



We ask professionals to respond to a whole range of social problems, including trauma, abuse, and neglect.

The field of abuse encompasses maltreatment in its many forms, such as child physical abuse, child neglect, child sexual abuse, child psychological maltreatment, bullying and sibling abuse, courtship violence and date rape, domestic violence, and the maltreatment of elderly and disabled people—indeed, the abuse of anyone by someone in a position of trust. Terms like *family maltreatment*, *family abuse*, and *family violence* have all been used more or less synonymously in the field. Former US Attorney General Janet Reno once described abuse as the leading contributor of most other social problems. The problem of abuse has caught on with the general public—for good when it increases awareness and inspires the desire for remedial action, and for ill when shock leads to knee-jerk reactions that, in the end, don't contribute to either a thoughtful understanding or to finding solutions.

We have been inundated with reports of abuse of all kinds in recent years, including cases like that of Josh Powell, who killed his two boys and himself before setting their house on fire in Washington state (Alcindor, 2012; Smolowe et al., 2012) or Los Angeles-area teacher Mark Berndt, who was charged with 23 counts of lewd conduct with his third-grade students (Audi et al., 2012; Lovett & Nagourney, 2012); and a spate of allegations about abuse by priests (Farrell, 2009); as well as the conviction of former Penn State defensive coordinator Jerry Sandusky of 45 counts of sexually abusing ten young boys he befriended through his charity, Second Mile (Amber, 2012; Chan & Takagi, 2011; Drape, 2012) (see

Box 1.1). Add to these examples the abuse that takes place behind closed doors and we have a troubling situation.

Box 1.1

A Few Selected High-Profile Cases Involving Allegations of Abuse

Josh Powell

On Superbowl Sunday, 2012, a social worker brought Charlie and Braden Powell, ages 7 and 5, respectively, to their dad's newly rented home near Graham, Washington. The boys were in the custody of their maternal grandparents but the judge had ordered supervised visits. When the social worker and the boys arrived, Josh Powell, their father, grabbed the boys and pulled them into the house. The social worker used her cell phone to call 9-1-1, but it was already too late. Josh had struck each of the boys with a hatchet and set the house on fire. Within minutes the house was engulfed in flames and everyone inside was dead (Breuer, 2010; Paulson, 2012).

Josh Powell had lost custody of the boys after his own father, Steven Powell, with whom he and the boys were living, was arrested for voyeurism and possessing child pornography. While Josh was not implicated in his father's case, he did live in the same home and was named as a "person of interest" in the disappearance of his wife, Susan Cox-Powell, less than two years before. Only days before the murder-suicide, the judge in the custody case ordered Josh to undergo a psychosexual evaluation.

Mark Berndt

Mark Berndt, 61, who had taught at Miramonte Elementary School in Los Angeles for over 30 years, was arrested in 2012 and charged with 23 counts of committing lewd acts with children, his third-grade students. The case came to light when a photo developer called the police about pornographic photos of the students, presumably taken by Mr. Berndt. The photos included images of the naked children bound and gagged.

Jerry Sandusky

After a three-year investigation, former Penn State defensive coordinator Jerry Sandusky was arrested in 2011 on 40 counts of child rape and sexual abuse. The cases involve at least 8 young boys he met through his charity, the Second Mile Foundation. Earlier in 2001, graduate assistant Mike McQueary had reported the rape of a boy in the shower to Sandusky's boss, legendary coach Joe Paterno. In 2011, as a result of the charges Paterno and the president of the university were fired. One June 22, 2012, Sandusky was found guilty of 45 counts of sexually abusing 10 young boys (Drape, 2012). While the jury was deliberating, Sandusky's own adopted son, Matt, disclosed that he too had been sexually abused by his dad.

Professional Attention

We can think of professional attention as a reflection or extension of community needs and demands, but really it's a back-and-forth proposition. The professional community both informs the public about problems it uncovers and responds to public concern. Once the public becomes aware and concerned, it wants something done. Then, it is only appropriate for professionals to respond.

To get a sense of professional involvement, you don't have to go any further than the person credited with launching the whole business of psychotherapy,

Sigmund Freud. Based on reports of his patients, Freud first attributed early trauma, often in the form of sexual abuse, as the cause of a psychiatric disorder he named hysterical neurosis (Eissler, 2001). If we have a difficult time dealing with family maltreatment issues today, it was certainly no easier in the late 1800s and early 1900s, when Freud was doing his pioneering work. In Victorian Viennese society, sex was a touchy subject, and Freud's patients were making allegations of sexual abuse by parents and other caretakers, most of whom were high-status members of their society. Indications are that when Freud asserted that the recollections of his patients represented real events, his ideas were rejected. Recent explorations about the development of Freud's ideas suggest that it was only when he modified his theory to suggest that these disclosures were really tied in to guilt-ridden fantasies rather than real events that Freud gained professional acceptance (Masson, 1984). This modification of theory purported that the patients, when children, had secret sexual fantasies involving their opposite-sex parent. Some scholars (Masson, 1984) believe that this marked the beginning of a long period of professional neglect regarding child sexual abuse that lasted from the beginning of the 20th century to the early 1980s (a topic that we discuss in more detail in Chapter 5).

Back in Freud's day it was quite normal for people to feel it was a parent's right to treat their children almost any way they wanted. It wasn't until 1962, when pediatrician C. Henry Kempe and his colleagues wrote a startling article about what they called "battered child syndrome" that appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (Carter, 2015; Kempe et al., 1962) that we began paying attention to the problem of abuse. Building on reports from other physicians as well as his own experience, Kempe and his associates began to use x-ray technology to reveal a troubling phenomenon. X-rays revealed numerous broken bones in some children, each in differing stages of healing, which suggested a pattern of severe physical abuse. The article by Kempe et al. (1962) is rightly credited with jolting the professional community into awareness about the seriousness of child physical abuse.

According to one source, child sexual abuse became a semiautonomous specialty in the late seventies (Finkelhor, 1992), and by the mid-1980s it caught on as a public and professional issue. Some suggest that 1984 marked the beginning of intense attention to the issue of child sexual abuse, with the breaking of the McMartin day care case (Haugaard & Repucci, 1988) and several other cases involving multiple allegations of sexual abuse by child care providers. Public interest intensified in the wake of publicity surrounding these cases (Haugaard & Repucci, 1988) (see Box 1.1). Now, we know that many of the techniques used by the investigators were highly suggestive, discrediting the original allegations (Schreiber et al., 2006).

