner  and go  away
             A place and go awa:y.

14           (#chn::ff))

01→Po3:      Sim mas isso é o que eu tou explicando
             Yes but this  is what  I  am   explaining
             Yes but this is what I am explaining

02           a senho:ra, isso é- isso é a questão
             to the ma'am, this is   this is the   matter/issue
```

                    to you ma:'am, this is- this is the issue

03   dos be:ns de   alime:[nto   (e tudo)]
                of   property is food   and all
                of pro:perty of alimo:[ny (and all)]

WPS 15

dCC: Que a gente num sabe qual vai ser o procedimento

            That we no knowu   which will be the procedure
            Cuz we don't know what procedure it will be

            que ela num trouxe testemunhas [e pra faz]er TCO▪
            that she no brought   witnesses   and to make/do report
            cuz she hasn't brought witnesses [and to ma]ke a TCO▪

Wom: [O problema]
                                        [The problem]

dCC: =uma das coisas fundamentais é ter testemunhas.
            One of+the things fundamental is have witnesses
            =one of the fundamental things is to have witnesses.

Wom: O problema dele é que eu quero que ele vi-
            The problem of+his is that I want   that he li
            The problem is that I want him to li-

            deixe minha vida em pa:z. Sussegada né?
            let my life in peace Easy no+is
            Leave me alo:ne. In peace right?

dCC: →   Sim.=Mas a senhora vai vai narrá só o que
            Yes. But the ma'am   will will narrate only what
            Right.=But you ma'am will will narrate only what

            aconteceu. Esse seu querer, que ele lhe
            happened. This your want that he you
            happened. This desire of yours, that he

            deixe em pa:z tudo. Aí no caso da separação
            leave in peace all. Then in+the case of+the separation
            leaves you alo:ne and all. Then in the case of separation

            a gente encaminha a defensori:a.
            we refer to the defense dept.
            we refer to the legal a:id.

Wom: →   Ah sim tá bom.
            Oh yes is good.
            Oh okay it's fine.

dCC   Porque aqui a gente num resolve o problema
            Because here we don't solve the problem

            da separaçã:o.
            of the separation.
Wom: Tá certo.
           That's alright.

Subject + v. repeat in responses to YNIs

I would also like, for example, to extend part of my work regarding YNIs. For example, the verb repeats which have been shown in this thesis to be the BP default way of producing a response that agrees with the terms of one YNI, have been proposed to be a 'null subject case' by some authors (as seen in Chapter 3). There are, however, a few exceptions to those cases of 'null' subjects in both my ordinary interaction corpus and my institutional data, and I would like to investigate those issues further. Some examples of those 'special' ways of producing a verb repeat which also contains a subject are presented below:

WPS 34

```
01  Pin:    Estefania cê num tá com fo:me.
            Estefania  you    no is with hunger
            Estefania aren't you hu:ngry.

02  Est:    E(h)u(h) t(h)ou heh.
            I(h)      a(h)m  heh.
            I(h) a(h)m heh.
```

Ordinary Conversation

```
01  Eug:    Então tá quente o negócio.
            So    is hot    the thing/business
            So the thing is hot.

02  Lar:    Uhum

03  Eug:    Entend[i:  ]
            Understood(1ps)
             Go:t [it  ]

04  Lar:          [E cê] quer falá com o seu irmã:o.
            And   you  want to talk with the your  brother
                  [An=you] want to talk to your bro:ther.

05  Eug:    Eu que:ro.
            I   want
            Yes I do:.

06  Lar:    Tá vou passar então.
            Is  will(1ps)  to pass then
            Okay I'll get him then.
```

Sim as emphasis and contrast of presuppositions

S - 21 A DOCTOR

```
    Eug:    Tá:: tá bo:m.=>Ah! mas cê sentiu s:-
            Is:  ok goo:d.=>Uh! But you felt s:-
            Ok:: ok goo:d.=>Uh! But you were i:-

            firmeza assim no médico=pelo menos ele
            solidity like on the doctor=at least he
            impressed by the doctor=at least he
```

```
                   te pediu< fazê=exa::me:s etecetera né?
                   you asked  do/make exams  etcetera no+is
                   asked you< to do=the exa::ms etcetera right?
```

```
Pai:    É:.
        Is
        Ye:h.
```

```
Eug:    .hh Ah [que b]om. Espero que ele seja▪
            Oh  that  good. Hope(1ps) that he be(sub)
        .hh Oh [that's g]ood. I hope he is▪
```

```
Pai:              [Uhum ]
```

```
Eug:    melhorzinho então.
         Better(dim) then
        A little better then.
```

```
Pai:    Tá: jó:ia. .hh Ele é::: professo:r
        Is jewel   He is  professor
        That's gre:at. .hh He is::: assista:nt

        assistente de- lá: na:: medici:na
        assistant of there in+the medicine
        professor of- the:re in the:: medicine:

        °pin[heiros >qu]er dizer que:<▪
        (name)       wants to say that
        °pin[heiros .th]at's to sa:y<▪
```

```
Eug:        [Lá da USP]
             There of+the (university)
            [There from USP]
```

```
Eug:    =Uhum,
```

```
Pai:    Ãh?
```

```
Eug:    Lá da USP. É da pinheiros.
        There of (uni) Is of+the (name)
        There from USP. He's from pinheiros.
```

```
Pai:    É:. Da USP pô:. Ele tem que sê:r
        Is  Of (Uni) in. He has that bet
        Ye:h. Blimey from U:SP. He's got to be:
```

```
→   um cara bo:m [sim.=Porque um
     a guy  good   yes  Because a
    a good fello:w [indeed.=Because an

    professor assistente-]
     professor assistant
    assistant professor-]
```

S - 26 – Real Doctor (WPS 28 'Essa sim é doutora')

```
01  Pof:    É cê tem vinte e cinco né?
            Uh you have twenty and five  no is
```

```
               Uh you are twenty five right?

02  Wom:      Vinte e qua:tro.
              Twenty and four
              Twenty fo:ur.

03            (.)

04  Pof:      Sabe o a:nu.  (       )   [Ela é boa:.]
              Know(2ps) the year        She is good
              Do you know the ye:ar. ( )[She's goo:.]

05  Est:                              [Setenta e no]:ve.
                                        seventy and nine
                                      [ Seventy  ni]:ne

06  Pof:      heh heh heh heh

07  Wom:      Setenta e nove.
              seventy and nine
              Seventy  nine.

08  Pof:      É.
              Is
              Yes.

09            (2.2)

10  Pof:      Ela é boa de matemática. (          )
              She is good of mathematics.
              She's good at maths. (          )

11            H[eh heh]

12  Pin:       [Heh ela] é douto:ra.
                   She   is doctor
               [Heh she] is a do:ctor.

13  Pof:      É.
              Is.
              Yes.

14  Pin:      Essa daí si:m. Douto:ra. Tá fazendo
              This from there yes. Doctor.    Is doing
              This one i:s. A doctor. She's doing

01            doutora:do. É:.
              doctorate.    Is.
              a do:ctorade. Ye:s.

02  Pof:      Graças a Deus.
              Grace  to God.
              Thank God.

03  Pin:      A[í (  )]
              Then.
              T[hen ( )].

04  Pof:       [Na área] de q- em qui á:rea.
```

```
                      In the area    of w- in what area
                      [In the area] of w- in what a:rea.

