

SOCIAL WORK PERIODICAL LITERATURE ON
BATTERED WOMEN, 1970-1984:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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CARMEN CAMERON



SOCIAL WORK PERIODICAL LITERATURE

ON BATTERED WOMEN, 1970-1984:

A CONTENT ANALYSIS

by

© CARMEN CAMERON, B.Sc. Criminology

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate

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requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

A review of literature on wife abuse suggests that there is no systematic study to date of the periodical literature using the methodology of content analysis. A systematic study of the social work periodical literature on wife abuse reveals the current status of knowledge, practice and concerns of the social work profession. These data serve to identify avenues of future research in this field.

A total of 68 articles on the subject of wife abuse, appearing in the Social Work Research and Abstracts 1970-1984 form the sample of this analytical study. To carry out the methodology of content analysis, an instrument, the Wife Abuse Inventory (W.A.I) was developed by the writer. The content of the articles was examined under the categories: authorship, dimension of wife abuse, theoretical perspectives, research orientation, service delivery, social intervention and social treatment modalities.

Data analysis revealed that 71% of the articles are published in nine journals. Over half of the articles are written by female authors. The profession of social work is well represented among the authors. The authors are predominantly from the United States. The majority of the

articles are contributed by writers affiliated to a university.

The dimension of "psycho-social characteristics" of battered women received the most attention in the periodical literature. The socio-cultural model emerged as predominant and as the basis of social work knowledge on wife abuse. It is also apparent that the social work perspective on wife abuse has been influenced by the socio-psychological model. Non-empirical studies make up the larger portion of the articles.

This study revealed an emphasis on the use of a comprehensive service delivery system. This system is seen to have various deficiencies related to fragmentation, inaccessibility, non accountability and discontinuity. Various forms of intervention are presented as a means to improve the system of service delivery.

The analysis indicates that social workers use a direct individual client focused approach in their intervention with battered women. These interventions are primarily directed to the battered women. Finally, no single treatment modality emerged as being the optimal approach or the primary basis for social work practice with battered women.

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INTRODUCTION

Violence among family members is neither a contemporary nor a western phenomenon. Throughout the history of most nations violence has been omnipresent within family relationships (Freeman, 1980). In the past, family violence has been perceived as an individual phenomenon, sometimes tolerated as necessary to ensure protection of the patriarchy, and at other times denounced as an indication of mental disease (Frontenac Family Referral Services, 1979).

Today, family violence is a major concern in North American Society. The family is recognized as the most violent social group of society (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980). According to Gelles (1978) violence between family members, rather than being viewed as a minority pattern of behavior, or a behavior that is unusual and dysfunctional, is viewed as a normal dimension of family interaction.

Approximately one out of four victims of homicides in the United States is a family member (Gelles, 1978; Straus, 1979). Of these family members, one half of the homicides are occurring between wife and husband (Martin, 1976).

The United States society supports the existence of norms and attitudes which both simultaneously approve and condemn the use of physical violence among family members. Parents are told that corporal punishment is a component of

childrearing practices while at the same time child abuse laws are established which restrict the use of such punishment (Gelles, 1978). Similarly, the legal system disapproves and defines violence between a husband and wife as a criminal offense while official records show that in many cases the abuser received no penalty. (Frontenac Family Referral Services, 1979). Gelles (1978) states that the legal system of the United States responds ineffectively to the complaints of an abused spouse, particularly those of the wife. He feels that this tends to confirm the hypothesis made by Straus (1973) that the structure and ideologies underlying marriage support the oppression of women and the abuse of the wife. Dobash and Dobash (1977a) believe that such ideologies and contradictory norms are deeply embedded in social institutions and account for the long period of silence surrounding the issues of family violence.

The issues of family violence in America originated from a wave of concern with violence outside the home such as inner city crime and murder, campus unrest and shootings, saturation bombing in the Vietnam War, and the effects of television violence on children (Steinmetz & Straus, 1974). It was not until the 1960's that academicians, researchers and in particular the feminist movement got involved in the development of the different issues of family violence (Gelles, 1978). Until recently, child abuse had been the main focus of studies while other forms of family violence

were neglected (Bass and Rice, 1979). Some writers feel that marital violence has been ignored too long by social agencies and academicians (Parker & Schumacher, 1977).

Recognition of the battered woman as a problematic aspect of family's relationships is probably attributable to the persistent effort of the women's consciousness-raising activities supported by the popular media (Flynn, 1977; Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980). In 1971, Erin Pizzey with a group of women decided to establish a center for women. As a result of their interaction women discovered that many of them were experiencing violence in the home. Rapidly the issue became a major concern and the establishment of a refuge for battered women became imperative. In 1971, the first emergency shelter, Chiswick Women's Aid, was established in London, England (Tierney, 1982).

After the creation of this first shelter, Erin Pizzey and other activists continued their effort to raise the British people's awareness of the problem (Martin, 1976). As a result of their actions, two British Parliamentary Select Committees received a mandate to investigate the phenomenon of wife abuse. In 1976, legislation was passed giving broader protection to battered women. By 1980, the National Women's Aid Federation sponsored approximately 150 shelters used mainly by lower and middle class women and their children (Johnson, 1981).

The United States was late to recognize wife abuse as a social problem. Interest in the problem arose in the mid 1970's because of Great Britain's increasing concern for battered women, and as a result of work done by the National Organization of Women (NOW) (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). In 1975, NOW formed a National Task Force on Battered Women/Household Violence which identified battered women as a priority issue (Martin, 1976; Tierney, 1982). NOW's main purposes were to increase public awareness and to promote shelters and crisis services for battered women. In 1977, at the National Women's Year Conference, a similar resolution was passed urging the different levels of government to establish programs for wife abuse (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980; Tierney, 1982).

Today, shelters, crisis services and hotlines are providing emergency housing, emotional support, counseling, referral and legal advice to women who are victims of domestic violence. The majority of these shelters are under the operation of women organizations, whereas in the past, battered women services were provided by Mental Health Services and Social Services. The movement against wife abuse in the United States has also made substantial progress in the area of research, legislation, government policy and programs (MacLeod, 1980).

In Canada the progress realized by the women's movement in the implementation of new legislation, emergency services

and programs moved at a slower pace than the United States (MacLeod, 1980). The Vancouver Women's Group was among the first in the continent to recognize the widespread injustice to women. Consciousness raising sessions were formed and social action projects were established in order to change the society. Through these social action projects, the Vancouver Women's Group discovered considerable wife abuse. In 1972, the Vancouver Women's Group opened the first transition house in Canada (Ridington, 1977-78).

In the following years, programs and transition houses (referred to as emergency shelters in United States) were established throughout Canada for the protection of women subjected to violence. In 1984, there were 147 transition houses in Canada providing services to women in need (Federal, Provincial, Territorial Report on Wife Battering, 1984).

The recent development of transition houses in Canada concurred with the findings of studies, conferences and governmental enquiries into family violence, which revealed that wife abuse was a serious social problem. Thus, according to a report published by the Canadian Association of Social Workers (1982) in June 1979, the Government of Canada acknowledged violence in the family as part of its National Plan of Action, towards Equality for Women, and established an inter departmental committee including the Departments of Health and Welfare, Justice, the Ministry of the Solicitor General and Status of Women. In February

1980, the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs received the mandate to study the issue of family violence, especially violence against women.

In June 1980, The Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) established a National Task Force on Inter Spousal Violence. It was the first professional association to do so. One of the purposes of the CASW Task Force on Inter Spousal Violence was the preparation of a position paper and practice guidelines for work with wife abuse. In June 1981, the National Task Force held a National symposium at which the Task Force members discussed with professionals and women's groups their knowledge and experience in working with wife abuse. As a result of this symposium, "the public awareness of the severity and extent of the problem increased as well as the CASW's concerns about it." (CASW, 1982, p. 3).

Prior to the mid 1970's little statistical information on wife abuse was available. Social agencies and community groups did not deal specifically with the problem and consequently did not collect any statistics on its occurrence. A few statistics were recorded by courts and police departments but they did not reveal the extent of the problem. According to Freeman (1980) only a small percentage of cases reach the attention of the judicial system and a large number of women never seek help in the community. Lack of awareness, general acceptance of abuse and/or denial of

abuse are some of the explanations given by victims for their hiding the situation (Star, 1980).

Recently, in North America, there have been some national surveys done with respect to abuse. In 1976, Gelles and Straus did a study on a representative sample of 2,143 families in the United States in order to determine the extent of violence occurring between family members. Their findings suggest that 1.8 million or 3.6 percent of all wives in the United States are beaten by their husbands at least once a year (Gelles & Straus, 1979b).

A Canadian report prepared in 1980 for the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women estimates that on average, one out of ten Canadian women is beaten by her husband or partner every year. This estimate has been established by first combining known statistics on the number of women who were in transition houses with the number of women who filed for divorce on grounds of physical cruelty. The above statistics are not necessarily a reliable measurement of the extent of the problem (MacLeod, 1980). However, according to MacLeod (1980) these figures suggest that the known cases constitute the "tip of the iceberg".

As the professional and public awareness increases, more demands are placed upon professionals and researchers to define the problem, specify the etiological factors, provide explanation for the violent behaviors and identify short and long term solutions.

Statement of Problem

As the problem of wife abuse attracts national attention, women are more inclined to seek help from the helping professions. Social workers are among the helping professionals confronted with the problem of wife abuse. In the social worker/victim interaction there are expectations that social workers can provide professional support and respond adequately to the women's needs.

The importance for social workers to assume responsibility in understanding the different components of the problem of battered women, and in using relevant modalities of intervention is well documented in the literature (CASH, 1982; Costantino, 1981; Nichols, 1976; Roberts, 1981; Schulyer, 1976). However, numerous studies have documented the "double victimization" that many battered women suffer at the hands of well-meaning but ill-informed and overworked service providers. These studies indicate that social workers are often inept at identifying the problem and therefore, at dealing effectively with battered women.

Despite recent efforts by social workers and other helping professionals to document the complex problems and needs of the battered women, the knowledge base on this issue is limited and immature (Bograd, 1984; Gelles, 1981; Roberts, 1984). Bograd (1984), Costantino (1981) and Star, Clark, Goetz, and O'Malia (1978) deplore the lack of clinical theory and treatment models useful to guide the work of

practitioners with battered women. Some suggest a lack of consensus about the different components of the problem while others deplore the lack of controlled and comparative studies (Gelles, 1980; Hendrick-Matthew, 1982; Pagelow, 1979; Parker & Schumacher, 1977).

In addition, there are relatively few studies which examine the social work literature on wife abuse. Most of the studies that do appear on this subject, are basically impressionistic in nature. Little effort has been made to systematically study and review the past and current trends of social work literature on wife abuse.

Most feminists and researchers agree that there is much more to learn about battered women before being able to provide adequate services to this population (Bograd, 1984; Schechter, 1982; Sinclair, 1985). Following the Symposium on Inter Spousal Violence the CASW (1982) recommended that better and more extensive research be carried out to improve identification of the extent of the problem and to elaborate on more effective intervention strategies. Costantino (1981), CASW (1981) and Nichols (1976) recommend that social workers take an active role in the development and transmission of knowledge on wife abuse and the design of an effective intervention modality.

The development and the provision of appropriate intervention strategies and community resources presuppose the existence of sufficient knowledge. As social workers con-

tinue their efforts in understanding the issue, promoting and developing more effective intervention strategies, it is important to examine and evaluate the type of knowledge that social workers have drawn upon.

Through an evaluation and examination of the social work literature on wife abuse, one may gain some understanding of the nature of wife abuse as it is conceptualized and addressed by the social work profession. Furthermore, we may determine the status of our knowledge and practice in this area, as a basis for further research and program planning.

Purpose of the study

The diffusion of knowledge from researchers to practitioners is most typically accomplished through the publication of articles in clinically focused journals. Moreover, "one indicator of change within a profession is the journal literature" (Howe & Schuerman, 1974, p. 279). The purpose of this study is therefore twofold: (1) to provide descriptive data which identify the major components (theoretical perspectives, research orientation, approach of social intervention, service delivery system, and authorship) of the problem of wife abuse, as they are reflected in the social work journal literature and (2) to determine whether there are changes in the major components of the problem of

wife abuse described by the social work periodical literature, for the period of 1970-1984.

More precisely, the present study attempts to formulate answers to the following questions:

- 1) Who contributes to the social work periodical literature on the subject of wife abuse?
- 2) What is the subject matter of the articles presented in the social work periodical literature for the period of 1970-1984?
- 3) What is the research orientation of the studies in the periodical literature?
- 4) What is the theoretical perspective found to be the predominant framework in which the phenomenon of wife abuse is presented? Was there a difference in the theoretical perspective reflected in each time period of the study?
- 5) Has the social work periodical literature reflected a concern with or focus upon the delivery of services to battered women?
- 6) What is the predominant social work intervention used by practitioners working with battered women, as discussed in the social work journal literature? Is there a difference in the various social work interventions discussed by the articles during the time period under study?
- 7) What are the predominant methods of social treatment discussed in the social work periodical literature?

This study formulates responses to the research questions stated above. These questions are derived from a specific focused review of the literature on battered women. The research method of content analysis is used, focusing on social work periodical literature dealing with the subject of wife abuse. These articles are selected from a survey of the Social Work Research and Abstracts over a 14 year period. Berelson (1971) notes that the use of content analysis is particularly useful to analyze professional publications as an index of the changing focuses of scholarly interest. To carry out the methodology of content analysis, an instrument the Wife Abuse Inventory (W.A.I.) was developed by the writer (see Appendix E). The W.A.I. provides clear instructions to be followed by the coders in the classification of the content under study. More discussion on the construction of the W.A.I. is provided in the methodology chapter.

The study findings are intended to identify potential areas for future research on the subject of wife abuse. There are varying opinions as to how and why wife abuse is a predominant social problem. Clarification as to the nature of this problem is needed. Professional considerations such as the determination of the intervention strategies currently used in social work practice as well as the identification of the target population are of central importance in social work curriculum construction and the effec-

tive use of limited organizational resources. A systematic study and examination of the social work literature can provide a preliminary data base from which to stimulate research activity and guide professionals in their quest for more effective and efficient modalities of interventions and services to abused women.

CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

For the last 14 years, professionals and researchers of various disciplines have joined their efforts to study the phenomenon of wife abuse. The phenomenon has been studied from psychological, sociological and cultural perspectives. Sustained interest in the issue has resulted in a considerable amount of literature on violence between spouses. According to Stahly (1977-78), the bulk of the literature is composed of theoretical papers and of a restricted number of empirical studies to confirm theoretical speculation. Few studies address specific formulations with testable hypotheses, while a large number are uniquely descriptive of the incidence rates, demographic, and/or personal characteristics, and interpersonal dynamics of violence between spouses.

In addition, the literature on wife abuse deals with treatment modalities, and discusses the implementation of new legislation and programs protecting the victim.

Due to the large volume of literature available on the issue of violence between spouses, this chapter will focus primarily on the literature pertaining to social work. While Canadian literature is included in this review, most of the work comes from the United States where most North

American publications originate. The following review is organized according to several types of studies related to wife abuse. Thus, we have studies: (a) describing the various dimensions of wife abuse; (b) addressing theoretical formulations; and (c) concerned with community services available and treatment modalities used in working with wife abuse.

DIMENSIONS OF WIFE ABUSE

Clarification of the Problem

Many researchers involved in the study of violence between spouses believe that some attempts should be made to clarify the definition of violence (Gelles, 1980; Gelles & Straus, 1979a; Goodstein & Page, 1981; Steinmentz, 1978). There has been considerable confusion regarding the terms "abuse" and "violence" in the research. This confusion, according to Gelles (1980), derived from the fact that abuse and violence are not conceptually equivalent. It seems important therefore, to define both terms before proceeding any further.

Gelles (1980) in his article "Violence in the Family: a Review of Research in the Seventies", attempts to clarify both terms. He considers that, the definitions of abuse as presented in the research papers of the seventies, "often refers to only physical aggression that can or does cause injury and also to non-physical acts of maltreatment which

are considered to cause harm" (p. 875). Violence on the other hand, has been frequently defined as purely physical acts. For example, Gelles and Straus (1979a) defined violence as physical acts "carried out with the intention or perceived intention of physically hurting another person" (p. 554). The extent of the act can range from a slight pain, as in a slap, to homicide, thus including acts which are not usually thought to be violent by many people. This definition does not require any physical harm to actually result, only that the act be intended to hurt, or be perceived as having that intention.

Consequently, one major distinction between violence and abuse is that the definition of violence refers to various forms of behaviors, without specifying the severity of the damage or pain inflicted to the victim, while abuse is on the extreme end of the scale of violence. The severity of the acts is therefore an important dimension to include in an adequate definition of wife abuse.

Gelles and Straus' (1979a) definition of violence also deals with the matter of intent. This has given rise to confusion, which resulted from the fact that intent and motive are meanings attached to the act by the actors or by the victims at the time or after the act occurs (Bandura, 1973). Gelles and Straus (1979a) deal with that dimension by including in their definition the acts that are perceived as having the intent of hurting. As Benjamin and Alder

(1980) point out, the marital relationship in which the husband accidentally injures his wife is quite different, both substantively as well as legally, from one in which he deliberately inflicts harm upon her.

Gelles and Straus (1979a) for purpose of clarity are restricting the definition of violence to actual behavior. They do not take into consideration the social meaning attached to a particular violent behavior, since violence carries various meanings within society. Since one cannot separate a behavior from its social meaning, Gelles and Straus (1980) resort to the variable of legitimacy (which was introduced in the literature by O'Brien (1971)), to account for the ideological, political, and labelling aspect of the concept of violence. They do not, however, provide a clear definition of what constitutes a legitimate and/or illegitimate act in the family. They place the different behaviors on a continuum and leave the reader the task of making the dichotomy as to what constitutes a violent behavior.

There are, however, some difficulties inherent in the definition of what constitutes violent behaviors as opposed to other modes of physical contact. As Goodstein and Page (1981) mention:

Although there is probably agreement that a man who stabs his wife has committed a violent act, there may be little agreement that a man who is shoving his spouse is being violent. Who decides which acts are legitimate and which are illegitimate? (p. 1036).

This dimension raises the issue of the extent to which violence between spouses is perceived as legitimate or illegitimate by the partners or by the society. The process of labelling an act as illegitimate is done in accordance with the norms of socially accepted behavior. Where the boundary separates a legitimate from an illegitimate act is not perceived as universal. It reflects the influence of the individual's own childhood, social class, education, religion as well as emotional, psychological and personality factors (Steinmetz, 1978). Therefore, while most women believe that physical force is never legitimate, there are women who consider that their husbands have the right to use physical force on them if they deserve it. It follows then, that some women who otherwise would be defined as "abused" may not accept such a definition because they do not perceive the act of violence as illegitimate.

A study conducted during the 1970's supports the above observations (Stark & McEvoy, 1970). They found that one in four men and one in six women considered it acceptable for a man to hit his wife under some circumstances. It would be very interesting to verify whether men and women still have the same perceptions today. Until further data is provided, however, their findings indicate the presence of differing norms in our society, which make it acceptable to some that a man may hit his spouse. Gelles and Straus (1979a) discuss in detail the complications and ambiguity inherent in the

definition of legitimacy. They suggest that in any study of violence, the definition of legitimacy should depend on the purpose of the study.

Gelles and Straus' (1979a) definition of violence has been used frequently during the seventies. However, Ferraro (1979) perceives some difficulties associated with a definition of violence restricted to behaviors. She notes that Gelles and Straus, similar to the majority of professionals, make a clear distinction between physical violence and emotional coerciveness, without questioning the empirical existence of physical aggression as a distinct phenomenon. She analyzes the nature of the relationship between physical and emotional violence. From observations taken in a shelter for battered women, she concludes that the definitions and premises on which most of the current research are based, create a distorted image of what the victims of violence experience. She argues that on a day to day basis, physical and emotional violence are inseparable despite difficulties in documentation. "Neither really exists without the attendant feelings of significance" (Ferraro, 1979, p. 147). What defines a situation as violent is not the act itself but the meaning attached to it.

Currently, the public and professionals generally assign less significance to an emotional injury than to a physical one. Furthermore, there is no information as to the relative harm each mode of violence inflicts upon the

victim. It is possible, as Steinmetz (1978) mentions, that "verbal modes such as degradation or insult might be more detrimental for some individuals, ... than would a more physically painful, but possibly less emotionally damaging slap" (p. 12). Much more research needs to be done giving equal weight to physical and emotional pain. Meanwhile "there is an implicit recognition that physical battering is a more legitimate basis for requesting help" (Ferraro, 1979, p. 149).

In summary, violence in the family is defined as a mode of behavior involving the direct use of physical aggression and/or psychological coerciveness against a family member. Physical aggression in the family varies in severity, from a mild spanking to homicide. It also varies by intent; "in some cases the intent is to control people's behavior, in others it is to vent personal hostility, and in still others it is a mixture of both" (Lystad, 1975, p. 328). In addition, violence in the family varies by social interpretation. This dimension introduces the variable of legitimacy as it relates to similar behaviors. Similar behaviors carry different meanings and this makes it difficult for researchers to precisely distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate behaviors.

Ideally, a definition of wife abuse will refer to the same dimensions. While each one of these dimensions has also been considered indicative of wife abuse by various

authors, there is currently no consensus regarding a single accepted definition (Benjamin & Adler, 1980). The definition used in this study represents an attempt to integrate the four dimensions discussed above. For the purpose of this study, an abused wife will be defined as a woman who has been intentionally and repeatedly subjected to violent acts from a man with whom she has established an intimate relationship, regardless of marital status. The violence may take the form of psychological, sexual and/or physical aggression. All forms are used with the intention to gain control over the woman through inflicting pain, and/or inducing fear. Physical aggression which ranges from slapping to murder, is often accompanied by various degrees of psychological and/or verbal abuse designed to degrade or belittle the woman (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 1982).

This definition is intended to be broad since it is used to refer to the population of women who have received the attention of researchers. In this study, this writer uses the terms "abuse", "battering", "beating", and "assault", synonymously, to mean the regular systematic practice of violence and cruelty towards women. The term husband is used to identify a legal or common-law partner.

Nature of Wife Abuse

Due to the continuous effort of the various feminist groups, wife abuse has emerged as a very important social issue in the past decade. Increased interest from the professionals on the issue resulted in a systematic effort to gain some understanding of the characteristics of wife abuse. The data collected were basic but nevertheless provided the only "picture" of the phenomenon currently available, and as such, are considered significant.

Discussion of the results of these studies, however, requires some comments on their various methodological limitations. Benjamin and Adler (1980) identify three important elements of the studies in question. First of all, they argue that most studies to date, are based uniquely on female respondents. As a result, any data related to the husband remain uncertain until confirmed by future research. Moreover, they notice that very few studies are conducted using non-clinical, non officially reported cases. They argue that most of the research is based on samples that have been formally identified as "abused", and as such, are not representative of the general population. Studies based on representative samples, consequently, introduced systematic bias in the interpretation of data collected.

Furthermore, Benjamin and Adler (1980), bring to our attention the size of the sample used in those studies. They point out that the sample sizes used in the studies

vary widely from a low of 19 (Marsden & Owens, 1975) to a high of 150 (Roy, 1977). Such a variation in the sample size affects the reliability of the findings, as well as the extent to which the results can be generalized. Thus, some of the differences in findings revealed in the foregoing review are clearly due to differences in the definitions used by various investigators in their sample selection.

Another problem, which is related to the early descriptive studies on wife abuse, has been discussed by Gelles (1980). He believes that early studies failed to use control or comparison groups in their research design. As a result, little was learned about the variables distinguishing wife abuse from the general population. Recently, some studies have been conducted which employ more sophisticated design methods.

Despite these methodological concerns, previous studies have provided a configuration of attributes which appear to characterize violent marital relationships. This section focuses on key empirical studies in the literature, to identify the various factors related to wife abuse. Those characteristics most frequently associated with wife abuse are clustered under five dimensions of the phenomenon: socio-demographic variables, background information, the nature of the act, the psychological variables of wife abuse, and the marital dynamic.

Socio Demographic Variables

Research on family violence has explored various socio-demographic factors including age, marital and social status of battered women and their mates.

Although age does not appear to be a variable that can be used in the identification of potentially violent couples, most studies indicate that there is a higher incidence of domestic violence involving young couples (Tidmarsh, 1976). Apparently, women who, after a short or non-existent period of courtship marry or become pregnant at an early age, have a high risk of becoming abused wives (Gayford, 1975; Tidmarsh, 1976).

Various investigations (Flynn, 1977; Labell, 1979; Yllo & Straus, 1981) also indicate that women in their late 20's and early 30's are at greater risk of abuse than other age group women. On the other hand, the husbands are on average few years older than their partners.

Victims of marital violence however, are not confined to any single age group. Gelles (1974) found that the victim of marital violence was most frequently in age group 41 to 50 years, followed by the 19 to 30 age group. Gelles' study is based on the population at large, while most of the other studies are based on a cross-section of battered women who sought assistance for their problems.

There is general agreement that most abused women are married. Yllo and Straus (1981) however, demonstrate that

cohabitants also engage in wife abuse. Contradictory to common belief, some cohabitators are more violent than their married counterparts. Therefore, the avoidance of legal marriage alone does not eliminate the possibility of a woman becoming a victim of violence by her male partner. As Yllo and Straus (1981) suggest: "it appears that both marriage and cohabitation, as intimate relationships involve conflict and often violence" (p. 345).

Numerous studies during the 1970's support the hypothesis that wife abuse is more prevalent in lower socio economic class families. For instance, a study conducted by Gelles (1974) shows that lower-class families report more violence than other socio economic groups. Petersen (1980) obtained similar results. He found that a greater percentage of poor women report violence than middle or upper class women.

Obviously, such observations do not imply that spouse abuse is unequally confined to lower class. As Gelles (1980) points out, investigators reporting the differential distribution of violence are frequently careful to stress the evidence that spouse abuse is found in families across the spectrum of socio economic status.

A study conducted by Levinger (1966) supports such a conclusion. In his study of divorce-applicants, he found that 40% of working class wives report physical abuse as a reason for seeking divorce. Consequently, the idea that

spouse abuse is essentially a lower class phenomenon is an over-simplification of the problem, and more likely reflects the tendency of the official statistics to over-represent the lower class family. This assumption may also reflect that middle and upper class women tend to have some taboos against taking concrete action to protect themselves, for example, calling the police, taking their husbands to court, or publicly admitting such behavior has happened in their marriage (Davidson, 1978). These women may also hesitate to leave their actual situation since they often have to lose much in status, possessions, and ego.

Some authors assume that middle and upper class women have more financial resources than lower class women. Hence, with more options, they may be able to leave their spouse without their action becoming a matter of public record. Nevertheless, although stereotyped explanations in terms of "class", are simplistic and inadequate, several key indicators of social position have been found to be related to wife abuse problems (Downey & Howell, 1976).

Education is one of the standard measures of social class which has been examined by various investigators during the last decade. Some of these studies provide evidence that the incidence of violence is most prevalent among couples where the husband has a lower educational level than his spouse (Gelles, 1974; Parker & Schumacher, 1977; Petersen, 1980). Komarovsky (1964) notes that wives who had

received higher education seem to be at greater risk than those who had none.

Some investigators have examined this variable at another level. They focus on the disparity of the educational level between the abused wives and their spouses. Among them, it is important to consider Carlson's (1977) findings. She suggests that although both partners tend to have little education, in 26 out of the 58 couples, the wife had more education than her husband. Similarly, Tidmarsh (1976) reports that "wives who are better educated than their husbands, and/or hold higher status or better paid jobs, appear to be at increased risks of violence especially if their husband's educational level is fairly low" (p. 36).

Findings with respect to occupation (Gelles, 1974) and income (Gelles, 1974; Petersen, 1980) provide a similar pattern. For example, Gelles' (1974) data indicate that in 82% of the families in which violence occurred, the husband was of lower occupational status than his neighbors. Regarding income, Petersen (1980) found that "women married to men with low income are more likely to be abused than are women whose husbands are in upper or middle class group" (p. 395). Hence these findings suggest that violence is more prevalent in low status families.

Findings on these two specific variables are not however consistent throughout the literature. Several studies indicate that wife abuse occurs in all socio-economic levels

and occupational categories of society (Flynn, 1977; Labell, 1979). A few years ago, Hornung, McCullough and Sugimoto (1981) examined the relationship between the educational and occupational attainment of the marital partners. Their results indicate that certain types of status incompatibility (i.e., when the woman is high in occupation relative to her husband), involve very high risks of spouse abuse, particularly life threatening violence. Some types of inconsistency (i.e., over achievement in occupation by the husband) seem to protect couples from abusive behavior. Their findings support the hypothesis which suggests that the incidence and prevalence of violence between spouses is related to the inconsistency and incompatibility between the education and occupational levels of the spouses.

According to Straus and Steinmetz (1973) the use of violence may also compensate for the lack of resources such as respect, knowledge, and money. If the social system does not provide an individual with the resources needed to maintain his position in the family, that individual may resort to violence, if he is capable of it.

Another stress producing condition that may foster the use of violence is unemployment. Research data suggest that there is a greater incidence of abuse reported among couples in which husbands exhibit a high level of unemployment (Petersen, 1980). Although unemployment is a more visible factor among lower class families, due to their lack of

occupational and economic resources, unemployment is by no means confined to that stratum (Downey & Howell, 1976).

Exposure to Violence

Numerous studies have examined the family background of both men and women involved in domestic violence. Most of them provide scientific evidence that exposure to violence in childhood, in the family of origin, leads to approval of the use of interpersonal violence in the family (Bafl, 1977; Carlson, 1977; Dobash & Dobash, 1977; Flynn, 1977; Gayford, 1978; Gelles, 1974; Labell, 1979; Rounsaville & Weissman, 1978; Star, 1977-78, 1980; Straus, 1979; Steinmetz, 1977; Owens & Straus, 1975).

In the majority of these studies, with few exceptions (Gelles, 1976; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981a) data were collected exclusively from female respondents. In those studies where battered women were asked if their husbands had either experienced violence in childhood or witnessed parental violence, 40 to 80% of the husbands were reported to have had such experiences. Many results support the hypothesis that exposure to violence in the family of origin predisposes the husband to follow the role model that he learned during childhood.

In 1981, Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981a) conducted a study using standardized measure and comparison groups. They administered a questionnaire battery to 52 abused wives

and 20 abusive husbands who were seen in a centre which specialized in domestic violence problems. Comparison data were collected from 20 couples with satisfactory marriages and 20 with dysfunctional non-violent couples. Their study not only supports the hypothesis that violence is a learned behavior, but clearly demonstrates that abusive husbands are more likely to: (a) have been abused as children, and (b) have witnessed spousal violence in their family of origin compared to non-abusive husbands from both groups. Their study failed however to confirm similar differences between abusive wives and their counterparts. They recommend, that future studies be conducted with various comparison groups.

What is the incidence of a previous history of violence reported by battered women? Star, Clark, Goetz, and O'Malia (1979) for instance, indicate that 30% of their sample composed of 50 women, reported to have seen their father beating their mother at least once, and a third directly experienced frequent punishment from parents or parent surrogates.

Labell (1979) reported a slightly higher incidence. She conducted a study of 512 physically abused women who sought services from a shelter for battered women. Her results indicated that a third (33.4%) of women said they grew up in a violent family. This finding is almost identical to Roy (1977) who found that 33% of the women did observe or experience violence in their childhood.