The early 1970s marked the beginning of public and professional concern about the problem of domestic violence. It was in 1972 that the term *spouse abuse* first appeared in the social science indexes (Gondolf, 1985), and battered women's shelters began to appear. In 1975, the National Organization for Women launched an effort to study the problem of battering (Gelles, 1993a). Some sources say that our more enlightened contemporary awareness of family violence

began in earnest as a result of the women's movement. When women began speaking out about their abuse, others began to listen (see Gelles, 1980). It was also in the 1970s that the media picked up on the issue. A book and TV movie, *The Burning Bed*, appeared and stirred public sentiment (McNulty, 1980). According to one source, there was very little professional literature on domestic violence until the early 1970s (Gondolf, 1985). This source also suggests that the scant professional literature found prior to that time tended to characterize victims as provokers of their own abuse, something we now call "blaming the victim." Even now, people raise questions about why women stay in abusive relationships—the implication being that they are somehow to blame for their own misfortune. One pioneering researcher in the area, Lenore Walker, wrote a groundbreaking book in the late 1970s, applying Seligman's theory of learned helplessness to explain that severely battered women are often caught up in a cycle of violence over which they have no control (Walker, 1979). In addition to Walker's book, other works appeared in the mid-to-late 1970s that are now regarded as classics (Gondolf, 1985). It is also likely that the 1970s marked the beginning of public and professional attention to the issue of elder abuse, which came about at the instigation of advocates for the elderly (Gelles, 1993a). However, interest in this area was largely neglected until the mid-1990s (see Chapter 12).

Since public intervention and research funding are limited, there is also competition for dollars. If there is a disadvantage to giving attention to any specific type of abuse, it would be that it takes away from other areas that also need attention. For example, David Finkelhor (1992) has suggested that when there was a great deal of publicity about child sexual abuse, research dollars shifted away from child physical abuse. Finkelhor (1992) also observed that both physical abuse (Chapter 2) and sexual abuse (Chapter 5) pale in comparison to neglect cases (Chapter 3), which represent the largest part of many child protective service caseloads but which have been largely overlooked. Psychological or emotional maltreatment is now regarded by many in the field as an overarching form of maltreatment (Chapter 4). However, it has gotten only scant attention.

What Is Maltreatment?

So far, we've done a brief review of the major forms of maltreatment: child physical abuse, child sexual abuse, child psychological maltreatment, child neglect, domestic violence, and elder maltreatment. Though most of us have a pretty good idea about what these various forms of maltreatment are, we've yet to define our terms.

Maltreatment can be loosely defined as an act, failure to act, or pattern of behavior by someone in a position of trust that results (or can result) in serious physical injury or emotional harm (Doak, 2011). An assault, which may or may not in and of itself constitute *abuse*, can be defined as a threat or any single abusive act, psychological or physical. A *pattern* of active physical, sexual, or emotional assaults that results in injury or harm constitutes abuse. The failure to attend to the basic human needs of a dependent person for whom one has responsibility constitutes neglect. Physical abuse represents a physical assault or pattern of

behavior that attacks the victim's physical integrity. While there is controversy over where to draw the line between acceptable parental punishment and abuse, any act of punishment that results in injury is generally defined as abuse. Any physical assault that represents part of a pattern of harmful behavior or is sufficiently severe also can be considered physical abuse. Emotional or psychological maltreatment can be understood as a pattern of verbal attacks, or the neglect of genuine psychological or emotional needs. Sexual abuse can be thought of as the inappropriate use of another, which includes sexual contact for the purpose of sexual gratification, domination, or both. Sexual abuse by its very nature may also be an assault on an authentic sense of self, including one's sexuality.

Not only is abuse usually defined according to its type but it is also classified according to the status of the victim (child, spouse, or elder) and the relationship between victim and offender. Domestic violence, for instance, is a pattern of abusive behavior in which one person establishes power and control over one's intimate partner. Sexual contact with children by an adult or significantly older person is child sexual abuse, even if the victim participates, because children lack an understanding of the long-range consequences of their involvement and therefore can't consent. Because children are known to engage in sexual exploration with each other, a five-year age difference, while arbitrary, has been used to differentiate between abuse and exploration (Finkelhor, 1986b). Child sexual abuse can be either incest (if it is perpetrated by a close relative) or non-incestuous abuse (if it is perpetrated by someone other than a close relative). It is interesting that, while cultures vary in what they consider to be incestuous (e.g., what the relationship is between the parties), all cultures have an incest taboo—that is, all cultures define certain kinds of intimate sexual contact between family members as forbidden.

In the past, when people thought of sexual abuse, they usually thought of unnatural acts of non-incestuous abuse as being perpetrated by sexual deviants with a sexual preference for children. These individuals exist and are professionally classified as pedophiles. While predatory pedophiles do exist, most child sexual abuse is perpetrated by family members or close personal friends, some of whom may or may not be pedophiles.

Basic Human Needs

The matrix sketched in Table 1.1 below suggests that we can differentiate between abuse and neglect on the basis of whether the person is physically, sexually, or psychologically maltreated or whether their basic needs are neglected. This assumes that basic human needs are critically important. The work of a founding father of humanistic psychology, Abraham Maslow, suggests that each of us comes into the world with certain basic human needs. These needs exist at different levels from the most basic to the more abstract (Maslow, 1954). They include essential physical necessities such as food and water, a certain degree of safety and security, love and belonging, and self-esteem, as well as self-actualization or psychic/spiritual completion or wholeness. According to Maslow's scheme, we do not work to achieve fulfillment at higher levels unless lower-level needs are at least somewhat satisfactorily achieved. In the area of abuse, the sig-

Table 1.1 Family Maltreatment Matrix

	Abuse/Neglect Can Be Physical or Nonphysical			
	Physical Assaults	Sexual Assaults	Emotional Assaults	Failure to Attend to Basic Needs
Child	Punishment assault or physical abuse	Child sexual abuse	Psychological assault or child psychological abuse	Child neglect
Spouse/ Domestic Partner	Domestic violence	Spousal rape	Psychological assault or abuse	
Elder	Elder physical abuse	Rape or elder sexual abuse	Elder psychological assault or abuse	Elder neglect

nificance of this model is that victims of abuse cannot be expected to be whole if the achievement of basic needs is interrupted by abuse or neglect.

These ideas can assist us to think about ways abuse and neglect can impact the ability of their victims to experience life in a positive, creative, and fulfilling way. Maslow's simple but classic hierarchy of needs can also help us to establish such nonphysical human needs as affection, belonging, and self-esteem as essential to human existence. Studies have shown that nontangible needs such as love and self-esteem are essential to normal growth and development. This, as well as the role of human development, will be covered more extensively when we address the problems of neglect and psychological maltreatment (Chapters 3 and 4).

Ambiguous Boundaries

When dealing with abuse in the family, there aren't always clear lines between the types of abuse; it's common for more than one type to occur simultaneously. Psychological or emotional abuse, for instance, comes into play when any of the other forms of abuse are present. Some experts in the field believe that psychological maltreatment is the form of abuse that underlies all other types of maltreatment (see Chapter 4). We can use what happens in domestic violence as one example. As our definition states, domestic violence can be seen as a pattern of behavior in which a person is abusive as a way to establish power and control over a person with whom he has or has had a close personal relationship. In contrast to popular belief, the actual battering may be a relatively infrequent activity. It doesn't have to be used continually in order for the abuser to maintain power and control. The implied threat it causes is often powerful enough. At other times, the abuser uses various forms of manipulative, coercive, and otherwise psychologically abusive behavior as additional tools to establish and maintain dominance. All the physical, emotional, and sexual forms of domestic violence can thus be thought of as expressions of a more central process—that of maintaining domination and control.