05   Est:        Psic[ologi:a.]
                 Psychology.
                 Psyc[ho:logy.]

06   Pin:            [Psiculu]gia. (      )
                     Psychology.
                     [Psychol]ogy. (      )

07   Pof:        Essa é verdade:ira.
                 This is truthful/genuine/real.
                 This is ge:nuine.

08   Pin:        Essa aí é doutora me:smo.
                 This  there is doctor   trully / indeed.
                 This is trully a do:ctor.
```

8.5.3 Cultural Understandings in Interaction: Men as Abusers

The referent **Ele/He/His** is understood to be a mention of the abuser and as someone close to the complainant – and when done in this way this referent is not problematic. It is the breach of this (a woman or an abuser that is not well known by the complainant) that 'disrupts' the normal flow of an interaction. Moreover both officers and complainants orient to 'he/him' as meaning 'the abuser' not only in the beginning of the reports and the first references to the abuser, but through the reporting, and this is something I would like to explore further.

Officers and complainants orient to that as they work to 'disambiguate' other males referred, whereas 'ele/he/his' is used without any other work when mentions to the abuser are produced. Some interesting examples of this phenomenon can be seen in: WPS 09 (officer repairs his turn from he/him into his son, 'disambiguating' the reference: Chapter 4, lines 10-12); WPS 01 (the complainant talks about a male lawyer repeatedly avoiding a locally subsequent reference – he/him – not shown here)

Moreover, men are generally unwelcome in reporting situations – both in the care centre and in the WPS and this is also something I would like to explore further. Men accompanying women during the reporting often do not come into the reporting room: WPS 27: the priest accompanying the complainant is mentioned as having come with her, but he does not come into the reporting room; WPS 14: (as seen in Chapter 4) during the reporting Bruno, the complainant's partner, stays outside during the reporting the complainant asks for permission to bring him to the reporting room when some information about the abuser she did

not know are made relevant and Bruno, as the brother of the alleged perpetrator, could give this information. When they come into the room, they might be treated with some hostility and/or be inquired about what they are doing there: WPS 03: although the man accompanying the complainant is firstly questioned about what he is doing there and Po2 makes it clear that it is a police station for women, the man can stay as soon as he presents himself as her son and a police officer; WPS 25, is not as successful, the man accompanying the complainant (her brother) is asked about why he is there and the absence of places to seat are made relevant so he leaves the reporting room. Women accompanying complainants are not questioned (sometimes the interventions from those accompanying them are limited by the officers, but they are generally welcomed to stay, even when there are not enough seats for all the participants). So, WPS 05, WPS 08, WPS 11, WPS 14 are all examples in which women come to report a crime accompanied by other women and this company is not questioned.

8.5.5 Misalignment

My interest for the instances of misalignment between officers and complainants made me also interested in researching instances of 'Yes but'/'Right but' as a technology for dealing with misalignment which is not restricted to Portuguese. I have not found many instances of 'my phenomenon' of a turn in third position fixing a misalignment and yet prefaced with a 'Yeah/Right' in English, but I found one example which I show here:

In third position the call taker produces a 'yeah' as though she accepts the prior turn (that she's seen the notes) but declines to treat it as an appropriate/fitted response to the prior (a cynical assessment of the obstetrician's view of the medical notes). Then 'what I mean is" is clearly marking what she is doing as repairing her prior turn.

BCC 62

```
44   Rac:     We had a meeting a-  we had a meeting as well with a
45            a- a- one of the obstetricians came round
46            (0.7)
47   CTR:     To your house?
48   Rac:     Yeah. Mr Bosio was his name
49   CTR:     Ah ha
50   Rac:     And he basically sat there and said well according
51            to your notes there's nothing untoward in your notes
52            its just your perception of the events
```