According to Gelles (1976) these violent experiences may predispose the wife to tolerate abuse, which she may legitimize as a normal part of married life. Labell (1979) offers a different interpretation. She believes the incidence of violence reported by most of these studies concerning the women, offer only a minimal support for Gelles' position. Rather, she suggests that women who do not grow up in a violent family may be more inclined to seek a solution to their problems and are more likely to seek the services of a shelter.

Petersen's (1980) findings also suggest that a substantive proportion of husbands do not experience violence in their family of origin. His results reveal that in one third (17/52) of the cases, where the wife was abused, neither the husband nor the wife came from violent or dysfunctional families. That result also suggests that not all interpersonal violence is a behavior learned in a violent or disrupted family.

The Nature of the Act

Some research has been conducted to determine the characteristics of the abusive act itself. Most of the authors argue that while both men and women are assailants and victims, the prevailing problem is wife abuse. According to Star (1977-78), men are more often cast in the role of assailant than the women, as a result of socialization. In

In reality, women experience anger as often as men, but are not allowed to express it as directly or as physically as men. Even in a situation where women do resort to physical force, it is men who perform the most serious damage in all forms of violence, except for homicide (Straus, 1976).

It has been established that wife abuse usually occurs at home, most frequently at night, and over week-ends, where both partners are most susceptible to be together (Flynn, 1977; Gayford, 1975b; Gelles, 1974; Rounsaville et al., 1979). They frequently engage in physical combat in the presence of their children but seldom in the presence of another person (Flynn, 1977; Gelles, 1974).

In addition, numerous authors have focused attention on the frequency of these abusive behaviors. The violent act appears to be rarely a unique phenomenon. It is a recurrent event which varies dramatically from one couple to another. Straus (1977-1978) interviewed 2,143 couples representative of all American couples and tried to estimate the extent of wife beating in United States. The study took place in the early months of 1976. Statistics emerging from the data show that a third of the couples who have engaged in an act of violence in the wife beating category (see footnote 1), mentioned that violence occurred only once during the year. At the other extreme, there were cases in which this occurred once a week or more often.

A survey¹ conducted in Canada in 1978, revealed that 31% of women spending time in shelters were beaten weekly or daily while 26% said they were beaten at least once a month (MacLeod, 1980).

The act of violence not only varies in frequency but also in severity. It is now recognized that women are being pushed, kicked, hit with a fist, and that weapons are often involved in violent episodes. These physical attacks often result in severe injuries. In fact, spouse abuse is more likely than any other assault to involve actual attack rather than a threat, and to be classified as a serious assault.

Battered women are quite likely to be injured, to require medical attention and to be hospitalized, and to lose time from work. In one Yale study (Rounsaville, 1978), 84% of the women studied reported that the injury received was severe enough to require medical attention at least once. Carlson (1977) obtained similar results which substantiate the position that battered women are placed in high risk situations. Moreover, it has been observed that the severity of the violent act tends to increase through time (Langley & Levy, 1977).

¹ The wife beating category is part of the Severe Violence Index developed by Straus in 1977-1978. This index includes acts of violence that carry with them a high risk of physical injury such as punching, biting, kicking, hitting with an object, beating up and any attack in which a weapon was used.

Other evidence suggests that the act of violence is usually preceded by verbal arguments (Flynn, 1977) and is frequently associated with excessive use of alcohol on the part of the husband (Carlson, 1977; Flynn, 1977; Labell, 1979; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981a; Tidmarsh, 1976). Gelles (1974) reports that in 44 families where violence had occurred, the violent attack was accompanied by drinking in 21 of these families. He also noted that drinking was more often associated with wife abuse than with any other types of violence.

Recently, Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981a) corroborated the fact that there is a strong association between alcoholism with both discord and violence. This strong association however, does not imply that there is a direct cause-effect relation between these two phenomena. As Benjamin and Alder (1980) argue, alcohol is not a direct cause of abuse but rather acts to rationalize it by providing one or both partners with a way of explaining the violent behavior.

Battered women frequently report that their husbands use their drunkenness as an excuse for their violence, by pretending not to remember the violent incident or by asking forgiveness because they do not remember what they did. As a result, women are led to incorrectly identify alcohol abuse itself as the main problem (Carlson, 1977).

Many researchers notice that violence occurs not only in those situations where men are under the influence of

alcohol but also in situations where they are sober. It suggests, as Benjamin and Adler (1980) state, that "alcohol is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the occurrence of abuse" (p. 350). It might be, however, as Scott (1974) points out, that alcoholism is just another expression, not necessarily causative, of the tension within the couple's relationship.

An additional issue concerns the contribution of the wife to the violent episode. This issue has raised many controversial viewpoints in the literature. For instance; Gelles (1972) suggests that "action of the victims are vital intervening events between the structural stresses that lead to ... the violent acts themselves" (p. 155). In contrast, Walker (1977-78) believes any efforts to blame the victim for her husband's behavior serves to diminish his responsibility. She argues that a woman's provocative behavior is largely irrelevant, since the violent episode would have occurred in any event.

Hanks and Rosenbaum's (1977) interpretation may be perceived as a link between Walker and Gelles positions mentioned above. Hanks and Rosenbaum conducted a study describing 22 women who live with violent alcohol-abusing men. Their results indicated that women were neither victim nor sole precipitators of the violent episodes; rather they were unwilling collaborators. The debate is still open because studies have not been able to establish whether the

vives' attitudes, and behaviors are precipitative or pre-emptive, provocative or defensive (Benjamin & Alder, 1980).

A final issue concerns the impact on the children of early exposure to violence in their family of origin. Some authors have proposed that children who are battered or are witnessing violence between family members learn to legitimize violence as a means to control other's behaviors and are provided with a role model reflecting a traditional view of women. They learn that violence is an effective way to deal with and resolve conflicts.

Walker (1977-78), as well as Hilberman and Munson (1977-78), report that whether the children are themselves battered or subjected to parental violence, children are affected deeply by the climate of violence in which they live. Hilberman and Munson (1977) also focus on the socio-psychological impact of marital violence on children. They interviewed sixty battered women who were the parents of 209 children. From their interviews they were able to provide the following portrait of these children:

Pre-school and young school children displayed somatic complaints, school phobias, enuresis, and insomnia. The insomnia was often accompanied by intense fear, screaming, and resistance to going to bed at night. This behavior seems time-related, much of the wife-beating occurring when the children were in bed. Older children began to show differential behavior patterns which divided along sex lines. Aggressive disruptive behavior, most usually fighting with sibling and schoolmates and temper tantrums when frustrated, was the most frequently reported cluster for male children. In contrast, female children continued

to have an increasing array of somatic symptoms and were likely to become withdrawn, passive, clinging, and anxious, this pattern also occurring with a smaller number of males. Most children had impaired concentration spans and difficulty with school work. Teenage girls further suffered from the perpetual surveillance and accusations of sexual activity by their fathers who were seductive if not overtly incestuous. Finally, there are reports of married daughters who were battered and of grown sons who are alcoholic and violent. (Hilberman & Munson, 1977, p. 463)

The present portrait confirms that children are affected by the climate of violence in their home.

Psychological Characteristics of Violent Partners

Serious effort has been made to describe and document personality characteristics of battered women and their assailants. Some of the studies which discuss the personality characteristics of the abusive husbands reveal that most of the men are usually shy, non assertive, and depressed. However, some are generally aggressive, suspicious, moody, tense, and inadequate (Martin, 1978). Still others vacillate between being non-assertive and aggressive (Saunders, 1984) while others are described as pathologically jealous (Langley & Levy, 1977), and exhibiting paranoid decompensation under stress. If there is a common trait between the abusive husbands, it is probably low self-esteem. According to Saunders (1984), the jealousy, depression and sensitivity to criticisms often apparent in these men seem to result from low self-esteem. They quickly convert hurt and fear to anger, and then to aggression.

The psychology of battered women is somewhat complex and difficult to delineate. The violent episode, besides its immediate and obvious effects on the woman's physical well being, can have serious repercussions on the victim's emotional state. The emotional impact that the abusive episodes have on the women is unlike that of any other violent crime. Battered women suffer from situationally imposed emotional problems due to their victimization (Walker, 1977-78). The same man who professes love and care can suddenly become an aggressive and inconsiderate person. According to Heppner (1978): "this inconsistent behavior on the part of the husband represents an intermittent reinforcement and punishment schedule that is confusing to the battered wife and prolongs her relationship with him" (p. 523).

Most of the psychological characteristics of the battered women identified in the literature derives from clinical impressions and/or interviews with these battered women. These studies usually suffer from a lack of rigorous research design and they use poor sampling techniques which preclude generalization. However, they do provide interesting points.

After reviewing the few existing journal articles and research studies, six predominant characteristics became apparent: shame, depression, guilt, fear, social isolation,

and low self-esteem. A discussion of these six personality characteristics of battered women follow below.

Shame. The prominent emotion of a battered women is shame. Because wife battering is still hidden and surrounded by misconceptions in our society, the victim may feel isolated. She may feel that she is the only one dealing with this problem in the community. Often, she will be too embarrassed to admit that she has been physically abused by her husband. She may feel stupid to have made a commitment to an abusive husband and feel ashamed to have subjected herself to repeated abuse. With reference to the traditional sex-role conditioning, a woman can have various interests, however her primary source of satisfaction is seen as deriving from her marriage. Thus, as Martin (1978) indicates, if a woman accepts this premise, she will take great pride in a good marriage and often take full responsibility for a bad one. Her sense of responsibility will lead her to feel ashamed if her marriage fails. Because of this shame, the woman often attempts to rationalize her husband's violent behavior and is more likely to avoid discussing this issue with him. Considering her embarrassment, she may never discuss her feelings with anyone.

Depression. A lot of these women may also suffer from a clinically significant depressive illness. For example, Rounsaville and Weissman (1977-78) assessed 31 women coming to a surgical and psychiatric service. It was revealed that

a third of these women were not mentally ill, but for those who received a psychiatric diagnosis, depression was by far the most common diagnosis (52%). These results are comparable to those obtained by Gayford (1975b). He reports that almost 50% of his sample (100 battered women) had been referred for psychiatric evaluation, and only 21% were later given the diagnosis of depression. On the other hand, Prescott and Letko's (1977) study reveals that nearly three-fourths of the women report feeling depressed while 68% report feeling trapped or helpless.

Guilt. Numerous authors have reported that abused women blame themselves for the abuse. Unfortunately, very few statistics are available to support such clinical observations. Prescott and Letko (1977) are among those who have obtained specific data on this subject. Their exploratory study reveals that 26% of the women reported feeling guilty after the most recent violent incident. However, such findings are based on a small sample which precludes generalization.

Fear. Whether physical abuse is a method of settling immediate quarrels or accompanies a husband's emotional outburst in reaction to a disagreement is not clear but most women experience some fear. A study conducted by Prescott and Letko (1977) indicates that 82% of the women reported being fearful on the most recent occasion of physical violence. In their article "Sixty battered Women", Hilberman

and Munson (1977) describe the role that fear plays in battered women's lives. They explain that women never feel safe. They have to deal constantly with non-tangible pressure and the unending threat of the next assault being ever present. They are agitated, nervous at any unexpected noise, and voice. Women may remain at home and never seek help for fear of their husband's reprisal if they were to attempt to leave. They often fear that wherever they go their husband will find them. Reality often supplements and confirms such fears.

Women who experience tremendous fear may become emotionally paralyzed. In such cases, women feel they do not have any control over what is being done to them. Therefore, they do not take action to protect themselves or change their situation (Resnick, 1976).

Star et al. (1979) suggest that women can experience fear at two levels; interpersonal and intrapersonal. At the interpersonal level, women fear that their partners will retaliate if they contact the police or file for divorce. At the intrapersonal level, the women fear the prospect of their own inability to survive independently from their husbands. Taken together, all these factors produce a resistance to leaving the familiar relationship.

Social isolation. Empirical research studies (Gayford, 1975b; Gelles, 1974; Flynn, 1977; Star et al., 1979) substantiate the belief that most battered women tend to be

socially isolated, and to have few contacts with family, friends, neighbors, and relatives. It is unclear however, whether this isolation is a consequence of the family's violent behavior or if it predates it. Some authors argue that such isolation is the result of abusive husbands who are insecure and pathologically jealous (Walker, 1979).

There are also some indications that violent couples are usually mobile, which may partially explain the lack of social involvement (Moore, 1975). In contrast, some authors argued that the abused wife's isolation is self-imposed. They believe battered women will restrict their social network because they are too ashamed and humiliated to let other people know of their predicament.

In many instances, the absence of a substantive social network limits the number of resources available to women during a crisis period and also reduces their opportunities for exchanges and feedback which might modify the violent situation. As Star (1980) suggests, the reduced feedback impedes the victim's ability to confront the reality of the abusive situation, the reasons for the violence and the ways to deal with it.

Low self-esteem. In contrast to the majority of the other psychological dimensions discussed in the present section, low self-esteem has been subjected to rigorous research design. Two studies measuring the levels of self-esteem of battered women and control groups have simi-

lar findings. Hartik (1978) conducted an empirical study on the personality characteristics and self-concept factors of a voluntary sample. Her sample was limited to 30 battered women and 30 women who had never been beaten. Her findings reveal that battered women show greater total conflict within themselves (they are less satisfied with themselves) and have a lower self-esteem than non-battered women. She interprets these variables as indicative of some confusion, contradiction, and general conflict in self-perception. Battered women also reflect more feelings of inadequacy, worthlessness, and little or no value as family members, compared to non-battered women.

Star's (1977-78) empirical study on psychosocial characteristics of a small sample (57) composed of an unequal sub-group, also indicates significant differences on the self-esteem scale. Battered women scored significantly lower on ego strength than their control group, although both groups scored low on this variable. She argues that people who score low in this area tend to be easily annoyed by things and people, and have difficulty in coping with life's demands.

Star (1977-78) has substantiated her findings by a subsequent study. In 1979, Star et al. (1979) conducted an empirical study on psychosocial characteristics of a voluntary sample of 80 recently battered women. It included personality tests and interviews. This study shows that

battered women tend to differ from the norm on the basis of six personality traits and three clinical factors. The overall profile depicts women with low self-esteem, a lack of self-confidence and a tendency to withdraw. Shyness was attributed to poor early life relationships.

The six psychological characteristics described in this chapter do not cover every battered woman's emotional experience, but they do offer to the reader a configuration of attributes related to wife abuse.

Marital Dynamic

The major emphasis of the literature on sociological and psychological factors has meant that the interactional patterns characterizing the abusive couples have received limited attention.

Star (1977-78, 1980) identifies the more common features characterizing the marital relationship of violent couples. These emerged from her interviews and data obtained from questionnaires with more than 200 people who participated, either as assailants or victims in some aspects of family violence. These characteristics highlighted the social, sexual, and control aspects of the relationship. She found that both partners enter marriage with high and inappropriate marital expectations; the couple holds traditional ideas about marital roles; the balance of power in the relationship reflects the sex-role stereotyping;

decision making is unequally shared between the partners; and the couple has limited abilities to relate and communicate. Their relationship is characterized by disagreements, bickering, suicide or divorce threats, and separations. The couple has limited knowledge of parenting which may result in high expectations from their children. The couple also legitimates the use of violent acts and is unable to tolerate stress.

Cantoni (1981) discusses some of the features characterizing family patterns that promote domestic violence. The violent relationship is characterized by a lack of trust and meaningful exchange between the partners and other family members. This results in isolation. She notices that both partners have a fear of becoming independent or dependent upon the other person. There is almost a universal expectation among violent couples that human beings are supposed to be perfect. They lack self-control or tend to have the opposite reaction, which is excessive control over themselves and others. Finally, sexual relations between the partners are almost exclusively for exploitation.

Many authors (Cantoni, 1981; Gelles, 1976; Scott, 1974; Star et al., 1979) have pointed out that violent relationships are under a great deal of stress. Among them, Star (1977-78) has discovered that battered women face a great deal of situational stress in their marriage around such

issues as finances, household responsibilities, employment, and children. She explains that the violent incidents result from the couple's inability to tolerate stress. On the other hand, Scott (1974) considers that violence often results from the inability of both individuals to adapt themselves to stressful situations.

Weitzman and Dreen (1982) describe the transactional-interactive patterns of battering couples. They propose that rigid relationship rules and violence, as a learned response to stress, distinguish battering couples from non-battering couples. They further suggest that abusive couples are engaged in a power struggle that, while destructive, serves to bind spouses to each other. Their explanation of the interactive patterns of battering couples can be summarized as follows: Most of the abusive couples establish a rigid complementary system which allows little room for negotiation of relationship rules. This structure is set up early and tentatively in the relationship, mostly to satisfy their own needs, to avoid conflicts, and to consummate the relationship. It is in the nature of this type of structure that such rigidity allows domination. Once the relationship is consummated the couple undertake a prolonged struggle for control. This battle for control, when open, favors a shift from complementarity to a symmetrical relationship. This move is a change-exchange condition because the battle for control is not resolved. The

symmetrical relationship is a conflictual state and is therefore likely to be subdued by violence in order to create change.

The primary function of violence is to reestablish relationship complementarity. These control battles can occur over seemingly innocuous matters - dishes, meals, hours, clothing; because they mask this deeper struggle for control of the relationship. These battles of control tend to cluster around at least six major themes: (a) distance and intimacy; (b) jealousy and loyalty; (c) dependence and independence; (d) rejection and unconditional acceptance; (e) adequacy and inadequacy; and (f) control, power and powerlessness. Obviously these themes are shared by non-abusive couples but they are not as rigid nor as likely to be reinforced by violence when they are challenged.

Roy (1977) also perceives violence as related to power since violence is a consequence of the abuse of power. She suggests that a deep sense of powerlessness creates a need for assertion. This, in most cases, becomes destructive aggression that can ultimately lead to violence.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Several theoretical explanations of violence have been suggested in the literature. They all try to shed some light on the often confusing psychological and sociological

variables described in the previous section. Although some of these variables have been linked with varying degrees of success to the problem of wife abuse, they need to be integrated into a broader theoretical framework.

The most comprehensive review of the theories used to explain family violence is the one presented by Gelles and Straus (1979a). They examine 15 theories which are classified into three levels of analysis, based on the type of fundamental causal factors; intra-individual, socio-psychological, and socio-cultural.

The present review does not assume to summarize all the theories presented in the literature, but brings attention to those that are more crucial for understanding wife abuse and appear more relevant to social work. These theories are clustered according to Gelles and Straus' (1979a) classification system which are:

Intra Individual Theory

Socio-Psychological Theories:

- The social learning theory
- The learned helplessness theory
- The cycle of violence

Socio-Cultural Theories:

- The resource theory
- The socio-cultural approach
- The patriarchy of wife abuse
- The general systems theory

The fundamental concepts and propositions of each of these theories are briefly reviewed below. As will become apparent, most of these theories are incomplete, thus providing the reader with a partial explanation only. This problem is related to the fact that most of these theories adopt a linear-causal explanation for violence and do not capture the full complexity of social behavior. There has been to date, only a few attempts to provide a more complete explanation of the phenomenon of wife abuse. The most acceptable account of the phenomenon must combine psychological, socio-structural and socio-cultural variables. Various authors have stressed the importance of acquiring a multidimensional perspective on the phenomenon.

Intra Individual Theories

Intra individual theories explain violence in terms of qualities related to individual participants. The individuals' characteristics are referred to as "both biologically based qualities such as genes and chromosomes, and acquired characteristics such as aggressive personality or personal defects or aberrations" (Gelles & Straus, 1979a, p. 561). Because intra individual theories have limited relevance for explaining violence in the family, none of these theories are considered in the present review.

Socio-Psychological Theories

Socio-psychological theories focus on the interaction of the individual with his/her social environment i.e., with other individuals, groups and organizations. Such theories locate the source of violence in these relationships, for example, in certain interpersonal frustration, learning process... (Gelles & Straus, 1979a, p. 561). Among the most relevant, social learning theory and the learned helplessness theory explain violence at a socio-psychological level.

The Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory postulates that violence is a learned behavior which has been acquired through successive learning situations followed by appropriate reinforcement. Numerous aspects of this theory have been examined. Bandura (1961) studied the process of learning through exposure to violence and imitation. Owens and Straus (1975) examined the process leading an individual who experienced or was exposed to violence to acquire norms which approve of violence.

The social learning theory as applied to family violence postulates that the family serves as a training ground for violence (Gelles & Straus, 1979a). The family provides the individual with role models which can be adopted in

later life. As a result, this theory predicts that wife abuse will occur in a marriage where one or both of the spouses grew up in families where they observed and were rewarded for violent behavior. Empirical evidence gives partial support to this theory. It suggests that "a substantial percentage of victims and assailants (who) witnessed parental violence, were themselves abused as children, and in turn abused their children" (Woods, 1979, p. 16).

The Learned Helplessness Theory

Walker (1977-78, 1979) applied the psychological concept of "learned helplessness" to the situation of battered women. The concept of "learned helplessness" was described by Seligman (1975) in his extensive study of animal and human populations. His research demonstrates that when people perceive no connection between their voluntary attempts to modify their situation and the outcome, they begin to elicit the behavior of helplessness. This subsequent passive behavior is produced by motivational deficits. When people experience situations which cannot be controlled, their motivation to try to respond in an active manner to such an event, when repeated, will be impaired (Walker, 1979). As Seligman (1975) reports:

When an organism has experienced trauma it cannot control, its motivation to respond in the face of later trauma wanes. Moreover, even if it does respond and the response succeeds in producing relief, it has trouble learning, perceiving, and

believing that the response worked. Finally, its emotional balance is disturbed; depression and anxiety, measured in various ways, predominate. (Ball & Wyman, 1977-78, p. 546)

To understand this dynamic, it is essential to realize that the actual nature of control is far less important than the belief, expectation or cognitive system of the actual individual. As Walker (1977-78) points out, once we believe we cannot control what happens to us, it is difficult to believe we can influence it, even if later we experience a favorable outcome.

Moreover, because battered women are constantly living with fear, their perception of the consequences and seriousness of the violence becomes distorted. Consequently, if they do not realize the high degree of danger in their situation, they may eventually be killed or kill their partner.

The Cycle of Violence

Walker (1977-78, 1979) has made a second contribution to the study of how wife battering occurs and why women do not attempt to escape. From her interviews with battered women Walker describes a battering cycle experienced by these women.

Walker's battering cycle model consists of three distinct phases, which vary in both time and intensity for the same couple and different couples. These are: the tension

building phase, the acute battering phase, and the honeymoon stage.

The tension building stage. During the tension building phase numerous battering incidents occur. The woman attempts to calm the batterer by using techniques that have previously proved successful. She becomes nurturing, compliant and tries to anticipate his demands and behaviors. She is desperately attempting to prevent him from hurting her. As the tension builds, she rapidly loses any control over the situation. She becomes more passive, while he becomes more aggressive. She blames herself for her inability to control the situation and prevent the rest of the cycle from occurring. Her feelings of helplessness and powerlessness are enhanced as the tension between them becomes unbearable.

The acute battering stage. The second phase is characterized by the violent discharge of the tensions that have built up during the preceding phase. The incident is usually triggered by an external event or the internal state of the man, rather than by the battered woman's behavior. Walker (1979) maintains that "the presence of another person alters the nature of the violence between the couple and may even prevent an acute battering incident" (p. 61). It is during that phase that the woman is most likely to be seriously hurt or killed.

The honeymoon stage. After the acute battering incident the man becomes extremely loving. He pleads for forgiveness and promises it will never happen again. This stage provides the woman with the reinforcement to stay in the relationship. Since this is the most rewarding stage of the cycle, it is a very difficult time for the woman to end the relationship. If she stays or returns to him, it is not long before the loving behavior gives way to battering incidents.

Socio-Cultural Theories

The socio-cultural theories of violence assert that the source of the problem lies outside the family. These theories assume that there is a system of values, norms or institutionalized organization or social structure which justify and support the use of violent behaviors among family members.

Although these theories focus on macro level variables such as social structures, subcultures or social systems, they also incorporate concepts or processes which exist at the socio-psychological level. Four theories of violence are reviewed in this category: the resource theory, the socio structural approach, the patriarchy of wife abuse and the general systems theory.

The Resource Theory

Goode's (1971) resource theory has been explicitly applied to violence between family members. His fundamental assumption is that force and/or threat of force is a component of all social systems. The family is then perceived as being a social system relatively well defined by rules and structured power. As any other system, the family rests to some degrees on force and/or threats of force for its stability. He defines force as a socially sanctioned "legitimate" use, while violence is the unsanctioned illegitimate use of physical force.

Force (or threat) is used in all social systems including the family system. The reason for this, is that four major types of resources are available to each individual. The personal resources of every member of the system provides a basis for the process of exchange and bargaining within intimate relationship (Giles-Sims, 1983). These personal resources consist of economic resources, status and prestige, force and/or threats sometimes called power, as well as qualities of attractiveness such as love and affection. They all can be acquired to some degree by every member of a group, and can be exchanged for each person's desire in meeting their own psychological and material needs (Stahly, 1977-78).

Some members possess more of these resources and are thereby better able to achieve their goal. As Goode (1971)

suggests, the greater the resources available to an individual, the more force he can master. However, the greater the resources available, the less he will deploy force in an overt manner. Violence is therefore used as a resource when everything else fails. For example, a husband who wants to be dominant in his family, but has a very unsatisfying work position, little education or lacks interpersonal skills may have to resort to violence to maintain a dominant position and to compensate for his lack of personal resources.

O'Brien (1971) whose empirical data supports the premise above, discovered that violent behaviors were most often found among families where the husband demonstrates certain lower status characteristics compared to his wife. This was perceived as a special form of status inconsistency.

O'Brien attributes the onset of violence to the propensity of the husband to use illegal physical force over his available resources in order to reaffirm his superior ascribed sex-role status vis a vis the other family members.

If that analysis is correct, Downey and Howell (1976) suggest that "it will not be until a generation of men and women reared under egalitarian conditions and subscribing to egalitarian rather than male superiority norms takes over, that we can expect to see a reduction in violent encounters between spouses" (p. 29). Meanwhile, Whitehurst (1974) proposes that the emerging egalitarian social structure, and the continuing male-superiority norms, will tend to

increase, rather than decrease, conflicts and violence between spouses. Goode (1971) provides a similar prediction in his analysis.

The Socio-structural Approach

Gelles (1974) formulates his theory of family violence by applying to the family the concepts and propositions derived from the structural theory of violence. The structural theory of violence assumes that violence is unevenly distributed in society, being more common among lower socio-economic classes. Second, the theory postulates that certain segments of the society suffer greater frustrations. Third, the most frequent mode of dealing with frustration and stress is to react with violence. Finally, this reaction is institutionalized through differential socialization, which leads to certain socio-economic classes using different mechanisms to deal with frustration and stressful situations.

As Gelles and Straus (1979a) mention, "the structural theory of violence explains violence as a result of differential learning experiences which provide models, norms and values that legitimize the use of violence" (p. 566).

The preceding propositions of the structural approach to violence serve as the starting point for the theoretical conceptualization of the socio-structural theory to the fam-

ily. The five major propositions of Gelles' (1972, 1974, 1976, 1977) theory can be grouped as follows:

(a) Family violence is an adaptation or response to stress that originates in the social structure of Western society. There are particular family structures, such as unmet role expectations, where the husband has less education or prestige than his wife. Stressful situations, such as poverty, unemployment, unwanted pregnancy, then lead to individual frustration. As violence is often a method of dealing with frustration, the family members tend to victimize one another in attempting to adjust to the stress they find themselves in (Gelles, 1974). Schechter (1982) criticizes the concept of stress as it is defined by Gelles (1974). She believes that what causes a man to release his stress by beating, is the belief in one's right to use violence, batter and dominate woman. She argues that stress does not cause abuse: men choose to cope with stress by using violence.

(b) Structural stress is unevenly distributed in society. Families occupying lower socio-economic status encounter more stress and frustration in their day to day life. These families have often the fewest resources to use in stressful situations.

(c) Gelles' theory subsequently asserts that because structural stress affects the lower socio-economic segment of the

population to a disproportionate degree, this segment is more likely to resort to violence.

Petersen's (1980) survey data of 602 married women living in Maryland support this third proposition. His research indicates that the incidence of wife abuse was much greater among the lower classes than among the middle or upper classes in every measure of social classes examined. Moreover, the incidence of wife abuse among families that suffer directly from social structural stresses, such as unemployment, geographic instability, is much higher than among those that do not suffer from these stresses.

(d) Witnessing or experiencing violence in childhood teaches the individual that violence is an appropriate way to deal with structural and situational stress among family members. The family is perceived by Gelles (1976) as an agent of socialization in teaching violence. In the course of parent-child interactions the individual is provided with a learning situation where the use, the rationale, and the approval of violence is learned.

Various studies confirm the hypothesis that the more violence an individual experiences in growing up the more likely that person is to engage in violence as an adult (Gelles, 1976). Moreover, Gelles (1976) suggests that the more violence a woman experiences as a child in her family of origin the more likely she is to be a victim of violence in her family of procreation. It becomes apparent from

looking at these studies that having a role model of violence can create a preference for violent responses to stressful situations as opposed to other problem-solving responses, for example, withdrawal.

(e) Finally, Gelles (1976) suggests that individuals experience intra family violence differently, as a result of learning experience and structural causal factors that lead to violence. His premise is that both factors have to be taken into consideration when trying to explain the occurrence of violence in a specific family. He confirms the applicability of these concepts and propositions through his own exploratory research of 80 families, but they remain to be tested with a larger sample.

Petersen (1980), using data from a random state-wide survey, tested two contemporary theories of family violence. His results support much of the socio-structural propositions and allow him to propose some modifications to Gelles' theory. He suggests that:

(a) Marital violence "is a response to either private or structural stresses. Private stresses are caused by conditions other than the individual's position in the social-structure" (Petersen, 1980, p. 403). Personal stresses usually refer to alcoholism and disputes over children.

(b) Marital violence is a learned behavior. "This behavior is either learned in the family of origin or learned by con-

tacts with and acceptance of norms existing in certain lower-class groups that define violence as legitimate in certain situations" (Petersen, 1980, p. 403). The existence of these norms accounts for the fact that some lower class abused wives live in families with no history of violence in either their own or their husbands' family of origin.

The difference between Gelles' (1976, 1977) theory and the one proposed by Petersen (1980) is that family violence is not only a response to structural stress but it can also be a private or personal matter. In addition, the individual can be socialized into accepting violence as legitimate not only by growing up or living as an adult in a lower-class environment where violence is accepted as legitimate" (Petersen, 1980, p. 403). Petersen's study does not, however, gather evidence to support the premise that the different social classes possess different norms regarding violence. That area of research still remains to be investigated.

The Patriarchy of Wife Abuse

Dobash and Dobash (1977b, 1977-1978) have been involved in a comprehensive study of wife abuse since 1974. The first component of their research consists in studying police and court records to determine the extent of the problem. During the second part of their research they used informal interviews with battered women. Their purposes

were then to acquire information about the nature of violence and to isolate sets of factors which contribute to its occurrence. They encountered a major difficulty in the completion of their study because they attempted to combine a structural analysis of the problem with personal experience of individuals (Giles-Sims, 1983). Their theoretical contribution has grown from this struggle.

The Dobashes have demonstrated that violence has been constantly directed toward women throughout history. Their major premise asserts that the social and legal institutions of our society ideologically support wife abuse and female oppression.

Patriarchal ideologies are seen by some as the basic foundation for the subordination and oppression of women. They are supportive of the principle of hierarchy order, as opposed to an equalitarian one. These ideologies have existed for centuries and have become embedded in our culture.