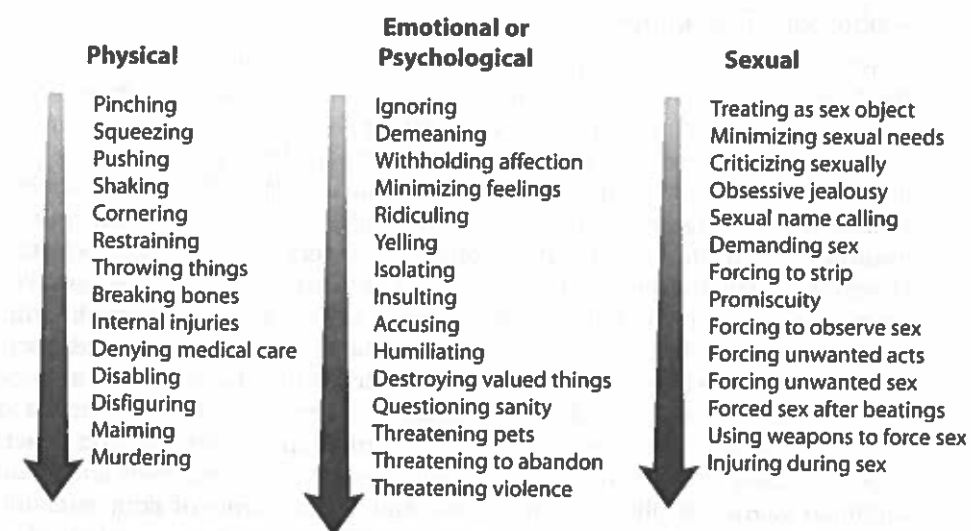
Continuums of Abuse

Models called **continuums of abuse** are representations of abusive behaviors arranged on a line from least to most severe. They are often employed in the domestic violence field to help educate victims and professionals about abusive patterns. Three common continuums are the physical abuse continuum, sexual abuse continuum, and psychological abuse continuum. These seem so simple and obvious that one can miss their significance. As a clinician I've found that abusers are often so practiced at rationalizing their behavior that they develop a distorted view of what they are doing. Most batterers will justify and explain away their behavior as being anything *but* abuse. The continuums, which contain very practical and concrete examples, serve as a way to do a "reality check." If the suspected perpetrator is engaging in a range of specific behaviors depicted on a continuum, the abuse pattern materializes easily enough—that is, if the human service professional is willing to ask questions about the behaviors on the continuum and if people are willing to disclose. The range of physically, sexually, and emotionally abusive behaviors, which serve to establish and maintain domination and control, can be graphically depicted as shown in Figure 1.1.

Continuums such as these have been commonly used in domestic violence education. They are not intended to be precise but to graphically show the kinds of behaviors commonly associated with various types of abuse. Some of these may also apply to cases of child emotional and physical abuse when the motivation revolves around dominance and control.

Though some noted child abuse pioneers (Groth & Burgess, 1977, as cited in Sgroi, 1982; Sgroi, 1982) argue that sexual abuse is an "acting out" of power and

Figure 1.1 Continuums of Abuse in Domestic Violence



Source: Based on Kemp (1998)

control needs, there also seem to be qualitatively significant differences in how these needs are expressed in child sexual abuse and other types family violence cases. These differences center on motivation. In child sexual abuse cases, the purpose of the gradation of behaviors seems to focus on gradually enticing the child into more intimate sexual activity, a process called **grooming**. In the case of the sexually abusive behaviors acted out in other types of family violence cases, the behaviors seem to be an expression of a sense of entitlement and part of a more general pattern of domination and control. Behaviors that could be more useful on a child sexual abuse continuum would include qualitatively different examples from those in the domestic violence, such as the range of behaviors that child sexual abusers engage in as part of grooming their victims.

The grooming behavior involves the offender beginning his preparation of a child victim with relatively innocent forms of interaction and gradually increasing the level of activity until the perpetrator seduces the child into participating in sexual activity (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 A Continuum of Grooming Behavior in Child Sexual Abuse



Family Abuse Spillover

Family violence inflicted on one family member impacts other family members. Others in the family very often witness it or become aware of it later. In the case of spouse abuse, for example, even if the children are not actually present in the room where it occurs, they are usually well aware of what's going on. Sometimes in these situations children try to intervene and end up being hurt themselves. Even when children stay clear and are not victims of the physical abuse, simply being aware of one parent abusing the other is distressing. It is probably sufficiently traumatic to constitute emotional or psychological abuse in its own right, and there are now jurisdictions in which exposing a child to spousal abuse is defined as a form of child abuse.

Theory, Research, and Practice

Since this text is designed for those wishing to better understand abuse, and since there are so many theories, models, and statistics, it seems only appropriate to put the topic into the context of science and social science.

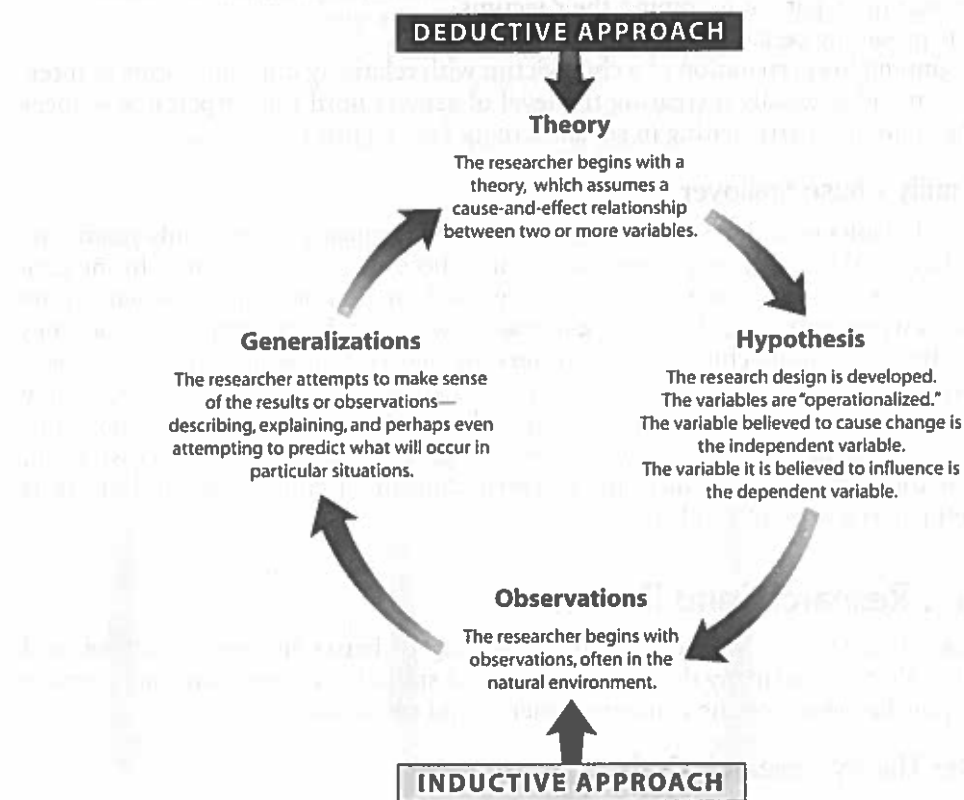
The Theory-Research Cycle

One way to begin this discussion is to introduce the theory-research cycle (Wallace, 1971). We can think of a theory as a tentative explanation for some phe-

nomenon, a set of logically interrelated statements that attempts to describe, explain, and sometimes predict how the phenomenon will behave. While a theory may provide a way of looking at phenomena and may guide research, a theory doesn't in and of itself constitute evidence, or provide proof, of its own claims. This is where research comes into play—as a systematic process that provides evidence supporting theory. In what is sometimes referred to as the classic or *empirical* research method, the experiment, the researcher tests theory in a controlled environment to see if it holds up. When engaging in this type of research, the investigator typically reviews the literature, conducts the experiment, gathers the data; and analyzes it in the search for new knowledge.