```
53  CTR:       .HH OOO:::::H
54             (0.8)
55  CTR:       The notes are sacred are they
56             (0.3)
57  Rac:       No I've seen the notes
58             (.)
59  CTR: →     Yeah but what I mean is they believe the notes
60             and they don't believe you.
61  Rac:       Yeah
62             (.)
63  CTR:       [Mm    ]
64  Rac:       [That's] it
```

8.5.4 Ordinary Interaction

Moreover, my research of women's reports of abuse using CA has made me interested in studying ordinary conversation and principles of conversation. I would very much like to study my ordinary conversation data in more detail and collect more data to study conversation in BP.

8.6 Some (very) personal notes and reflections

It was the feminist connections with conversation analysis that brought me to York to do a Ph.D. on women's reports of violence. I had collected my data and wanted to use the competent tools of conversation analysis to contribute to the understanding of the underreporting of domestic violence as well as the actual difficulties of reporting this violence. In the process of getting my CA training and writing this research, CA became more than a tool, it became a matter of interest per se. I started collections about a variety of phenomena I spotted on my interactions, I got excited about every instance of 'sim' I found in my data and/or produced and heard in my interactions; I was left fascinated about repair... and in my newly acquired excitement about the technology aspects of the interactions I feared losing touch with the political, the issues that had motivated this thesis in the first place. I feared that in my new interests I had betrayed the women who took part in my research and the institutions which accepted my project. I wanted to do something *for* women. I wanted to use conversation analysis to make some contribution to women reporting violence. With those things in mind, I managed to make my way back from the technical interests to the concerns about helping women and specific issues regarding the process of reporting violence. In the writing process I was able (in most instances) to reconcile the two interests, to make the connections of the phenomena studied with the problems women faced in their reporting and to

realise that I had, in fact, something to say about CA *and* about women's reports of violence and that I could do something *for* the women.

Part of the dissatisfaction with my work was, I believe, connected to another problem. A Ph.D. thesis is, perhaps per definition, an intellectual exercise. As such, it might be competent or not to further some scientific understanding of the world. This thesis in particular, set out to understand some problems and difficulties with the reporting of abuse women often suffer at the hands of their partners. Although it does contribute to the understanding of the interactional process of the reporting and presents difficulties and problems women face when reporting their abusers, it does not do justice to the pain. It marks a few instances of egregious violence not being validated, instances of broken voices and crying. But it at most scratches the suffering, the excruciating pain which goes beyond the battery and robs those women of a sense of home in the fear and danger of living with the men they had chosen to share their lives with (and sometimes left but did not manage to leave the abuse behind). A pain that brought them to tears and then to reporting, but often left them with not much else, or worse, left them with a sense of injustice or further vulnerability when the State protection was so often insufficient and inadequate for them. A pain and injustice that often brought me to tears as well. Sometimes just after their reportings (through which I forced myself to maintain a professional strength and stoically resist the tears, which would flow abundantly once I stepped out of my researcher role). With the best intentions, and hard work, the writing somehow also covered the tears: the complainants' and mine, during the interactions and while transcribing, analysing and writing them up. Those are the tears that I acknowledge now. Tears cried for the suffering of the women I met in this work; for the suffering of many more who are battered everyday in the world; for the injustices of the world in which men still perpetrate violence against their female partners; for the injustices of the country I call home but cannot protect its citizens from the abuse they suffer in their home and, again, furthers the injustices of social inequality leaving women to fight for safety with their own resources; for the abstract and detached writing of science which does not capture the pain of battering, fear, or the loss of a sense of home; for the pain which I cannot express, but I feel and I share with so many women; for the suffering I cannot stop.

Appendix A: Police Report Forms

ESTADO DE ALAGOAS SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DE DEFESA SOCIAL POLICIA CIVIL	**BOLETIM DE OCORRÊNCIA**	Número: 0069-2/04-2003
	DELEGACIA: Del. de Defesa da Mulher da Capital	
	FONE: 2210676 DATA/HORA COMUNICADO 28/12/2004 14:00	

NATUREZA: Outras ocorrências   INSTRUMENTO: Nenhum

DATA/HORA: 12/00/2004 13:00   LOCAL DO FATO: ████████████████████ Maceió

DIA DA SEMANA: PONTO DE REFERÊNCIA: ████████████████████

COR	ESTADO CIVIL	NACIONALIDADE	DIA DA SEMANA	GRAU DE INSTRUÇÃO
1 BRANCO 4 PARDO 2 NEGRA 5 AMARELA 3 VERMELHO 6 ALBINO	1 SOLTEIRO 4 SEPARADO 2 CASADO 5 AMASIADO 3 VIÚVO	1 BRAS. NATO 2 BRAS. NATURALIZADO 3 ESTRANGEIRO	1 DOM 4 QUI 7 DOM 2 TER 5 SEX 3 QUA 6 SAB	1 ANALFABETO 4 NÍVEL MÉDIO 2 ALFABETIZADO 5 SUPERIOR 3 FUNDAMENTAL

NOME / RAZÃO SOCIAL: Nº:

VULGO:

PROFISSÃO: DATA DE NASCIMENTO: IDADE: COR: SEXO:

NATURALIDADE: NACIONALIDADE: ESTADO CIVIL: GRAU INSTRUÇÃO: TURNO DT PAI FILHO

ENDEREÇO: Nº

BAIRRO: CIDADE: FONE:

POLICIAL ( )PM ( )PF ( )PC ( )PRF ( )BM ( )GM   ESPECIFICAR ( ) EM SERVIÇO ( ) FORA DE SERVIÇO ( ) INATIVO

QUALIDADE VÍTIMA → AUTOR: OCORRÊNCIA RECORRENTE Nº

NOME / RAZÃO SOCIAL: Nº:

VULGO:

PROFISSÃO: DATA DE NASCIMENTO: IDADE: COR: SEXO:

NATURALIDADE: NACIONALIDADE: ESTADO CIVIL: GRAU INSTRUÇÃO: TURNO DT PAI FILHO

ENDEREÇO: Nº

BAIRRO: CIDADE: FONE:

POLICIAL ( )PM ( )PF ( )PC ( )PRF ( )BM ( )GM   ESPECIFICAR ( ) EM SERVIÇO ( ) FORA DE SERVIÇO ( ) INATIVO

ESPECIFICAR TIPO/QUANTIDADE:

ARMA APREENDIDA TIPO: CALIBRE:	VEÍCULO: PLACA:
Nº: NÚMERO:	ANO MODELO: MARCA/MODELO:
FABRICAÇÃO:	ANO FABRICAÇÃO: CHASSI:

OBS: SE EXISTIR MAIS DE UM AUTOR OU VÍTIMA, MENCIONAR NO HISTÓRICO E QUALIFICAR NO VERSO

████████████████████,,,,████████████████

ASSINATURA DO NOTICIANTE:

NOME:

ENDEREÇO:

NOME:

STATE OF ALAGOAS STATE SECRETARY OF SOCIAL DEFENSE CIVIL POLICE	**POLICE REPORT**	Number: xxxx-x/xx-xxx
	POLICE STATION: Station for Women's Protection of the Capital PHONE: 2210676 COMMUNICATE'S DATE/HOUR: dd/mm/yyyy hh:hh	

FACT

NATURE:	INSTRUMENT:
DATE/HOUR: dd/mm/yyyy hh:hh	PLACE OF THE FACT:
DAY OF THE WEEK:	REFERENCE

COLOUR	MARITAL STATUS	NATIONALITY	DAY OF THE WEEK	SCHOOLING
1 WHITE 4 MIX (black&white) 2 BLACK 5 MIX (less pigmented) 3 YELLOW 6 ALBINO	1 SINGLE 4 SEPARATED 2 MARRIED 5 ? 3 WIDOWED	1 NATIVE BRASILIAN 2 NATURALIZED BRAZILIAN 3 FOREIGNER	1 MON 4 THU 7 SUN 2 TUE 5 FRI 3 WED 6 SAT	1 ILLITERATE 4 INTERMEDIATE 2 LITERATE 5 SUPERIOR 3 FUNDAMENTAL

VICTIM

NAME / ?????? :		ID:
NAME OF PARENTS:		
PROFESSION:		
FU: PLACE OF BIRTH: NATIONALITY MARITAL STATUS SCHOOLING TURIST: ( ) YES ( ) NO		
ADDRESS:		NUM:
NEIGHBOURHOOD:	CITY:	PHONE:
IF: ( ) PM ( ) PF ( ) PRF ( ) BM ( ) GM SPECIFY ( ) ON DUTY ( ) OFF DUTY ( ) INACTIVE		
RELATIONSHIP OF VICTIM TO PERPETRATOR:	REPORT RELATED TO:	

PERPETRATOR

NAME / ?????? :		ID:
NAME OF PARENTS:		
PROFESSION:		
FU: PLACE OF BIRTH: NATIONALITY MARITAL STATUS SCHOOLING TURIST: ( ) YES ( ) NO		
ADDRESS:		NUM:
NEIGHBOURHOOD:	CITY:	PHONE:
IF:( ) PM ( ) PF ( ) PRF ( ) BM ( ) GM SPECIFY ( ) ON DUTY ( ) OFF DUTY ( ) INACTIVE		
SPECIFY ?????????????????		

APREHENDED GUN TYPE: CALIBRE:	VEHICLE: PLATE NUMBER:
USE: NUMBER:	YEAR MODEL: BRAND / MODEL
MANUFACTURING:	YEAR OF MANUFACTURING: V.I.N.

OBS: IF THERE IS MORE THAN ONE PERPETRATOR OR VICTIM, MENTION THEM IN THE FULL DETAILS AND QUALIFY ON THE OTHER SIDE

FULL DETAILS

	COMPLAINANT'S SIGNATURE:

????

1 NAME:
ADDRESS
2 NAME:

Appendix B: Table of Interactions

Police Station											
	case	date	Officer	duration	order	type	victim	marks"	perpetrator	result	Overlap
1	separada	17-Dec-03	Po1	0:46:58	"story"	threat	self	y	ex-husband	conciliatory meeting	2, 3
2	j.galinha	17-Dec-03	Po2	0:18:05	data	threat	self	n	ex-partner	conciliatory meeting	1
3	M+H	17-Dec-03	Po2	0:16:05	data	threat	self	n	ex-partner	pending document	1
4	grávida	17-Dec-03	Po1	0:39:49	"story"	assault	self	y - v	brother	conciliatory meeting	
5	marisqueira	17-Dec-03	Po2	0:22:11	data	defamation	self	n	fisherman	conciliatory meeting	
6	cantarola	17-Dec-03	Po1	0:28:07	data	assault	self	?	neighbours	conciliatory meeting	
7	tiros	17-Dec-03	Po1	0:02:04	"story"	shot	self	n	ex-partner	dismissal: time	
8	DNA	17-Dec-03	Po1	0:27:38	data	baby + assault	self	n	partner	conciliatory meeting	-
9	filha	17-Dec-03	Po3	0:12:14	"story"	assault	daughter	n	partner"s son	dismissal: minor	-
10	leite	17-Dec-03	Po2	0:20:18	data	assault	self	y	ex-partner	conciliatory meeting	-
11	sedução	17-Dec-03	Po4	0:10:00	"story"	sexual abuse	daughter	n	partner"s brother	dismissal: address	-
12	monstro	17-Dec-03	Po5	0:33:47	other-story	assault	self	n	partner	no meeting (choice)	-
13	nose	17-Dec-03	Po5	0:14:23	other-?	assault	self	*visible	partner	?	-
14	11rfm	17-Dec-03	Po5	0:18:12	"story"	sexual abuse	daughter	n	partner"s brother	dismissal: address	-
15	HPS	18-Dec-03	Po1	00:42:38	other-data	assault	self	?	partner	prosecution	
16	2nd chance	18-Dec-03	Po1	0:22:28	other-story	threat	self	n	partner	conciliatory meeting	16
17	conversa	18-Dec-03	Po3	0:44:36	ID - w starts "story"	defamation	self	n	partner	conciliatory meeting	15, 17
18	peluda	18-Dec-03	Po1	0:27:12	data	threat	self	n	ex-partner	already in court	16
19	Patricia	18-Dec-03	Po1	0:33:04	data	assault	self	y	partner	conciliatory meeting	
20	divida	18-Dec-03	Po1	0:20:48	data	threat	self	n	man - debt	conciliatory meeting	
21	briga mulheres	18-Dec-03	Po6/Po4	0:46:48	*data	assault	self	*visible	neighbours	conciliatory meeting	
22	pancada	18-Dec-03	Po1	0:24:18	data	assault	self	y	partner	conciliatory meeting	
23	Alarme	18-Dec-03	Po4	0:16:27	"story"	assault	self	?	partner	dismissal: address	
24	Sonia/olho	19-Dec-03	Po6	0:58:06	data	assault	self	*visible	brother	conciliatory meeting	25
25	advogada	19-Dec-03	Po7/Po8	00:47:13	C starts story - data	threat	self	n	mother"s partner	conciliatory meeting	24
26	BarZefina	19-Dec-03	Po6	01:09:12	data	assault	self	*visible	bar owner	no meeting: address	25
27	6dedos	19-Dec-03	Po8/Po7	00:58:03	brief story - data	threat	self	n	ex-partner	?c	
28	galos	19-Dec-03	Po7	00:36:20	data	assault	self	*visible	ex-partner	*conciliatory meeting	29
29	lesão	19-Dec-03	Po6	00:43:21	data	assault	self	y	partner	conciliatory meeting	28
30	arrombada	19-Dec-03	Po6	0:21:34	data	defamation	daughter	n	w" ex-partner/ d" father	dismissal: minor	31
31	nora/Sebast	19-Dec-03	Po7/Po6	0:46:32	story - data	assault	self	y	daughter-in-law	dismissal	30.32
32	Alarme	19-Dec-03	Po4	0:33:28	brief follow up - data	assault	self	?	partner	?c	31
33	intervim	19-Dec-03	Po6	0:47:58	data	assault	self	n	ex-partner	conciliatory meeting	32
34	professora	19-Dec-03	Po6	0:46:23	brief ""story" - data	assault	self	n	partner	conciliatory meeting	
35	roubo	19-Dec-03	Po4	0:12:35	data - w start story	theft	self	n	ex-partner	dismissal: theft	
36	Agressão	19-Dec-03	Po4	0:43:28	ID-brief story-data	assault	self	?	ex-partner	conciliatory meeting	
				19:12:23							

Appendix C: Transcription Keys

[[	a point of overlap onset
]]	a point at which two overlapping utterances both end
=	If the two lines connected by the equal signs are: (1) by the same speaker, a single, continuous utterance is broken up to accommodate the placement of overlapping talk; (2) if they are by different speakers, the second follows the first with no discernable silence between them (i.e., "latched" to it).
(0.5)	silence represented in tenths of a second.
(.)	micropause
.	falling, or final intonation, not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	rising intonation, not necessarily a question
,	"continuing" intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary
¿	a rise stronger than a comma but weaker than a question mark
::	the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them.
-	a cut-off or self-interruption
<u>w</u>ord	underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch
WOrd	upper case indicates especially loud talk
° °	The talk between the two degree signs is markedly softer than the talk around it
↑	sharper rises in pitch than would be indicated by combinations or colons and underlining
> <	The talk between the "more than" and "less than" symbols is compressed or rushed
< >	A stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out
<	The immediately following talk is "jump-started," i.e., sounds like it starts with a rush.
hhh	hearable aspiration. It may represent breathing, laughter, etc.
°hhh	hearable inbreath

References

Alvarez, S. E. (1990). *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: women's movements in transition politics* (1 ed.). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Anderson, S. (1994). *'Justice for Brazilian women: an interview with Virginia Feix'.* Retrieved in August, 2003, from http://www.wri-irg.org/pubs/ww-199402.htm

Araújo, A. H. d. (2002, (16/09/2002)). *Belíndia*. Retrieved 23/04/2006, 2006, from http://www.economiabr.net/colunas/henriques/belindia.html

Azevedo, M. (1985). *Mulheres espancadas - a violência denunciada*. São Paulo: Cortez.

Barsted, L. (1994). Mulheres, Direitos Humanos e Legislação: onde está a nossa cidadania? In H. Saffioti & M. Munoz-Vargas (Eds.), *Mulher brasileira é assim*. (pp. 231-270). Rio de Janeiro: Rosa dos Tempos.

Bastide, R. (1959/1955) *Brasil: terra de contrastes*. São Paulo, Difel.

Benneworth, K. (2006) A discourse analysis of police interviews with suspected paedophiles: the implications of 'open' and 'closed' interviewing for admission and denial. *PhD abstracts edition of The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law*. Vol. 13 (1), 140-144.

Benneworth, K. (2007) 'Just good friends': managing the clash of discourses in police interviews with paedophiles. In J. Cotterill (Ed.) *The Language of Sexual Crime*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan.

Benjamin, W. (1977). The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's TABLEAUX PARISIENS. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Illuminations* (pp. 69-82). Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.

Biagioni, M. (2000). *Violência contra a mulher, uma triste realidade*. Araraquara: http://marcusbiagioni.vilabol.uol.com.br/monografia.html. (Downloaded in July, 2002).

Billig, M. 1999. "Conversation Analysis and the Claims of Naivete." *Discourse & Society* 10: 572-576.

Billig, M. 1999. "Whose Terms? Whose Ordinariness? Rhetoric and Ideology in Conversation Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 10: 543-558.

Bograd, M. (1988), 'Feminist perspectives on wife abuse: an introduction'. In: Yllö, K. & Bograd, M. (Eds) *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*. Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills (USA), pp. 11-26.

Bolden, G. (2004). The quote and beyond: defining boundaries of reported speech in conversational Russian. *Journal of Pragmatics, 36*, 1071–1118.

Borkowski, M., Murch, M. & Walker, V. (1983), *Marital violence - the community response*, Tavistock Publications: London.

Boselli, G. (2004) 'Delegacia de Defesa das Mulheres: permanências e desafios', *CFEMEA*, July, 2004. (Downloaded in August, 2004) from: http://www.cfemea.org.br/temasedados/detalhes.asp?IDTemasDados=95