Dobash and Dobash (1977a) argue that:

the patriarchal ideology provides internal control which regulate the complaints of the subordinates. Socialization into the acceptance of the rightfulness of the order and its inequities can if successful allow such inequities to go unquestioned and unchallenged. (p. 407)

When this structure is challenged by subordinates, external constraints in the form of social pressure to conform and legitimate intervention are instigated to both prevent

and/or correct the deviant behavior (Dobash & Dobash, 1977a).

The family is one of the most patriarchal systems prevalent in our society. Its structure is hierarchal, with the male being the head of the household and the women assuming a subordinate position. The ideology underlying these respective positions is based upon the ideas of love, respect and the desirable nature of that order.

Research findings have demonstrated that adult violence in the home usually involves the male as the aggressor toward the female (Lystad, 1975). The man resorts to violence to chastise the wife for real or perceived transgression of his authority. Therefore, the use of violence is an attempt by the man to establish and maintain the patriarchal social order.

Although the family system provides individuals with role models which regard women and wives as appropriate victims of violence, such attitudes are prevalent throughout society and are not essentially acquired within the family.

In summary, Dobash and Dobash (1977a, 1977-1978) argue that society supports a patriarchal social order, which in turn leads to the subordination of women and contributes to an historical pattern of systematic violence directed against wives.

The General System Theory

Straus (1973) formulates a general system theory approach to the study of violence between family members. Straus, applies some aspects of systems theory to formulate a preliminary theory which accounts for the presence of physical force and violence in family interaction. His first step is to develop a quantitative model which identifies relevant variables and their inter-relationships. Straus perceives the multivariant emphasis of the model as a positive element. He argues that such a model allows researchers to focus on a very limited subset of variables and to be more explicit about the relationship between the variables and the causal order.

Straus (1973) proposes that the variables included in his system analysis be considered separately as antecedent, precipitating and consequent. These three variables combine elements of family and social systems. Appendix C reproduces in diagram form Straus' conception of familial violence as elements of a social system drawing attention to the interrelationship of structural elements both within and outside the family.

Straus (1973, 1977-1978) proposes a set of interlinked propositions which together seem to account for the stabilization of violence in the family system. They are:

(a) Violence between family members arises from various causes. The most significant ones are normative expecta-

tions, family structure, personality traits, situational frustrations and conflicts.

(b) The actual occurrence of violence is very high in relation to the rate of publicly known or treated violence. Straus supports this premise through the empirical research conducted by Gelles (1972), Levinger (1966), Straus (1976).

(c) Although violence occurs in most families, the family system tends to regard violence as not a serious problem. The violence is either denied or not labelled as deviant.

(d) Stereotyped imagery of family violence is learned in early childhood. Straus is especially referring to the use of parental physical punishment as a means of providing a powerful role model.

(e) The stereotypes of violence are continually reaffirmed for children and adults through male imagery presented in the mass media.

(f) Violence may become a stabilized pattern among family members if the victim inadvertently reinforces the violent behavior.

(g) "Violent persons may be rewarded for violent acts if those acts produce the desired results The reinforcement behaviors increase the probability that violence will be used again" (Straus, 1973, p. 112).

(h) Once violence has occurred, a family rule against using violence has been broken, and its violation in turn may pre-

cipitate more conflicts, thus increasing the possibility of more violence (Giles-Sims, 1983).

(i) Finally, Straus proposes that a person labelled as "violent" may be encouraged to play out the role through the development of the self-concept, "violent". Using the same argument, the person labelled as a "victim" may be encouraged to play out that role (Straus, 1973).

This preliminary approach forms a propositional theory of family violence and constitutes a useful tool for the generation of hypotheses. Various hypotheses were subsequently tested by Straus (1977-78, 1979) in his research program on violence between family members. The remainder of this section summarizes the various fundamental propositions described by Straus (1977) in his analysis of wife beating.

The causes of wife beating. Straus (1977-78) considers that wife beating is not an unidimensional phenomenon; rather, a number of factors are involved. The following are considered as most important:

- (a) The family is a social group characterized by a high degree of conflict.
- (b) The United States is a nation committed to the use of violence to maintain the status quo or to achieve desirable change.
- (c) Common child rearing practices legitimize violence in the family.

(d) Child rearing practices carry long-standing effects on the child's personality and perception of the world.

(e) The male dominant nature of the family system and judicial system encourages the use of violence to maintain the hierarchy order.

(f) Sexual inequalities inherent in the family, economic, social, and criminal justice systems leave women locked into brutal marriages.

Some of these factors, given to account for the high incident of wife beating, merit more detailed examination.

Straus (1977) outlines ten characteristics of the family which he believes are responsible for the typically high level of conflict. They are: (a) Family members spend a large amount of time together. (b) The broad range of activities and interests found among family members offers greater opportunity for conflicts. (c) Family relationships are characterized by a high level of emotional involvement. (d) A variety of potential conflict areas can range from minor to larger issues. (e) The family system assumes the right of members to influence the behavior of each other. (f) The family is composed of people of different ages and sexes coupled with a different perspective on life. (g) Ascribed roles cannot always be lived up to. (h) The privacy of the family system precludes conflicts-solving influences from members outside the family. (i) The nature of membership in the family is largely involuntary and

semi-voluntary (in the case of husband-wife relationship).

(j) The family cycle is characterized by a high level of stress (birth, death, aging, retirement).

The ten characteristics listed above do not account for all the factors which contribute to the existence of conflict within the family. They provide, however, sufficient evidence for Straus (1976) to allege that the family is the locus for a high degree of conflict. A high degree of conflict, however, does not necessarily imply a high degree of violence. Straus proposes that the level of violence found in all groups of society, reflects what it is learned and generalized from childhood experiences.

Although the family serves as a training ground for violence, this responsibility is also shared by other systems within a violent society. Straus (1977) focuses on the cultural norms which legitimize such violent predispositions.

Cultural norms play a fundamental role in society. With respect to violence, they specify the conditions under which violence is and is not appropriate, and also the nature of violent acts which are legitimate. Straus (1977-78) argues that society not only tolerates violence between its members but also disregards violence within the family unit. Cultural norms in society tend to legitimate the use of violence between family members in circumstances

where the same violence would be totally unacceptable between non family members.

The legitimation of violence in the family is sometimes explicit and mandatory, as in the case of the right of parents to use an appropriate level of physical force to adequately raise their children. In the marital situation, similar norms are present but are largely implicit and unrecognized. Therefore, just as parenthood gives the right to use physical punishment Straus (1976) perceives the marriage licence as a hitting licence. Evidence to support this last proposition can be found in the analysis of the legal and judicial system, despite many legal reforms. Evidence from research studies conducted by Field and Field (1973), Gelles (1974), Stark and McEvoy (1970) also make this proposition plausible. Other causal factors of wife beating merit examination.

One set of factors accounting for the high level of wife beating is seen as related to the sexist organization of society and family system. Although there have been recent changes toward a more equalitarian type of society, the balance of power is viewed as resting with men. The hierarchal and male dominant structure of society permits and supports wife abuse (Straus, 1976).

Straus (1976) describes nine elements of the male dominant structure of society and family which contribute to the existence and maintenance of a high level of marital vio-

lence. These are: (a) the presumption of male authority in society, (b) the economic constraints and discrimination towards women, (c) the burden of child-rearing on women, (d) the myth of the single-parent family, which helps to maintain the subordination of women, (e) the prominence of the wife role for women, (f) the conception of women as the property of men; (g) compulsive masculinity, (h) the negative self-image developed by women, and (i) the male orientation of the criminal justice system..

Each of these elements enable the husband to be dominant in the family and to exercise power over family members. However, not all men have the personal quality and economic resources to fulfill this prescribed leadership role. Consequently, many men will resort to the ultimate resource of physical force to maintain their sense of superiority in the family. The right to use force, concludes Goode (1971), exists to provide the ultimate support for the existing power structure of the family, when those members positioned low in the hierarchy refuse to accept their place and roles.

There is therefore potential for a high incidence of wife beating in a society which is trying to establish a sexually egalitarian society. The problems related to this period of transition cannot be overlooked. As Straus (1974) and Whitehurst (1974) suggest, a large number of men will not easily give up their traditional sex-stereotyped role.

Straus (1976) concludes, that if the way to reduce the use of violence in the family is to reduce the inequity found within the family members, then not only women's, but also men's liberation is necessary to create a substantial reduction in wife beating.

TREATMENT MODALITIES AND COMMUNITY RESOURCES

The Response of Battered Women to the Battering Situation

Some authors focus upon the range of coping behaviors that battered women exhibit in dealing with their problems. They have attempted to understand why some women remain permanently with their abusers while others leave quite frequently. Some have the intention of returning and some intend to permanently end the relationship. It is now understood that most women engage in both forms of behavior. This section will consider the role which a temporary separation plays within the relationship, in addition to the numerous personal, social and economic factors which influence the battered women's responses including the type of services sought.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) examine the patterns of staying, leaving, and returning to the relationship. They rely on the battered women's testimony to demonstrate that these patterns and the underlying reasons change over time,

as the women's perceptions of their position change, and as the couple relationship deteriorates. They find that 88% of their sample did at some point leave after an assault. Of this percentage, 48% spent less than a week away from home on such occasions. Another 27% stayed away from one week to a month, 17% from one to six months and the remaining 8% stayed away more than six months.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) suggest that in the early stage of the relationship, women leave their partners in order to emphasize their objections to such violent treatment and to initiate some reforms. At their husband's request and promises for changes, the women usually return home. This pattern may repeat itself several times before the women give up hope of change. Later, they return home because they believe they have the responsibility to keep their marriage together or they do not see any alternative that would allow them to leave permanently.

Pfouts (1978) analyzes the forces in the family and in the community that differentially affect the coping responses of abused wives. Based on the exchange theory, Pfouts demonstrates that the response of abused wives depends on the wives' cost/benefit analysis of their marriage and other alternatives. Four major coping responses are described as: self-punishing, aggressive, early disengagement, and middle-life disengagement. This

categorization helps social workers understand the key elements that women consider in their decision-making process.

This typology however cannot help the practitioner to predict why women will opt for one alternative over another. Dobash and Dobash (1979), and Pfouts (1978) noticed that the decisions made by the abused wives are not necessarily permanent and irreversible, since their marital situation and alternatives can change.

Ferraro (1981), Gelles (1976), Roy (1977), and Shainess (1979), comment upon the various personal, social, and economic reasons which account for battered women's decision not to end their marriage permanently. Ferraro (1981) draws on literature of social deviance and on data collected from a participant observational study of two years in a shelter for battered women. Explanation is given why women remain and return to their partners. She identifies six techniques of rationalization employed by battered women to adjust to the battering situation. They are: appeal to salvation ethic, denial of injury, denial of victimizer, denial of victimization, denial of options, and the appeal to higher loyalties. These techniques are discussed in light of the individual, interpersonal, and socio-cultural forces that influence battered women's interpretation of their situation. The techniques of rationalization identified above depict a number of beliefs, feelings, and fears which justify the women's decision to remain with a violent partner.

Shainess (1979) in her discussion of the psychological aspects of battered women indicates that the only reasons for women to remain in long-standing abusive situations are emotional and economic dependence, and fear of change and of the unknown. Carlson (1977) outlines some of the emotional reasons why battered women do not leave the abusive situation permanently. In her study of 101 battered women, she suggests that the reasons for not leaving included a devastating low-self concept, high degree of isolation, the victim's intense attachments and concerns for her children, the loss of skills to support their family adequately, and fears of living independently. Roy (1977) interviewed 150 battered women and isolated two main factors which prevent battered women from leaving; (a) the hope that their partner will reform, and (b) no place to go. In addition, fear of reprisals from their partners, children, financial difficulty, fear of loneliness, and stigma attached to divorce were also cited.

Schuyler (1976) in her discussion of the problem of wife abuse, also focuses on social variables that might account for a battered woman's decision to leave the abusive situation. She explains that, due to social pressure, battered women who have fragile self-esteem do not perceive the alternatives available to them. Furthermore, society does not ease the process by which they can seek and use the various community resources available. Therefore, the

combined impact of these environmental forces are perceived as elements influencing these women's decisions.

Gelles (1976), in his interviews with 41 battered women, identified clear patterns influencing the decision of abused wives. He discovered that a woman was more likely to leave the abusive situation when violence was frequent and severe. Women who were exposed to violence as children, either as a victim or witnesses, were more likely to remain in the abusive situation. Furthermore, the more social and economic resources women had, the more likely they were to seek outside intervention. Prescott and Lekto (1977), in their exploratory study of 40 women, reached similar conclusions.

It can be deduced from the above findings that the patterns of staying, leaving, and returning are not only related to personal concerns such as, loss of status, children's emotional, and material welfare, but also to cultural and structural factors. The decision for battered women to leave is difficult and the reasons for leaving varied and complex.

Help Seeking Behavior and Sources of Help

Some studies have looked at the battered women's help-seeking behavior. For instance, Flynn (1977) finds that, of the 33 battered women in his sample, two-thirds reported they had used family and friends for emotional sup-

port and temporary shelter. Over two-thirds had received counseling from marriage counselors, with only a few reporting cooperation from their partners. Over half of the sample had consultation with attorneys. Roy (1977) found that among 150 battered women, two-thirds sought police help. The remaining one-third failed to do so for the following reasons, in decreasing order of frequency: (a) fear of reprisals by husbands; (b) fear of social disgrace; (c) lack of faith in the police systems' response; and (d) to prevent the children from witnessing their father being apprehended by the police. Approximately 65% of the population attempted to secure help for themselves from the Family Court. "A majority of the women who had access to family in position to help, choose not to involve them" (Roy, 1977, p. 38). Fear of reprisal directed at their relatives or friends was a strong deterrent. Only 25% of the women reported to have consulted a marriage counselor. A large contributing factor was the unwillingness of their husbands to accompany them to the counseling sessions.

Prescott and Letko (1977) examine the patterns of 40 battered women's help-seeking behavior and observe that specific problems lead women to seek various kinds of interventions. Nearly all the women talked with someone about their abusive situations. Eighty one percent of the population contacted friends. Relatives are the next most frequently contacted group, followed by the police and marriage coun-

selors. Their analysis suggests that those who contacted the police, clergy, and women's groups are experiencing more severe physical abuse. If the violence extended to their children, women are more likely to seek help from community agencies. Women married to men with high job status are more likely to have contacted a therapist than women whose partners are employed in low occupation status. They conclude that women's help-seeking behaviors are affected by the specific nature and severity of their problems.

A Canadian study conducted by McEachern, Adler, Roland (1980) suggests that the characteristics of the 785 women using the various services offered in the Hamilton area, differ considerably. Women seeking services from the shelters and the police, tend to be younger and to have fewer children than those seen at either Family Services Association or at the Family Court. They also point out that the profile of battered women may differ greatly depending upon where the sample was identified.

Rounsaville (1978) discovered some differences between the battered women who returned for follow-up counseling sessions and those who did not return. The group of women who engage in psychiatric treatment was substantially older, more likely to have been longer in the abusive situation, more likely to have received previous mental health care, and more likely to have contacted the police. Surprisingly, the severity and length of abuse did not predict that the

women would seek psychiatric help. Rousanville concluded that the differences cluster around: (a) the point in the history of the abusive relationship; (b) the social resourcefulness of the women and (c) their hesitation to use psychiatric services.

The Legal and Judicial Systems

The Legal System

Historically, the legal system has been preoccupied with the maintenance of the family unit in the face of almost all adversities. The law as the most obvious explicit source of social norms, both shapes the values of society and reflects the attitudes of those who frame them. These values directly influence the policies developed with regard to wife abuse. They also indirectly influence the treatment received by the battered women from the legal system.

Dobash and Dobash (1979), Downey and Howell (1976), Macleod (1980), McShane (1979), and Munson (1980) comment on the reluctance of the legal system to interfere with family matters. They criticize the legal system's attempts to resolve violence within the family in a civil rather than in a criminal fashion. Macleod (1980) suggests that the traditional attitude of the law, to protect the sanctity of the family unit, has significantly limited the options open to battered women. That author proposes two basic principles

that must be reaffirmed in any attempt to provide more effective legal options to battered women.. First, all individuals should be protected against violence whether it occurs within or outside marriage. Second, the law should uphold the value that the use of physical force outside and inside the family unit is unacceptable. Macleod emphasizes that wife abuse constitutes a crime and should be treated as such by the legal system.

Judge Abella at the Symposium on Inter-Spousal Violence (Williams, 1981) suggests that the attempt to prevent the dissolution of the family should be balanced with the right of the individual to end the relationship if this one is perceived as non viable or destructive.

Over the years there has been an increasing intolerance towards wife abuse which resulted in various changes within the civil and criminal law system. Munson (1980) examines the past and present roles of the civil and criminal systems in the United States in regulating family violence. He proposes the intrusion of criminal law into the family.

Judge Abella (Williams, 1981) examines various changes that have taken place within the Canadian Justice System. The new perspectives can be summarized as follows: the judicial system disapproves of inter spousal violence and indicates that although their conduct is essentially a private matter between spouses it is a matter of social and

community concerns which ought to be treated with the same respect as any criminal matter.

Macleod (1980) reviews the areas of provincial and federal authorities with regard to law in Canada. Women who have been battered by their spouses have five main legal options. Three of the options available are under federal jurisdiction. "Under the criminal code, she may charge her husband with assault, or apply for a peace bond; and under the Divorce Act she may divorce him on grounds of physical cruelty" (Macleod, 1980, p. 41). Under the provincial jurisdiction she may apply for an injunction or for an *ex parte* interim order. Laws under provincial jurisdiction are both administered and amended by the individual provinces. As a result, considerable variation exists from one province to another under provincial jurisdiction.

On January 4, 1983 new criminal laws about assault and sexual offences came into force. The legal meaning of assault remains the same; any intentional use of force against another person, without his or her consent, is an assault. However, sexual offences are now viewed as a form of assault and married women are entitled to lay charges of this nature against their husband. This change grants new protection to the victim of sexual offences and makes it easier to prosecute the sexual offender. It also reduces the burden on the victim who testifies in court.

Technically it is possible for battered women to lay charges against their partners and to protect themselves from further assault. However, in reality it is not this simple. Women do not take any actions in court for fear of further reprisals from their partner, for fear of destroying their marital relationship, lack of information, or simply because they are afraid of court procedures. Moreover, judicial procedures take time and money.

Downey and Howell (1976) claim that the legal system's attitude must change to provide encouragement for the women to give full consideration to their legal rights. They also make various recommendations to enhance the effectiveness of the legal system in dealing with wife abuse. They propose that: (a) all individuals involved in the process of justice should share the idea that women battering is an unacceptable phenomenon; (b) battered women should be provided with knowledge about their rights; (c) battered women should receive information and support regarding marriage dissolution and property settlement; and (d) firmer legislation is necessary concerning wife abuse.

Some of these recommendations constitute the basic principles used by Macleod (1980) to develop a three part model of legal change. Her model incorporates change in legal policy that can ease the implementation of new laws. Such policy would include; (a) referring battered women to transition houses in all cases; (b) contacting social ser-

vices for immediate emergency financial assistance ; (c) carrying through with arrest and sentencing when women press charges; ~~(d)~~ not recommending trial reconciliation periods on couples prior to granting a divorce; (e) accepting evidence of post assault as permissible evidence in an assault case between husband and wife; (f) ensuring that police training in domestic disputes does not emphasize reconciliation where this is not the desire of the parties; (g) allowing women to apply for an injunction whether or not they are also applying for divorce; (h) instructing police to accompany women to the marital home, to collect their belongings.

According to Macleod, this list of possible changes in legal policy can be incorporated in a model which would ensure that the needs of battered women are heard. Such changes would decrease the present inconsistencies in legal procedures that weaken social policies and programs.

Law Enforcement Services

Law enforcement officials play a central role in providing assistance to battered women. Frequently, the police are the first resource contacted by women in need of immediate protection from their male partners. Parnas (1967) reports that the Chicago Police Department receives more calls concerning domestic violence than for all other categories of serious crimes, such as aggravated assault or

murder. The response of the police and the effectiveness of their intervention are therefore of primary importance.

Field (1978) provides evidence to support the necessity for police officers to provide adequate assistance to battered women. His research demonstrates that (a) not all family disturbance calls involved violence but a significant proportion do; (b) repeated calls for police intervention signify the likelihood of serious injuries, and (c) conflicts between abusive partners are likely to escalate from threat to simple assault, to aggravated assault, to homicide.

Unfortunately, the police response to domestic violence has been in the past, affected by their personal attitude toward the problem and by the capacity of the police to provide services. Law enforcement officials have regarded instances of domestic violence essentially as a private matter (Bannon, 1975; Macleod, 1980; McShame, 1979; Straus, 1979). Police officers frequently share the beliefs about the privacy and peace of the family and female subordination in the family. According to Macleod (1980), such attitudes affect police effectiveness since it gives implicit approval to the abusive partner and reinforces women's feelings of isolation and helplessness. McShame (1979) suggests that such attitudes also underly the fact that family disturbance calls are generally given low priority in the officers' duty. Roberts (1984), Bannon (1975), Dobash and Dobash

(1979) report that in some police departments, procedures were instituted to systematically screen incoming calls as a way to refrain from responding to family disturbance calls. Screening procedures involve the decision not to respond to certain calls and those relating to domestic calls receive lowest priority. Various authors describe cases of battered women who have indicated police reluctance to take action until several reported beatings have taken place.

When police officers do answer family disturbance calls, they often feel ineffectual in dealing with such situations. Until recently, the typical role of the police in domestic violence calls was to intervene, to stop the immediate conflict, to advise the couple of their legal rights and to avoid arrest. According to Roberts (1984), such practice fails to relieve tension between couples and sometimes serves to exacerbate the situation.

Most authors in the field have criticized the nature of police responses to domestic disturbance calls. Many of them complain strongly against law enforcement officials who do not intervene immediately and do not consider this a criminal matter. Van Stolk (1976) and Woods (1979) comment on the police tendency to avoid arrest and to use mediation procedures. Van Stolk points out that police officers are not sufficiently trained to recognize the case in which mediation procedures will simply not work and where other types of actions are necessary. Woods (1979) identifies

outcomes of the mediation procedures. Briefly, the use of mediation procedures often results in separating the couple and discouraging the woman from pressing charges. In some instances, it involves taking the man's side in the argument.

Straus (1977) also criticizes the attempts made by police officers to resolve conflicts between violent partners. He notices that too rarely referrals are made to community resources and seldom do police officers assist women in pressing charges. He deplores the fact that police officers rarely offer to arrest the husbands when the women are concerned with their safety.

The issue of whether or not to arrest the violent spouse is a much debated topic among women's groups and police. Roberts (1984) discusses the benefits and contra-indicators for arrest. He concludes that although not every domestic violence case necessitates an arrest, domestic violence victims are entitled to the enforcement of the law and cannot be deprived of their rights as crime victims. Roberts also attempts to explain the reasons for the traditional reluctance in dealing with domestic disturbances, and proposes the following explanations; (a) police officers are aware of the danger associated with domestic disturbances calls; (b) police training programs do not provide sufficient knowledge and skills in such vital areas as family crisis intervention, family violence, anger control,

stress, family conflict management, and group dynamics; and (c) police reluctance to intervene also derives from the frustration of having to answer numerous calls which are rarely resolved.

In Canada, Macleod (1980) attributes police reluctance to deal with domestic disturbance calls to the fact that police officers have no clear guidelines defining their action in these situations.

There is general consensus in the literature that traditionally police officers have been forced to respond to these situations without the benefit of formal training. They have to rely on their own experiences, a great deal of common sense, and little if any, community or department support.

Nowadays, many police officers are becoming more receptive to the severity of wife abuse problems and to the need to respond more efficiently. Various police training programs are being developed in the United States and Canada. They focus on both training and skills building, as well as on the development of tactical units to respond to family violence calls. Teams of trained patrol officers with intensive consultation and support provided by professionals are used (Bard, 1971). Carr (1982) describes the various components of a multidisciplinary police crisis team and the values of collaborative efforts between different professions. Loving (1982) develops formal written procedures for

patrol officers dealing with domestic violence. Most of these authors argue that police officers trained to understand and to recognize the dynamics of domestic violence deal with the issue in a more appropriate and efficient way.

In Canada, some police departments share this recognition and have installed special training programs or crisis intervention units to deal with cases of domestic violence. Macleod (1980) briefly describes five crisis intervention units operating in Canada. Most of these programs are formed by a multidisciplinary team whose objectives are to provide twenty-four hour crisis intervention service and referrals to appropriate community resources.

The philosophy reflected in these crisis intervention units stress the importance of cooperation between the police and other community agencies in dealing efficiently with battered women. In 1980, programs designed to improve the police ability to deal with family disputes were found in every Canadian Province (Macleod, 1980).

Levens and Dutton (1977) report in their five major evaluation studies on the effects of police training in domestic crisis intervention. They write that trained officers are slightly more likely to remove one of the partners from their home than untrained officers (21% compared to 18%). Trained officers are also twice as likely to refer one or both spouses to the justice system for a peace order. Downey and Howell (1976) comment on the use of police

trained in crisis intervention. They suggest that the use of trained officers decreases repetitive calls for assistance to domestic disputes, reduces injury to police officers, reduces the time spent handling domestic disputes and makes referrals to social workers for ongoing counseling and other aid.

Medical Services

Battered women often seek medical assistance. Apart from their need of medical treatment for injuries received, some women expect the medical professional to be supportive and understanding. Unfortunately, this is not necessarily the case.

Downey and Howell (1976), Macleod (1980), and Shames (1979) report situations where physicians disregard a woman's request for help, or they are reluctant to refer battered women to social services, shelters, or to the police for prosecution. They criticize the medical profession for their tendency to concentrate almost exclusively on the medical aspects. Chester (1971) cites various reasons to explain the medical response. Such attitudes may arise from concerns over professional confidentiality, or a narrow role definition in reaction to anxiety provoking situations, or a lack of knowledge about community agencies, or uncertainty about advisability of prosecution.

Macleod (1980) elaborates briefly on the lack of awareness by the medical profession, which perpetuates the secrecy of marital violence. She deplores the fact that physicians are not requested by law to report and question suspected cases of wife abuse. Moreover, she recommends that the medical profession should take a more active role in the prevention and treatment of wife abuse.

Some authors suggest that victims of wife abuse are seen more frequently in emergency rooms than the general population (Bergman, 1976). A large number of these victims, however, are unrecognized and therefore unaided except for the physical aspects. Fortunately, some programs do meet the needs of an increasing number of battered women in the emergency room. Klingbeil and Boyd (1984) provide general guidelines for the treatment of domestic violence in emergency departments.

The Federal, Provincial, Territorial Report on Wife Battering (May, 1984) indicates that none of the Provincial Health Departments have initiated specific policies or practices related to battered women. This domain is considered to be the responsibility of individual hospital boards. Moreover, this report provides data acquired from a survey of the various Canadian hospitals. At first glance, it seems that the issue of battered women is not being addressed. Battered women treated in emergency rooms generally receive routine hospital attention. Unless a woman

presents herself as a battered woman, the staff often would not inquire. When women identify themselves as battered women, social workers may be called to assess their situations, to provide crisis counseling or make appropriate referral to community resources. The resources suggested include transition house or the police, if acceptable to the woman.

The survey conducted in Canadian facilities, however, also reveals that there is a genuine interest in this subject. Some hospitals have begun preliminary work in this area. In June 1984, a pilot study was conducted in a teaching hospital in Winnipeg to develop a protocol for assessing and identifying wife abuse in emergency or medical practice settings. At the Regional General Hospital of Saskatchewan, a special project has been in operation since November 1982. This project reviews spousal abuse cases coming to the attention of this hospital. The social work department of the Waterford Hospital in St. John's, Newfoundland has developed a written protocol for the management of spouse abuse patients admitted to their facility. The Federal, Provincial, Territorial Report on Wife Battering not only supports these new programs, but also provides some recommendations for the improvement of health services to battered women.

Mental Health Services

There is a sizable amount of literature discussing mental health professionals' responses to battered women's request for help. Bass and Rice (1979), Dobash and Dobash (1979), Flynn (1977), Higgins (1978), Marcovitch (1976), and Martin (1976) all report inadequacies in the practice of psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, family therapists, and marriage counselors. These studies discuss sexism in counseling, bias toward preservation of the family, the tendency to blame the victims, the lack of information about resources in the community, and avoidance of the violence as an issue. There is also discussion as to the degree of knowledge most counselors have regarding the issue of battered women. All these attitudes indirectly affect the manner and degree to which services are provided to the couples.

Richard and Horman (1981) describe four assumptions which should guide the practitioners in their interactions with battered women: (a) violence is not an acceptable behavior; (b) wife battering is a social problem and a learned behavior; (c) the worker must attempt to stop the violence and; (4) battered women need support and information to make their own decisions. These assumptions underlie most of the treatment strategies described in various detail in the literature.

Social Workers

Social workers encounter abused women in many settings and under various circumstances. Like other disciplines, however, they have failed to identify the problem as one of violence. Social workers who do so, are likely to ignore or dismiss the women's complaints about violence.

Various authors notice that social workers are often inept at recognizing and therefore in dealing effectively with wife abuse. Nichols (1976) and Costantino (1981) provide reasons explaining the ineffectiveness of the services that social workers render to battered women. They discovered that: (a) there is a widespread acceptance of Freudian Theory regarding the female personality and; (b) an emphasis on preservation of the family. Nichols (1976) suggests that: (a) the patriarchal social system marked by male dominance influences social workers towards avoiding the issues; and (b) the conceptions that male aggressiveness is biologically based are commonly held. This is viewed as a crucial element of male identity, and precluded the questioning of male violence.

Costantino (1981), in his study of social worker's intervention with battered women, provides two additional reasons. He explains that: (a) social workers' fear and lack of training in dealing with violent situations, and (b) lack of an overall cohesive approach to intervention with battered women, restricts social workers in assisting appro-

priately. The assistance received and response given by social workers reflects their belief about the nature of the violence and the women's real problem, their views on the family unit, and the lack of community resources.

Social workers have been asked to re-evaluate the quality and effectiveness of their interventions. Melville (1978) indicates ways in which social workers can improve their service to battered women.

Nichols (1976) recommends that social workers be more assertive in designing services for both the battered women and their partners. Schulyer (1976) suggests that social workers take a more active role in designing strategies of intervention in relation to battered women. She suggests that social workers take a leadership role in educating the public and other professionals, in working toward legislative changes, in promoting the establishment of shelters for battered women, and in assuming a more dynamic role in the area of advocacy. Costantino (1981) proposes a multidisciplinary approach towards effective intervention with services that are comprehensive, continuous, and coordinated.

Harris (Williams, 1981) examines the practice of Canadian social workers and presents an intervention model to improve social service delivery to battered women. The model defines the battered women issue as criminal and public.

This model was presented at a symposium on interspousal violence, which was coordinated by the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) in 1981. An objective of this symposium was to prepare a position paper on wife battering. According to CASW "Policy Statement on Social Workers Practice with Assaulted Women and their Families" (1982):

The responsibility of social workers must include both individual, non-judgmental support for women who are assaulted, and efforts to make the system as a whole more responsive to their needs and aspirations. In the community, social workers should support public education, the establishment of transition houses and appropriate services for victims, their children and the perpetrators of violence in the home (...). Finally, the social work profession must devise strategies for altering the social conditions which underly wife assault. (CASW, 1982, p. 10,11)

The CASW judges the problem of battered women to be the most pressing concern within the spectrum of family violence.