Theory and research are also interdependent. They rely on each other. Although theory often guides research, research is the accepted process for testing existing theory, confirming it, or disconfirming it, which in turn leads to modifications in theory or to the development of new theory. Walter Wallace (1971) describes the relationship between theory and research as being that of a continuous cycle (see Figure 1.3 below) (Kemp, 2014).

Figure 1.3 Theory-Research Cycle



Source: Based on Wallace (1971) and further adapted from Kemp (2014) and Kendall (2016)

According to the research-theory cycle the investigator can begin with a theory or direct observations (Wallace, 1971). If one begins with a theory, the investigator designs a research project to test it, makes observations, gathers and analyzes the data, and then tries to come to some up with conclusions or generalizations (a hypothesis) about what it all means. This is called the **deductive approach** (sometimes called the "top-down" approach). The investigator starts with a general idea and tries to deduce a conclusion based on theory. An investigator can also start on the opposite side of the theory-research cycle. The observer sees something in the natural environment that causes him or her to ask questions about what it means. The researcher looks for patterns, or broader generalizations, that might lead to conclusions about what the phenomenon means, which could then lead to new theory. This is called the **inductive approach** (or "bottom-up" approach). With the inductive approach the investigator begins with specific observations which forms the basis of new theory (Trochim, 2006).

Research Methods

There are also many specific *methods* of research: the experiment (classical or empirical research), survey research, case study, field study, participant-observation, historical analysis, and even the secondary analysis of existing data, in which the investigator interprets in new ways the data gathered by others. Examples of each type of research are integrated throughout this book, or in any good text on abuse. Why? Because it is important to understand and because abuse researchers come from such diverse backgrounds. Some methods are better than others depending on what it is the investigator is trying to learn. In the experiment (a form of classical or empirical research), the investigator tries to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between two or more variables using the principles of scientific method. Social scientists often regard this type of research as the benchmark of academia—the standard by which all other methods are judged. However, in the abuse field it is generally considered unethical to conduct direct experimental research, necessitating the use of other methods. This means we must often look for alternatives. For a summary of key elements of scientific method, please refer to Table 1.2 on the following page.

Qualitative, "softer" methods of research are also used. The researcher uses these nonnumeric approaches in an attempt to "get at" and describe an experience. Rather than being done in a controlled environment, where the investigators attempt to control the variables, qualitative research tends to be done in the natural environment, often relying upon naturalistic observations. Generally speaking, quantitative methods are associated with the deductive approach and qualitative research is usually associated with the inductive approach. Table 1.3 (on p. 15) attempts to visually summarize the key features of each type of research: deductive and inductive, quantitative and qualitative, and the general placement of various research methods on a continuum from deductive, quantitative and explanatory to inductive, qualitative and exploratory.

Science is the process of systematically testing ideas in order to differentiate between myth and certainty. Science is usually divided into the natural sciences,

Table 1.2 Basic Elements of the Scientific Method

Description	Information about the phenomena being studied must be both <i>valid</i> (accurately related to the focus of inquiry) and <i>reliable</i> (repeatable—i.e. consistently yielding similar results when following the same procedures).
Prediction	The results of experimentation should be predictable based on the theory used and the hypothesis tested.
Control	The researcher should be able to control at least one variable (the independent variable) in order to test the effect on at least one other variable (the dependent variable). This helps determine if a cause-and-effect relationship exists between the two.
Understanding	Specific criteria must be met before the phenomena under study are said to be understood: Covariation of events —the predicted variation of one variable (the dependent variable) in response to the manipulation of the other (the independent variable) must occur as predicted. Sequence —the hypothesized cause (the independent variable) must in fact precede in time the observed effect (the dependent variable). Elimination of alternative explanations —steps must be taken to insure that some other intervening variable did not cause the observed effect.

Source: Based on Kemp (2014), p. 14

or “hard sciences” like chemistry and physics, and what is referred to as the “soft” sciences, or social sciences. The goal of the social sciences is to uncover and explain human behavior. As in the natural sciences, **scientific method** is the generally accepted process, though there is also now a greater acceptance of qualitative research as another way of knowing. The scientific method essentially involves identifying a question or problem to be solved, developing some tentative ideas or guesses about what causes it (the **hypothesis**), and then testing this hypothesis to see whether or not it can be supported. This is done by **operationalizing** the key concepts to be tested in the hypothesis, following accepted methods in doing the **hypothesis testing**, and then describing and explaining the results. When social scientists believe the results apply to what we’re really trying to study, we say the results are **valid**. When different researchers apply the same research methods and get the same results, we say the results are **reliable**. The scientific method implies that the universe, including human behavior, operates according to predictable rules that can be identified and observed. In order to test hypotheses and generate new knowledge social scientists usually simplify the process as much as possible. Social scientists are looking for **causation**—in other words, a cause-and-effect relationship is presumed to operate. In order to find causation they want to exclude **extraneous** or **intervening variables** as much as possible, so they can be confident that whatever conclusions they arrive at are solid. This is important if future research is to build on the results. Based on the challenges in carrying out systematic research on family abuse, it’s not hard to see why the study of the various forms of abuse seems so segmented. In

Table 1.3 Comparing Approaches to Research

Deductive begins with theory forms hypothesis makes observations, tests hypothesis generalizes results modifies theory	Inductive begins with observations makes generalizations results may help give shape to new theory
Quantitative Research deductive explanatory emphasis on determining cause and effect attempts to control variables natural science worldview examines behavior of individual variables goal: to determine cause and effect focus on objective reality positivistic outcome oriented reality can be observed and measured	Qualitative Research inductive exploratory emphasis on an exploration of phenomena naturalistic (no attempt to control variables) anthropological worldview holistic goal: to understand actor’s view focus on actors’ subjective reality phenomenological process oriented reality is subjective
General Placement of Selected Research Methods	
experiment survey research secondary analysis of existing data	field research participant observation ethnography case studies historical analysis

Source: Based on Kemp (2014), p. 15

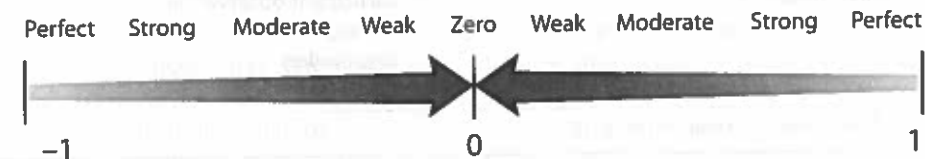
addition to the investigators having different interests, it is absolutely necessary to try to reduce the scope of study to manageable proportions so that the search for causative explanations can go forward.