Boyd, E and J. Heritage, (2006) Taking the history: questioning during comprehensive history taking. In: J. Heritage and D. Maynard (Eds), *Communication in medical care: interaction between primary care physicians and patients*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Brandão, E. (1998), 'Violência conjugal e o recurso feminino à polícia', In: Bruschini, C. & Buarque de Hollanda, H. (Eds.), *Horizontes plurais: novos estudos de gênero no brasil*, Rocco: São Paulo.

BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde. (2004) Política nacional de atenção integral à saúde da mulher – Plano de ação 2004-2007. Brasília: Editora MS.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres. (2004) *Contribuição da Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres para as Conferências Estaduais. Documento Base. - I Conferência Nacional de Políticas para as Mulheres.-* Brasília: Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres,

BRASIL. Presidência da República. Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres. (2004) *Participação do Brasil na 29ª Sessão do Comitê para a Eliminação da Discriminação contra a Mulher - CEDAW.* Brasília : Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres.

Brown, P. (2007). Principles of person reference in tzetal conversation. In N. J. Enfield & T. Stivers (Eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives* (pp. 172-2002). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CAM – Centro de Atendimento à Mulher (2002). *Violência à mulher: uma realidade que não se pode maquiar. Londrina.* In: http://www.feebpr.org.br/Violencia.htm (Downloaded in August, 2002).

CEM (2004). 'Coordenadora Especial da Mulher une forças para a 2ª Conferência Municipal de Mulheres', *Mulheres em foco - informativo da Coordenadoria Especial da Mulher da cidade de São Paulo,* São Paulo, Ano II n. 6, Março, 2004.

Clift, R. E. Holt (2007) Introduction to E. Holt and R. Clift (eds.) *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction,* Cambridge University Press pp 1-15.

Coordenadoria Especial da Mulher, (200?) *Casa Eliane de Grammont - centro de referência e atendimento para mulheres em situação de violência.* Prefeitura de São Paulo, Gráfica Municipal: São Paulo.

Dobash, R. E. & Dobash R. P., (1980), *Violence against wives: a case against the patriarchy.* Open Books: London. (Originally published in 1979).

Dobash, R. E. & Dobash R. P., (1988), 'Research and social action: the struggle for battered women'. In: Yllö, K. & Bograd, M. (Eds) *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse.* Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills (USA), pp. 51-74.

424

Dobash, R. E. & Dobash R. P., (1992), *Women, violence and social change.* Routledge

Drew, P (1984) "Speakers' 'reportings' in invitation sequences", in Atkinson,J.M. and Heritage,J. (eds.) *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 129-151.

Drew, P. (1997). 'Open' Class Repair Initiators as Responses to Sequential Sources of Trouble in Conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 28,* 69-101.

Drew, P. (1998) Complaints about transgressions and misconduct, *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 31, pp.:295-325.

Drew, P. (2003). Precision and Exaggeration in Interaction. *American Sociological Review, 68*(6), 17-38.

Drew, P. (2003). Conversation Analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research* (pp. 132-158). London: Sage.

Drew, P. (2005). Conversation Analysis. In K. L. Fitch & R. E. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social interaction* (pp. 71-102). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Drew, P (2006) "Mis-alignments between caller and doctor in 'out-of-hours' telephone calls to a British GP's practice", in Heritage, J. and Maynard, D. (eds.) *Communication in Medical Care: Interaction between Physicians and Patients,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 416-444

Drew, P., J. Chatwin & S. Collins (2001), "Conversation analysis: a method for research into interactions between patients and health-care professionals", *Health Expectations,* 4, pp.58-70.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. (Eds.). (1992). *Talk at Work: Interactional in Institutional Settings.* Cabridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drew, P & E. Holt (1998), "Figures of speech: figurative expressions and the management of topic transition in conversation" (with Elizabeth Holt), *Language in Society,* 27, pp. 495-523.

Egbert, M (1997), "Some Interactional Achievements of Other-Initiated Repair in Multiperson Conversation", *Journal of Pragmatics,* 27: 611-634.

Eliasson, M, (2002), 'Progress and backlash; research on male violence to women, *Feminism & Psychology,* vol. 12, issue. 3, pp. 389-398.

Feiguin, D., E. M. Bordini, M. A. Medrado & M. E. Paternostro. (1987), *Um retrato da violência contra a mulher – 2038, Boletins de Ocorrência,* São Paulo, SEADE/CECF.

Fernandes, F (2004) 'Estado de SP tem 132 mil registros de violência contra mulherem 5 meses', *Folha de São Paulo (Cotidiano),* 02/09/2004. In: http://www.folhaonline.com.br, (Downloaded in 02/09/2004).

425

Finch, J (1984), '"It's great to have someone to talk to": the ethics and politics of interviewing women', pp. 70-87, in: C. Bell and H. Roberts (Eds.) *Social researching: polotics, problems, practice,* London: Routledge.

Foley, M. (1994), 'Professionalising the response to rape'. In: Lupton, C. & T. Gillespie (Eds), *Working with violence,* Macmillan: London, pp. 39-55.

Franklin, M.B. (1997), Making sense: Interviewing and narrative representation, pp. 99-116, in M.M. Gergen, and S.N. Davis (Eds.) *Toward a New Psychology of Gender: A Reader.* London: Routledge.

Fundação Perseu Abramo, (2001), *A mulher brasileira nos espaços público e privado.* In: http://www.fpa.or.br (Downloaded in 15/10/2004).

Ganguly, K., (1992) 'Accounting for others: feminism and representation', *pp. 60-79,*in: L. F. Rakow (Ed) *Women making meaning: new Feminist directions in communication,* Routledge, Chapman and Hall: New York.

Gardner, R. (2007). The *Right* connections: Acknowledging epistemic progression in talk. *Language in Society, 36*(03), 319-341.

Gayford, J. J. (1978). Battrered wives. In J. P. Martin (Ed.), *Violence and the family* (pp. 19-39). New York: Willey.

Gergen, M.M. and Davis, S.N. (1997) (Eds). *Toward a New Psychology of Gender: A Reader.* London: Routledge.

Gifolli, M (2004) 'Influência sobre a Violência de Gênero', In: http://www.policiaciv.sp.gov.br/noticias/violenmulher/violenmulher.htm (Downloaded in 03/06/2004).

Gregori, M., (1993), *Cenas e queixas – um estudo sobre mulheres, relações violentas e a prática feminista.* Rio de Janero, Paz e Terra.

Griffin, C (2007), Being dead and being there: research interviews, sharing hand cream and the preference for analysing `naturally occurring data', *Discourse Studies,* 9(2): 246-269

Grønnerød, J.S. (2004) On the meanings and uses of laughter in research interviews: relationships between interviewed men and a woman interviewer. *Nordic Journal of Youth Research* 12(1):31-49

Guimaraes, E. (2007) "Feminist research practice: using conversation analysis to explore the researcher's interaction with participants", *Feminism & Psychology,* 17(2)149-161.

Guimarães, I. (2004), 'Violência de gênero', In: Ministério da Saúde: Lima, C (Coord), *Violência faz mal à saúde.* Brasília; Ministério da Saúde.

Hacohen, G., & Schegloff, E. A. (2006). On the preference for minimization in referring to persons: Evidence from Hebrew conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics Focus-on Issue: Discourse and Conversation, 38*(8), 1305-1312.

426

Hanks, W. F. (2007). Person reference in Yucatec Maya conversation. In N. J. Enfield & T. Stivers (Eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives* (pp. 149-171). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hautzinger, S. (1997) "Calling a State a State": Feminist Politics and the Policing of Violence Against Women in Brazil' , Feminist Issues, 15(1-2): 3-30 .

Hautzinger, S (2002), 'Criminalizing male violence in Brazil's Women's Police Stations: from flawed essentialism to imagined communities', *Journal of Gender Studies,* 11(3) pp.243-251.