Social Work Services

Battered women turn to various segments of public and private social services in an attempt to obtain help and to satisfy their needs. Temporary financial assistance, day care, and protective services often supersede or accompany counseling concerns. A brief review of the literature pertinent to these areas is provided.

Financial assistance. Higgins (1978), Macleod (1980), McShane (1979), indicate that economic considerations play a very important part in the decision of battered women wheth-

er or not to leave the violent situation. Without money, a woman cannot find an adequate place to live, cannot pay a lawyer's fee and so she must rely on legal aid; nor can she support her children.

Most battered women are in need of temporary financial assistance. Macleod (1980) deals specifically with the restrictions inherent in the Canadian system. She discusses the various forms of financial help provided by social welfare agencies, churches, and feminist groups. She concludes that due to various delays in the eligibility process these agencies are not very helpful. In some instances, women are required by Welfare Law to leave the matrimonial home and petition for separation or divorce before being able to obtain government aid.

Most battered women not only have to fight for their survival but also have the responsibility of caring for their children. According to Macleod (1980) and McShame (1979), cut-backs in day care facilities have also aggravated the situation. Without adequate child care services, battered women do not obtain the necessary assistance to modify their life style. Because of the necessity of these two support services, Bishop (1980) recommends that they be addressed not only on a local level but on a national scale as well.

Counseling services. Counseling services are provided in most communities. Battered women can turn to social ser-

vices agencies, public mental health centers, hospitals, (both general and psychiatric), shelters, pastoral services, and family medical centres. Although the resources appear numerous, battered women do not have the guarantee that services will be available when they need help, nor any assurance that the counselor will be aware of the dynamics involved in a battering situation.

^ To provide improved counseling services to battered women, various treatment strategies have been described in the literature. They vary in technique, scope and purpose. Resnick (1976) was one of the first authors to delineate issues in counseling battered women. She describes various techniques in dealing with common emotional reactions experienced by battered women. Resnick also addresses various problems encountered such as financial problems, legal difficulties, physical injuries, and protective assistance.

Woods and Habi (Woods, 1979) also provide specific guidelines in working with battered women. Their treatment strategies include:

- (1) affirmation of the woman's strengths; (2) reducing social isolation; (3) the importance of concrete aid and information; (4) developing alternatives; (5) realistic appraisal of abusing spouse; (6) recognition of social pressures, role expectations and economic constraints; (7) developing independence and self-esteem (Woods, 1979, p. 65).

Heppner (1978), Elbow (1977), Henson and Schinderman (1980), and Sinclair (1985) remind counselors that they have a crucial role to play in helping battered women to acquire

a sense of personal power which allows them to make decisions about their lives. In situations where women decide to remain with their abusive partners, counselors are suggested to; (a) teach behaviors and observation skills; (b) clearly explore legal options; and (c) provide them with information about existing shelters, crisis phone lines, and self-defense training programs (Heppner, 1978).

Elbow (1977) emphasizes the need for professionals to be aware of indicators of a battered woman's readiness to leave her violent situation. She discussed and classified these indicators in four categories. They are as follows: (1) Self-planning, (2) Investment in self as a person, (3) Realistic perception of her situation. The incidents of abuse are not isolated but part of a pattern. (4) She wishes to leave her situation even when she is not being battered. Elbow argues that premature plans made by counselors can lead the women towards frustration and alienation from the source of assistance.

Other authors stress the need for careful assessment of the individual dynamics before establishing any treatment plans. Among them, Hendricks-Matthews (1982) considers that the lack of attention to the individual's readiness for therapy can and often does result in the application of inappropriately timed interventions which the women are not yet able or willing to use. According to Hendricks-Matthews, issues "that should be integral components of an

appraisal of the psychological and emotional states of every battered client include the extent of her learned helplessness, her system of causal attribution, and her locus of control" (Hendricks-Matthews, 1982, p. 132). This assessment should be conducted as early as possible since it provides guidelines for appropriate treatment strategies.

Klingbeil and Boyd (1984) caution counselors to remember that the urgency of resolution may be theirs and not the women's. If the women are not ready to leave the relationship, counselors are suggested to remain available to provide adequate support and direct services.

Due to the complex situation of battered women, Bern (1982), Henson and Schinderman (1980), Heppner (1978), Star et al. (1979) recommend a multidimensional approach in working with battered women. Bern (1982) proposes a model which demonstrates how a given individual, subjected to stress and socialization in the use of violence, may progress from a violent incident to the chronic use of violence within the marital relationship. He distinguishes three phases in the process of socialization toward the use of violence. Based on these three phases, Bern (1982) conceptualizes different forms of intervention which apply to violent couples at different points in the process.

Star et al. (1979) perceive the experience of battered women as a complex one which is not confined to the violent marital situation. Battered women's reactions to the mari-

tal violence reflect patterns of behaviors developed in the various stages of their lives. Based on this perspective, Star et al. (1979) propose a therapeutic intervention model for working with battered women. They advocate the use of various modalities of intervention, as it is relevant to the personality and needs of the women. They briefly discuss the importance of relying on: (a) crisis intervention in the initial stage of the treatment, (b) to use shelters for battered women so that women are provided with a secure environment conducive to self-disclosure, and (c) to use other modalities which stimulate alternative foci of growth, such as group therapy and individual counseling.

Henson and Schinderman (1980) describe crisis intervention, feminist therapy, and an eclectic combination of insight therapy and behavioral modification. Components of the eclectic approach may include individual insight oriented therapy, group therapy, and behavior modification.

Most of the preceding authors suggest that for maximum effectiveness, therapeutic contact with battered women should extend beyond crisis treatment and a period of brief respite in a shelter. It should also involve long term therapy and ongoing groups.

Post emergency counseling. When battered women seek assistance from mental health professionals for post emergency counseling, a variety of modalities of intervention are available. The most frequently mentioned in the litera-

ture are, individual counseling, feminist therapy, couple counseling, and group therapy. Comparison of the effectiveness of each modality is not possible to date because of lack of an empirical basis. However, empirical research on the process or outcome of intervention with these special clients is recommended by most researchers.

Higgins (1978) conducted interviews with 20 counselors of various helping professions who were working with couples having problems of violence. His results indicate that most counselors used individual counseling with battered women. This result is not surprising since most of the women who contact mental health professionals come alone.

Higgins (1978) disagrees with this practice which reinforces the traditional model of focusing on the victim rather than on the husband or the relationship. Although Geller (1982) supports this argument, she prescribes individual counseling when couples desire to terminate their marriage. As opposed to the above positions, Walker (1979) supports the use of individual counseling. She reports that battered women find individual counseling to be most useful.

Some feminists feel adequate counseling for battered women can only be provided by another woman or at least a counselor with a feminist perspective of the problem (Sinclair, 1985).

Ball and Wyman (1977-1978) recommend the use of feminist therapy in counseling battered women. The basic

assumption of this therapy is that power differentials between the woman and counselor must be equalized. The client is perceived as being an equal and is reminded that it is her responsibility to make her own decisions. The counseling sessions are designed to teach clients to overcome their feelings of guilt, anger, and to exercise more power over their lives.

Many women want to remain in their relationships, but without violence. Many of these women request couple counseling as opposed to individual counseling. Several couple counseling approaches have been developed to respond to such request. Geller (1982) supports the value of conjoint therapy in treating the violent couples, in situations where battered women decide to remain in the relationship. Endorsing a system's perspective, she argues that "the most effective method of treatment is to work with the system, and thereby change the environment in which a person lives" (Geller, 1982, p. 201). In other words, this approach allows the therapist to treat the abusive behaviors and to improve the way the couple relate to each other's needs.

Geller and Wasserton (1984) use a case presentation format to describe specific interventions which have been used successfully with violent couples. Their model also stems from a systems framework and incorporates interventions to focus on and eliminate the violent behaviors. It

was used successfully with 250 couples and thus convinced the authors of its effectiveness.

Weitzman and Green (1982) also discuss the theoretical and practical implications of system theory in the treatment of violent couples. They focus specifically on conjoint therapy but admit that a variety of modalities of intervention may be undertaken based on the assessment of the situation. These authors suggest that the therapist's decision should rest on the couple's overall psychological functioning, and their ability to control violence.

Day (1980) perceives couple counseling as one service component of a larger response to the problem of wife abuse. He relies on Walker's (1979) cycle of violence to assess the couple dynamics and delineate various intervention strategies which could be helpful in marital counseling sessions.

Straus (1977) considers that marriage counseling can make a valuable contribution to the battering problem when it focuses on reorganizing the nature of the couple relationship. The counselor can provide additional assistance to women who have low self-esteem and poor sense of adequacy.

Higgins (1978) briefly comments on the outcome of marital counseling. He reports that most cases are resolved either by divorce or by termination of counseling which is

often followed by more battering. Therefore, Higgins asks counselors to assess their views on divorce.

There is controversy about the use of couple counseling in battering relationships. Criticisms against the use of this modality have been made by feminist groups and others. Davis (1984) reports that shelter staff do not approve of it for several reasons. The main reason is based on the idea that, the use of this modality implies that each partner shares responsibility for the abuse, an implication vehemently denied by many authors.

Walker (1979) identifies other issues which help to explain some of the difficulties with couple counseling as a treatment of choice. First, she argues that battered women do not enter the therapeutic relation free from the terror of another beating. Consequently, she may be more likely to minimize or deny her needs when contingency contracting is done. A second major problem with this modality is that abusive men often refuse to acknowledge that they have a problem. It seems that the most successful motivation for a batterer to seek help is for the woman to leave him. He thinks therapy will help him get her back. Third, Walker (1979) suggests that the system resistance to positive changes in couple counseling, appears greater than the resistance encountered when working with its individual member. Thus, Walker recommends the use of other therapeutic modalities as an initial strategy whenever possible.

There are times, however, when couple counseling is the only means of offering assistance. Walker (1978) developed a therapeutic model for couple counseling which incorporates some of the elements identified above. They stress the importance for the couple to be aware of the reasons underlying the therapy. Initially, the man and woman work separately, and the couple lives apart. After a short time the couple is allowed to move back together and to join conjoint therapy sessions. This approach allows each individual to increase their own self-esteem and to acquire more confidence, so the relationship becomes free of coercion. The couple improves their communication skills and recognizes their own behaviors in their unique battering cycle. The therapists spend time strengthening the positive behaviors and changing the negative ones to prevent violence in the future. Behavior rehearsals and role playing on video tapes are often used.

Although some problems exist with couple counseling, the majority of the authors cited above believe couples can benefit from the treatment.

Numerous authors prescribe the use of group counseling in treating battered women. They perceive this modality of intervention as being beneficial to women. Star et al. (1979) consider this method to be effective for "developing socialization and interpersonal skills as well as providing participants with feelings of acceptance" (p. 87). Assert-

iveness training groups and consciousness-raising groups are the two therapeutic modalities often prescribed.

Many authors perceive assertiveness training as a modality offering great potential in treating battered women (Ball & Wyman, 1977-78; Heppner, 1978; Marcovitch, 1976). Assertiveness training is designed to enable women to act in their own best interests and to exercise power over their lives. Ball and Wyman (1977-78) and Heppner (1978) find that verbal self-assertiveness is an appropriate strategy for dealing with feelings of anger in a non-violent and realistic way. This modality is designed to help women clarify their rights, feelings, and to develop a personal belief system.

Joining a consciousness-raising group can also be helpful to women. Such group experience is designed to help women to become more aware of their individual and legal rights (Saunders, 1977). Rounsaville et al. (1979) are among the only authors to report on their experience with a consciousness-raising-reality oriented group for battered women. They suggest that counselors establish rapport with the participants through brief individual therapy before suggesting group therapy. Moreover, attempts should be made to form an heterogeneous group which would elicit support and understanding among participants.

The problems of providing post emergency counseling to those involved in abusive situations are clearly great.

There is no agreement in the literature as to what modality of intervention is the most effective approach in work with battered women. Comparison of the counseling methods and their effectiveness is clearly required. However, all of the preceding presentations are helpful in that they provide a starting point for thinking about effective intervention with battered women, their partners and families.

Protective services. Through the persistent effort of many women's groups nationwide, many communities now offer assistance to battered women seeking alternatives to their violent situation. These groups usually have as one of their prime purposes the establishment of shelters for battered women and their children. Such shelters provide temporary accomodation, protection, and support to battered women and their children from periods anywhere from a few days to a few weeks. To reach these main objectives, most shelters offer crisis and support counseling, emergency health services, advocacy, assistance in obtaining community services, referral to existing community services, and follow-up support.

These services are provided by the staff of a shelter or by professionals from outside agencies. Most shelters rely also on supportive volunteers due to a restricted number of staff. Marcovitch (1976) discusses the various roles and functions assumed by the volunteers in shelters for battered women. Melville (1978) stresses the importance for

volunteers to undergo basic training in casework and to acquire some understanding of marital violence.

Many emergency shelters have been established in North America to respond to the needs of battered women. In the United States the last five years have witnessed an increase in the number of shelters. Most of them are constantly filled to capacity and often have to turn women away. In Canada the number of transition houses has grown from 8-10 in 1974, to approximately 147 in 1984 (see Appendix D).

Presently, these transition houses are not evenly distributed across the country. Two-thirds of the houses are in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia, while the North West Territories, Yukon, and Prince Edward Island have respectively only one shelter available to battered women in need of protection. Moreover, most of the transition houses are found in urban areas. As a result, battered women from rural areas do not have access to transition houses and have less alternatives to their situations.

The Federal, Provincial, Territorial Report on Wife Battering (1984) reviews in detail the federal and provincial contributions to the needs of battered women. This extensive report reviews all existing programs (such as transition houses), policies and legislation currently available and responding to the problems of battered women. It also explores some of the various alternatives available for the future.

MacLeod (1980), Melville (1978), McNeily and Jones (1980) identify some of the difficulties encountered by the various shelters nationwide. Most of these authors emphasize the discrepancy among provinces and states in the amount of government financial support provided to the shelters. Various complaints have been formulated about the uncertainty and shortage of funds to keep the houses in operation. Other authors criticize the various stipulations and restrictions imposed by provincial funding sources. MacLeod (1980) argues that these restrictions often place unnecessary pressures on the transition house staff, restrict the staff from providing services as they would want, and leave many women with no alternatives but to return home.

Many descriptions of shelter programs and services existing in North America have been published recently. Martin (1976) provides a brief description of eight shelters in the United States. She discusses setting up a shelter, house rules, founding services, and the establishment of satellite housing in rural areas. Metzger (1976) describes the Women's Advocate Crisis Housing. She outlines the philosophical structure and general objectives of shelter programs and stresses the importance for an educational research component of the total program. Henson and Schinderman (1980) recommend and describe the use of various therapeutic modalities while working with women in a shelter.

and conceptualize a sojourn at a shelter as a three stage experience which each woman goes through.

McNeily and Jones' (1980) article outlines the service objectives developed prior the opening of Sojourner Truth House (STH), in Wisconsin, in 1978. They aim to share these findings with groups presently engaged in designing optimal shelter services for battered women. Some of these suggestions are summarized below. First, there is a need for shelter staff members to design and conduct training programs on domestic violence, for lay persons as well as professionals. These workshops increase local awareness, improve community support, and assist professionals to intervene actively in abusive family situations. Second, considerable attention must be given to altering the battered women's state of emotional and financial dependency. Third, they advocate second stage housing at which women can reassess their own strengths and vulnerabilities in a relatively secure environment, and can learn new coping skills and problem-solving techniques.

Although most authors concerned with the subject of domestic violence support the establishment of shelters for women, most facilities are only now starting to evaluate their programs. This is seen as pressing. There is also support for the use of temporary shelters for battered women, as a means of reducing injuries, lessening reinforce-

ment for abuse and enabling women to decide their future alternatives.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This study analyzes social work periodical literature on wife abuse for the period 1970-1984 inclusive, using content analysis methodology. This methodology is presented as a research method used to study the development and trends regarding the status of knowledge on wife abuse published in journals commonly read by social workers.

Content analysis is a research technique that has been employed in many professions. Holsti (1969) describes the development and increasing use of this method which occurred during the last eighty years. The first investigations carried out by content analysis were confined to journalistic studies. During the 1930's, this method was increasingly used in sociological, historical and political research. During the 1940's, political scientists and psychologists relied on content analysis to study newspaper editorials, propaganda and political speeches. During the 1950's, content analysis was often used by fields such as folklore, history, linguistics and psychotherapy. In recent years, content analysis has been applied to audio/visual and non-lexical materials.

Content analysis has also been used in a variety of ways in social work research. Taber and Shapiro (1965)

review all the articles covering the years of publication of Social Work, Social Casework and Social Service Review through 1963. The purpose of their study was to examine the professional literature around the question of knowledge building in that period of time. Weinberger and Tripodi (1963) describe the trends regarding the amount and type of research studies reported in Child Welfare, Social Casework, Social Service Review and Social Work, over the time span 1956-1965. Howe and Schuerman (1975) study changes in theoretical perspectives and methods of intervention in three major social work journals for the period 1957-1977. Cain and Klerman (1979) used Child Welfare, Social Casework, Social Work and American Journal of Orthopsychiatry to analyze the content of articles about child abuse. Gunther (1979) analyzes selected social work literature over an eight year period (1970-1977) to capture a tentative social work perspective on organizations.

More recently, Ma (1981) analyzed articles sampled from Social Work Research and Abstracts to investigate the journal literature on social work supervision. Jenkins et al. (1982) analyze abstracts of social work dissertations published in Social Work Research and Abstracts between 1975 and 1979, to acquire data and determine trends in social work doctoral education. In 1984, Tripodi published an article which reviews research trends in social work journals from 1956 to 1980. Nevertheless, a study of the peri-

literature on wife abuse subjected to the methodology of content analysis has not yet been undertaken.

With an increasing number of professional publications and limited amount of time available for reading in numerous professions, the potential of this method is great for identifying particular professional concerns which deserve further discussion, research and publication (Ma, 1981).

Content analysis has been defined in the literature in different ways. It has been described as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952; Kelinger, 1973), and for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages within a text (Holsti, 1969; Stone et al. 1966). This research method assumes that the study of manifest content is meaningful, and that inferences can be made from the knowledge of the content.

Despite the diversity of the emphasis, "content analysis is an objective coding of communication messages developed to yield data relevant to specific hypotheses concerning content or research questions" (Allen-Mearns, 1984, p. 52). All the definitions point to four basic elements in the methodology of content analysis. These are: (a) maintenance of objectivity, (b) execution of systematic procedures, (c) careful analysis of the facts and (d) making inferences from the documented evidence. Maintenance of

objectivity requires that formulated rules and definitions be specified to enable others to secure the same data. "To be systematic is to be methodical, that is, to logically establish an overall plan whereby information processing can proceed" (Ma, 1981, p. 16). An analysis of the facts involves the careful study of the manifest content, and an examination of its meaning. Making inferences "is the attempt to derive meaning from the overt attributes of the document. It is a projection of ideas based on documentary evidences" (Ma, 1981, p. 17).

In essence, content analysis is a research method which encompasses all the elements of empirical research. It involves the application of a scientific method to documentary evidence with the purpose of gaining some knowledge and understanding for subsequent research (Ma, 1981). These basic elements are incorporated in the design and implementation of this study.

Procedure

The application of content analysis involves several important steps. Budd, Thorp and Donohew (1967) identify six stages in that kind of research. Those stages are adopted as a methodological framework for this study.

The framework involves the following steps:

- (1) Formulation of the research question(s) and development of the categories for data analysis
- (2) Selection of the sample
- (3) Collection and tabulation of the data
- (4) Identification and interpretation of the findings
- (5) Presentation of conclusions and recommendations.

The remaining part of this chapter discusses the first two steps of this framework.

Formulation of Research Questions and Categories

To investigate systematically the research problem, a number of research questions are presented in this study. They are identified and stated in the introduction chapter (cf. purpose of the study). These questions provide the basis for the development of seven major categories for data analysis and the selection of principles of classification.

Each major category is developed from an analysis of the literature on wife abuse. As new insights are acquired these categories are expanded and modified. The application of this process to refine the various categories is supported by Holsti (1971). He notes that the development of categories requires the analyst to work closely with the material under study, moving back and forth from the content to the categories.

Following the development of the categories, specific rules of classification are formulated for each category. These rules are used to determine (1) what kind of information belongs in each category (recording unit), and (2) what is the body of content that may be searched to classify the data (context unit). Budd et al. (1967) and Holsti (1971) note that the selection of the recording unit is generally based upon which unit (single word, theme, paragraph, or entire article) provides satisfactory results and satisfies the requirements of the study. Moreover, "the recording unit must be appropriate and sufficient in size to guarantee the appearance of the message or content under study" (Allen-Meares, 1984, p. 56). According to Selltitz, Wrightsman and Cook (1976), the use of a structure instrument such as a questionnaire, helps to identify the size of the units of the material to which the categories are to be applied. In fact, each question provides a natural unit for classification.

To ease the process of abstracting the relevant information on each article, an instrument, the Wife Abuse Inventory (W.A.I.), was constructed by the writer (cf. Appendix E). This structured instrument consists of a series of items or questions with various response categories relating to the seven major areas under investigation. Specific rules of classification were also developed and stated in the instrument, for each category. The size of the record-

ing unit varies from a single word, to a theme or a specific section of the article. Finally, the instrument is designed to use specific sections of the articles, as the context unit.

The Wife Abuse Inventory includes items relating to seven major content categories which are identified, defined, and discussed in this section. The seven major categories are:

1. Authorship
2. Dimensions of Wife Abuse
3. Theoretical Perspectives of the Articles
4. Research Orientation of Articles
5. Service Delivery
6. Social Intervention
7. Social Treatment

Authorship

This major category is designed to collect descriptive information on authorship. The category includes items such as the gender, professional status, organizational affiliation of the author and country of current employment. These items are relevant for the analysis of the periodical content of the study presented. The following questions are addressed in this category:

1. What is the gender status of the author?
2. What is the author's country of current employment?
3. What is the professional or employment status of the author?
4. What is the organizational affiliation of the author?

The organizational affiliation of the author includes "university", "mental health services", "medical clinic", "legal services", "social services", and "transition houses". If the organizational affiliation of the author cannot be classified in any of the above categories, then the categories "other" and "not specified" are used.

The above information is obtained by examining the articles for introductory remarks, footnotes or background data of each author. Such information is usually explicit and appears at the beginning of the article.

Dimensions of Wife Abuse

Research on spouse abuse conducted in the seventies and eighties focuses on different aspects of the problem. This major category will serve to determine the relative amount of emphasis given to the different dimensions or aspects of the subject wife abuse as they appear in the social work periodical literature for the period of 1970-1984.

Each article is categorized according to the correspondence of its content to one of the following principal subjects or themes: (1) the psycho-social characteristics of

wife abuse; (2) the practitioner (professional attitudes, roles, function); (3) theory (clarification of concepts, construction, comparison, analysis or critique of a theoretical model(s)); (4) literature review; (5) intervention technology (strategies, methods, techniques at any level of intervention); (6) discussion of research methods; and (7) programs and/or services providing assistance to abused wives.

The coders were instructed to decide the major theme of the articles by carefully examining the content, with particular reference to the abstract and the conclusion section of each paper.

Theoretical Perspective of the Articles

This study identifies the theoretical perspective of each article in order to: (a) gain some understanding of how the subject of wife abuse is conceptualized, and (b) determine the nature of changes that have occurred over the past decade in the conceptualization of wife abuse.

Various theories and conceptual frameworks have been used to explain the phenomenon of family violence. A long history of research on aggression and violence in non-family settings account for a large number of theoretical formulations presented in the literature. Most of these theories can be applied to the family situation. Depending on the causal factors related to each of the theories, Gelles and

Straus (1979a) classify fifteen theories into three analysis levels: the intra-individual, the socio-psychological and the socio-cultural. The basic assumptions and emphasis of each model as outlined by Gelles and Straus (1979a) are identified below.

Intra-individual model. This model explains violence in terms of the offender's personality characteristics, and "includes theoretical approaches which link mental illness, alcohol and drug abuse and other intra-individual phenomena to acts of family violence" (Gelles, 1980, p. 881). The basic assumptions of this model are: (a) violence is caused by abnormality which occurs within particular individuals, (b) some of the abnormal or deficient characteristics of the individual include inadequate self-control, sadism, psychopathic personality types and undifferentiated forms of mental illness, (c) while external circumstances may be situationally relevant in facilitating or inhibiting abusive episodes, they are of relatively little importance for explanatory purposes, and (d) the abused wife is perceived as a victim of her husband's mental disorder (Benjamin & Adler, 1980).

Socio-psychological model. This model examines the interaction of individual with his social environment. Theoretical approaches included in this model focus upon the dynamics of the violent situation, marital interaction patterns, the life cycle of the violent episodes, the transmis-

sion of violence from one generation to another, and environmental stress factors. The basic assumptions of this model are: (a) "violence and abuse can be best understood by a careful examination of the external environmental factors which impact on the family" (Gelles, 1980, p. 881), (b) violent behavior is a learned phenomena transmitted from one generation to another, (c) the family serves as a training ground for violence, (d) violence "occurs when the individual struggles to cope with negative self-attitudes which arise out of devaluating psychological experiences" (Gelles & Straus, 1979a, p. 562).

Socio-cultural model. The socio-cultural model "provides a macro-level analysis of family violence" (Gelles, 1980, p. 881). The theoretical approaches included in this model attribute violence in part to the social structure of the society. An underlying assumption is that social norms legitimate violence in the family. Two major and distinct subcategories of the model are the "male domination" and "socio-structural" approach. Each subcategory is discussed below.

Proponents of the "male domination" approach place emphasis on social attitudes toward women. They place causal emphasis on the unequal power relationship between men and women (Koslof, 1984). The "socio-structural" approach views family violence as a response to, or symptom of stress that originates in the social structure of society. It is

assumed that social structural stress is unequally distributed throughout society in that the lower socio-economic classes of society tend to be most vulnerable. It is hypothesized that stresses such as poverty, unemployment and unmet role expectations lead to individual frustrations and these frustrations lead in turn to violence. It is also believed that violence is a learned behavior, usually acquired during childhood.

The coders were instructed to identify the theoretical perspective of the article on the basis of the assumptions identified above. More specifically, they were instructed: (1) to become familiar with the above classification system; (2) to identify and read the theoretical section of the article; (3) to identify the theoretical assumptions stated by the author(s) of the article; and (4) to classify the article according to the appropriate theoretical model. Two additional categories were created for the classification of articles which do not fall into any of the above categories. These were the "atheoretical" and "others" category. The "atheoretical" category includes studies which lack a clear theoretical base. Such a category also incorporates clinical articles where the values inherent in treatment, or treatment practice, or approaches to treatment are discussed. If the theoretical approach of the article could not be classified in any of the above categories then the category "others" was used.

Research Orientation of Articles

One of the objectives of the present study is to identify the research orientation of the social work journal articles on wife abuse, for a 14 year period. To accomplish this objective, the articles are classified by means of a schema developed by Weinberger and Tripodi (1969). This classification system was originally developed to describe trends regarding the amount and type of research studies reported in selected social work journals, over a time span 1956-1965.

This classification system is divided into two major divisions: empirical and non-empirical research. Within each division, the authors identify major categories which are defined according to the purposes and methods of research. Subcategories were employed for further differentiation among the types of articles. Figure 1 presents Weinberger and Tripodi's (1969) classification system.

FIGURE 1

Weinberger and Tripodi Research Classification System

Empirical Research

(1) Experimental Study

- (a) Laboratory experiment
- (b) Field experiment

(2) Quantitative-Descriptive Study

- (a) Program evaluation
- (b) Population description
- (c) Searching for variables

(3) Exploratory Study

- (a) Combined exploratory-descriptive
- (b) Use of specific data collection procedures
- (c) use of experimental manipulations

Non-Empirical Research

(4) Research Theme Study

- (a) Review of articles
- (b) Essay review
- (c) Strategies and issues
- (d) impressions and implications

(5) Research Method Study

- (a) Study of empirical methods
- (b) Discussion of empirical methods

The basic criteria for conceptualizing distinctions within the major categories of the Weinberger and Tripodi Research Classification System are identified below.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Division 1: Empirical Research

Empirical research encompasses studies which include the use of systematic observations and standardized procedures which can be independently reproduced (Greenwood, 1957).

Major Categories

Definition

Experimental

Experimental studies have the primary objective of verifying and testing hypotheses concerned with cause-effect relationships. The distinguishing features of such studies are "the experimental manipulation of one or more independent variables, the use of control groups, and the employment of randomization procedures to assure that the experimental and control groups can be regarded as equivalent" (Tripodi, 1969, p. 22).

Quantitative- descriptive

These studies are empirical research investigations which have as their major purpose "the delineation or

assessment of characteristics of phenomena, program evaluation, or the isolation of key variables. ...They employ personal interviews, mailed questionnaires, and/or other rigorous data gathering devices and survey sampling procedures" (Tripodi, 1969, p. 38).

Exploratory

Studies included in this category have "as their purpose the formulation of questions for subsequent research, developing hypotheses, or increasing an investigator's familiarity with a phenomenon or setting for more precise future research" (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 442). The data collection procedures used in these studies incorporate techniques such as interviews, participant observations and content analysis.

Division II: Non-Empirical Research

The studies in this division include documentary or bibliographic studies, essay reviews, and articles that describe therapeutic strategies or present theoretical arguments.

Research themes

This category includes articles which discuss research either in general terms, as a field of social work endeavour, or in terms of the implications or review of research findings (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969).

Research method

The category "research method" applies to methodological papers where the purpose is the development, exposition, or criticism of research strategies.

Personal position

For the purpose of this study, this category is created to classify articles which do not fall into any of the above category. It includes articles where the author(s) discuss their personal impressions and positions on specific issues. These impressions are derived from participation in a project, program or other personal experiences.

Each of the articles in this study is classified according to the basic criteria developed by Weinberger and Tripodi (1969). The first step is to identify if the article is empirical or non-empirical. The second step is to identify the major research category by examining the prob-

lem statement, and the methodology section of the article. Moreover, instructions are given for analysis of article content and require verification of the labels presented by the research study, before coding it on the basis of labels defined in this study.

Service Delivery

As professionals recognize the seriousness of the issue of wife abuse, services and programs to deal with abused wives and their families are developed. Some authors have described these various services and have elaborated various strategies pertinent to the improvement of the delivery of services to battered women. One objective of this study is to collect information on service delivery to battered women, as it appears in the social work periodical literature for the period 1970-1984. More specifically, this major area of investigation is designed to: (a) identify the type or nature of community services described and/or discussed by the author(s); (b) determine the emphasis given to the various problems associated with the delivery of services to battered women; and (c) identify the mode of intervention being used or recommended for use as a basis to improve the service delivery system. To address these objectives, a system of classification with associated guidelines is presented and discussed below.

Community services. The community services (resources) described and/or discussed in the articles were classified under one of the following five categories of community service: (a) law enforcement services; (b) legal and judicial services (eg private attorneys, legal aides, courts); (c) health services (eg emergency, out patient services, hospital, health clinics, alcoholic treatment centers); (d) religious/spiritual services (eg pastoral counseling, clergy); (e) social services. The "social services" category was subdivided by type of services offered. These included material aid services, counseling services, and emergency services (transition houses, hot lines).

In order to identify the type and nature of the resources described and/or discussed in the article, the coders are asked to review the content under the section label "intervention strategies" and "community resources". They are also instructed: (1) to record each resource type discussed in one or more paragraphs; and (2) to classify each of these resources under the appropriate category. These categories are exhaustive and the instrument allows the coders to identify more than one category.