In the area of family abuse, numerous social scientists have studied an array of suspected factors. One of the most consistent findings that emerges is that single-cause explanations do not seem to work; and multiple, interrelated factors are suspected to interact, contributing to the problem. **Causative** explanations (i.e., explanations that try to establish cause-and-effect relationships) are often hard to come by. The type of studies that can help us arrive at causative explanation are called **controlled studies** or **experimental studies**. An important cautionary note is appropriate here. Researchers strive to be very careful about the kind of **generalizations**, or assumptions, they make about how the world really works, even when doing controlled or experimental studies. Only when the data seem valid and reliable and the samples being studied seem to represent the population as a whole should researchers conducting experimental studies be willing to go out on a limb and make claims about how human behavior operates.

CORRELATIONAL STUDIES

When causative explanations can't be found, social scientists generally look for the existence of factors that seem to be related to each other in *some* way. When we can establish that two factors are related, but can't establish cause and effect, we call this kind of information **correlational data**. The two variables are correlated but do not necessarily have a cause-and-effect relationship. If one variable increases when the other variable increases, they are said to be *positively correlated*. In other words, the variables move in the same direction. For example, when the unemployment rate goes up, so do reports of domestic violence and child abuse. When one variable increases as the other variable decreases, they are said to be *negatively correlated*. For example, when treatment services are provided to victims of abuse, their symptoms of disturbance decline. We can measure correlation mathematically, and when we do so it is typically called *r*. The value of correlation is reported on a continuous scale or continuum (from -1 to $+1$), as illustrated below in Figure 1.4. Correlational data is less compelling than causative data. Where cause-and-effect relationships can be established, the factors associated with abuse can be called **predictors**. Where the relationships are only correlational they are called **markers**.

Figure 1.4 Correlation Continuum



DESCRIPTIVE AND INFERENTIAL STATISTICS

When information simply defines or describes some observation, it is called **descriptive data**. Statistics that merely describe incidence but don't establish a relationship between variables are called **descriptive statistics**. Descriptive statistics are like snapshots with numbers. They describe a phenomenon at a certain place and time and have less explanatory power than even correlational data. With **inferential statistics** we make generalizations, or inferences, about the whole population on the basis of studying a sample. Inferential statistics are used in formal, controlled research.

KEY RESEARCH ISSUES

As we discussed earlier, abuse in the family has reemerged relatively recently as a focus of professional attention. While we have been accumulating a large body of information, we still have a very long way to go in the understanding of family abuse. Studying something as personal and sensitive as abuse poses special challenges. Much of the knowledge we have been able to gather is either descriptive or correlational, with some exceptions. The two most common

sources of information are **clinical samples** from victims or offenders who have already been identified; and **population samples** drawn from the general population. There are difficulties associated with each.

One of the chief problems is that abuse, by its very nature, is something generally carried out in secret—it is the rare perpetrator who wants to disclose his or her abusive behavior. As for victims, they often are unable to identify their mistreatment as abuse, or they may fear the consequences of disclosing abuse. Since asking people about prior abuse may be safer, this is the approach that is often taken. Research such as this tends to be done by sampling the general population.

Retrospective studies draw population samples by asking adults about their childhood experiences. While it may feel safer to disclose childhood abuse from the distant past as opposed to abuse that is currently occurring in adulthood, retrospective studies have another problem—the reliability (or lack thereof) of memory. In addition to the general problems associated with reliability, memory was at the heart of a major controversy in the field of family maltreatment: the false memory/repressed memory debate. Those on the “false memory” side of the debate asserted that so-called repressed memories are often artifacts of subtle suggestion on the part of therapists or victim advocates. Those on the “repressed memory” side of the debate asserted that memories that surfaced later in life were real. They counter arguments from the other side with the contention that abuse is so traumatic that memories are repressed unless triggered later in life. We discuss the false memory/repressed memory debate at greater length in Chapter 8.

In contrast to population samples, clinical samples are not representative of the population as a whole since they are drawn from groups of people who are receiving counseling or mental health services. As a result, we need to be careful about the kinds of generalizations we make from data gathered from them. Certain questions arise: Because a large number of people in clinical samples have been maltreated, can we assume that maltreatment causes the psychological or behavior problems? Do people in clinical samples report abuse partly as a way to explain their current problems, when other factors could be at play? While the results of research done with clinical samples can be interesting and informative about these specific populations, it is hard to generalize from them about the population as a whole.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND SURVEY DATA

The kinds of statistics the layperson is most likely to come in contact with are those from official reports or large surveys. In order to understand how best to use information from these sources, we can think of family maltreatment as being like an iceberg. The part we can see would be like the tip of the iceberg, while much of it remains unseen and submerged. The official reports of abuse would be like the tip of the iceberg, leaving much information beneath the surface. While research that uses the scientific method attempts to explain maltreatment, official reports tell us how much abuse is reported; large surveys try to inform us about abuse that has occurred but has not necessarily been reported.

There are several widely used reports: the FBI Uniform Crime Reports, the National Crime Victimization Survey, the National Family Violence Surveys, the

National Incidence Study of Child Abuse (NIS), and the National Elder Abuse Incidence Study. The Uniform Crime Reports can help us track fatalities but are not helpful in other areas of family maltreatment. Two well-known self-report surveys are the National Crime Victimization Survey and the National Family Violence Surveys. The National Crime Victimization Survey, prepared by the Bureau of the Census for the Department of Justice, provides details about various acts of abuse based on a representative sampling of 60,000 households. The National Family Violence Surveys, conducted by a team of researchers headed by Murray Straus, are really two surveys that used large representative samples taken ten years apart—in 1975 and 1985. In the United States today, the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect conducts a periodic study of child abuse and neglect, the National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (usually abbreviated as NIS) (Doak, 2011). The most recent version is NIS-4 (Sedlak et al., 2010). It is regarded as the single most comprehensive source of information on child abuse and neglect. Reporting child abuse and neglect is mandatory in all 50 states but is virtually nonexistent for domestic violence. The National Elder Abuse Incidence Study was last done in 1998 and is now becoming dated. However, it still serves as a starting point for information on elder abuse.

CONFUSION AND MISUSE OF THE DATA

So far we've outlined three different types of research information: experimental, correlational, and descriptive data. Sometimes even professionals can get confused about what each kind of information can tell us, especially when the issue is as emotionally charged (and sometimes polarized) as this field can be. One team of early maltreatment researchers undertook a critical examination of the explosion of research published on the subject and expressed some significant reservations about the value of much of it (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). Most of the studies they surveyed performed only correlational comparisons yet attempted to make assertions about causality. Another criticism of some of the early research is that it was done without using comparison groups. Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) pointed out that we should be extremely careful about accepting conclusions based on correlational data, especially when these studies do not use comparison groups. (For more detailed discussion of how Hotaling and Sugarman applied social science methods to the literature on domestic violence, see Chapter 10). If we need to be careful about the conclusions we draw from correlational data, we need to be all the more careful with the kinds of conclusions we arrive at on the basis of descriptive information.

Theory and Practice

The pioneers in the field of abuse came from a range of professions and academic disciplines—sociology and social work, criminology and law enforcement, psychology and counseling, medicine and nursing, theology and chaplaincy, and many others. From its beginnings the field has been multidisciplinary, embracing diverse perspectives and experience.