Haviland, J. B. (2007). Person reference in tzotzil gossip: referring dupliciter. In N. J. Enfield & T. Stivers (Eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives* (pp. 226-252). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heinemann, T. (2005). *Requests and offers: Some uses of negative interrogatives. MAP (Movin working papers).* Retrieved 01/09/2007, from http://www.movinarbejdspapirer.asb.dk

Heinemann, T. (2006). 'Will you or can't you?': Displaying entitlement in interrogative requests. *Journal of PragmaticsProcesses and Products of Negation,* 38(7), 1081-1104.

Hendy, H. M.; D. Eggen, C. Gustitus, K. McLeod & Phillip Ng (2003), Decision to Leave Scale: Perceived Reasons to Stay In or Leave Violent Relationships, *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* Vol. 27, Issue 2 - Academic Search Premier

Henwood, K (2007) 'Beyond hypercriticality: taking forward methodological inquiry and debate in discursive and qualitative social psychology', *Discourse Studies,* 9(2) : 270-275

Heritage, J., & Atkinson, J. M. (1984). Introduction. In J. Heritage & J. M. Atkinson (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 1-15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Talk-in-Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 68*(1), 15-38.

Heritage, J. H. & Maynard, D. W. (2006). Introduction: Analyzing interaction between doctors and patients in primary care encounters. In J. Heritage & D. Maynard (Eds.), *Practicing medicine: Structure and process in primary care encounters.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-21

Heritage, J. H. & Robinson, J. D. (2006). Accounting for the visit: Giving reasons for seeking medical care. In J. Heritage & D. Maynard (Eds.), *Practicing medicine: Structure and process in primary care encounters.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, pp. 48-85

Heritage, J., Robinson, J. D., Elliott, M. N., Beckett, M., & Wilkes, M. (2007). Reducing Patients' Unmet Concerns in Primary Care: the Difference One Word Can Make. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, Online,* 0884-8734 (Print) 1525-1497 (Online).

Hester, M., L. Kelly & J. Radford (Eds) (1997), *Women, violence and male power - feminist activism, research and practice.* Open University Press: Buckingham, Philadelphia (Originally published in 1996).

Hindin, Michelle J., (2003), Understanding women's attitudes towards wife beating in Zimbabwe, Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 00429686, 81(7)

Holmberg, A (unpublished), Null subjects and polarity focus http://people.pwf.cam.ac.uk/mtb23/NSP/holmberg_05_Null-subjects.pdf

Hoyle, C. and Sanders, A. (2000) Police Response to Domestic Violence: from victim choice to victim empowerment? in *British Journal of Criminology*, 40.

Human Rights Watch (1995), *The Response of the Police and the Courts,* In: http://www.hrw.org/about/projects/womrep/General-197.htm (Downloaded in 31/01/05).

Hydén M., (1999) The World of the Fearful: Battered Women's Narratives of Leaving Abusive Husbands, *Feminism & Psychology*, vol. 9, iss. 4, pp. 449-469.

Hydén, M. 2005. 'I must have been an idiot to let it go on': Agency and positioning in battered women's narratives of leaving, Feminism & Psychology 15(2): 169-188.

Jefferson, G. (1983). Issues in the transcription of naturally-occurring talk: Caricature vs. capturing pronunciational particulars. *Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature* 34. Tilburg University.

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction, pp. 13-31. In G. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the first generation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins..

Jefferson, G. (2007). Preliminary notes on abdicated other-correction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 39,* 445–461.

Kantor, G. & J. Jasinski (1998), 'Dynamics and risk factors in partner violence', In: Jasinski, J. & L. Williams (Eds) *Partner Violence - a comprehensive review of 20 years of research,* Thousand Oaks, Sage, pp.1-43.

Kaukinen, C. (2004). The Help-Seeking Strategies of Female Violent-Crime Victims The Direct and Conditional Effects of Race and the Victim-Offender Relationship. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19*(9), 967-990.

Kelly, L (1988), 'How women define their experience of violence', In: Yllö, K. & Bograd, M. (Eds) *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse.* Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills (USA), pp. 114-132.

Kelly L. (1997/1996), 'When does the speaking profit us?: reflections on the challenges of developing feminist perspectives on abuse and violence by women', In: Hester, M., L. Kelly & J. Radford (Eds) (1997), *Women, violence and male power – feminist activism, research and practice.* Open University Press: Buckingham, Philadelphia, pp. 34-49.

Kelly, L., S. Burton and L. Regan (1994), 'Researchin women's lives or studying women's oppression? Reflections on what constitutes feminist research, pp. 27-48, In M. Maynard & J. Purvis (Eds.) *Reseacrching women's lives from a feminist perspective*, London: Taylor & Francis.

Kelly L., & J. Radford (1997/1996), '"Nothing really happened": the invalidation of women's experience of sexual violence', In: Hester, M., L. Kelly & J. Radford (Eds) (1997), *Women, violence and male power - feminist activism, research and practice*. Open University Press: Buckingham, Philadelphia, pp. 19-33

Kirsch, G. E. (1999). *Ethical dilemmas in feminist research: the politics of location, interpretation and publication* (first ed.). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kitzinger, C. (2000) Doing feminist conversation analysis, *Feminism & Psychology*, 10: 163-193.

Kitzinger, C. (2003) 'Feminist approaches to qualitative research practice', pp. 125-140 in Seale, C. G. Gobo, J. Gubrium & D. Silverman (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage.

Kitzinger, C. (2005a) Speaking as a heterosexual: (How) does sexuality matter for talk-in-interaction, *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 38(3): 221-265.

Kitzinger, C. (2005b) Heteronormativity in action: Reproducing the heterosexual nuclear family in 'after hours' medical calls, *Social Problems*, 52(4).

Kitzinger, C. (2006) After post-cognitivism, *Discourse Studies*, 8(1).

Kitzinger, C. & Frith, H. (1999) Just say no? Using conversation analysis to understand how young women talk about refusing sex. *Discourse & Society* 10(3): 293-316.

Kitzinger, C. and Jones, D (2007) IV:When May calls home: The opening moments of family telephone conversations with an Alzheimer's patient, *Feminism & Psychology* 17(2)

Kitzinger, C and Kitzinger, S. 2007. Birth Trauma: Talking with women and the value of conversation analysis. *British Journal of Midwifery* 15(5): 256-264.

Kitzinger, C & R, Rickford (2007)Becoming a 'Bloke': The Construction of Gender in Interaction, *Feminism & Psychology* 17(2)

Knoploch, C (2003) "Sem medo de denunciar", *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 28/09/03, downloaded in August, 2006 from: http://observatorio.ultimosegundo.ig.com.br/artigos/asp30092003992.htm

Kurri, K. & Wahlström, J. (2001), "Dialogical Management of Morality in Domestic Violence Counselling", *Feminism & Psychology*, May 2001; 11: 187 - 208.

Land, V. & Kitzinger, C. (2005) Speaking as a Lesbian: Correcting the Heterosexist Presumption, *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 38(4).

Land V & C. Kitzinger (2007), Contesting Same-Sex Marriage in Talk-in-Interaction, *Feminism & Psychology* 17(2)

Lerner, G. H., & Takagi, T. (1999). On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of talk-in-interaction: A co-investigation of English and Japanese grammatical practices. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31,49–75.

Letherby, G. (2004), 'Quoting and counting: an autobiographical response to Oakley', *Sociology* 38(1) 175-189