Problems related to service delivery. This category will serve to identify the problems associated with the delivery of services to battered women and to determine the relative emphasis given to this issue. To create an appro-

private category. the writer consulted an article published by McShane (1979) in which she discusses the problems associated with the delivery of services to battered women. Her critical analysis of service delivery deficiency focuses upon four kinds of problems: fragmentation, inaccessibility, discontinuity, and nonaccountability. This scheme is relevant to this analysis of periodical content. The problems discussed in the articles were, therefore, identified and classified according to the following criteria.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Types of ProblemsDefinition

Fragmentation

This category concerns organizational characteristics and relationships, especially problems of coordination, location, specialization, and duplication of services.

Inaccessibility

This category concerns the obstacles encountered by a person entering the network of local social services. "Does bureaucratic selectivity based on social class, race, success potential or other characteristics exclude certain persons from services?" (Gilbert, 1972, p. 25)

Discontinuity

Problems of discontinuity concern a person's movement through the network of services and the gaps that appear as an agency tries to match resources to needs" (Gilbert, 1972, p. 25).

Nonaccountability

This category is concerned with the

relationships between persons served and the decision-makers in service organizations: Is the person needing help unable to influence decisions that affect his/her circumstances? (Gilbert, 1972)

Modality of intervention. What modality of intervention does the social work periodical literature discuss to improve the delivery of services to battered women? To identify the modality of intervention discussed in the articles, a model of intervention developed by Harris (Williams, 1981) and her co-worker D. Sinclair, was used. This model, the Domestic Violence Project Intervention Model, is a strategy for comprehensive intervention within a particular geographical area (Williams, 1981, p. 30). Its overall goal is to improve service delivery to families affected by domestic violence within a particular area. This model identified five major intervention components: counseling, service of coordination and resource development, professional training, public education, and social action. The use of volunteers, research and funding are assumed as part of the overall strategy.

This model of intervention developed by Harris and Sinclair was used to classify the method of intervention discussed in the articles. However, this study added to their model, the use of research as a method of intervention

to improve service delivery. Figure 2 presents the Domestic Violence Project Intervention Model with this latter modification added.

FIGURE 2

Domestic Violence Project Intervention Model

Goals: Improve service delivery to
domestic violent families

Major Intervention
components

1. Counseling
2. Service Coordination and
Resources Development
3. Professional Training
4. Public Education
5. Social Action
6. Research

Subdivision

Case identification procedures
Crisis intervention capacity
Ongoing counseling programs
Follow-up services

To facilitate the process of categorization, coding
instructions asked for classification of the modalities of

intervention discussed in the articles, on the basis of the following definitional criteria:

DEFINITION OF TERMS

<u>Intervention Component</u>	<u>Definition</u>
1. Counseling Component	
a. Case identification	This activity involves asking the clients if they are victims of violence, rather than waiting to see if the information is volunteered.
b. Crisis intervention capacity	This area includes activities that are needed to respond immediately to the occurrence of wife abuse.
c. Ongoing counseling programs	This refers to counseling services provided to the battered women and/or their partners beyond the crisis period.
d. Follow-up service	This refers to services provided to terminated clients.
2. Service Coordination	This category refers to the processes of surveying a community, connecting relevant existing

and

Resources Development

services, and assisting them in becoming as responsive as possible in meeting the needs of violent families. (Williams, 1981)

This category refers to the establishment of new resources or programs which will remedy deficiencies of services identified in the community.

3. Professional Training

This category "addresses the changes in attitudes and the building of skills required to provide effective service".

(Williams, 1981, p. 31)

4. Public Education

This category concerns the process of achieving community awareness and participation.

5. Social Action

This category includes broader systems strategies such as legislative policy, analysis and change.

6. Research

This category refers to the process of producing new studies on various issues related to wife abuse.

Social Intervention

Within the last decade social workers have come to a greater understanding of the nature and dynamics of wife abuse. From this knowledge, they have been able to develop guidelines for social intervention. The adjective "social" modifies the term intervention giving emphasis to the primary area of social work practice. The term "intervention" refers to activities undertaken by practitioners to carry out their functions, subsequent to the development of a service contract with a client. These activities are intended to modify or eliminate stress-producing conditions or to help people cope more effectively with their problems. The practitioner's functions and activities are classified under four different approaches to social intervention, namely, advocacy, education, facilitation, and support. The practitioner can select from these different approaches to more effectively carry out the purpose of the intervention. The present category is designed to provide information on the nature of the various social intervention approaches discussed in the social work periodical literature for the period under study. A second purpose is to identify particular groups within the population who are seen as most liable to be the target of the social work practitioner.

Social intervention approach. To determine the approaches to social intervention discussed by the authors, it is necessary to carefully analyze the overall content of

the articles and to identify the types of activities discussed in the articles. The content of actual case example presented in the articles was excluded from analysis.

To assist in the classification process, the coders were instructed to classify the various types of activities discussed in the articles on the basis of the following criteria.

SOCIAL INTERVENTION

Approaches

Functions & Types of Activities

Advocacy

This approach encompasses the roles of advocate on behalf of a specific client (or client group) or being a helper to people who want to advocate on their own behalf. The objectives are to help an individual or a group obtain a needed resource or to obtain policy change or concession from a resistant, disinterested or unresponsive system (Pincus & Minahan, 1973). Typical activities include: active representation, lobbying, program and resource development, social action, and policy development.

Education

This approach includes roles such as

those of the teacher, expert and consultant. The objectives are to help people acquire information, knowledge, and skills (Pincus & Minaham, 1973). The typical worker activities include: information giving, teaching, providing consultation, giving interpretation of social laws, and modeling effective behavior.

Facilitation

This approach encompasses the role of the mediator and the social broker. Objectives are to stimulate and mediate linkages within and between systems, to help them overcome apathy and disorganization, to help them mobilize their own resources and to enhance their own coping mechanisms. The worker's activities can be: facilitating expression of feelings, locating resource for clients, providing advice, and mediating between clients and their own environment.

Support

This approach encompasses the role of the supporter and the enabler. Objectives are to enhance the clients' awareness of their own behaviors, to

provide an opportunity for ventilation, and give reassurance. The workers' activities can be: paraphrasing, confronting, clarifying and reflecting the clients' situation.

Articles in this study are also analyzed to determine the various groups of population which are the target of the practitioner's intervention. The target population is defined as the population group which is the object of the practitioner's intervention or change activities. The target population may include the battered woman, the violent partner, the couple, the family, a group of battered women, a group of violent partners, or the community at large.

The above information is obtained by identifying the population group(s) which is the subject of the intervention(s) discussed in the article. This information is usually explicit in the article. To take an example, if the intervention strategy discusses the necessity to provide support and give reassurance to the battered woman, the coders check the category under the heading of "battered women". The category of "violent partner", "couple", "group of battered women", and "community" are used in similar fashion.

Social Treatment

This category refers to various intervention strategies designed to help individuals, families and small groups to improve in social functioning and to cope more effectively with their social problem. This category includes the following nine methods of social treatment. They are: crisis intervention, conjoint therapy, family therapy, feminist therapy, group counseling, milieu treatment, reality therapy, self-help group, and problem solving. Each of these strategies is defined according to their major objectives (see Glossary of Definitions, Appendix H).

This major category was designed to differentiate between the various method of social treatment emphasized in the journal articles of the study population. The coding instructions asked for a classification of the various strategies on the basis of the definitional criteria provided in the glossary of definitions. For the articles which address more than one particular method of social treatment, the coders were instructed to check an item named "various combinations" and to identify all the modalities of social treatment discussed by the authors.

Selection of Sample

Several steps and criteria are developed to identify the sample population. First, it was decided that the sample will encompass articles appearing in social work periodical literature. This decision was based on the assumptions that: (a) the content of professional periodicals reflects the current issues, trends, and subjects of concern to professional practitioners; (b) the articles are accessible to the social workers and influence their thinking and practice; and (c) social workers are more likely to have their research reports published in their own professional journals.

Regarding the first assumption, it is recognized that information and research studies usually appear in journals before they are published in books. "This can be explained on the basis of quicker and less costly access to a wider reading audience" (Ma, 1981, p. 5). Periodical literature seems to provide a vehicle for ready dissemination of knowledge relevant to the profession (Ma, 1981).

As to the second assumption, it is noted that the social work professional journals are subscribed to by most university libraries, and social service agencies. Because of this wide distribution, the journals are perceived as being readily accessible to the profession. Moreover, in reviewing the letters addressed to the editors, one can

identify the concerns displayed by the readers about recently published issues. Readers' backgrounds vary and include academicians, administrators and clinical practitioners. These observations support the assumption that the articles are accessible and influential in the social work community (Ma, 1981).

In support of the third assumption, it is recognized that professionals tend to publish in their own journals. This is based on the fact that the information publisher intends to contribute at some level to social work knowledge and practice. However, it is recognized that social workers can and do submit their research studies or reports in other sources and journals of various disciplines.

Second, the years 1970-1984 were selected because that time period marked a period of increased recognition of marital violence as a problematic aspect of family relationships. Until recently, the subject of wife abuse has been essentially ignored by both researchers and academicians. As a result, very little information dealing specifically with marital violence appears in published material prior to 1974 (see Appendix A).

The third step was the designation of the journals from which articles were to be selected. Since there is a large number of social work journals, it was decided to refer to Social Work Research and Abstracts. That outlet was selected because: (1) it is a quarterly reference work

which presents articles of interest to social work; (2) it is national and international in scope. (3) it has been used in previous social work content analysis studies (Ma, 1981; Zimbalist, 1978; Jenkins et al., 1982); (4) this journal covers the time period under study; and (5) it cites 28 different professional journals under the subject of wife abuse.

The fourth step consisted of creating a comprehensive list of all relevant articles. This was accomplished by surveying the cumulative yearly index of each volume of the Social Work Research and Abstracts using key words, such as 'abuse', 'assault', 'battered', and 'violence' jointly with one of the following nouns; 'domestic', 'family', 'marital', 'spouse', 'wife', and 'women'. These different combinations were included since there is no formal agreement among writers, researchers, and practitioners concerning terminology. In addition, the title of all articles that appeared relevant to the study were listed.

After the entire list was completed, each article was reviewed individually to determine if it should be included in the sample population. Each article had to meet each of the following criteria to be included in the sample.

- (a) The article is listed under one of the following headings: 'abuse', 'assault', 'battered', and 'violence'. These headings must be used jointly

with one of the following nouns: 'domestic', 'family', 'marital', 'spouse', 'wife', and 'women'.

(b) The abstract of the article indicates that the article focuses on wife abuse and the contents of the article contain a clearly identifiable discussion of wife abuse.

(c) The year of publication of each article is within the time period of 1970-1984 inclusive. Articles which did not meet all the criteria for selection were not included in the sample.

A total of 68 articles were included in the sample on the basis of the above criteria. (They are listed chronologically in Appendix A). These articles are considered to accurately portray the social work periodical literature that appeared on this subject during the period of 1970-1984. To test this assumption, all the articles on wife abuse published in the eight widely read social work journals were recorded (see footnote 2). Although they do not represent all the literature in social work, they are assumed to be exemplary journals familiar to most social workers.

(2) The eight journals reviewed were; Child Welfare, Journal of Marriage and the Family, Journal of Family Issues, Social Casework, Social Service Review, Social Work, Social Work in Health Care, and Social Work with Groups.

This assumption is partially supported by previous content analysis of the social work literature (Kirk & Rosenblatt, 1980; Taber & Shapiro, 1965; Tripodi, 1984; Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969).

This test reveals that the articles found in these journals for the period 1970-1984 were all listed in Social Work Research and Abstracts. This check confirms that the entries in the Abstracts are highly representative of the social work periodical literature on this topic and forms an adequate population base for analysis. Appendix C identifies the distribution of the articles by year and journal source.

Reliability

Content analysis as a research method must ensure some measure of reliability on the collection and analysis of data. In a content analysis, reliability is concerned with the clarity of the coding instrument and the coders' ability to accurately and consistently obtain similar results, after following the written coding instructions. The frequency of agreement between the coders provides a measure of the reliability of the measuring instrument.

According to Allen-Meares (1984), the index of consistency of agreement between the coders depends upon the degree of ambiguity of the content, the degree of ambiguity

of the classification system, and the skills and training of the coders as related to a specific judging situation.

The most important threats to reliability are those that originate from the coding instrument. Thus, if classification procedures and category definitions are not clearly and adequately defined, the coders will undoubtedly misclassify the content and the reliability coefficient will be low. As a result, the refinement of categories and the development of classification rules with coder training, should provide a higher reliability rate.

Holsti (1971) notes that to a large extent the reliability of classification procedures is a function of category definition and the type and numbers of discriminations to be made. The degree to which the categories and criteria for the category are unambiguous, the higher is the reliability of the coders. Thus, the categories involving words as a recording unit provide for a higher agreement rate and reliability index than the types of categories involving thematic analysis. The first mentioned categories are easier to count and do provide more reliable results. However, if the findings are more specific so are the inferences that can be drawn from it (Carney, 1972).

There is no level of reliability generally agreed upon. Mass and Polansky (1960) consider that the accepted level of reliability is in the 75% range and above. Others suggest

that well trained coders using well constructed codes should be able to obtain a reasonably high level (greater than 85%) of reliability in a coding operation.

In this study, Holsti's (1969) coefficient of reliability is used, and it is measured by a percentage agreement score calculated as follow;

$$C.R. = \frac{2 \times \text{number of category both coders agree on}}{\text{Total of category}}$$

That coefficient determines the reliability of the research protocol and thereby provides various measures of intercoder reliability for each category set. Category reliability enables the investigator to identify which categories require further clarification.

The sample selected for determining intercoder reliability consists of 10 articles randomly selected from the wife abuse articles appearing in the Social Work Research and Abstracts for the period 1970-1984 (see Appendix B). To test the reliability of this research, the coding instrument is applied to the same articles independently by two analysts. The analysts are the researcher and a social work graduate student practicing in the field of family welfare. The coders had previously agreed on the definitions and descriptions of the various categories in the research and each had to follow the written coding directions of the instrument (see Appendix E).

A coefficient of intercoder reliability was obtained for all the content categories in the study (see Appendix G). The total intercoder reliability was computed to be 87% (see Table 1). This constitutes an acceptable level considering the exploratory nature of this study.

TABLE 1

Intercoder Reliability For Major Content Categories

Major Content category	Nb of mutual coding decisions M	Nb of coding decisions N1+N2	C.R.
Names of Journals	9	20	.90
Gender Status of Authors	12	26	.92
Geographical Location of Authors	13	26	1.00
Professional Status of Authors	12	26	.92
Organizational Affiliation of Authors	13	26	1.00
Dimensions of Wife Abuse	8	20	.80
Research Orientation of Articles	8	20	.80
Major Research Orientation	9	20	.90
Theoretical Perspectives of Articles	7	20	.70
Community Services Problems Related to Service Delivery	9	20	.90
Intervention to Improve Service Delivery	8	20	.80
Approaches to Social Intervention	8	20	.80
Method of Discussing Social Intervention	9	20	.90
Target Population	9	20	.90
Method of Social Treatment	10	20	1.00

Coefficient of Reliability = C.R. = $\frac{2M}{N1+N2}$ Total Coefficient of Reliability C.R. = $\frac{14.04}{16} = 0.87$

M = The number of coding decisions on which the judges are in agreement.

N1, N2 = The number of coding decisions made by judges 1 and 2 respectively.

Validity

The content analysis method is concerned with the validity of the instrument used to make the measurement. In this study, the validity of the coding instrument is evaluated on the basis of content validity because of the descriptive nature of the research questions. Content validity is particularly concerned with the adequacy of the different categories of the instrument and the representativeness of the research sample.

Content validity of this research was achieved by constructing appropriate categories and developing precise definitions of these categories drawing from the extensive literature on the subject of wife abuse. The categories were constructed as a basis for analysis and quantification of the contents of the articles in the sample. In addition, the articles on wife abuse were selected through a survey of the Social Work Research and Abstracts for the period 1970-1984. The articles identified in the Abstracts were considered to be representative of the social work periodical literature on this topic and formed an adequate population base for this analysis.

This chapter has reviewed the use of content analysis as a research tool. The method of content analysis is defined and the steps of the methodology are formulated based on Holsti (1969), Tripodi (1969), and Kelinger (1973).

In this study, authorship, dimensions of wife abuse, theoretical perspectives of the articles, research orientation of the articles, service delivery, social intervention and social treatment modalities are investigated. The sample consists of 68 articles which focus on wife abuse and appeared in the journal of Social Work Research and Abstracts for the period 1970-1984. Inter-coder reliability and validity of the instrument is discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the results of the investigation carried out in congruence with the methodology as described in the previous chapter. Those areas of investigation are: authorships, dimensions of wife abuse, the theoretical perspective of articles, research orientation of articles, service delivery, social intervention and social treatment.

Since the data presents considerable variation by year, to facilitate analysis the findings are organized into three five-year periods; 1970-1974, 1975-1979 and 1980-1984. The results are examined in terms of both their absolute and comparative meanings. Moreover, the following research questions are addressed:

- 1) Who contributes to the social work periodical literature on the subject of wife abuse?
- 2) What is the subject matter of the articles presented in the social work periodical literature for the period of 1970-1984?
- 3) What is the research orientation of the studies in the periodical literature?
- 4) What is the theoretical perspective found to be the predominant framework in which the phenomenon of wife abuse is presented? Was there a difference in theoretical perspective reflected in each time period of the study?

- 5) Has the social work periodical literature reflected a concern with or focus upon the delivery of services to battered women?
- 6) What is the predominant social work intervention used by practitioners working with battered women, as discussed in the social work journal literature? Is there a difference in the various social work intervention discussed by the articles during the time period under study?
- 7) What are the predominant methods of social treatment discussed in the social work periodical literature?

Distribution of Journal Articles

The necessity for social workers to understand the issue of wife abuse and most importantly, to intervene effectively was discussed in the introductory chapter. The recognition of wife abuse as a social problem by professionals has precipitated an increase in the number of articles published in the social work journals. Of the 68 articles which form the sample of this study, five articles are published in 1970-1974, compared to 26 articles in 1975-1979, and 37 articles in 1980-1984. These articles are distributed across 28 different professional journals.

Referring to Table 2, it is observed that the Journal of Social Casework has the largest number of articles on wife abuse (17 articles, 25%) followed by the Journal of

Marriage and Family with eight articles (12%). The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry and Social Work published five articles each (7%). Social Service Review, Social Work Today, and Journal of Family Issues have three articles (4%) each. Child Welfare and Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology follow with two articles (3%) each. The remaining 20 articles (29%) are spread across 20 other social work, legal and psychiatric journals. Thus, although social workers are exposed to the material on wife abuse in the professional periodical literature, no one publication, except possibly Journal of Social Casework, deals with the issue intensively.

TABLE 2

Distribution of the Articles in the
Nine Most Frequently Cited Journals (1970-1984) (*)

Journals	1970-1974 (N=5)	1975-1979 (N=26)	1980-1984 (N=37)	Total	Percentage
J. of Social Casework	0	7	10	17	25.0
J. of Marriage and Family	4	2	2	8	12.0
The Am. J. of Orthopsych.	0	3	2	5	7.0
Social Work	0	3	2	5	7.0
Soc. Services Review	1	0	2	3	4.0
Social Work Today	0	3	0	3	4.0
J. of Family Issues	0	0	3	3	4.0
Child Welfare	0	2	0	2	3.0
J. of Consulting and Clinical Psychiatry	0	0	2	2	3.0
Others	0	6	14	20	29.0
Total	5	26	37	68	98.0 +

(*) Seventy one percent of the articles are published in nine journals. The remaining 29% are scattered among 20 other journals.

(+) The total percentage varies from 100 because of rounding.

Authorship

Gender Status of the Authors

This study examines the gender status of authors who publish in the social work periodical literature on the subject of wife abuse. The 68 articles selected for this study were published by 93 authors. Because of multiple authorship, the number of authors is different from the number of articles.

Female authors (50) outnumber male (38) in the total population of authors. This means that 54% of the authors are female and 41% are male. It was impossible to ascertain the gender of five authors (5%) on the basis of their names. Gender ratios changed over the 14 years study. Table 3 shows the percentage of female and male authors during each five year segment of the 14 years under study. From 1970 to 1974, men wrote 86% of the articles published on the issue of battered women. During the second period, when the issue underwent extensive public debate and professional development, the percentage of male authors dropped. Only 29% of the authors were male compared to 62% female. During the period 1980-1984, the percentage of male authors increased to 40% and the proportion of articles written by female authors decreased to 54%.

TABLE 3

Gender of the Authors (1970-1984) (*)

Gender	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Male	6	11	21	38
Female	1	21	28	50
Not specified	0	2	3	5
Total	7	34	52	93

(*) The number of authors is higher than the number of articles (n= 68) due to co-authored articles.

The significance of this trend is best understood when the percentages are compared with previous data on gender status and contribution in social work literature. Indeed, most studies of the academic disciplines show that men write more articles than women. For example, Ma's (1981) findings in the literature of social work supervision, show that during the period 1970-1979, 65% of the total population of authors were males. This result is consistent with Gunther's (1979) study as he shows that, for the period 1970-1977, women have made fewer contributions than men to the literature on Organization in Social Work. Similarly, a study conducted by Kirk and Rosenblatt (1980) on women's contribution to social work journals indicates that for the period of 1964-1968, males published 60% of the articles. For the periods 1969-1973, and 1974-1977, men wrote 59% and

56% respectively of the articles published in five major social work journals. The male contribution to social work literature is comparatively high when we know that they were then, representing approximately one third of the profession (Meyer & Siegel, 1977). From these studies, it becomes obvious that female authors were under-represented in proportion to their membership. Such results raise speculations as to the possible causes.

Various authors have suggested that women in social work, in spite of their majority in the profession, are subject to sex discrimination. Differential treatment of the sexes in society such as career advancement, job responsibility and salary have been observed. Although men and women in social work are found to have similar professional expectations, women seem to direct their efforts towards offering direct services rather than opting for administrative or academic positions. From the data reported by National Association of Social Work (NASW) members for 1971-1972, Fanshel (1976) discovered that far more male social workers had administrative responsibilities, 37% compared to 8% for females. Similarly, Jennings and Daley (1979) who surveyed masters graduates from the School of Social Work at the University of Texas in Austin from 1971-1976, noted that men moved into supervisory and administrative support positions earlier in their career and much faster than women. Finally, Jenkins, Sainz, Cherry,

Nishimoto, Alvelo, and Ockert's (1982) analysis of 712 abstracts of social work dissertations showed a greater proportion of dissertations pertaining to direct practice written by women ($p > 0.02$) with policy and administration dissertations written predominantly by men ($p > 0.03$).

To understand the discrepancy between men and women, Krovetz and Jones (1982) examined the professional expectations and goals of men and women among social work graduate students. Their results indicated that female social work students in general, do not have lower career aspirations, or different professional attitudes than males. However, differences were found in four areas, including (1) expectations regarding parental responsibility, (2) work values concerning leisure time and early retirement, (3) salary expectations, and (4) expectations concerning continuing education. Rosenblatt, Turner, Patterson, and Rollosson (1970) proposed a theory based on differential treatment of the sexes in society and the additional constraint upon career aspirations of women to account for the apparent greater productivity of men in publication. Although part of the differences between sexes can be explained by the above factors, they do not entirely explain the observed discrimination against women.

Considering this evidence, how can we explain that a higher number of female authors contributed to the social work periodical literature on wife abuse? Some explanations

merit consideration. First, if we accept the results provided by Fanshel (1976), Jennings and Daley (1979) and Jenkins et al. (1982), they suggest that female social workers are more likely to provide direct services than their male counterpart, due to their professional orientation. As a result, female social workers are more likely to provide services to battered women. This situation may be facilitated by the battered woman's desire to seek assistance from a female practitioner as opposed to a male. These women may feel more comfortable and may have more confidence in a woman. As a result of their violent experiences with men, many women are deeply affected by their male partners and have limited trust in the opposite gender. All these assumptions however, remain to be tested.

Moreover, the feminist movement has certainly been a predominant stimulus to the publication of articles on the problem. The last 15 years have been heralded as the second wave of feminism (Quan & Austin, 1984). As a result, one can assume that the women's movement has had some impact on what is viewed as important within the helping profession. As programs and services have expanded and raised the consciousness of women as victims, women may have had more opportunities to write about issues of importance to them. The high number of articles published by female authors on the issues may be a response to the invitation of the women's movement to increase women's awareness on the sub-

ject. It is clear from the studies presented above that if more women are to become authors, there must be concomitant changes in their opportunities, level of research interest and educational attainment.

Geographical Location of Authors

The usefulness of the geographical study of authors is sometimes overlooked or not fully valued. Indeed, such examination of geographical distribution can be revealing. As shown in Table 4, authors from the United States are the overwhelming majority of contributors. Seventy eight authors (84%) come from the United States and they consist of social workers, sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists. A smaller number of authors (11%) are currently working in the United Kingdom. In contrast, only 5% of the authors are from Canada. There is only one study contributed by a Canadian social worker, and that person is a student. The background of the authors is discussed in the section on professional status of the authors.

The data presented here are similar to Ma's (1981) data. She reported that 91% of the contributors on social work supervision were from United States, as opposed to 9% from Canada.

TABLE 4
Geographical Locations of Authors

Country	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Un. Kingdom	0	7	3	10
Canada	0	1	4	5
United States	7	26	45	78
	7	34	52	93

The finding that there is a higher number of authors contributing from the United States rather than from Canada may be explained by the difference in the size of population, the number of universities, publishers and journals in both countries. In the present study, of the 200 journals reviewed by the Social Work Research and Abstracts, only seven (3.5%) are Canadian publications. This result suggests that American thought and principles of practice highly dominate the profession on wife abuse. This should be of concern to social workers interested in the question of Canadian identity and problems unique to Canada.

This analysis also reveals that Canadian authors have very few publications in the American and British journals. Among the five Canadian authors, four contribute to Canadian journals, and only one publish an article in an American periodical. This result suggests that: (1) Canadian authors may prefer to contribute to their own professional

journals, and/or (2) American and British as well as Canadian journals may have a selection policy which restrict or limit the number of publication or articles written by foreign authors. Both assumptions, however, remain to be tested.

Organizational Affiliation of the Authors

An examination of the organizational affiliation of the authors offers findings that touch upon other aspects of the sociology of social work publication. Data on the organizational affiliation were available for 88 persons, or 95% of the total population of the writers (see Table 5).

The analysis of Table 5 reveals that when organizational affiliation is considered, faculty members are the most frequent contributors. Sixty three percent of the writers are affiliated to a university. This result implies that the social work periodical literature on wife abuse may reflect the views and concerns of the academicians. But do academicians and practitioners share the same concerns? It is not in the scope of this study to verify this question. The writer thinks, however, that academicians and practitioners do share common concerns for the well-being of the battered women but do not necessarily agree on which questions or specific issues need attention. As a result, the knowledge based published in the social work periodical literature on wife abuse: (1) may not

TABLE 5
Organizational Affiliation of Authors (*)

Organization	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Medical Clinic	0	2	1	3
Mental Health Clinic	0	1	1	2
Legal Services	1	0	2	3
Social Services	0	8	5	13
Transition Houses	0	3	0	3
Universities	5	16	38	59
Others	0	2	3	5
Not specified	1	2	2	5
Total	7	34	52	93

(*) Figure based on the journals reviewed for Social Work Research and Abstracts, 1978, 14 (4), p. 46.

necessarily reflect the concerns of the practitioners working with the battered women, and (2) may present some difficulties for the practitioners attempting to integrate this knowledge to practice.

The contribution of academicians, to the periodical literature on wife abuse, is higher than the result obtained by Quan and Austin (1984) in their review of the content of eight social work journals dealing with women's issues for

the period 1970-1981. They found that 48.6% of the authors writing about women's issues were academics compared to 26.3% who identified themselves as practitioners. Gunther's (1979) study also revealed that university affiliated people (55%) have a higher contribution rate to the social work literature on Organization in Social Work than agency based authors (45%).

These findings suggest that academics are the more active in facilitating the development of professional practice through formal knowledge dissemination than practitioners. A possible explanation for the greater number of articles written by academics is that the university reward system gives heavy emphasis to publication. Therefore, academics must write to maintain their positions and to achieve professional recognition. In turn, practitioners often feel that writing takes second place to practice.

This study also found that 31% of the writers are involved in direct practice. A closer examination of the organizational affiliation of the authors reveals that 14% of the authors identified themselves as working for social services. No distinction was made between supervisors and individuals providing direct services in the field. Although this contribution is relatively small, this result suggests a tendency for practitioners in this field to document their work with battered women. Only 3% of the authors are actually affiliated with transition houses. This result

is not surprising since transition house workers; (1) are constantly involved in crisis situations with battered women and have little time allowed to think and write; and (2) due to their different perspective or professional background may be more likely to publish, if at all, in feminist journals or alternative media. Undoubtedly, transition house workers can provide major contribution to the theories of practice in working with this population. Although only 3% of the articles were written by individuals affiliated with hospitals and medical clinics, the medical system would obviously have an interest in the issue. Considering that the medical setting is conservative and takes longer to implement new policies, changes or new programs, we could expect more contributions from these professionals during the last period of the 1980's.

Professional Status of the Authors

The purpose of this section is to identify the various disciplines or professions represented among the authors, as it relates to the issue of wife abuse.

The professional affiliation of 70 authors (75% of the total population) is identified. As can be seen from Table 6, 33% of the authors are social workers. This finding suggests that social workers do contribute to the transmission of knowledge on the issue of wife abuse. This interest may have been precipitated by the difficulties social workers

are encountering in their attempts to provide services to the family members involved in domestic violence. In Canada, the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) has certainly encouraged their members to develop and improve knowledge leading to more effective intervention strategies.

The obvious reason for the greater proportion of articles written by social workers is that a significant proportion of the articles are published in the journals of the professional association.

Interestingly, 80% of the social work authors are female. This suggests that female social workers make greater contribution to the periodical literature on wife abuse than their male counterpart. Based on the arguments discussed in the section Gender Status of the Authors, this finding is not surprising since: (1) female social workers are more likely to be involved in direct practice and as a result to be working with wife abuser; and (2) they may be more likely to write about feminist issues than male social workers, because they are directly concerned.

A more detailed analysis of the social workers contribution reveals that 12 out of 31 authors focus their attention on programs and services. They describe various programs and discuss the problems related to service delivery. There are 11 out of 31 authors who discuss the psycho-social characteristics of wife abuse. Such articles contribute to

the understanding of the issue and represent an essential step in theory building and the development of intervention strategies. Three authors focus specifically on intervention strategies. Three authors also examine the various theories and clarify various concepts related to wife abuse. Only one author focuses on the role of the practitioner and the other one does a review of the literature. Thus, these findings indicate that social workers are mainly concerned with issues relevant to practice.

This study reveals that sociologists rank second as contributors (17%). In the early 70's, sociologists made important contributions. They developed the concepts of violence and formulated various theories in an attempt to explain the phenomenon. Psychologists rank third, and represent 3% of the authors. Their contributions are more prevalent during the 1980-1984 period. A scanning of other related fields reveal that areas such as psychiatry, law, medicine, family therapy, and computer science are responsible for a small number of the other articles. It comes as no surprise to find that several other disciplines published articles which are reported in the Social Work Research and Abstracts. Evidence from previous studies (Taber & Shapiro, 1965; Jenkins et al., 1982) indicate that social work draws upon the knowledge base of other disciplines in the use of concepts and theories for exposition and interpretation.