I like to use an often-quoted Hindu parable about a group of blind men when considering the interdisciplinary nature of fields like abuse in society. In the para-

ble, the blind men are asked to describe an elephant. The first approaches the elephant and grabs its tail. He says the elephant is like a rope. The second puts his arms around a leg and says an elephant is like the trunk of a tree. Then, a third grabs the snout at exactly the same moment the elephant shoots a stream of water, so he says the elephant is like a water hose. The fourth grasps an ear and says an elephant is like a fan that circulates the air. The moral is that each description is both correct and incorrect—correct because the account, as far as it goes, is accurate; and incorrect, because none of the men was able to understand the totality of the elephant. A solution to the paradox only becomes apparent when one recognizes that the descriptions are really complementary, not contradictory.

The field of abuse and neglect is multidisciplinary because people from diverse fields and professions have joined its ranks. It is multidimensional because its practitioners recognize that dealing with sensitive problems like abuse requires them to work with whole persons—body, mind, and spirit—as well as networks of friends and colleagues, communities, and even society at large. Since graduate programs that train abuse professionals are a rarity, most people in the field have completed graduate education in other disciplines, each with its own body of literature and preferred research methods.

To get a sense of how diverse these perspectives are, let's briefly look at just two academic disciplines: psychology and sociology. The field of psychology is concerned with understanding thinking, feeling, and behavior. Its focus tends to be on the individual and it has three main branches, or schools: behavioral, psychodynamic, and humanistic. At the risk of oversimplifying, the behavioral approach looks at how rewards, reinforcement, and punishment influence learning and shape behavior. The psychodynamic school, influenced by Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, tends to look at complex internal processes, including the unconscious. The humanistic branch, sometimes called the "third wave" in psychology, is interested in the uniquely human dimensions of subjective experience. In contrast, sociology is more broadly concerned with society and human relationships. It too has several branches, often referred to as "perspectives" or "paradigms." The key ones are functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism. Again, at the risk of oversimplifying, functionalism is interested in social structure, practices, and the role of social institutions such as the family, religion, and education. Conflict theory looks at inherent conflicts between classes of people (e.g., rich–poor; men–women; black–white; straight–gay), usually over such things as the control of resources and social influence. Symbolic interactionism is concerned with the social interpretation of experience and the effects of labeling.

Like the blind men and the elephant, diverse disciplines and professions approach human experience differently. Each have their own strengths and limitations. In relation to the topic of abuse, some investigators attempt to explain it on the basis of the characteristics of individual perpetrators; others attempt on the basis of family dynamics; while still others look at broad social and economic conditions that seem to breed problems. Some of the research attempts to use controlled data; other research makes use of correlations; still other research tries to ferret out answers from large-scale survey data; while many other forms of research analyze and interpret official statistics. Since the issues are so complex,

a conceptual framework seems in order. So, we will explore as much of the available research we can, and in doing so we will make use of a *systems* or *ecological* model, as discussed below.

AN ECOLOGY OF ABUSE

A number of abuse investigators have become interested in the various interrelationships and in understanding abuse in a more unified way. In these efforts, some have proposed *ecological models* (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, 1997a, 1997b), while others call for the adoption of *systems approaches* (for detailed discussions see Blau et al., 1993; Edelson & Tolman, 1992; Gondolf, 1993; Lewis, 2000; Milner & Crouch, 1993). Ecological and systems approaches emphasize the idea that complex interrelationships between individuals, families, communities, and the society at large interact and play a role in abuse. These approaches stress that human behavior takes place within a social environment or ecology: family, neighborhood, school, community, society, and so on.

The terms “ecological” and “systems” are sometimes used almost interchangeably; however, “systems” is often used as a description for the dominant theoretical orientation in the field of marriage and family therapy. I should probably briefly mention that, when simultaneously discussing the area of domestic violence and the field of marriage and family therapy, there is some conflict related to key philosophical positions. I limit discussion here, since these issues are addressed in greater depth later (Chapter 10). However, following is the crux of the conflict.

Basically, the family systems approach assumes that problems arise as the result of how the family system is organized and functions. The assumption is that there is dysfunction in significant relationships and that the best approach to therapy is to work on relationships. In the domestic violence field, on the other hand, the dominant view suggests that domestic violence occurs because of an imbalance of power. From this point of view, it is not appropriate to assume we are dealing with equals, since one member of the dyad has more power than the other. Therefore, the prevailing view is that we should not work with couples together because we may endanger victims if we require them to interact with their abusing partners. (In fact, advocates and therapists report that victims are often battered or endangered as the result of something they’ve said during a therapy session.)

It is important to distinguish between the study of family maltreatment and the methods we employ when we try to intervene. The systems or ecological approach introduced here does not necessarily mean that we want to put victims and perpetrators together in therapy; however, it does attempt to provide a framework in which to study abuse. Keeping this in mind, let’s continue the discussion of the systemic or ecological approach.

General Systems Theory. Systems theory has its roots in efforts to extend the principles long valued in the natural sciences to the social sciences. Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1934, 1968), a pioneer “systems thinker,” is credited with originating a broad theoretical framework called general systems theory. Bertalanffy also advocated for moving beyond examining simple, linear, cause-and-effect

relationships to looking at the more complex interrelationships that exist in dynamic, living systems. He was himself a biologist and suggested that many of the principles of biology could be extended to all living systems, including human beings, and even to human social systems (von Bertalanffy & Sutherland, 1974).

One of the most interesting concepts associated with systems theory is the notion that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Systems theorists have coined the term **emergent characteristics** to apply to the unique characteristics that result from the interaction of people in certain special relationships. When people marry, the marriage—with all its new obligations and possibilities—is an example of how the whole (in this case, the marriage) is more than just the combined lives of two individuals. It has great social meaning, as do families, extended families, communities, and society as a whole. Systems theorists are interested in exploring the social realities that result when individuals, families, groups, and whole societies act and interact.

According to systems theory, all systems are goal directed (i.e., they strive to accomplish specific tasks). Human beings and human social systems are no exception. Individual human beings strive to fulfill all their basic needs, but in order to accomplish many of them, especially when young, they need the support and help of other people. Viewed in this model, families are systems and are essential to providing for the needs of the young and the old. The family is the one social institution where members should be able to fulfill their need for love, belonging, acceptance, and self-esteem, and ultimately where they can get the support and encouragement they need to seek higher meaning and truth. Communities and societies, by extension, serve similar functions on a grander scale. States and nations provide for economy, the internal security of citizens, and defense against outside aggression. In addition to trying to accomplish the fulfillment of basic goals, systems theory proposes that we strive to maintain **homeostasis**, or stability, within a certain range of functioning. If there is too little or too much of something, the system’s feedback mechanism will give an alert so that the system can take appropriate steps to return to its desired balance.

Systems theory offers an explanation both for why systems change and why they stay the same. They change when they get feedback information that says they either need less of something they have or more of something they do not. According to the model, systems resist change if that change is perceived as a threat to stability or homeostasis. We can use this part of the model to help us understand and explore both the pain of living with family abuse and the resistance to change.