Lockley, P. (1999), *Counselling women in violent relationships*, Free Association books; London.

Macaulay, F. (2000), 'Tackling Violence against Women in Brazil: Converting International Principles into Effective Local Policy', In: Jacobs, Jacobson & Marchbank (Eds.) *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*, Zed Books, pp.144-62.   http://lic.law.ufl.edu/~hernandez/Women/fiona.pdf (Downloaded in 05/02/2005).

Macedo, G. A.; Meneses V. D., (2005) A telenovela mulheres apaixonadas e as denúncias contra a violência doméstica em Palmas/TO, *Intercom - Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares da Comunicação XXVIII Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação - Uerj - 5 a 9 de setembro de 2005*, pp. 1-10

Magalhães, T & A. L. Santos (2006),As respostas verbais e a freqüência de sujeito nulo na aquisição do Português Brasileiro e do Português Europeu, Letras de Hoje, 41(1) 179-193.

Mardsen, D. (1979), 'Sociological perspectives on family violence'. In: Martin, J. (Ed) *Violence and the family*, Chichester, New York: John Willey & Sons, pp. 103-133. (Originally published in 1978)

Martin, J. (1979), 'Family violence and social policy'. In: Martin, J. (Ed) *Violence and the family*, Chichester, New York: John Willey & Sons, pp. 223-253. (Originally published in 1978)

Martin, J. (1979), 'Introduction'. In: Martin, J. (Ed) *Violence and the family*, Chichester, New York: John Willey & Sons, pp. 1-5. (Originally published in 1978)

Maynard, M. and J. Purvis (1994), 'Doing feminist research', In M. Maynard & J. Purvis (Eds.) *Reseacrching women's lives from a feminist perspective*, pp. 1-9, London: Taylor & Francis.

Miranda, R. & C. Magno (2004), 'De mãos dadas com o agressor', *Isto é*, pp. 42-47.

Moraes, J. A. d. (2006): "Melodic contours of yes/no questions in Brazilian Portuguese", In ExLing-2006, 117-120.

Moraes, J. A. d. (2007):Intonational Phonology Workshop ICPhS, 2007 (POSTER)

Murty, Susan A., Peek-Asa,Corinne, Zwerling, Craig, Stromquist, Ann M., Burmeister, Leon F., Merchant, James A., (2003), 'Physical and Emotional

Partner Abuse Reported by Men and Women in a Rural Community', *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol 93, Issue 7 – Academic Search Premier.

Nelson, L (1993) 'The defense of honor: is it still honored in Brazil?' *Wisconsin International Journal of Law*, 11 pp. 531-556.

Nelson, S (1996) 'Constructing and negotiating gender in Women's Police Stations in Brazil', *Latin American Perspectives*, 23(1) 131-148.

Neto, 2007 Basta à Violencia: Lei Maria da Penha Cria medidas que visam Coibir a Violência Doméstica, *Informativo Ferreira Pires*, Abril-Maio, pp. 6-7

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30-61). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Ogihara, S (unpublished) Answering yes/no questions in Japanese conversation, Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture University of California at Santa Barbara May 18, 2007

Oh, S.-Y. (2007). The interactional meanings of quasi-pronouns in Korean conversation. In N. J. Enfield & T. Stivers (Eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives* (pp. 203-225). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ostermann, A. C. (2003), 'Communities of Practice at Work: gender, facework and the power of habitus at an all-female police station and a feminist crisis intervention center in Brazil', *Discourse & Society*, 14(4): 473-505.

Ostermann, A. C. (2003a), 'Localizing Power and Solidarity: Pronoun alteration at an all-female police station and a feminist crisis intervention center in Brazil', *Language in Society*, 32(3): 351-381.

Parrott, D. J. & Zeichner, A., (2003) Effects of Trait Anger and Negative Attitudes Towards Women on Physical Assault in Dating Relationships. *Journal of Family Violence*, 18(5) p. 301-307

Patai, Daphne (1991) 'U.S. Academics and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?' in Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (eds.) *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, New York: Routledge, pp. 137-153.

Peixoto, F. A. (2000). *Diálogos brasileiros: uma análise da obra de Roger Bastide*. São Paulo: Edusp/Fapesp.

Pereira, F. (2003/2002), 'Violência contra a mulher', *Cadernos Cidadanix Nº 1*, São Paulo

Potter, J. (2003). Discourse analysis. In M. Hardy & A. Bryman (Eds) *Handbook of Data Analysis* (pp. 607-624). London: Sage

Potter, J. & Hepburn, A. (2005). Qualitative interviews in psychology – Problems and possibilities, *Qualitative research in Psychology*, 2, 38-55.

Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. (2007). 'Life is out there: a comment on Griffin', *Discourse Studies*, 9(2): 276-282

Presidência da República – Casa Civil (2004), 'Lei N° 10.886, de 17 de junho de 2004.', In: http://www.presidencia.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2004-2006/2004/Lei/L10.886.htm (Downloaded in 15/07/2004)

Raymond, G (2000), *The structure of responding: type-conforming and nonconforming responses to yes/no type interrogatives.* (Unpublished dissertation submitted as part of the PhD degree at University of California, Los Angeles)

Raymond, G (2003), 'Grammar and social organization: yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding'. *American Sociological Review*, 68: pp.936-967.

Raymond, G (2007, in press) Grammar and Social Relations: Grammar as a constitutive feature of conversational and institutional activities, in "Why Do You Ask?": Alice Freed and Susan Erlich (eds.), The Function of Questions in Institutional Discourse. Oxford University Press.

Rebhun, L.-A. (2001). *The heart is unknown country: love in the changing economy of northeast Brazil.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Ribeiro, A. P. (2005, 01/06/2005). *Brasil tem segunda pior distribuição de renda do mundo.* Retrieved 24/04/206, 2006

Robinson, J. D. (1998). Getting Down to Business: Talk, Gaze, and Body Orientation During Openings of Doctor-Patient Consultations. *Human Communication Research, 25,* 98-124

Robinson, J. D. (2003). An Interactional Structure of Medical Activities During Acute Visits and Its Implications for Patients' Participation. *Health Communication, 15*(1), 27-59.

Robinson, J. D. (2006). Managing Trouble Responsibility and Relationships During Conversational Repair. *Communication Monographs, 73*(2), 137-161.

Robinson, J. D. (2006). Soliciting patients' presenting concerns. In J. Heritage & D. Maynard (Eds.), *Practicing medicine: Structure and process in primary care encounters.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. pp. 22-47

Russel, D (1988), 'Foreword', In: Yllö, K. & Bograd, M. (Eds) *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse.* Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills (USA), pp. 7-9

Sacks, H. (1972a). An Initial Investigation of the Usability of Conversational Data for Doing Sociology. In *Studies in Social Interaction,* ed. D. N. Sudnow, pp. 31-74. New York: Free Press.

Sacks, H. (1972b). On the Analyzability of Stories by Children. In *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication,* ed. J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes, pp. 325-345. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Sacks, H. (1987). On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in. conversation. In G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and Social Organization.*

Sacks, H. & Schegloff, E. A. & Jefferson, G. (1974), "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation," *Language*, 50, 4 (1974) 696-735

Safiotti, H. I. B. (1979), "Manifestações Feministas", In: Saffioti, H. I. B. *A Mulher na Sociedade de Classes: Mito e Realidade,* São Paulo: Editora, pp. 255-283

Safiotti, H. I. B. (1994) 'Violência de gênero no Brasil contemporâneo', In: Saffioti, H. & Muñoz-Vargas, M. (Eds.) *Mulher brasileira é assim.* Rio de Janeiro: Rosa dos Tempos.

Santos, Ana Lúcia (2003): "The acquisition of answers to yes/no questions in European Portuguese: Syntactic, discourse and pragmatic factors", in *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 2.1. Lisboa: Colibri.