TABLE-6

Gender and Professional Affiliation of the Authors

Profession	Male	Female	Not specified	Total
Computer Sciences	0	1	0	1
Family Therapist	0	1	0	1
Lawyer	2	0	0	2
Physician	2	0	0	2
Psychiatrist	2	3	0	5
Psychologist	7	5	0	12
Social Worker	5	25	1	31
Sociologist	10	6	0	16
Not specified	10	9	4	23
Total	38	50	5	93

Further analysis reveals patterns of collaboration among authors (see Table 7). The data reveals that 71% of the articles were written by single authors. The remaining 29% of the articles were written collaboratively (i.e., by two or more authors). To learn about the pattern of collaboration during the period under study, the writer examined each co-authored article. Full information on the professional status of these authors was available for only 67% of the articles (14 articles).

Table 7 indicates that the percentage of articles written collaboratively has slightly increased during the

last fifteen years. This is consistent with Kirk and Rosenblatt's (1980) findings that for the 1934-1977 period, the percentage of collaborative social work articles has increased steadily. If we examine the pattern of collaboration, we notice that 12 out of 14 articles are written by authors of the same discipline. It appears that authors prefer working in collaboration with members of the same field. This pattern has certainly some advantages, but also involves some limitations. In fact, since the literature has shown that the issue of wife abuse is a multi-disciplinary problem, closer cooperation among the various disciplines could enhance knowledge and understanding of the problem.

TABLE 7

Pattern of Collaboration among Authors (1970-1984)

Collaboration	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Common Discipline	-	4	8	12
Diverse Discipline	-	1	1	2
Not specified	2	1	3	6
Total	2	6	12	20

We were also interested in determining the proportion of articles written from different professional perspectives. For the purpose of this analysis, we took into con-

sideration the professional status of the primary authors. Thus, Table 8 shows the professional status of the primary authors of the articles.

TABLE 8

Professional Affiliation of Primary Authors (1970-1984)

Profession	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Psychiatrist	0	3	2	5
Psychologist	0	2	5	7
Social Worker	0	13	9	22
Sociologist	2	5	5	12
Others	1	0	2	3
Not specified	2	5	12	19
Total	5	28	35	68

This study indicates that no contributions to the social work periodical literature on wife abuse were made by social workers during the first period. The total number of articles published by members of the profession decreased from 46% in 1975-1979 to 26% in 1980-1984. According to the data found in this study, sociologists have been among the first to publish on the issue of wife abuse. In 1970-1974, they wrote two articles reported in the Social Work Research and Abstracts. In the subsequent two periods, the number of articles written by psychologists as primary authors, has increased from two articles published in 1975-1979 to five

in the following period. This suggests that psychologists have developed interest and made contribution to the social work periodical literature on the issue of wife abuse. The contribution to the social work periodical literature on wife abuse by psychiatrists has been minimal compared to the other helping professions stated above. To explain this finding one may argue that psychiatrists may be more likely to publish in their own professional journals.

Dimensions of Wife Abuse

Each one of the 68 articles was analyzed to determine its major focus or emphasis. The dimension of wife abuse which received most attention in the social work periodical literature is "psycho-social characteristics", with 20 articles represented (see Table 9). This subject was dominant during the 1975-1979 period. Forty-two percent or 11 articles published during this period stress the characteristics of the battered women.

The findings below give evidence of the importance of professional understanding as to the dynamics of wife abuse and the nature of structural factors associated with violence against women. As Dobash and Dobash (1977b) demonstrate, it is important to collect systematic information to aid in the understanding of violence against women and assist in developing crisis intervention services and long

term policies and programs directed at preventing the incidence of violence. The decline in 1980-1984, in the number of articles related to "psycho-social characteristics" may be partly associated with the growing attention being given to other dimensions related to the issue of wife abuse.

Programs and/or services were the subject of 16 articles (24%). It was first addressed as a topic of the social work periodical literature in the 1970-1974 period. The patterns and limitations of the criminal and justice system in cases of marital violence were first examined. Following upon this, attention was given to the need for social policies and services as a possible aid in the prevention of wife abuse.

In the next five year period (1975-1979), another six articles put emphasis on the same subject. This was not unexpected, since in the mid 1970's, a growing number of battered women sought help from community agencies (Roberts, 1984). The content of the articles seem to reflect the concern of the time and describe programs designed to help physically abused women. They also assess the system delivery of social services and provide various recommendations to improve these services.

In the 1980-1984 period, programs and/or services received the greatest attention with nine out of a total of 16 articles giving this focus. Their analysis suggests a new orientation in the type of study conducted at this time.

TABLE 9
Dimensions of Wife Abuse by Time Period

Dimensions	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Psychological Aspects	-	11	9	20
Programs and Services	1	6	9	16
Theory	3	2	5	10
Intervention Technology	1	2	5	8
Review of Literature	-	3	3	6
Practitioner	-	2	3	5
Discussion of Research Methods	0	0	1	1
Others	0	0	2	2
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	5	26	37	68

The articles go beyond a simple description of the programs and services available. Some of the more recent studies assess the attitude of service providers toward domestic violence. They indicate that service providers hold different attitudes which directly and indirectly affect the manner and degree to which services are provided. They discuss the importance of close case coordination and joint training for the various service providers. The implementation of these suggestions will facilitate the development of mutual-

ly agreed strategies for working with battered women and their abusive partners.

Following third in frequency of occurrence, ten articles focus on "theory". Concern in this area was expressed in the first set of articles written on wife abuse. These articles addressed the difficult task of theorizing from a sociological perspective why certain individuals and families become abusive. They noted that more empirical studies should be conducted on the nature and dimensions of wife abuse. During the second period, only two articles were noted as specifically emphasizing theory. The majority of the articles published during this period focus on the psychological and socio-structural characteristics of the battered women. Although these studies were not able to make definitive statements about causal factors of wife abuse, they give strong suggestion that it is a very complex and multi-determined social problem. The shift from theory in the period 1970-1974 to psycho-social characteristics in the 1975-1979 period was critical to achieving a more comprehensive understanding of the complex inter-related factors that contribute to the problem.

In 1980-1984, a slightly higher percentage of articles (five articles, or 14%) concentrated on theory. These articles attempt to explain the prevalence of this complex social problem. They analyze the subject from a sociological, psychological or socio-cultural perspective and more

recently from a systemic and developmental framework. Most investigators now stress a multi-dimensional approach which encompasses sociological, psychological and cultural factors. Undoubtedly, a more complete understanding of the causes, complexity and impact of violence will help to develop more appropriate counseling approaches and strategies to prevent and reduce this problem.

Eight articles (11%) focus on the technology of intervention used when working with battered women. Interest in this dimension existed since the 1970-1974 period, but it received its' greatest attention in the 1980-1984 period. The strategies of intervention discussed in the articles are based on the authors' observations, personal experiences with battered women, and understanding of the factors related to violence against women.

A limitation in the literature is that the observations are seldom used as a base for research study. Hendricks-Mathews (1982) notices that at the present time, counselors recognize when interventions work, but they cannot explain why, when, and for whom they will work or not work. Yet, because social workers are actively involved in the assesment and treatment of wife abuse, they can generate research on the subject. Outcome studies are needed to determine the relative effectiveness of differential intervention strategies employed with the battered women and their spouses (Snyder & Fruchtmann, 1981). Elaboration on

the various aspects of social intervention is discussed in the section on social intervention.

The six literature review articles published in social work journals during 1975-1984, summarize pertinent information that is essential for the assessment and treatment of wife abuse. Lystad's (1976) review focuses on violence at home. She notes that any comprehensive theory of family violence must take into account cultural, social and psychological factors. She concludes that violence occurs in the home when family and social institutions fail to support a person's needs and expectations.

Benjamin and Adler (1980) examine several aspects of the phenomenon such as, the scope of the problem, the characteristics of the victim, the resources available in the community, and the various exploratory models. They identify four exploratory models of wife abuse, each of which permits the derivation of social policy directives in which implementation is designed to prevent, and eliminate wife abuse. An evaluation of these models suggests that the general system model is the most adequate. "On the assumption that a good theory leads to good policy, the authors recommend implementation of the policy directives derived from this model, and briefly discuss some of the legal and practical implication of this choice." (Benjamin & Adler, 1980, p. 339)

Hilberman (1980) provides some insights on the context in which wife abuse can be understood and suggests alternative theoretical constructs to traditional theories of masochism as an explanation of why women remain in the violent situation. She discusses intervention strategies, clarifies the role of the practitioner and elaborates on problems posed for clinicians working with abused wives.

Goodstein and Page (1981) on the other hand, review the socio-psychological factors associated with abuse, discuss the problem encountered by the battered women when they leave their home, and provide guidelines for intervention. They conclude that treatment in part, rests on questions of patient motivation and timing. However, they suggest that professionals attempt to provide better resources to the women, making them accessible and safe; and to educate health and social caregivers in the community about the problem and the resources available.

All the literature review articles were descriptive in nature. Most of them attempt to relate the research findings to theory and practice. These articles are very useful to provide an overview of the problem, to mobilize the interest of professionals, to assist battered women and their spouses, and ultimately to prevent future abuse.

Five articles discuss the professional attitudes, roles and functions of practitioners, in their interactions with battered women. This finding follows logically from the

fact that most service providers have been found to blame the victim (Davis & Carlson, 1981), and to underestimate the seriousness of the abuse (Markovitch, 1976). Bass and Rice (1979) observed that social workers lack information about resources in the community. Davis and Carlson (1981) also believe that the attitudes of service providers directly and indirectly affect the manner and degree to which services are offered. It seems important then, that social workers be aware of their personal feelings towards the battered women and the other members of the family. Thus, the literature gives recognition to the needs of practitioners for professional growth and development.

Theoretical Perspectives of the Articles

Various theories and conceptual frameworks have been used to explain family violence. Chapter 2 provided a review of those which are considered salient for an understanding of wife abuse and more relevant to social work. The Gelles and Straus (1979a) classification system was used to order these various theories. According to them, the theories can be classified into three levels of analysis, based on the nature of causal factors; i.e. intra-individual, socio-psychological, and socio-cultural. Two additional categories were created to classify articles not fitting into these categories. They are the "atheoretical" and

"other" categories. The purpose of the present analysis is to identify the theoretical model or emphasis taken by the authors. It provides some insights into how the subject of wife abuse is conceptualized and determines the nature of changes that have occurred over the past 14 years. The categories are shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Theoretical Perspective of the Articles (1970-1984)

Perspective.	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Intra-individual	-	-	2	2
Socio-psychological	1	9	6	16
Socio-cultural	2	9	11	22
-male domination	-	3	4	
-socio-structural	2	6	7	
Atheoretical	2	3	4	9
Others	-	1	3	4
Combinations	-	4	11	15
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	5	26	37	68

The socio-cultural model emerged as the primary basis or framework for our social work knowledge on wife abuse. Twenty one articles (31%) discuss wife abuse from this perspective. The first articles which embraced this perspec-

tive appeared in the time period 1970-1974. Since then, there has been a decline in the proportion of these articles, from 40% to 28% in 1980-1984. Within this model, the socio-structural approach is the most frequently reported perspective. The socio-cultural approach has demonstrated that structural circumstances and a sexist power hierarchy between men and women are variables significantly correlated with the occurrence of wife abuse. Its major contribution, however, is to challenge the accepted developmental theories which impose responsibility upon the female and reinforces the societal belief that spouse abuse is an isolated problem. Davis and Carlson (1981), however, find that in their attempt to understand the causes of the problem, service providers continue to give more credence to intra-individual factors rather than socio-economic factors.

Twenty-four percent of the articles discuss wife abuse from a socio-psychological model. A closer look at the data indicates that interest in this theoretical model reached its peak in 1975-1979, and decreased by almost half during the subsequent five year period. Although the socio-psychological model encompasses environmental factors that impact upon the family, it focuses on the more specific interactions occurring in families having a high incidence of violence. It suggests that the psychological symptoms of battered women are the effect of, rather than the cause of wife beating (Koslof, 1984, p. 181). This perspective has

influenced the attitudes and clinical practice of the service providers.

Articles emphasizing an intra-individual model appear in the literature more recently. Their small number (3%) may speak of the relatively little emphasis psychiatry has given to the topic of wife abuse. This finding supports Hilberman's (1980) comment on the contribution of the mental health profession to the literature on wife abuse. She notes that the clinical and psychiatric literature on this subject is relatively new and is often found outside traditional sources.

Articles without a clear theoretical perspective were classified in the atheoretical category. These articles account for 13% of the total population and exhibit a marked decrease from 40% in 1970-1974 to 11% in 1980-1984. The category "other" represents only 6% of the population. Interestingly, all the articles classified in this category in 1980-1984 address the topic of wife abuse from a systemic perspective.

In addition, 22% of the articles were classified as having more than one theory contributing to their particular perspective base. Moreover, there was a definite increase seen in this category when contrasting period one (1970-1974) with an N=0 with period three (1980-1984) with an N=11. These findings indicate greater emphasis on the multi-dimensional perspective during the last five years

under study. The thrust of this change in the literature supports other research which describes a movement away from a single approach toward a multi-deterministic view which encompasses both sociological and psychological factors in abuse (Koslof, 1984; Stars et al., 1979).

Research Orientation of the Articles

The focus of this section is to identify the research orientation of the social work periodical literature. The articles are categorized by means of a classification system developed by Weinberger and Tripodi (1969) which is split into two major divisions: empirical and non-empirical research. Greenwood's (1957) notions of empirical research, including the use of systematic observations and standardized procedures that can be independently reproduced (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 440) were used as criteria to distinguish between empirical and non-empirical features. Within each division, major categories are defined according to the objectives and methods of the research. Subcategories are employed for further differentiation among the types of articles, and are reported in Table 11.

The data indicate that the ratio of non-empirical research to empirical research articles has increased over 14 years from a low of 0.6 (40/60) in 1970-1974, to a high of 1.2 in 1980-1984.

TABLE 11

Research Orientation of the Articles

Orientation	1970-74 (N=5)	1975-79 (N=26)	1980-84 (N=37)	Total (N=68)
EMPIRICAL STUDIES				
Experimental				
-Laboratory	-	-	-	-
-Field	-	-	-	-
Quant./Descriptive				
-Prog. Evaluation	1	1	3	5
-Pop. Description	-	3	3	6
-Search of Variables	-	-	6	6
Exploratory				
-Combined	-	-	-	-
-Explor./Descript.	2	7	4	13
-Data Collection Procedures	-	2	-	2
-Experimental Manipulation	-	-	1	1
Total	3	13	17	33
NON-EMPIRICAL Research Themes				
-Review Article	1	6	8	15
-Essay Review	-	-	-	-
-Strategies and Issues	-	-	3	3
-Impressions/ Implications	-	3	3	6
Research Methods	-	-	1	1
Exploratory/Descript.	1	1	2	4
Personal position	-	3	3	6
Total	2	13	20	35

The proportion of empirical articles decreased slightly in the successive time periods. These results suggest a trend toward more articles devoted to discussion of research problems and fewer articles concerned with simply reporting empirical research. These results are inconsistent with Tripodi's (1984) data which indicate an increasing emphasis of empirical research in the social work periodical literature for the period of 1956-1980.

It is apparent that the bulk of non-empirical research articles are thematic. As an example, for the 1980-1984 period, 38% of all research articles were classified under "research theme" which represents 70% of all the non-empirical articles published during that period. Moreover, within that category the subtypes occurring most frequently are "review article", and "impressions and implications" from specific studies. The percentage of both sub-type categories decreased slightly over this time. The category "discussion of strategies and issues" about social work research account for 8% of the total population of articles in 1980-1984. Those results suggest an awareness among professionals of the need to discuss issues and implications of the various research studies. These articles increased social workers' understanding of wife abuse and called attention to areas where research is needed.

There is only one article discussing problems related to the use of the empirical method in research on wife

abuse. The lack of discussion in this area is not a problem exclusive to wife abuse. Ma (1981) found no articles classified in "research method" on social work supervision. It is suggested that with an increasing appreciation and accumulation of empirical knowledge in the field of social work practice, the significance of research methods will become more apparent.

As indicated in Table 11, the percentage of "exploratory descriptive" studies shows little change over time. There is a decline in the percentage of "personal position" studies from 12% in 1975-1979 to 8% in 1980-1984. These studies, while contributing to the knowledge of social work, can further act as a base for empirical studies. It is noted that no science can survive and remain vital simply on the basis of descriptive studies.

This study also reveals that 33 articles (49%) are based on empirical research. The two categories of empirical research occurring with highest frequency are "quantitative-descriptive" and "exploratory" studies, with 25% and 24% respectively. There are no articles classified into the "experimental" category. However, an increase in studies relying on rigorous data gathering devices and survey sampling procedures for testing of hypotheses is encouraging. Yet, more experimental studies including control groups and the requirement of random sampling techniques to increase generalization of the findings are

required. Data obtained in such empirical studies can provide both an empirical foundation and guidelines to the planning of clinical intervention and evaluation of practice.

The developments and changes which took place within the empirical categories and over the time periods, merit attention. The percentage of "quantitative-descriptive" studies has almost tripled between 1975-1979, and 1980-1984. One notes an increase in studies which seek relationships among variables. The percentage of "population description" studies decreased from 12% in 1975-1979 to 8% in 1980-1984. However, more "program evaluation" studies are published in the 1980's in comparison with the previous period; this undoubtedly reflects the professional interest in evaluation, service effectiveness and accountability. This interest follows logically from social workers' increasing awareness of the need to incorporate research into practice. It is also apparent that more "program evaluation" studies are needed to determine the effectiveness of services provided to battered women.

There is a decline in the proportion of "exploratory" studies, from 38% in 1975-1979 and to 13% in 1980-1984. For the period 1970-1984, there is more "combined exploratory descriptive" studies than any other subtype categories, for each time period.

In summary, these results reflect a transition in the types of research studies reported in the social work periodical literature on wife abuse. However, we must be cautious in interpreting these results since the actual number of articles in the subcategories is relatively small and varies considerably. Nevertheless, the increased percentage in the number of descriptive and non-empirical studies demonstrates that there is a need for more emphasis on empirical research.

Service Delivery

The objective of this section is to examine the findings on service delivery to battered women.

Community Services

As discussed in chapter two, battered women have both short and long term needs which vary according to an individual's life circumstances, adaptive capabilities and psychological status. Women turn to various segments of the private and public service delivery system in an attempt to obtain help and to satisfy their needs. During the last ten years, there was a development of community organizations where the objectives are to provide assistance, information, referral and shelter to these victimized at home. The community services discussed in the articles are therefore classified according to the five categories of service

available in the public service sector (see Table 12). They are: law enforcement services, legal and judicial services, health services, religious or spiritual services and social services. The social services category includes material aid, counseling, and emergency services. The findings provide insights into the type of services that social workers are likely to provide, or to refer to when faced with a battered woman and her aggressor.

TABLE 12

Type of Community Resources Discussed in the Articles

Services	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Health services	-	-	-	-
Law enforcement	-	1	-	1
Legal & judicial	-	-	2	2
Rel. & spiritual	-	-	-	-
Social services	-	9	9	18
Various comb.	2	10	10	22
Total	2	20	21	43

There are 43 articles out of 68 which discuss current and potentially useful programs and services. The remaining 25 articles make no reference to the subject. Few of the articles are based on data collected from systematic research about services to battered women. An analysis by

time periods indicates that 77% of the articles published in 1975-1979 discuss the subject compared to 57% in 1980-1984. That finding is consistent with Davis' (1984) observation that in the period 1975-1979 social workers were preoccupied with the establishment of community services or programs useful to assist battered women and to prevent further abuse.

The results also indicate that debate on the nature and effectiveness of services to battered women continues in the social work profession. The Canadian Association of Social Workers Administrators in Health Facilities (1982) in their position paper on wife battering, recommend that social workers develop effective modes of intervention and programs designed to break the vicious circle. They also see it important to design services for the abusive partner but not at the expense of services to women.

An analysis of the type of community services discussed in the literature indicates that the helping profession understands the complexity of the problem of wife abuse. Twenty two articles (50%) focus on a combination of community services. Moreover, the percentage of articles identified in this category is found to be relatively constant over the last ten years. The major thrust of these articles gives emphasis to the development of a comprehensive domestic violence service delivery system which takes into consideration all aspects of the problem.

A detailed analysis of the 22 articles which discuss community services show that social services are mentioned in 21 articles. It is followed by law enforcement services (18 articles), legal and judicial services (16 articles) and health services (seven articles). Social services are perceived as one component of a larger response to the problem of wife abuse.

As seen in Table 12, 18 articles (40%) give a specific focus to social services. The majority of these articles propose various social intervention strategies, and elaborate on the problems posed for the clinician working with wife abuse. Concomitantly, half of these articles discuss the use of emergency services as a valuable alternative for many battered women who have to escape from their spouse. Less emphasis is given to material aid services. However, it does not necessarily imply that battered women are not in need of temporary financial assistance, day care and other forms of practical assistance.

The findings suggest that social workers are concerned about the emotional well being and physical safety of the abused women. As reported in the literature, a majority of battered women have psychological problems, such as low self-esteem, and depression. For these reasons and others, counseling is obviously important in service provision to these women. Most authors agree that counseling services are an essential component of a comprehensive services.

delivery system to battered women. On the other hand, there is very little agreement on the type and effectiveness of the various treatment modalities. Moreover, Downey and Howell (1976) point out that not many counselors are trained to deal specifically with the problem.

It is apparent from our study, that more empirical research is needed to establish the effectiveness of innovative counseling programs. Such information is obviously important to the professional community. As Downey and Howell (1976) note, understanding of the problems and needs of the battered women, and knowledge of innovative treatment approaches are essential to provide effective assistance to victims of domestic violence.

Articles focusing specifically on the legal and judicial services emerged in the literature (1980-1984). Although they only account for 4% of the articles, they demonstrate a recently developed interest in the subject. The articles focus upon the anomalies and limitations of the legal system in protecting the victims of violence. Judge Rosalie Abella (Williams, 1981) says that there is an increasing general intolerance toward inter spousal violence, which has resulted in some changes in the Canadian judicial system. She also stresses that the court plays an important role in the process by responding to the legal consequences of this behavior. However, social workers must deal with the human consequences. With reference to the

United States, Hemmon (1981) points out that most states have passed new legislation involving family violence, but there is still a lot of work that remains to be done to implement the law. Obviously, if the new legislation means a major change in the life style and attitude of the people, concurrent services must be developed to facilitate appropriate changes. More research into the justice system and how the law is applied to incidents of wife battering should serve as a guide to the development of more responsive and effective policies and procedures.

It is also noted in Table 12 that no articles focus specifically on health services. The function and effectiveness of the health services for battered women have been underlined in articles more generic in content. Moreover, it corroborates Rounsaville and Weinsman's (1977-78) observation that very little study has been published on the use of medical emergency services for battered women. The role of medical social workers in medical settings with battered women has not been clearly articulated in these articles. Nevertheless, they provide guidelines to physicians who may encounter battered women in their practice. Physicians can play an important role in prevention by encouraging women to openly discuss the problem and seek assistance to improve their overall life situation. It is apparent that increased attention is needed to develop programs and services in assisting battered women in the medical setting.

Finally, there are no articles discussing the use and effectiveness of the religious or spiritual services with respect to battered women.

Problems related to Service Delivery

This category intends to provide some insight into the problems associated with the delivery of services to battered women. Deficiencies in the delivery of services to this population can be classified in four categories: fragmentation, discontinuity, inaccessibility and nonaccountability.

The data indicate that professionals are concerned with the organizational effectiveness and the shortcomings of the delivery of services to battered women. In fact, 44% of the total population of the articles (30/68) discuss the problems related to the delivery of services to battered women (see Figure 3).

Most of these articles are based on statements made by battered women or observations made by the authors themselves. As a result, these data reflect the problems that hinder battered women from receiving appropriate help. Systematic research in this area could also provide essential information for the planning of future services.

FIGURE 3

Problems Related to Service Delivery (1970-1984)

Article	Frag. (N= 16)	Disc. (N=10)	Inacc. (N=17)	Nonacc. (N=16)
11				
10				
9				
8				
7				
6				
5				
4				
3				
2				
1				

Period 1: 1970-1974	+
Period 2: 1975-1979	"
Period 3: 1980-1984	"

As expected, the data reveals that various problems are inherent in the delivery of services to battered women. The majority of the articles (96%) discuss two or more of the service delivery problems. A detailed analysis of the 30 articles considered in this category shows that 17 articles (57%) addressed the problem of inaccessibility to the services. The problem of inaccessibility concerns obstacles encountered by women in their attempt to seek assistance. These problems can be related to inattention or lack of community awareness to the potential severity of the problem of violence or to the women's own vulnerability in the face of authority. McShane (1979) notes that problems related to

inaccessibility of community services are aggravated by insufficient information regarding services available, by the lack of finance to use private services and by practical obstacles such as the geographic inaccessibility, or overcrowding of the services.

There are 16 articles which view the community network of services available to battered women as a fragmented service system. As previously noted in the review of literature, the intricate complexity of causative and correlated factors involved in wife abuse, often creates ambiguity for both the women and the attending agency. Women may experience confusion over which types of resources might best help her. They often need various services not necessarily provided by a single agency. According to McShane (1979) many of the services designed to aid them fall under the category of specialized professions and are operated by different agencies. Problems such as these which consist of specialized services, and duplication of services are related to fragmentation. Weidman (1986) notes that fragmented service delivery systems focusing on legitimate but narrowly defined needs of the family are often not coordinated. They offer different solutions to the problem of abuse and may not be in the women's best interest.

This analysis also shows that 16 articles discuss problems classified as "nonaccountability". It includes articles which discuss situations where the women encounter

difficulties within the service system and have little or little recourse. Women who have been emotionally and/or physically abused are unlikely to have the stamina to challenge the existing service system. They may lack information about their individual rights or simply despair of receiving appropriate assistance. Many authors discuss this problem when they consider the judicial system. Women have little recourse in dealing with the various delays in the legal system which ultimately compromise their security. McShame (1979) notes that some communities have formed an advocacy group to assist these women when services are unresponsive to their needs. However, many women fail to use these advocacy groups or do not have access to them.

Other defects in the delivery of services to battered women are attributable to discontinuity. There are ten articles discussing this problem which in some respect resembles the problem of fragmentation. The battered women are confronted with problems of discontinuity when they have to move through a network of services to obtain assistance. Because these services do not necessarily pertain to one another, an absence of coherence and integration of services is common (McShame, 1979). McEvoy et al. (1983) notice that the lack of interagency coordination and communication can significantly influence referral and follow-up. Hence clients who might benefit from other resources are not always referred. A factor that might influence the willingness of

the agency to refer its clients is the perception of another service from a political perspective. While it is clear that all organizations operate within a political context, the openly feminist orientation of some services may be supported by some and distrusted by others.

The problem of discontinuity in service delivery also creates difficulties for clinicians to coordinate treatment plans for clients involved with several agencies simultaneously.

In summary, this analysis of the deficiencies inherent in the service delivery system suggests that many battered women are not receiving the maximum benefit of the services offered by the helping professional. Various problems need to be addressed to improve service delivery to battered women.

Modality of Intervention

Different strategies of intervention have been proposed to resolve some of the problems related to the delivery of services to battered women. Harris and Sinclair's Domestic Violence Project Intervention Model (Williams, 1981) was used to classify the strategies discussed in the literature. After some modifications to the original model, six major modalities of intervention were identified. They are counseling, service coordination and resource development,

professional training, programs and resources evaluation, public education, social action and research.

As can be seen from Table 13, 38 out of 68 articles (56%) outline a strategy of intervention for enhancing effectiveness of service delivery to battered women. The majority of these articles (34/38) suggest that a comprehensive community approach is essential to reduce violence. Only four articles discuss a unique modality of intervention to improve service delivery. These findings suggest that social workers consider that to be effective interventions are needed at the client, community and government level.

This study reveals that 21 out of 38 of the articles (55%) discuss the necessity to provide adequate counseling services to battered women. This modality of intervention includes activities which attempt to respond specifically to the psycho-social needs of the battered women and their immediate family. The objectives of this modality are to prevent future abuse, to ensure safety and to provide support services.

TABLE 13
Strategies of Intervention to Improve Service Delivery
to Battered Women (1970-1984)

	1970-1974 (N=2)	1975-1979 (N=16)	1980-1984 (N=20)	Total (N=38)
Counseling	1	9	11	21
Service coord & resource develop.	1	1	14	26
Professional training	2	6	12	20
Programs & resources eval.	1	1	4	6
Public education	1	7	10	18
Social action	-	4	4	8
Research	1	6	5	12
Other	1	1	8	10

The social work periodical literature has suggested the use of counseling services to improve service delivery to battered women since 1971. The percentage of articles discussing counseling services is relatively the same for the 1975-1979 and 1980-1984 period. This finding clearly suggests that social workers have recognized the importance of providing and improving the quality of direct services to battered women. The review of literature indicates that the majority of the counseling services are provided by family services agencies and shelters.

A detailed analysis of the four components of counseling services indicates that six out of 21 articles promote the use of case identification procedures. These procedures involve asking the women if they are victims of wife abuse rather than waiting for the information to be volunteered. This form of intervention promulgates prevention and may be quite appropriate for agencies that do not deal exclusively with wife abuse. The implementation of these procedures will allow women to verbalize their concerns and to receive some support and/or practical assistance.

There are 11 out of 21 articles which recommend the implementation of crisis intervention services to improve service delivery. This form of intervention received more attention in 1980-1984 than during the previous periods under study. This finding was expected since present efforts to assist battered women have largely consisted of the establishment of emergency shelters and crisis intervention services. The emphasis on crisis intervention services is both necessary and logical because a large number of women seek services during a crisis situation. It is reassuring to realize that health professionals are conscious of the necessity to ensure safety and provide protection to the battered women, and their families. McShame (1979) notes that it is crucial for women to have access to resources that will provide services and insure accurate

information on a 24 hours basis. Although the police are often used by the battered women in emergency situations, some may not turn to this service for fear of reprisal by their partners or because of social embarrassment. As a result, McShane (1979) recommends the use of community hot lines which deal with anonymous calls and provide appropriate information. Other authors suggest the development of crisis centers which will be accessible on an emergency basis and will provide comprehensive financial, legal, medical and counseling services. The shelters are also perceived as a logical place for women to receive a variety of crisis intervention services.

This counseling services category, the ongoing counseling programs is the modality most often recommended to improve service delivery to battered women. There are 14 (out of 21) articles which discuss this modality. Ongoing counseling programs deal with the resolution of the violent problem beyond the crisis period. This finding suggests that social workers are aware of the battered women's need for support after the crisis intervention. Many authors suggest that counseling services are needed to back up crisis intervention services. Women need support to make responsible decisions about alternatives. Sinclair (1985) supports this position. She considers that short term counseling is sufficient to most battered women to make desirable and necessary changes in their lives. Most of the

recommendations at this level are based on the fact that most battered women need support to make responsible decisions.

Finally, only three out of 21 articles recommend the use of follow-up services. The lack of interest for this counseling component is obvious. This finding clearly demonstrates that the provision of emergency services has been the main concern in the delivery of services to battered women in the past decade. It is hoped that more attention will be devoted to the follow-up services in the future. The implementation of these services will reduce the social isolation of the battered women and may provide opportunity to collect data on the effectiveness of the services.