That systems strive to accomplish basic life goals is an integral part of systems theory. The goal directedness of systems is sometimes referred to as **cybernetics**. Using an archer’s target rings as a model, we can imagine that we aim our arrow and attempt to hit the bull’s-eye in the center of the target. Becoming a good archer requires skill and experience, so we learn to modify what we do. If we hit too far up we then lower our aim; if we hit too far to the right we must aim left on our next shot, and so on. The cybernetic or goal-directed nature of systems can help us understand the role of goals and the use of feedback in trying to accomplish them. Much behavior, even incomprehensible behavior, is moti-

educational neglect; 38%, (295,300), physical neglect; and, 25% (193,400), emotional neglect. Of abuse cases, approximately 58%, (323,000) are physical abuse; 27%, (148,500), emotional maltreatment; and slightly less than 24%, (about 135,300 cases), sexual abuse.

In addition to the *National Incidence Studies* (Sedlak, 2010), The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services annually collects data from the states on actual *referrals* and *reports* of child maltreatment. The most recent of these is *Child Maltreatment 2014* (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). *Referrals* come from any source and are either screened in or screened out. Those that are screened in are called *reports*. Most reports are investigated to determine if they are *substantiated* or *indicated*. To be counted as *substantiated* CPS must have enough evidence to conclude that the allegations of maltreatment or risk of maltreatment were supported or founded by state law or policy. The term *indicated* is used when the suspected maltreatment could not be substantiated under state law or policy but there was reason to suspect that at least one child may have been maltreated or was at-risk of maltreatment. The total number of substantiated and indicated reports is somewhat lower than estimates from the *National Incidence Studies*. In 2014, there were substantiated or indicated cases involving 702,208 children. 75% of these involved neglect; 17% physical abuse; and about 8% sexual abuse (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016).

One *incidence* estimate of spousal maltreatment is drawn from the 2014 *National Crime Victimization Survey*, which samples 60,000 homes. It suggests that 2.4 per 1000 persons were victims of nonfatal intimate partner violence in 2014 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). It suggests that in 2014 approximately 635,000 violent crimes were perpetrated on victims by a spouse, ex-spouse, boyfriend, or girlfriend. Chapter 10 looks at this problem in some depth.

According to the *National Center on Elder Abuse* (2016), approximately 1 in 10 Americans aged 60+ have experienced some form of elder abuse. Some estimates range as high as 5 million elders who are abused each year. One study (Lachs & Pillemer, 2015) estimated that only 1 in 14 cases of abuse are reported to authorities. Data on *reported* cases substantiate about 192,000 cases of elder maltreatment (Teaster et al., 2006). As with child abuse and domestic violence, there are a number of different types of elder maltreatment, including physical, sexual, and psychological maltreatment as well as financial exploitation, neglect, and even “self-neglect” (see Chapter 12).

Fatalities. In recent years, fatalities from child maltreatment have ranged from approximately 1,000 to about 1,500 per year (NCPA, 1992; NCCAN, 1988; Gelles & Straus, 1988; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2011, 2016). In 2014, fifty states reported that 1546 children died from child maltreatment (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). Spousal fatalities are similar in number. The official FBI Uniform Crime Reports indicate that slightly more than 1,300 individuals were killed by their romantic partners in 2010 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2011b). Of these, approximately 82% of the victims were female and 18% male.

Sometimes numbers don't seem very significant until we connect them with real-life people. The realities associated with family maltreatment become especially clear in the most extreme cases, those that result in death or serious injury. One tragic death was that of Eli Creekmore, a three-year-old boy. Despite having been involved in the Child Protective Services (CPS) system, he was killed by his father. One of the most compelling aspects of this case is how Eli was subjected to his father's abusive control despite pleas to CPS for help, especially from his grandmother. The case was highlighted in a now-classic PBS documentary, *The Unquiet Death of Eli Creekmore*, a gut-wrenching testament about severely abused children (Davis, 1987). (See Box 1.2 below).

Box 1.2

The Death of Eli Creekmore

Eli Creekmore was three years old when he was killed by his father, Darren Creekmore. The circumstances of the abuse surrounding his death were accounted in 1987 by Producer/Director D. Davis in a riveting PBS documentary from KCTS in Seattle, Washington.

When she was 17, Eli's mother had become pregnant with Eli, left high school, and later married her boyfriend, Darren. Three weeks after Eli was born, Darren went to prison for assaulting two men. Eli and his mother moved to the town of Everett, Washington, where her family lived. Shortly after Eli's second birthday, Darren was released and moved back with his wife and Eli.

Child Protective Services became involved when Darren abused the boy, and Eli was briefly placed in foster care. Eli was returned home and the family was given intensive in-home family counseling. While counseling was underway, the family seemed to be doing well. After counseling stopped, however, Eli's grandmother and a number of others expressed increasing concern about Eli's safety. Prior to his death, another serious incident occurred that required Eli to be seen at the emergency room. The physician suspected a fracture at the base of his skull and wrote a statement to the police expressing his opinion that Eli was at great risk.

One evening shortly thereafter, Eli became fussy at the dinner table when his father sat down. Darren sent Eli to his room, but the little boy continued to cry. Darren went into the room, brutally kicked the little boy in the abdomen, and ruptured his intestines. Despite Eli's becoming ill and vomiting, Darren refused to allow his wife to take Eli to the hospital. Eli Creekmore died from his injuries that night.

Influence of Culture. Dramatic and moving cases like that of Eli Creekmore tend to stir people and, once aroused, a common reaction is to want to understand why abuse happens and why it is allowed to happen. Social scientists believe that, at the macro level, broad cultural and societal factors contribute to an environment that fosters, if not causes, family abuse. Anthropologists say that culture is passed down from one generation to another. Beyond the physical artifacts left behind by a society, culture includes all the beliefs, values, rules, and patterns of behavior that are part of a people's adaptation to their world.

In our own North American society, we can say we live in a violent culture. In the opening years of the 21st century, references to public fear about violence are regular fare in newspapers, on TV, and on radio talk shows. If the claim that fam-

ily violence is at the root of violence, then family abuse is a momentous problem. In order to determine the degree to which culture plays a role in influencing violence in families, we need to be able to compare cultures. Gelles and Cornell (1990) cite the work of an anthropologist (Levinson, 1981) who compared violent family behavior across a number of Western and non-Western cultures. His data suggest significant differences in the amount and types of family abuse from culture to culture. For example, both wife beating and the physical punishment of children are common among Serbs and rare among certain other cultural groups, including Iroquois, Ona, Thai, and Andaman Islanders. The question that lingers is, "Why?" Without rigorous scientific testing, the answer is only suggestive and speculative; however, we might find clues by taking a closer look at one of the cultures identified as having low rates of wife beating.

The tradition of the Iroquois people provides a fascinating example (Tooker, 1978). The Iroquois were not one tribe but rather a confederacy of five tribes, or nations. They referred to themselves as the "Long House with Five Fires" and to colonial America as the "Long House with Thirteen Fires." Women in Iroquois society were highly valued. While they did not hold high office in the tribe, they had other sources of power. Each tribe was subdivided into clans, and each clan had its own "clan mother," who was the only person who could appoint male members of the clan to the ruling council of the Iroquois League. These appointed chiefs were known as Sachems or federation chiefs. Not only did the clan mothers appoint the Sachems but they could recall them as well. The Iroquois were matrilineal; that is, titles and other valued things were passed down through the female lineage. If a female in Iroquois society was murdered, the offending party would lose his own life and have to give twenty strings of wampum to the surviving family, clan, or tribe. The price was only ten strings of wampum for the murder of a man.