Santos, (2005), *Women's Police Stations: Gender, Violence, and Justice in São Paulo, Brazil,* New York: Palgrave.

Saunders, D. (1988), 'Wife abuse, or mutual combat? A feminist perspective on the impirical findings'. In: Yllö, K. & Bograd, M. (Eds) *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse.* Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills (USA), pp. 90-113

Schegloff, E. A. (1972), "Notes on a Conversational Practice: Formulating Place," in D. N. Sudnow (ed.), *Studies in Social Interaction.* New York: MacMillan, The Free Press, pp. 75-119.

Schegloff, E. A. (1986). "The routine as achievement." Human Studies 9: 111-151.

Schegloff, E. A. (1991). Converstation Analysis and Socially Shared Cognition. In L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine & S. D. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectioves on Socially Shared Cognition* (first ed., pp. 150-171). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Schegloff, E. A. (1992) "Repair after Next Turn: The last structurally Provided Defense of Intersubjectivity in Conversation", *American Journal of Sociology* 95(5) pp.1295-1345

Schegloff, E. A., (1996) "Confirming allusions: toward an empirical account of action", *American Journal of Sociology* 102(1) pp.106-161

Schegloff, E. A., (1996) "Some Practices for Referring to Persons in Talk-in-Interaction: A Partial Sketch of a Systematics," in B. Fox (ed.), *Studies inAnaphora.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 437-85.

Schegloff, E. A. (1997), "Third Turn Repair," in G. R. Guy, C. Feagin, D. Schiffrin and J. Baugh (eds.), *Towards a Social Science of Language: Papers in honor of William Labov.* Volume 2: Social Interaction and Discourse Structures. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 31-40.

Schegloff, E. A. (1997) "Whose Text? Whose Context?," *Discourse & Society,* 8(2) 165-187.

Schegloff, E. A. (1998), "Reply to Wetherell," *Discourse & Society*, 9(3) 457-460.

Schegloff, E. A. (1999), "Schegloff's Texts' as Billig's Data:'A Critical Reply," *Discourse & Society*, 10(4), 558-72.

Schegloff, E. A. (2000) "When 'Others' Initiate Repair," *Applied Linguistics*, 21(2): 205-243

Schegloff, E. A., (2002) On "Opening Sequencing": a framing statement, In: Katz, J. E. and M. A. Aakhus (Eds) *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, pp. 321-385, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Schegloff, E. A. (2004). On Dispensability. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 37(2), 95-149.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007a). *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007b). A tutorial on membership categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics Special Issue: Diversity and Continuity in Conversation Analysis*, 39(3), 462-482.

Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 53, 361-382.

Schegloff, E. A. and H. Sacks (1973). "Opening up closings." Semiotica VIII: 4: 290-327.

Scheper-Hughes, N. (1993). *Death without weeping: the violence of everyday violence in Brazil* (First Paperback Printing ed.). Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Schwenter, Scott A. 2005. The Pragmatics of negation in Brazilian Portuguese. *Lingua* 115, 1427-1456.

Senft, G. (2007). Reference and 'reference dangereuse' to persons in Kilivila: an overview and a case study. In N. J. Enfield & T. Stivers (Eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives* (pp. 309-337). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, R & C Kitsinger (2007). Problem Presentation and Advice-giving on a Home Birth Helpline: A Feminist Conversation Analytic Study, *Feminism & Psychology* 17(2)

Silva, K (2001), 'As DEAMs, as corporações policiais e a violência contra as mulheres: representações, dilemmas e desafios', In: BRASIL. Ministério da Justiça do Brasil/Secretaria de Estado dos Direitos Humanos/ Secretaria Executiva do Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Mulher –CNDM; Secretaria Nacional de Segurança Pública; Secretarias Estaduais de Segurança Pública/ Delegacias Especializadas no Atendimento ás Mulheres –DEAMs: '*Pesquisa nacional sobre as condições de funcionamento das Delegacias Especializadas no Atendimento às*

Mulheres. www.cfemea.org.br/pdf/pesquisadeams.pdf (Downloaded in 24/08/2004).

Silva, D. (2004), 'Novas Interpretações da Lei 9.099/95, Advento da Lei dos Juizados Especiais Crimi-nais na Justiça Federal (Lei 10,259/01).', *Revista da OAB Goiás,* Ano XIV nº 50, In: http://www.oab-go.com.br/revista/50/juridico5.htm (Downloaded in 20/07/2004).

Soares, V. (1998), 'Muitas faces do feminismo no Brasil', In: *Mulher e politica - genero e feminismo no Partido dos Trabalhadores.* Sao Paulo: Ed. Fundacao Perseu Abramo.

Stanko, E (1988) 'fear of crime and the myth of the safe home'. In: Yllö, K. & Bograd, M. (Eds) *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse.* Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills (USA), pp. 75-88

Stockill, C. and Kitzinger, C. (2007) Gendered people: How linguistically non-gendered terms can have gendered interactional relevance. *Feminism & Psychology,* 17,224-236

Straus, M.; Gelles, R. & Steinmetz, S. (1981), *Behind closed doors - violence in the American family.* Sage: Newbury Park/Beverly Hills, USA. (Originally published in 1980).

Taddei, R. (2006 - unpublished). Gender and the Semiotics of Political Visibility in the Brazilian Northeast.

Tanaka, H. (2000), 'Turn projection in Japanese talk-in-interaction', *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 33(1), 1-38.

Thomas, A & Kitzinger, C. (1997), 'Sexual harassment: reviewing the field. In: Thomas, A & Kitzinger, C (Eds), *Sexual harassment: contemporary feminist perspectives,* pp.1-18. Buckingham: Open University press.

Toerien, M & C. Kitzinger (2007) II. Emotional Labour in the Beauty Salon: Turn Design of Task-directed Talk, *Feminism & Psychology* 17(2)

Trinch, S. L. (2001). "The advocate as gatekeepers: The limits of politeness in protective order interviews with Latina survivors of domestic abuse." *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 5 (4), 475-506.

Trinch, S. L. (2003). *Latina's narratives of domestic abuse: discrepant versions of violence.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Up - Upconect, (2001) *Violência em casa: epidemia que atinge a mulher.* In: http://www.upconnect.com.br/colunas/rel_violencia.shtml (Downloaded in Aug.2002).

Verardo, T (1993), 'Do amor ao ódio'. *Presença da Mulher,* jan-fev-mar 1993, 30-32.

Verardo, T (1993a), 'Violência'. *Presença da Mulher,* jan-fev-mar 1993, 08-10.

Wetherell, M. 1998. "Positioning and Interpretive Repertoires: Conversation

Analysis and Post-structuralism in Dialogue." *Discourse & Society* 9: 387-412.

Wikipedia.*Delegacia.* Retrieved 01/07/2007, 2007, from http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Delegacia

Wilkinson, S. and Kitzinger, C. (1995) *Representing the Other.* London: Sage Publications Ltd

Williams, L. (2003), 'Lições de Gravelina: violência fatal contra a mulher'. *Revista Olhar*, 3 (5-6), 124-133.

Williams L., A. Gallo, D. Maldonado, R. Brino & A. Basso (2000) Oficina de psicologia para policicais da delegacia da mulher: um relato de experiência. *Psicologia: Teoria e Prática*, 2000, 2(2): 103-119

Wowk, M (2007). 'Kitzinger's Feminist Conversation Analysis: Critical Observations', *Human Studies*, 30 131-155

Yllö, K. & M. Bograd, (Eds) (1988), *feminist perspectives on wife abuse*, Sage: Newbury Park Beverly Hills (USA).

Zanetti, E (2003), Lula lança programa de combate à violência contra mulher 21h41 - 27/08/2003, *UOL*, downloaded in August, 2006 from:http://noticias.uol.com.br/inter/reuters/2003/08/27/ult27u37905.j htm

Zimmerman, D. H. (1992). The interactional organization of calls for emergency assistance. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), Talk at work: Interaction in Institutional Settings, Cambridge University Press, pp. 418-469