This study shows that 26 out of 38 articles (68%) discuss "service coordination and resource development", as a method to solve problems related to service delivery. Coordination is a method aimed at the development of an integrated social service system. The coordination of services tends to alleviate the problems of access and continuity to services. Many authors (Carlson, 1984; Higgins, 1978; McShame, 1979; Schuyler, 1976) have elaborated guidelines to help local services coordinate their responses to the problem of wife abuse. These guidelines usually refer to the formation of coordinating committees at the local or regional level which foster cooperation among agencies and communities in developing coordinated community

or regional response to battered women. The individuals taking part in these committees are expected to maintain internal communication. If this objective is reached, these individuals may be able to identify quickly the gaps in service delivery. Their role can therefore be extended to incorporate the development of strategies for program development which will provide greater continuity of services.

McShane (1979) views the importance of program development particularly in the case of law enforcement services. She suggests that close cooperation between women's groups and law enforcement services may alleviate the problems of discontinuity and fragmentation. Closely related to the issue of program development is the question of appropriate funding. Pfouts and Renz (1981) consider that the movement of the battered women has been able to sensitize the population enough to acquire sufficient funding to start some programs. However, most of these programs are grossly under-funded. In their discussion of the possible future of the services for battered women, Pfouts and Renz maintain that it is imperative to have permanent funding to ensure the future of these services. Marcovitch (1976), Petersen (1980), CASW (1982) consider that social workers have an active role to play in supporting adequate funding for services to the battered women and their families.

In addressing the improvement of service delivery to battered women, 20 out of 38 articles (53%) recommend the

implementation of professional training programs. This method of intervention has been discussed in the social work periodical literature since 1970-1974 but received its greatest attention in 1980-1984. This finding is not unexpected since various studies (Davis & Carlson, 1981; Macleod, 1980; Marcovitch, 1976) indicate that practitioners fail to identify victims of violence and lack information about resources available. Ultimately, this lack of knowledge has an impact on the perception of the problem and its resolution.

Most of the professional training programs discussed in the literature attempt to increase awareness and to improve ability of those professionals providing services. The CASW (1982) invite social workers to participate in interdisciplinary programs to improve their understanding and competence. Davis (1984) also recommends interdisciplinary training as a way to facilitate mutually agreed treatment strategies. Davis' (1984) study provides some support for the value of such training in "increasing the recognition and identification of the victims" (p. 249). However, his data suggest that such training may have less impact on understanding the problem or effectively responding to the victims. Ultimately social workers have the responsibility to improve their understanding of the problem of wife abuse in order to respond effectively to the needs of women.

The use of social action as an approach to facilitate necessary societal, institutional and legislative changes is discussed in 18 articles (42% of the articles). The social action component "recognizes the need for broader systems change in order to address adequately the issue of wife assault" (Williams, 1981, -p. 31). The literature invited social workers to take action at different levels. They are encouraged to lobby for legislative changes for funding of services, to request the development of support services in areas where they do not exist, and to promote reform in the legal system which will deal with the present inconsistencies in legal procedures which produce weak policies.

To improve service delivery to battered women, 17 out of 38 articles suggest that the community be educated on the issue of wife abuse and how to respond appropriately to the problem. Family, community and societal attitudes are seen among the key factors that contribute to maintain violence in the family. The development and implementation of programs which promote healthy family relationships may help reduce violence in the family. According to Harris, (Williams, 1981) public education is essential in the early detection and prevention of wife abuse.

The need for additional research on the issue of wife abuse has been mentioned in 12 out of the 38 articles. Research is essential to increase our understanding of the issue and if the severity of the problem is to be fully

recognized in our society. Studies are needed to evaluate the short and long term effects of various treatment modalities on different family members. Empirical studies should attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of existing and developing programs.

Social Intervention

Social workers use different techniques of intervention in their work. These techniques or activities are usually intended to modify or to eliminate stress producing conditions or to help people to cope more effectively with their problems. The choice of which techniques to use is usually made on the basis of a full assessment of the problem identified, the people involved and the goals to be achieved (Lowenberg, 1977). Most of the techniques of intervention can be organized into one of the four approaches namely, advocacy, facilitation, education and support.

Between 1975-1984, 33 articles or (43%) of the total population of articles discuss various techniques of intervention. The percentage of articles related to social intervention drops from 54% (in 1975-1979) to 41% (in 1980-1984). Most of the observations and guidelines provided about techniques of intervention in the articles are applicable to different milieu of practice settings.

The emphasis on practice issues points to a practice orientation.

As expected, the analysis indicates that social workers use various approaches of social intervention in working with battered women and their families. Analysis shows that in the period 1975-1979, only five articles discuss a sole approach of intervention. The most frequently identified approach is "facilitation" which accounts for 12% of the sample, while support and advocacy account for only 4% each. Interestingly enough, there are no articles published in 1980-1984 addressing a unique category.

A total of 25 articles (82%) are classified in the "combination" category (see Figure 4). A detailed analysis of the combination category over the last ten years indicates that facilitation is the most frequently discussed approach to intervention (25 articles). The following two categories "education" and "support" receive attention in the literature with 22 articles each. Moreover, the distribution of the articles in both categories, when contrasting period 2 (1975-1979) with period 3 (1980-1984), remains constant. The trend reflected by these data emphasises a direct, individual client-focused approach.

FIGURE 4

Combination of Various Approaches to Social Intervention
(1975-1984)

Number of Articles		Combination of Various Approaches to Social Intervention (1975-1984)			
		Advocacy (N=11)	Facility (N=25)	Education (N=22)	Support (N=22)
16					
15					
14					
13					
12					
11					
10					
9					
8					
7					
6					
5					
4					
3					
2					
1					

Period 2: 1975-1979 =
 Period 3: 1980-1984 =

Very few articles discuss "advocacy" as a social intervention approach (11 articles). However, there is a definite increase seen in that category when contrasting period 2 with period 3. It is encouraging since it shows a growing awareness among professionals of the need to take an active role in the promotion of adequate services and policies for battered women. Until recently, that role has been assumed mainly by feminist groups. Furthermore, it supports Harris' (Williams, 1981) position that advocacy action is definitely necessary to help assaulted women sort through the complex-

ty of the legal system and to receive assistance from other agencies. Thus, these findings indicate variation in the emphasis or attention given to the techniques of intervention between 1975-1979 and 1980-1984.

The content analysis also indicates that a third of these articles discuss the techniques of intervention in their reference to experience in working with battered women. These accounts of experience in social work practice might refer to the author's own activities; more often they are descriptions of general guidelines of intervention, and presentations of selective case situations as illustration of brief discussions of specific intervention techniques. Eighteen articles report general guidelines of practice and discuss specific techniques of intervention without reference to clinical experience. Only two articles rely exclusively on case presentations for illustrative purposes while discussing intervention. The results suggest that the techniques of intervention elaborated in the literature are often based on observation and impressions obtained through clinical work with battered women. However, the observations are seldom used as a basis for research studies. Yet, the social worker's active participation in assessment and treatment of battered women, makes that person's position central and important in the facilitation of wife abuse research and the test for effectiveness of various techniques of intervention.

The articles reviewed in this study provide an array of potentially useful techniques of intervention in the treatment of battered women. Research on the relative effectiveness of these intervention techniques, based on client characteristics and needs, will be supported by this information.

Target Population

The articles (30) related to social intervention were also classified according to the population group to which they were intended to impact or change. While many techniques of intervention are directed to a single target population some address more than one group. Broadly speaking, the target populations are categorized into five groups. They are; individual, couple, family, group, community and combinations of each.

The analysis of the target populations indicated that 17 articles (54%) focus on a single population group. In 1970-1974 there were no articles discussing social intervention. As expected, there are more articles (12 articles or 40%) reported in the individual category which indicate a focus upon the battered woman (see Table 14).

As Compton and Galaway (1979) indicate, the target system and the client system often overlap when it is the client who needs to be changed or influenced. Thus, if one

considers the peculiarity and dangerousness of the battered women situation when they seek assistance, it is imperative to first provide social intervention which will protect them against further violence and enhance their life situation. However, the majority of the articles recognize that the abusive partner also needs counseling or treatment. Davis' (1984) analysis of the beliefs of the service providers supports those findings. He discovered that there is a widespread recognition among professionals that the husband's unwillingness to admit or to work on the problem is a major impediment to prevent subsequent abuse. In this study the techniques of intervention directed to the abusive partner are more frequently reported in the context of treatment for couples. There is no discussion of intervention dealing with groups for men. However, support groups for men have been mentioned in the literature as a very effective way to offer treatment to abusive men (Sinclair, 1985; Weidman, 1986).

Single population groups such as couples (10%), groups of violent couples (3%) and community (3%) account for smaller percentages. The family is not recorded as being the target of any intervention discussed in the literature under study. This finding suggests that the wife abuse problem is conceptualized as a special area of concern, distinct from family violence. As a result, the social inter-

ventions deal primary with women who are usually in crisis when they seek help from the community.

This finding does not imply that family members are not affected by violence. On the contrary, the literature has shown, that the violent partner needs professional intervention to stop using the violence. Children who are not the direct target of violence suffer from tremendous emotional abuse and neglect. However, the literature seems to suggest that every family member will most benefit from intervention provided within a group atmosphere with their counterparts. (Sinclair, 1985, p. 94). Information available on the use of family as the target of the intervention suggests that it is dangerous to discuss the problem of the family until all members are safe from being abused. Safety must be achieved before trust, equal communication, support and new problem solving capacities are developed.

The remaining 13 articles (47%) analyzed, focus on a combination of different population groups (see Table 14). A detailed analysis of the combination category over the last ten years indicates that the "individual/couple" category is the most frequently occurring component. This category was also more frequently reported in 1980-1984. This reflects a change in the professional's focus of interest and demonstrates a willingness to extend services to the

TABLE 14

Target Population of Social Intervention (1975-1984)

Population	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Individual			
-Violent Partner	-	-	-
-Battered Women	7	5	12
Couple	2	1	3
Family	-	-	-
Group			
-Violent Partner	-	-	-
-Battered Women	-	-	-
-Couple	-	1	1
-Professional	-	-	-
Community	1	-	1
Total	10	7	17
Various combinations			
-Indiv./couple	1	5	6
-Indiv./group for battered women	-	1	1
-Indiv./group for couples	1	1	2
-Indiv./community	2	2	4
Total	14	16	30

abusive partner. Apparently, the idea of offering services to couples, originated from the battered women themselves. Taylor (1984) and Geller and Wasserston (1984) report that

many battered women express the desire to remain in the marriage but without the abuse. If we accept this concept and the idea that such couples can be effectively treated, then conjoint therapy can become a logical and effective treatment. Taylor (1984) perceives that the conjoint treatment scheme is meant for use with couples who wish to explore non-violent interaction as an alternative to separation, but does not advocate that the couple remain together. The shelter staff adopt a different view, and for several reasons consider that it is not best to focus on the couple as the unit of social intervention. More importantly, they maintain that this approach suggests that the husband and wife share responsibility for the abuse. Therefore, to engage in couple counseling while the potential for violence is high, may expose the wife to danger. Controversies on the use of the couple as the target of intervention will probably remain in the literature until additional information is provided on the effectiveness of intervention with the couple.

As shown in Table 14, there are four articles focusing on the "individual/community" component. This finding suggests that social workers are aware of the importance of influencing and creating change at the community level. In working with battered women, professionals can attempt to change the attitudes of other service providers and to cre-

ate some awareness in the general population about the phenomenon.

Social Treatment Modalities

As professionals become more aware of the dynamics involved in wife abuse, various social treatment modalities may be designed to guide clinicians in their work with battered women. The purpose here is to identify the social work treatment modalities emphasized by the authors in these articles. The analysis includes the following nine treatment modalities. They are crisis intervention, conjoint therapy, family therapy, feminist therapy, group counseling, milieu treatment, problem solving, reality therapy and self-help groups.

From Table 15, one notes that 41% of the total articles suggest the use of specific treatment modalities. Only 11 articles (16%) discuss a single treatment modality. None of the treatment modalities emerge as primary or the basis of social work practice with battered women; in fact, not a single treatment modality accounts for more than 7% of the total articles. Twenty four percent of the total population of articles (17 articles) were classified as proposing the use of more than one treatment modality in their work with

TABLE 15

Treatment Modalities Discussed in the Articles (1970-1984)

Modality	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	Total
Crisis intervention	1	-	-	1
Conjoint therapy	-	2	3	5
Family therapy	-	-	-	-
Feminist therapy	-	1	-	1
Group counseling	-	-	-	-
Milieu treatment	-	-	-	-
Problem solving	-	1	-	1
Reality therapy	-	-	2	2
Self-help group	-	-	1	1
Various combinations	2	4	11	17
Total	3	8	17	28

battered women. An analysis of these combinations indicate that conjoint therapy was addressed in 11 out of 17 articles, followed by crisis intervention (8), group counseling (8), problem solving (8), milieu treatment (6), self-help group (4), feminist therapy (3) and reality therapy (2).

The above data suggests a lack of consensus among the professionals on what is the most appropriate method of treatment. The findings support the assertion or conclusion that different treatment modalities can be used to assist

battered women. This is supported by Bern (1982), Star et. al. (1979), and Hilberman (1980) who advocate the use of different treatment modalities relevant to the woman's personality and needs throughout the treatment. Moreover, Star et al. (1979) note the importance of undertaking a complete psycho-social assessment of the battered woman's situation, prior to making a decision on a treatment modality. Understanding of this process could certainly be enhanced if empirical studies comparing the outcome of various treatment modalities were to be carried out in the field.

From our discussion in chapter two, it was observed that violent behavior resists change when the modification of external circumstances is left out. Significant change in the battered woman's experiences require treatment modalities that will help to break the homeostatic cycle which maintains or supports the violence.

Research Limitations

Although the author believes the preceding data provides illustrative trends for a sample of social work periodicals, it is important to be cautious in interpretation because of the following potential limitations. First, it has been assumed that a close connection exists between the profession's interest and what is being published in periodicals. Obviously, articles published in professional journals represent only part of the contemporary literature of

the field. Book length publications, monographs and unpublished materials are not included in present considerations.

Second, published material may or may not be listed in Social Work Research and Abstracts. Although over 200 periodicals are regularly reviewed by volunteer abstractors for Social Work Research and Abstracts, the entire content of all journals is not abstracted. Those periodicals considered core professional journals are abstracted in their entirety, but they constitute a small number of journals reviewed. Articles considered significant that appear in the remainder of the journals are similarly reviewed and abstracted. Nevertheless, because this abstract contains a limited number of pages the number of articles abstracted from the balance of journals is by necessity limited (Zimbalist, 1978). This factor may tend to affect any conclusions drawn about trends in social work periodicals.

Third, trends may be affected by the composition of editorial boards, which may not be comparable within and among journals over time. Obviously, editorial policies can lead to the inclusion of different types and amounts of research published on a specific social problem.

Fourth, although the classification systems developed are useful for categorizing the content of the articles under study, other types of content analysis may yield different findings.

Finally, content analysis does not ensure absolute objectivity, although it is relatively more objective than the impressionistic approach. The difference between both approaches is that content analysis aims to produce findings that will stand independent enquiry by others. A test of reliability was carried out in this study. A coefficient of 87% was reached and considered to be acceptable due to the exploratory and descriptive nature of the study. Carney (1972) notes that the "best" analysis of a given document is that analysis which is as rigorous as circumstances allow. Analysts can only be as objective as the subject matter and the questions posed will permit.

Despite the assumptions and deficiencies described, an analysis of the articles listed in the Social Work Research and Abstracts may be a useful procedure in helping to determine the content trends of the social work periodical literature on wife abuse.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The 1970's saw a movement towards the recognition of battered women as a problematic aspect of family relationships. As the issue attracted national attention, more demand was placed upon professionals to become fully cognizant of the problem of wife abuse. Social workers are among the helping professionals confronted with this social problem.

The Canadian Association of Social Workers was the first professional association in Canada to focus its attention on this problem. It encouraged its members to assume responsibility in understanding the different components of the problem of wife abuse and in developing relevant modalities of intervention. However, the development and the provision of appropriate and effective methods of intervention presupposes the existence of sufficient and reliable knowledge.

The purpose of this study was twofold: (1) to provide descriptive data which identifies the major components of the problem of wife abuse, as they are reflected in the social work journal literature; and (2) to determine whether there are changes in the major components of the problem of wife abuse described by the social work periodical litera-

ture, for the period of 1970-1984. More precisely, this study analyzes seven major components of the problem of wife abuse which are primordial to social work practice. This includes; authorships, dimension of wife abuse, theoretical perspectives, research orientation, service delivery, social intervention and social treatment. Content analysis was selected as the research method for this study.

This study reveals that the recognition of wife abuse as a social problem by professionals precipitated an increase in the number of articles published in the social work journals. Of the 68 articles appearing in the journal of Social Work Research and Abstracts on the subject of wife abuse, 5 articles were published in 1970-1974, compared to 26 articles in 1975-1979, and 37 articles in 1980-1984. Seventy one percent of these articles appear in nine journals which include; Journal of Social Casework, Journal of Marriage and Family, the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Social Work, Social Service Review, Social Work Today, Journal of Family Issues, Child Welfare, and Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychiatry. The remaining 29% of the articles are scattered among 20 other journals.

The contribution to social work literature on wife abuse by female authors was slightly more than the male authors with 54% and 41% for the latter. This finding contradicts previous data on gender status and contribution to

social work literature. Two possible explanations were suggested to explain the above results. First, female social workers may be more likely than their male counterparts to provide direct services to battered women, due to their gender and their professional orientation. Secondly, the higher number of articles published by female authors may be a response to the invitation of the women's movement to increase public awareness on issues that concern them.

In this study, the majority of the authors (84%) are from the United States as opposed to 11% from the United Kingdom and five percent from Canada. This finding suggests that the concerns and the viewpoints of Canadian social workers are not adequately represented in the current periodical literature.

An analysis of the organizational affiliation of the authors indicates that faculty members are the most productive writers (63%). A possible explanation for the greater number of articles written by academicians is that the university reward system involves publication. In turn, practitioners often feel that writing takes second place to practice.

The professional affiliation of 70 authors (75% of the total population) was identified. It came as no surprise to find that several disciplines published articles appearing in the journal of Social Work Research and Abstracts. Nev-

ertheless, the analysis reveals that there is a greater proportion of articles written by social workers (33%). This suggests that social workers are interested in this subject and do contribute to the transmission of knowledge on wife abuse. The data also confirm evidence from previous studies (Taber & Shapiro, 1974; Jenkins et al., 1982) that social work draws knowledge and information from other disciplines.

Further analysis was done to determine the pattern of collaboration among the authors. The data reveal that the number of articles written in collaboration on wife abuse has increased slightly during the 14 years under study. However, the majority of these articles are written by authors of the same discipline. The need for closer cooperation among the various disciplines, to enhance knowledge and understanding of the problem seems apparent.

The dimension of "psycho-social characteristics" on wife abuse received most attention in the social work articles analyzed. A systematic collection of information on the nature of the problem is critical to enhance the understanding of violence. Interest in this dimension was dominant in the 1975-1979 period, but declined slightly during 1980-1984 as there was growing attention given to other dimensions of the problem.

During the last ten years, there was an increase in the percentage distribution of articles discussing theory and intervention technology. This shift in the literature was

essential in achieving a more comprehensive understanding of the factors contributing to violence and assisted in developing appropriate intervention strategies to minimize the problem. During the same period, the dimension of "program and services" received constant attention in the social work literature. This was expected, since social workers were confronted with a limited number of resources available, and an increase in the number of battered women seeking assistance. Consequently, social workers needed to assess the service delivery system and to focus on the development of more effective services and programs. The content of the articles discussing this dimension indicated a change in the type of study reported in the literature. Recently, the authors go beyond a simple description of the programs. They conduct empirical studies assessing factors which impact on the quality and the effectiveness of the service delivery.

Over the 14 years of the study, the ratio of non empirical research to empirical research articles has increased from 0.6 in 1970-1974, to a high of 1.2 in 1980-1984. This suggests a trend towards the use of subjective observations, impressions and experiences as the basis for analysis and discussion in the social work periodical literature under review. In spite of this observation, it is worth noting that the number of empirical studies still represents 49% of the articles. These articles are equally distributed in the

quantitative descriptive and exploratory subcategories. Such findings reflect the profession's interest to generate an empirical basis for knowledge which can provide guidelines to the development of clinical intervention.

The socio-cultural model emerged as the basis of social work knowledge on wife abuse. Within this model, the socio-structural approach is the most frequently reported perspective. As a result, it is suggested that social workers tend to view wife abuse as a response to, or symptom of stress which originates in the social structure of the society. It is also apparent that the social work perspective on this issue has been to a large extent influenced by the socio-psychological model. In contrast to common belief, the intra-individual model has received only minor consideration in the social work literature on this subject. A trend towards a multi-deterministic perspective of wife abuse, encompassing both sociological and psychological factors is emerging. This change may affect social workers' understanding of the problem and the nature of their intervention.

The present study indicated that social workers emphasize the use of a comprehensive domestic violence service delivery system which takes into consideration most aspects of the problem of wife abuse. Approximately 40% of the articles (18 out of 43 articles) give a specific focus to social services. The use of emergency shelter and the pro-

vision of counseling services are considered as important components of a comprehensive delivery system to battered women. Articles focusing specifically on the legal and judicial services emerge in the literature during the last period under study (1980-1984). They account for four percent of the articles and focus upon the deficiencies of the legal system in protecting the victims from violence. This suggests that social workers have recently developed an interest in this subject and recognize the limitation of the legal system.

In spite of the emphasis given by authors (Rounsaville & Weinsman, 1977-78; CASW, 1982) to the important role and potential contribution of social workers to the problem of wife abuse in health services, no articles focused specifically on this service. It is apparent that increased attention is needed to develop programs and services in assisting battered women in the medical setting.

Forty-four percent of the total population of articles discuss problems related to the delivery of services to battered women. Moreover, the data reveal that the service delivery system to battered women suffers from various problems related to fragmentation, inaccessibility, non accountability and discontinuity. Therefore, it is likely that large numbers of women do not receive the level of care and assistance that professionals in human services can and should be offering.

As expected, social workers use various approaches of social intervention in the treatment of wife abuse. The trend reflected by the data shows an emphasis on a direct individual client focused approach. Social workers are encouraged to help battered women to mobilize their own resources, to facilitate expression of feelings, to provide safety, support and appropriate information. A substantive increase in the number of articles discussing the advocacy role as a social intervention, over the last ten years, reflects a slight shift towards a broader conception of social work intervention. Further analysis reveals that the intervention elaborated upon in the literature is quite often based on observations and impressions obtained through clinical work with battered women. Social workers need to convert their value statements and practice principles into a more empirically based approach with more scientifically verifiable statements.

The social interventions are primarily directed to the battered women. This can largely be explained because women who seek assistance come alone. Their partners are usually more reluctant to discuss the violent situation and to become involved in counseling. As a result, social workers' interventions are directed to the women in order to increase their self awareness and help them to make changes to improve their way of life. This assistance is provided

through various combinations of individual, couple and group sessions.

Over the 14 years of the review, the combination of "individual and couple" received increasing attention in the social work literature. This suggests that social workers are extending their services to the abusive partners as well. Interventions directed to both systems provide an opportunity to deal with personal issues and to focus on the marital relationship when the risk for abuse is diminished.

A small percentage of articles discuss the use of intervention at the group level. Considering that a combination individual and group approach is perceived as an effective way to facilitate change in women, this may be an area that social workers will want to explore further.

The family is not noted as the target population of social intervention, probably because wife abuse is conceived as a part of women's issues, distinct from family violence. Consequently, social workers have attempted to respond primarily to the needs of the battered women. Although the literature focuses mainly on women, all family members are considered to be affected by violence. Information available on the family as the target of the intervention suggests that it is hazardous to discuss the problems of the family until all members are safe from being abused. The literature suggests further, that every family member will benefit most from intervention provided within a group

atmosphere with their peers or counterparts. The use of social intervention at the family level may need to be explored further.

In this study, no single treatment modality emerges as being the optimal approach or a primary basis for social work practice with battered women. This lends support to Bern (1982), Star et al. (1979) and Hilberman (1980) who advocate the use of different treatment modalities relevant to the women's personality and needs. This finding may also indicate a lack of consensus among professionals about the most appropriate method of treatment.

Recommendations

The recommendations resulting from the previous findings are as follows:

(1) That the uniqueness of the problem of wife abuse in Canada deserves exploration. More attention needs to be given to the complex nature, the severity, and the resolution of the problem of wife abuse, as it pertains to this country. This information should be made available to the Canadian readership.

(2) That alternatives be explored to encourage a greater participation and sharing of knowledge and experience on the part of direct practitioners to the problem of wife abuse. This would foster a more balanced perspective

of the problem and reveal new considerations related to the application of theories in practice.

(3) That wife abuse be highlighted in the curricula of schools of social work. Social workers need to become more familiar with the social structure and conditions of the society that contribute to the existence and the persistence of wife abuse. They must ensure the development of effective concepts and modes of intervention designed to reduce the problem.

(4) That cooperation among the various disciplines be encouraged and favoured. Social work is not the only profession involved in solving the problem of wife abuse. The establishment of multidisciplinary committees may provide an opportunity to share the different perceptions and solutions of the problem. Perhaps this may facilitate the development of mutually agreed upon intervention strategies, and a better coordination of services.

(5) That social workers be more knowledgeable about the legal and judicial processes and procedures. More research needs to be conducted to understand the manner in which the legal and judicial systems deal with wife abuse. This may help to formulate coherent legal and judicial policies that would more effectively prevent the occurrence and reoccurrence of wife abuse. This may also help to guide advocacy efforts towards the women who are in greater need.

(6) That more empirical data be generated to determine the effectiveness of different social interventions and treatment modalities. Special attention should be given to the use of intervention with a combination of individual and group sessions. Moreover, it would be useful to establish protocols which will clarify when and under what circumstances intervention at the family level would be considered appropriate. This would form a basis for sound clinical practice.

(7) That more research be carried out to determine the extent to which the various programs and services respond effectively and efficiently to women who have been battered. The social work literature suggests that coordination and cooperation among the various agencies is imperative. Program evaluations and follow-up studies would help clarify the deficiencies and strength of the various community resources.

In conclusion, this study represents a preliminary effort to examine the problem of wife abuse as it is presented in the social work periodical literature in the period 1970-1984. The findings point to the need for further empirical study on various issues related to wife abuse, as a basis for enhanced and effective practice, and the efficient use of community resources.

APPENDIX A

Appendix A
Study Sample

1971

Bard, M. & Zacker, J. The prevention of family violence: Dilemma of community intervention. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 33 (4), 677-682.

Goode, J.W. Force and violence in the family. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 33 (4), 624-636.

O'Brien, J.E. Violence in divorce prone families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 33 (4), 692-698.

1973

Field, M.H. & Field H.P. Marital violence and the criminal process: Neither justice nor peace. Social Service Review, 1973, 47 (2), 692-698.

1974

Straus, M.A. Learning civility and violence in the family. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1974, 36 (1), 13-29.

1975

Lystad, M.H. Violence at home: A review of the literature. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1975, 45 (3), 328-345.

Moore, J.G. Yo-Yo children: Victims of matrimonial violence. Child Welfare, 1975, 54 (8), 557-566.

1976

Gelles, R. Abused wives: Why do they stay? Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1976, 38 (4), 659-668.

Marcovitch, A. Refuges for battered women. Social Work Today, 1976-77, 7 (2), 34-35.

Nichols, B.B. The abused wife problem. Social Casework, 1976, 57 (1), 27-32.

Schuyler, M. Battered wives: An emerging social problem. Social Work, 1976, 21 (6), 488-491.

Tidmarsh, M. Violence in marriage. Social Work Today, 1976, 2 (2), 36-38.

Van Stold, M. Battered Women, Battered Children. Children Today, 1976.

1977

Ball, M. Issues of violence in family casework. Social Casework, 1977, 58 (1), 3-12.

Carlson, B.E. Battered women and their assailants. Social Work, 1977, 22 (6), 455-460.

Dobash, R. & Dobash, R. Wife beating - Still a common form of violence. Social Work Today, 1977, 2 (12), 14-17.

Elbow, M. Theoretical considerations of violent marriages. Social Casework, 1977, 58 (9), 515-526.

Flynn, J.P. Recent findings related to wife abuse. Social Casework, 1977, 58 (1) 13-20.

Hanks, S.E. & Rosenbaum, C.P. Battered women: A study of women who live with violent alcohol-abusing men. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1977, 47 (4), 291-306.

Saunders, D.G. Marital violence: Dimensions of the problem and modes of intervention. Journal of Marriage and Family Counseling, 1977, 3 (1), 43-52.

1978

Barr, N.A. & Carrier J.W. Women's aid groups: The economic case for state assistance to battered wives. Policy and Politics, 1978, 6, 333-350.

Heppner, N.J. Counselling the battered wife: Myths, facts and decisions. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1978, 56 (9), 522-525.

Higgins, J.G. Social services for abused wives. Social Casework, 1978, 59 (5), 266-271.

Pfouts, J.H. Violent families: Coping responses of abused wives. Child Welfare, 1978, 57 (2), 101-111.

Rounsaville, B. Battered wives: Barriers to identification and treatment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1978, 48 (3), 487-494.

1979

Bass, D. & Rice, J. Agency responses to the abused wife. Social Casework, 1979, 60 (6), 338-342.

Ferraro, K.J. Physical and emotional battering: Aspects of managing hurt. California Sociologist, 1979, 2 (2), 134-149.

Gelles, R. & Straus, M.A. Violence in the American family. Journal of Social Issues, 1979, 35 (2), 15-39.

McShane, C. Community services for battered women. Social Work, 1979, 24 (1), 34-39.

Star, B., Clark, C.G., Goetz, K.M. & O'Malia, L. Psychological aspects of wife battering. Social Casework, 1979, 60 (8), 479-487.

Symonds, A. Violence against women - The myth of masochism. American Journal of Psychotherapy, 1979, 33 (2), 161-173.

1980

Benjamin, M. & Adler, S. Wife abuse: Implications for socio-legal policy and practice. Canadian Journal of Family Law, 1980, 3 (4), 339-367.

Brown, J.A. Combatting the roots of family violence. Journal of Social Welfare, 1979-80, 6 (2), 17-24.

Dibble, U. & Straus, M.A. Some social structure determinants of inconsistency between attitudes and behavior: The case of family violence. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1980, 42 (1), 71-80.

Freeman, M.D.A. Violence against women: Does the legal system provide solutions or itself constitute the problem. Canadian Journal of Family Law, 1980, 3 (4), 377-401.

Hilberman, E. Overview: The wife-beater's wife reconsidered. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1980, 137 (11), 1336-1347.

McNeely, R. & Jones, J.M. Refuge from violence: Establishing shelter services for battered women. Administration in Social Work, 1980, 4 (4), 71-82.

Munson, P.J. Protecting the battered wives: The availability of local remedies. Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 1980, 7 (4), 586-600.

Petersen, R. Social class, social learning and wife abuse. Social Service Review, 1980, 54 (3), 390-406.

Star, B. Patterns in family violence. Social Casework, 1980, 61 (6), 339-346.

Steinmetz, S.K. Investigating family violence. Journal of Home Economics, 1980, 72 (2), 32-36.

Yoder, D. Spouse assault: A community approach. Human Services in the Rural Areas, 1980, 5 (2), 25-28.

1981

Cantoni, L. Clinical issues in domestic violence. Social Casework, 1981, 62 (1), 3-12.

Davis, L.V. & Carlson, B.E. Attitudes of services provider toward domestic violence. Social Work Research and Abstracts, 1981, 17 (4), 34-39.

Dobash, R. & Dobash, R. Social science and social action: The case of wife beating. Journal of Family Issues, 1981, 2 (4), 439-470.

Douglas, K., Snyder, & Fruchman, L.A. Differential patterns of wife abuse: A data base typology. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1981, 49 (6), 878-885.

Ferraro, K.J. Processing battered women. Journal of Family Issues, 1981, 2 (4), 415-438.

Hemmons, W.M. The need for domestic violence laws with adequate legal and social support services. Journal of Divorce, 1981, 4 (3), 49-61.

Holmes, S.A. A holistic approach to the treatment of violent families. Social Casework, 1981, 62 (10), 591-600.

Hornung, C.A., McCullough, B.G. & Sigimoto, T. Status relationships in marriage: Risk factors in spouse abuse. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1981, 43 (3), 675-691.

Pagelow, M.D. Factors affecting women's decisions to leave violent relationships. Journal of Family Issues, 1981, 2 (4), 391-414.

Pfouts, J.H. & Renz, C. The future of wife abuse programs. Social Work, 1981, 26 (6), 451-455.

Rosenbaum, A. & O'Leary, K.O. Marital violence: Characteristics of abusive couples. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1981, 49 (1), 63-71.

Rosenbaum, A. & O'Leary, K.O. Children: The unintended victims of marital violence. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1981, 51 (4), 692-699.

1982

Bern, E.H. From violent incident to spouse abuse syndrome. Social Work, 1982, 27 (1), 41-45.

Elbow, M. Children of violent marriages: The forgotten victims. Social Casework, 1982, 23, 465-471.

Hendricks Mathews, M. The battered woman: Is she ready for help? Social Casework, 1982, 23 (3), 131-137.

Holmes, S.A. A Detroit model for police-social work cooperation. Social Casework, 1982, 23 (4), 220-226.

Weitzman, J. & Dreev, K. Wife beating: A review of the marital dyad. Social Casework, 1981, 22 (5), 259-265.

1983

Burris, C.A., & Jaffe, P. Wife abuse as a crime: The impact of police laying charges. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 1983, 25 (3), 309-318.

Hartman, S. A self-help group for women in abused relationships. Social Work with Groups, 1983, 6, 133-146.

McEvoy A., Brookings J.B. & Brown C.E. Responses to battered women: Problems and strategies. Social Casework, 1983, 24 (2), 92-96.

1984

Bograd, M. Family system approaches to wife battering: A feminist critique. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1984, 54 (4), 558-567.

Carlson, B.E. Causes and maintenance of domestic violence: An ecological analysis. Social Service Review, 1984, 58, 568-587.

Cook, O.R. & Cook, E.A. A systemic treatment approach to wife battering. Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 10 (1), 83-93.

Davis, L.V. Beliefs of service providers about abused women and abusing men. Social Work, 1984, 29 (3), 243-250.

Koslof, K.E. The battered women: A developmental perspective. Smith College Studies in Social Work, 1984, 54 (3), 180-203.

Taylor, J.W. Structural conjoint therapy for spouse abuse cases. Social Casework, 1984, 65 (1), 11-18.

APPENDIX B

Appendix B

The Randomly Selected Sample of Ten Articles
Used to Determine Coefficient of Intercoder Reliability.

- Ball, M. Issues of violence in family casework. Social Casework, 1977, 58 (1), 3-12.
- Barr, N.A. & Carrier J.W. Women's aid groups: The economic case for state assistance to battered wives. Policy and Politics, 1978, 6, 333-350.
- Ferraro, K.J. Physical and emotional battering: Aspects of managing hurt. California Sociologist, 1979, 2 (2), 134-149.
- Flynn, J.P. Recent findings related to wife abuse. Social Casework, 1977, 58 (1) 13-20.
- Hornung, C.A., McCullough, B.C. & Sigimoto, T. Status relationships in marriage: Risk factors in spouse abuse. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1981, 43 (3), 675-691.
- Marcovitch, A. Refuges for battered women. Social Work Today, 1976-77, 7 (2), 34-35.
- McShane, C. Community services for battered women. Social Work, 1979, 24 (1), 34-39.
- O'Brien, J.E. Violence in divorce prone families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 33 (4), 692-698.
- Petersen, R. Social class, social learning and wife abuse. Social Service Review, 1980, 54 (3), 390-406.
- Saunders, D.G. Marital violence: Dimensions of the problem and modes of intervention. Journal of Marriage and Family Counseling, 1977, 3 (1), 43-52.

APPENDIX

C

Appendix C

"Familial Violence as Elements of a Social System"

A. Familial Variables Affecting Intra-Family Violence

1. Family Organization
 - Power structure
 - Sex role segregation
 - Solidarity, integration, conflict
 - Number and ordinal position of children
 - Extended vs. nuclear family
 - Age and years married
 - Problem solving ability
2. Family Position in Social Structure
 - Social class
 - Residence
 - Ethnic group
 - Wealth relative to class
 - Security
3. Values, Beliefs and Personality
 - Individualism vs. familism
 - "Developmental values"
 - Aspiration level
 - Activism vs. fatalism
 - Religious beliefs
 - Political beliefs
 - Self concepts, Empathy

B. Individual Characteristics of Family Members

1. Personality Traits
 - Education and intelligence
 - Aggressiveness
 - "Compulsive masculinity"
 - "Affect hunger"
2. Psychopathological Traits
 - Psychosis
 - Psychopathic personality
 - Alcoholism and sadism
3. Occupational Roles
 - Wife's occupation
 - Husband's occupation
 - Individualistic vs. bureaucratic
 - Prestige level and power
 - Degree of occupational self-direction
 - "Occupational environment"

C. Precipitating Factors

1. Problem with no solution known person
2. Stressful and/or frustrating situations

D. Familial and Sexual Violence

1. Parent-Child
 - Physical punishment
 - Child abuse
 - Patricide
2. Husband-Wife, and Kin
 - Fight, beating, murder, rape, sadism and masochism.

Appendix C (continued)

E. Societal Variables

1. Opportunity Structure
Economic and/or prestige
Sexual and marital
2. Societal Violence
Values concerning violence
Actual level of (fights,
murders, riots, war)
Frequency in mass media

3. Harshness and Deprivations
Characteristics of the
social setting

F. Consequences for Child

Aggressiveness
Sex role definition
Dogmatism and authori-
tarianism open mindedness
Anxiety and Security
Dependency, autonomy,
individualism.

G. Consequences for Family

Parents-child solidarity
Problem-solving ability
Power structure
Marital satisfaction

H. Consequences for Society

Use of violence for social
control (capital punishment,
police violence, war,
revolution
Art forms (novels, paintings)

(Straus, 1973, p. 108-109)

APPENDIX D

Appendix D

Number of Shelters for Battered Women
in Canada, as of May 1984

Provinces	Shelters
Newfoundland	1
Nova Scotia	2
Prince Edward Island	1
New Brunswick	8
Quebec	34
Ontario	51
Manitoba	5
Saskatchewan	5
Alberta	8
British Columbia	27
Yukon	1
North West Territories	1
Total	144

APPENDIX E

Appendix E

QUESTIONNAIRE

Content Analysis of the Social Work Periodical
Literature on Wife Abuse: 1970-1984

Wife Abuse Inventory (W.A.I).

Directions

Use a separate questionnaire for each article.

Each article should be considered in its entity in the process of decision making unless otherwise instructed.

Answer all questions.

The term "discuss" means: (a) to consider or to address the pros and cons of a subject, and/or (b) to explain an observation, situation. Thus, the term "discuss" is different than the term "mention". To be discussed, an issue needs to be addressed in a paragraph or more.

The category labelled "not specified" will be used when you are unable to answer the question from the information provided by the article.

Before using this instrument, you should become familiar with the attached glossary (Appendix H).

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ARTICLE:

Name of the author(s):

(1) -----

(2) -----

(3) -----

(4) -----

Title of the article: -----

Name of the journal: -----

Year of the publication: -----

BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF AUTHOR(S)

This information is usually explicit. It can be found by reading the introductory remarks, footnotes or background data on each author.

Refer to "not specified", if the information is missing.

1. What is the gender status of the author(s)?

Please answer by checking the appropriate line.

Author	1	2	3	4
Male :	-----	-----	-----	-----
Female :	-----	-----	-----	-----
Not specified:	-----	-----	-----	-----

2. What is the author(s)' country of current employment?

Author	1	2	3	4
Canada	----	----	----	----
Great Britain	----	----	----	----
United States	----	----	----	----
Other (please specify) ✓	----	----	----	----
Not specified	----	----	----	----

3. What is the professional or employment status of the author(s)?

Please answer by checking the appropriate line.

If an author is a student, indicate (S) beside the appropriate profession or field of study.

Author	1	2	3	4
Anthropologist	----	----	----	----
Lawyer	----	----	----	----
Physician	----	----	----	----
Psychiatrist	----	----	----	----
Psychologist	----	----	----	----
Social Worker	----	----	----	----
Sociologist	----	----	----	----
Not specified	----	----	----	----
Other(s) (please specify) ----	----	----	----	----

4. What is the organizational affiliation of the author(s)?

Please answer by checking the appropriate line.

Author	1	2	3	4
Hospital and medical clinics	----	----	----	----
Mental health clinics	----	----	----	----
Legal services	----	----	----	----
Social services	----	----	----	----
Transition houses	----	----	----	----
University	----	----	----	----
Not specified	----	----	----	----
Other organization (please specify)	----	----	----	----

DIMENSION OF WIFE ABUSE

Indicate the major subject or theme of the article by examining its abstracts, introduction and conclusion sections. If inconclusive, examine article headings and content.

Give one answer only.

5. What is the major subject or theme of the article?

Please answer by circling the appropriate number below.

Subject

- (1) Psycho-social aspects of wife abuse
- (2) The practitioner (attitudes, roles, functions)
- (3) Theory (clarification of concepts, construction analysis or critique of a theoretical model)
- (4) Intervention technology
- (5) Discussion of research methods
- (6) Review of the literature
- (7) Programs and services
- (8) Other (please specify)

RESEARCH ORIENTATION OF THE ARTICLE

Be familiar with the classification system defined in the methodology chapter of this study.

To classify the research orientation of the article:

- (1) read carefully the problem statement and the methodology section of the article.
- (2) identify if the study reported is empirical or non-empirical according to the definition provided in the methodology chapter.
- (3) classify the article according to the major category.
- (4) check the appropriate line.
- (5) circle the appropriate sub-category (a), (b), (c).

6. What is the research orientation of the article?

I. Empirical Research

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| (1) Experimental Study | (1) --- |
| (a) Laboratory experiment | (a) ---- |
| (b) Field experiment | (b) ---- |
| (2) Quantitative-Descriptive Study | (2) ---- |
| (a) Program evaluation | (a) ---- |
| (b) Population description | (b) ---- |
| (c) Searching for variables | (c) ---- |

(continued)

- (3) Exploratory Study (3) ----
- (a) Exploratory-descriptive (a) ----
 - (b) Use of specific data collection procedures (b) ----
 - (c) Use of experimental manipulations (c) ----

II. Non-Empirical Research

- (4) Research Theme Study (4) ----
- (a) Review of articles (a) ----
 - (b) Essay review (b) ----
 - (c) Strategies and issues (c) ----
 - (d) Impressions and implications (d) ----
- (5) Research Method Study (5) ----
- (a) Study of empirical methods (a) ----
 - (b) Discussion of empirical methods (b) ----
- (6) Exploratory-Descriptive (6) ----
- (7) Personal Position (7) ----

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE ARTICLEInstructions:

Be familiar with the classification system defined in the methodology chapter of this study.

To classify the author(s)' theoretical perspective:

- (1) identify the section of the article which

discussed the theoretical perspective of the study.

- (2) read the specific section carefully.
 - (3) identify the theoretical assumptions stated by the author (s).
 - (4) classify the content according to the basic theoretical assumptions defined in the methodology chapter for each theoretical model.
 - (5) classify the article according to the appropriate theoretical model.
 - (6) Note that the author(s) may not specifically label their theoretical perspective.
7. What is the theoretical model emphasized or developed in the article?

Theoretical models

A

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| (1) Intra-individual model | (1) ---- |
| (2) Socio-psychological model | (2) ---- |
| (3) Socio-cultural model | (3) ---- |
| (a) Male domination | (a) ---- |
| (b) Socio-structural approach | (b) ---- |
| (4) Atheoretical approach | (4) ---- |
| (5) Other(s) (please specify) | (6) ---- |

SERVICE DELIVERY

Community Services

Instructions:

- (1) Be familiar with the classification system defined in the methodology chapter.
 - (2) This information is usually explicit.
 - (3) It can be found by reading the section of the article labelled "intervention strategies" and "community resources".
 - (4) Record the types of resources discussed in the article.
 - (5) Classify each of these resources under the appropriate category.
8. What type of community services does the author discuss? Check the appropriate line.

Types of Community Services

- | | A |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| (1) Health services | (1) ---- |
| (2) Law enforcement services | (2) ---- |
| (3) Legal and judicial services | (3) ---- |
| (4) Religious or spiritual services | (4) ---- |
| (5) Social services | (5) ---- |
| (a) material aid services | (a) ---- |
| (b) counseling services | (b) ---- |
| (c) emergency services | (c) ---- |
| (6) Not specified | (6) ---- |
| (7) Other(s) (please specify) | (7) ---- |

Problems Related to Service Delivery

9. Does the author discuss the problems associated with the delivery of services to battered women? The content of case example should not be considered. Check the appropriate line.

(1) No ☐ (go to question no. 11)

(2) Yes ☐ (go to question no. 10)

10. What is the nature of the problem(s) addressed by the article?

- (1) Please review glossary of definitions before doing this classification.
 (2) Review the content of the article under the section "intervention strategies" and "community resources".
 (3) Identify the problems discussed by the author(s).
 (4) Classify the problem(s) discussed according to the criteria defined in the methodology chapter.

You can check more than one line.

Types of Problems

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Fragmentation | (1) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Discontinuity | (2) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Inaccessibility | (3) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Nonaccountability | (4) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Other(s) (please specify) | (5) <input type="checkbox"/> |

Modality of Intervention.

11. Does the author discuss strategy or solution to improve the delivery of services to battered women?

(1) No ____ (go to question no.13)

(2) Yes ____ (go to question no.12)

12. What modality of intervention does the author discuss to improve the delivery of services to battered women?

Note:

Be familiar with the classification system defined in the methodology chapter. A modality of intervention is considered to be "discussed" when the author addresses the pros and/or cons of the intervention, in one or more paragraphs. This information is usually explicit. It can be found by reading the abstract and the intervention section of the article. Thus, if the author(s) discusses the necessity to sensitize professionals to the issue of wife abuse, through the use of various workshops, the category "professional training" will be selected. Check one or all the following lines.

Major Intervention Components

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) Counseling | (1) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Service coordination and resource development | (2) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Professional training | (3) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Programs and resource evaluation | (4) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Public education | (5) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (6) Social action | (6) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (7) Research | (7) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (8) Other(s) (please specify) | (8) <input type="checkbox"/> |

SOCIAL INTERVENTION

This major category focuses on the various interventive activities to be used by the practitioners to carry out his/her functions, after a service contract has been signed with a client, or the population group selected to be the target of the interventive activities.

The content of case examples should not be considered for the next four questions.

This information is found by analyzing the content of the article which deals specifically with interventive activities. This section of the article is often entitled; treatment guidelines, or social intervention, or implications for practice.

Approach to Social Intervention

13. Does the author discuss the functions or activities used by a practitioner while working with a battered woman?

(1) If no (go to question 17)

(2) If yes (answer question 14, 15 and 17)

14. How does the author develop the issue of social intervention? Check the appropriate line(s).

N.B This question does not refer to the content of the article, it addresses the way the information is presented to the reader.

- (1) By providing case(s) example without discussion of the activities identified ----
- (2) By providing case(s) example with discussion of some of the interventive activities ----
- (3) By mentioning general guidelines - principles that should underline social intervention with battered women ----
- (4) By discussing specific interventive activities ----
- (5) Other(s) (please specify) ----

15. Specify the approach to social intervention discussed in the articles?

Instructions:

- (1) Identify the interventive activities discussed by the author(s) in the section entitled "intervention strategies".
- (2) Check the appropriate category on the basis of the definition criteria defined in the methodology chapter.
- (3) You may check more than one.

Social Intervention

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| (1) Advocacy | (1) _____ |
| (a) Advocacy | (a) _____ |
| (b) Lobbying | (b) _____ |
| (c) Program and resource development | (c) _____ |
| (d) Social action | (d) _____ |
| (2) Education | (2) _____ |
| (a) Consultation | (a) _____ |
| (b) Education | (b) _____ |
| (c) Information | (c) _____ |
| (d) Interpretation | (d) _____ |
| (e) Modeling effective behaviour | (e) _____ |

(continued)

(3) Facilitation

(3) _____

(a) Provision of materials aids

(a) _____

(b) Liaison/mediation

(b) _____

(c) Referral

(c) _____

(4) Support

(4) _____

(a) Providing support and
encouragement

(a) _____

(b) Allowing expression of
feelings

(b) _____

(5) Not specified

(5) _____

Target System

16. Which population group is the focus of the interventive activities discussed in the article?

Check the appropriate line.

Instructions:

- (1) The context unit is the content under the section "intervention strategies" and "community resources".
- (2) Identify the target population for each interventive activity discussed in the articles.
- (3) The target group is usually explicit in the article.

Target Group

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (1) Individual | (1) _____ |
| (a) violent partner | (a) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| (b) battered woman | (b) _____ |
| (2) Couple | (2) _____ |
| (3) Group | (3) _____ |
| (a) violent partners | (a) _____ |
| (b) battered women | (b) _____ |
| (4) Family | (4) _____ |
| (5) Community | (5) _____ |
| (6) Other(s) (please specify) | (6) _____ |
| (7) Not specified | (7) _____ |
| (8) Not applicable | (8) _____ |

SOCIAL TREATMENT

Be familiar with the definition provided in the glossary.

17. Is there a specific method of social treatment proposed by the author? Please check the appropriate line.

(1) No _____ (2) If yes _____ (go to question no.19)

18. What method of social treatment is proposed in the article? Specify by checking the appropriate line. You may check more than one method of social treatment.

Method of Social Treatment

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| (1) Crisis intervention | (1) _____ |
| (2) Conjoint therapy | (2) _____ |
| (3) Family therapy | (3) _____ |
| (4) Feminist therapy | (4) _____ |
| (5) Group counseling | (5) _____ |
| (6) Milieu treatment | (6) _____ |
| (7) Problem solving | (7) _____ |
| (8) Reality therapy | (8) _____ |
| (9) Self-help group | (9) _____ |
| (10) Various combinations | (10) _____ |
| (11) Other(s) (please specify) | (11) _____ |

APPENDIX F

Appendix F

Distribution of Articles in the
 Nine most frequently Cited Journals (1970-1984) *

Journals	1970-1974 (N=5)	1975-1979 (N=26)	1980-1984 (N=37)	Total (N=68)	% of total
J. of Social Casework	0	7	10	17	25.0
J. of Marriage and Family	4	2	2	8	12.0
The Am. J. of Orthopsycht.	0	3	2	5	7.0
Social Work	0	3	2	5	7.0
Soc. Services Review	1	0	2	3	4.0
Social Work Today	0	3	0	3	4.0
J. of Family Issues	0	0	3	3	4.0
Child Welfare	0	2	0	2	3.0
J. of Consulting and Clinical Psychiatry	0	0	2	2	3.0
Others	0	6	14	20	29.0
Total	5	26	37	68	98.0 +

* Seventy one percent of the articles are published in nine journals. The remaining 29% are scattered among 20 other journals.

+ The total varies from 100 because of rounding.

APPENDIX G

Appendix G

Coefficient of Inter-coder Reliability

Gender of Authors - Inter-coder Reliability

Gender	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Male	*	*	*	*		*	1
Female			*		*		*
Not specified				*	*		2

Note: * = decisions in agreement = 12
 Number of coding decisions = 26
 1 = decision made by coder
 2 = decision made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 12}{26}$$

$$= 0.92$$

Appendix G (continued)

Geographical Location of Authors - Inter-coder Reliability

Country	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Canada							
Gr. Britain		*					
U.S.A.	*		*	*	*	*	*

Note: * = decisions in agreement = 13
 Number of coding decisions = 26

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 13}{26}$$

$$= 1.00$$

Appendix G (continued)

Professional Status of Authors - Inter-coder Reliability

Status	Year					
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 1981
Anthropol.						
Lawyer						
Psychol.						
Psychiat.						
Physician						
Soc. Worker		1	*	*	*	
Sociol.					*	
Others						
Not specif.	*	2	*	*	*	*

Note: * = decisions in agreement = 12
 Number of coding decisions = 26
 1 = decision made by coder
 2 = decision made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 12}{26}$$

$$= 0.92$$

Appendix G (continued)

Organizational Affiliation of Authors

Inter-coder Reliability

Organization	Year					
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 1981
Hospital and medical clin.						
Mental health services						
Legal services						
Social services			*	*		
Transition houses		*			*	*
University	*	*	*			*
Not specif.				*	*	

Note: * = decisions in agreement = 13
 Number of coding decisions = 26

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 13}{26}$$

$$= 1.00$$

Appendix G (continued)

Dimensions of Wife Abuse - Inter-coder Reliability

Theme of the Articles	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Psycho-social aspect	1		*		*		
Practitioner			1				
Theory	2					*	*
Intervention technology			*				
Discussion of res. method							
Review of literature							
Program and services		*	2	*	*		
Other							

Note:

- * = decisions in agreement = 8
- Number of coding decisions = 20
- 1 = decisions made by coder
- 2 = decisions made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 8}{20}$$

$$= 0.80$$

Appendix G (continued)

Research Orientation of the Articles - Inter-coder Reliability

Major Research Orientation	Year					
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 1981
EMPIRICAL STUDY						
Experimental						
Quant. descrip.	2		*			*
Explanatory	1	*	*	*		
NON-EMPIRICAL STUDY						
Res. theme			*		*	*
Res. method						
Explor./descrip.						
Pers. position						

Note:

- * = decisions in agreement = 9
- Number of coding decisions = 20
- 1 = decision made by coder
- 2 = decision made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{29}{20}$$

$$= 0.90$$

Appendix G (continued)

Research Orientation of the Articles - Inter-coder Reliability

Research Orientation	Year					
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 1981
EMPIRICAL STUDY						
Experimental						
-laboratory						
-field						
Quant. descrip.						
-program eval.				*		*
-pop. descrip.						*
-var. search	2					
Exploratory study						
-explor./descrip.	1	2		*	*	
-spec. data coll.						
-experim. manipul.	1					
NON-EMPIRICAL STUDY						
Research theme						
-essay review				*		
-review of articles						
-strategies and issues						
-impressions/implications					*	*
Research method						
-study of empirical meth.						
-discuss. of emp. meth.						
Exploratory descrip.						
Pers. position						

Note:

* = decisions in agreement = 8
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decisions made by coders
 2 = decisions made by co-coders
 CR = $\frac{2 \times 8}{20} = 0.80$

Appendix G (continued)

Theoretical Perspective of Articles - Inter-coder Reliability

Theoretical Perspective	Year					
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 1981
Psychiatric						
Socio-psychol.			1		*	
Socio-cultural			*			
Male domination						
Socio-struc.	*		1		2	
Atheoretical		*		*	1	
Var. combinations			2 2 *			* *

Note:

* = decisions in agreement = 7
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decisions made by coder
 2 = decisions made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 7}{20}$$

$$= 0.70$$

Appendix G (continued)

Community Services discussed in the articles

Inter-coder Reliability

Community Services	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Health serv.							
Law enforce. services							
Legal/judicial services							
Religious/spirit. services							
Social serv.	*	*	*	1	*	*	*
Various				2			
Other							
Not specif.	*	*	*				*

Note: * = decisions in agreement = 9
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decision made by coder
 2 = decision made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 9}{20}$$

$$= 0.90$$

Appendix G. (continued)

Problems Related to Service Delivery - Inter-coder Reliability

Problems	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Fragmentation			1				
Discontinuity							
Inaccessibility			1				
Non-accountability							
Var. combinations			2, 2				
Not specified							

Note: Decisions in agreement = 8
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decisions made by coder
 2 = decisions made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 8}{20}$$

$$= 0.80$$

Appendix G (continued)

Intervention to Improve Service Delivery

Intercoder Reliability

Modality of
Intervention

Year

| 1971 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 |

Counseling *

Service coord./
res. develop. *Profess.
trainingProg./res.
evaluation *Public
education

Social action

Research

Var. comb 1,2 1,2 *

Not specif. *

Note:

* = Decisions in agreement = 8

Number of coding decisions = 20

1 = decisions made by coder

2 = decisions made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 8}{20}$$

$$= 0.80$$

Appendix-G (continued)

Community Services Recommended by the AuthorsInter-coder Reliability

Community Services	Year					
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 1981
Health serv.						
Law enforc. services			2			
Legal/judic. services						
Relig./spirit. services						
Social serv.	*		1 *		*	
Various			1 2	*	*	
Not specif.					*	*

Note:

- * = decisions in agreement = 8
- Number of coding decisions = 20
- 1 = decisions made by the coder
- 2 = decisions made by the co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 8}{20}$$

$$= 0.80$$

Appendix G (continued)

Approaches to Social Intervention - Inter-coder Reliability

Approach	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Advocacy					2		
Support							
Education							
Facilitation			*				
Various		1	*		1		
Not specific.	*	2	*	*	*	*	*

Note:

* = decisions in agreement = 8
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decisions made by coders
 2 = decisions made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 8}{20}$$

$$= 0.80$$

Appendix G (continued)

Target Population of Social Intervention

Inter-coder Reliability

	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Population							
Individual			*		*		
Couple			*				
Family							
Group							
Community							
Var. combinations							
-ind./couple							
-ind./group							
-ind./community			1				
Not specf.	*	2	*	*	*	*	*

Note:

* = decisions in agreement 4 9.
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decision made by the coder
 2 = decision made by the co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 9}{20}$$

$$= 0.90$$

Appendix G (continued)

Method of Discussing Social Intervention							
Intercoder Reliability							
Method	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Case example no discuss. of intervention							
Case example with discuss. of intervention					2		
Principles underlining intervention							
Description of intervention							
Various							
Not specific.					1		

Note:

* = decisions in agreement = 9
 Number of coding decisions = 20
 1 = decision made by coder
 2 = decision made by co-coder

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 9}{20}$$

$$= 0.90$$

Appendix G (continued)

Methods of Social Treatment - Inter-coder Reliability

Methods	Year						
	1971	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Crisis intervention							
Conjoint therapy							
Family therapy							
Feminist therapy							
Group counseling							
Milieu treatment							
Problem solving							
Psychoanalysis							
Reality therapy							
Self-help group							
Various							
Not specif.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Note: * = decisions in agreement = 10
 Number of coding decisions = 20

$$CR = \frac{2 \times 10}{20} = 1.00$$

APPENDIX H

Appendix H

GLOSSARY

Combined Exploration and Description These studies use a combination of data-collection procedures similar to those in descriptive studies. "Concern may be with one behavioral unit such as a client group with empirical and/or theoretical analysis. Sampling procedures are flexible, and usually little concern is given to the problem of providing samples that are representative of some designated target population" (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 442). The purpose is to develop ideas, insights, and hypotheses.

Content Analysis A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

Crisis Intervention The purpose of this method of social treatment is to help the client resolve possible future crisis by applying conflict resolution techniques to the present situation, while motivation is very high.

Data Collection Procedures The authors use specific procedures for formulation of ideas or extracting generalization.

Discussion of Empirical Methods These articles discussed research techniques or problems in research methodology but are not based on empirical study. They present detailed descriptions of the research design of specific studies without considering findings.

Empirical Research Study which includes the use of systematic observations and standardized procedures which can be independently reproduced.

Essay Review This category refers to articles which are relatively detailed and discuss a specific research study or several studies. "Methodology is always included and usually emphasized" (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 443)

Experimental Manipulations Studies which experimentally manipulate independent variables to demonstrate ideas can be regarded as clinical studies or demonstration of social action programs. Their essential purpose is to demonstrate

the plausibility of using specified treatment methods or programs to accomplish some particular goal. They typically study one case with little attention devoted to the problem of external validity.

Family Therapy This is a form of therapy that includes all family members in the therapeutic encounter. The family system itself, as well as individual members are seen as a target for change.

Feminist Therapy A therapy approach for "the resolution of individual psychological problems which encourages the development of healthy fully functioning individuals who are not limited, confined or defined, by sex-role stereotype" (Ball & Wyman, 1977-78, p. 545)

Field Experiments "These studies involve manipulations of conditions by the investigator in a natural setting to determine causal relations. These studies may be evaluative, testing the effectiveness of specific, operations methods, and/or programs" (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 443).

Group Counseling This is "a method of interpersonal helping which uses the small group as a context within which individuals may work on educational, vocational or personal growth goals." (Whittaker, 1974, p. 216)

Impressions and Implications from Specific Studies Such articles present issues and impressions from specific studies. The methods of research are not always reviewed but the findings are often discussed. Focus of the article may also be reactions or impressions from participation in research project.

Laboratory Experiment This category includes studies in which the investigator creates a situation in an artificial setting to test hypotheses. He tests relationships among concepts by controlling some and manipulating other variables.

Milieu Treatment This method involves "the creation of a living/learning environment that systematically uses the events that occur in daily living as formats for teaching alternative behaviors" (Whittaker, 1974, p. 221).

Practitioner A person trained in the use of psycho-social methods for rehabilitating or helping members of the society to overcome psychosocial problems.

Population Description These studies are mostly of the survey type, and usually employ sampling methods to claim representativeness. They include a relatively large number of variables.

Problem Solving This method explores the interrelationships of person, problem and situation and offers new alternatives of problem-solving solutions in the context of helping relationships. (Whittaker, 1974)

Program Evaluation These studies are largely concerned "with seeking effects of a specific program or method of helping. Usually hypotheses are not explicitly stated" (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 442).

Psychological Abuse This expression refers to a non-physical type of abuse such as intimidation, harassment, threats or other forms of psychological coercion which cause or are considered to cause harm.

Reality Therapy The purpose of this method is "to enable individuals to face reality and fulfill their basic needs in a socially acceptable manner" (Whittaker, 1974, p. 235).

Review of Articles These articles based their discussion almost entirely on findings from different but related research studies in order to support the author's assertions and/or conclusions about a subject.

Search for Variables Relationships "These studies are concerned with finding variables pertinent to an issue or situation and/or with the relevant relations among variables." (Weinberger & Tripodi, 1969, p. 442)

Self-Help Group This approach enables members to help each other deal with a common problem. The group has as primary goals individual change and/or societal change.

Social Intervention This expression refers to activities undertaken by practitioners to carry out their functions, subsequent to the development of a service contract with a client.

Social Services This type of service includes children services, marital and family services.

Social Treatment Intervention strategies designed to help individual, couple, families and small groups to improve social functioning and their abilities to cope with their social problems.

Social Work Practice A professional activity of helping individuals, groups, or communities that enhances their capacity

for social functioning and creating societal conditions favorable to this goal. (National Association of Social Workers, 1970)

Social Work Research and Abstracts Journal This journal combines publications of research in the field of social work with the previous journal Abstracts for Social Workers. This expanded journal comprises both original research papers and abstracts of articles previously published in social work fields.

Strategies and Issues These articles are relatively general. They discuss issues about social work research, difficulties encountered, developmental trends, recommendations for approach, and focus.

Study of Empirical Methods These articles emphasized the specific research technique, method, and/or instrument of empirical studies.

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