In the Western European tradition, we have a long history in which women and children were not valued. In Roman times, women and children could be beaten, sold, or even killed. The history of Western European society is replete with examples of how the abuse of women and children was encouraged or tolerated. A renowned Adlerian family therapist and educator, the late Dr. Oscar Christianson, suggested that the hierarchical, male-dominated, family system that has developed from the European tradition creates a cultural climate in which children and women can be abused. In other cultures where power is shared more democratically, he suggested, abuse ceases to be the same kind of destructive force on the family. This view is certainly consistent with feminist theorists who have been saying for a long time that patriarchy is a key factor in the abuse of women. It is also consistent with the views of child maltreatment professionals, who observe that many abusive parents seem to feel that their children are property that they can treat as they wish.

When I was working on a child maltreatment case several years ago, the father was a little startled when I suggested he think of his son as a *person* and asked him if he would treat other people the way he treated his son. He responded that he hadn't really thought of his son as a person. In the area of sexual abuse (Chapters 5, 6, and 9), many professionals feel that perpetrators are

influenced by the way men and women view each other and the way they are depicted in the media. An extreme example of media influence is pornography. Several years ago, TV news magazine *20/20* interviewed male college students at Duke University, who candidly expressed on camera the view that their sexual attitudes about women were strongly influenced by their experiences with pornography and masturbation (ABC News, 2003). Indeed, it should come as no surprise that it has now become a common practice for judges to order sex offenders to stay away from pornography when sentencing them.

Social and Economic Conditions. It is now fairly well understood that poor social and economic conditions can adversely influence abuse in society (Berger, 2004). In the classic literature about the causes of family violence, two pioneers in the field, Richard Gelles and Claire Cornell, commented that all the available data are consistently point to a strong association between economic factors and family maltreatment (1990). Kaufman and Zigler (1989) echoed these observations, citing economic depression, unemployment, single parenthood, poverty, and lack of social supports as all contributing to child physical maltreatment. In their classic review of the literature on domestic violence, Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) identified low occupational status, low income, and low educational achievement as risk factors associated with domestic violence.

Today, in the 21st century, considerable discussion continues to center on the perceived relationship between child neglect and poverty (Benson & Fox, 2004; Carlson et al., 2003; Hetling & Zhang, 2010; Leon & Walt, 2001; Slack et al., 2004). While Gelles and Cornell affirmed that this relationship was well established, they also pointed out that while maltreatment may be more frequent in poor families, abuse is a problem that spans all income levels. There is also the argument that when we prosecute parents for neglect, we are often really prosecuting them because they are poor. See Box 1.3 below for a touching story that was highlighted in a classic award-winning documentary on homelessness, a problem that continues to be a source of concern.

Box 1.3

Down and Out in America

In a 1987 Academy Award-winning film documentary, *Down and Out in America*, producer/director Lee Grant tells the story of a number of homeless people across the country. One particularly poignant story revolves around a young couple and their five children.

The story took place in New York City at the Martinique, a hotel for homeless people. The family in this story were living there because they had lost their apartment, the husband's carpentry tools, and virtually everything they owned in a fire. Because the husband lost his tools (which he acquired one at a time over many years), and because of rules about how much the couple could earn and still receive assistance, he also lost his ability to support his family.

In addition to living in demoralizing conditions, this couple was under investigation for child neglect. They explained that because they were living at the hotel, they came under the scrutiny of the social services department in ways they had never been when they had their own home.

Based on *Down and Out in America* (video), by L. Grant (Producer-Director), 1987

THE MESO LEVEL: FAMILY AND SMALL-GROUP INFLUENCES

The culture of a society, by definition, encompasses all the attitudes and beliefs of the society. Previously, we looked at how these attitudes and beliefs contribute to a social environment in which aggressive and destructive behavior occurs between family members. If the culture of a society serves as the total social environment and blueprint for human behavior within it, then we can think of the family as the primary agency or institution through which children learn, or in sociological parlance, are socialized. Families act as the social institutions that succor and nurture children as well as teach them what to believe and how to behave.

Beginning in the 1950s, Bandura and Walters (1963) became interested in how aggression is learned. They developed a theory, now called **social learning theory**, to explain it. In some now-classic controlled experiments, they demonstrated that children can and do learn to behave aggressively by watching and imitating others. Parents are and should be the primary models for their children, but it may also be an unfortunate reality that some of what is modeled is abusive and aggressive.

A number of writers have explored the common wisdom that children who are abused become abusers. This is sometimes referred to as **intergenerational transmission** (Gelles & Cornell, 1990; Erlem, Leventhal, & Dobbs, 2000; Kaufman & Zigler, 1987, 1989; Widom, 1989; Widom & Czaja, 2012; Widom, Czaja, & DuMont, 2015), a topic that deserves sensitivity and compassion. Were we to become untrusting and suspicious of another simply because they themselves were abused as children, we could in a sense be victimizing them again by our unfair and prejudicial attitude. We need to remind ourselves that most victims don't become abusers, though it is true that a disproportionately high number of abusers were abused as children. (For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.)

There is very good evidence to suggest that children exposed to domestic violence experience a variety of behavioral, emotional, and cognitive-functioning problems (Edelson, 1999; Kitzmann et al., 2003). Violence against women and violence against children often occur in the same household (Guedes et al., 2016). And many advocates working to stop domestic violence suggest that spouse abusers learn to control women during childhood. They suggest that these abusers often see women as threatening and come to believe that they need to use intimidation and violence in order to subdue and control them.

In one classic study, Pamela Smith did extensive research with the families of women in a battered women's shelter. Smith's research suggests that about 53% of the sample of batterers had themselves witnessed battering by their parents, and a slightly smaller proportion had been abused themselves as children (Smith, 1984, cited in Landes et al., 1991), indicating that witnessing spousal violence may have an even stronger influence than the experience of being abused. In their study of intergenerational transmission, Kaufman and Zigler (1987, 1989) estimated that approximately 30% of people who abuse their children experienced such abuse in their own youth. This figure may sound small until we compare it to the 2 to 4% of the general population who are estimated to engage in this kind of behavior (Gelles & Cornell, 1990, cited in Kemp, 1998; Hussey, Chang, &

Kotch, 2006). According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 2014 there were approximately 1.8 incidents per 1,000 of family violence not perpetrated by an intimate partner (Truman & Langton, 2015).

Another way of looking at intergenerational transmission is through family roles. As sociologists suggest, it may well be true that we learn various roles through experience and observation. As children we learn what is expected of us, and we also observe others around us who fill various roles. So not only do we learn our roles (child, student, playmate, and so on) but through observation we also learn how "mommies," "daddies," and others behave in different situations. Whether we like our role models or not, they are all we have and what we internalize as we grow up. When we ourselves become parents and we don't have other internalized models, we may be inclined to behave in ways that match what we've experienced. As adults, this may be especially likely to happen in times of stress (e.g., when we're having discipline problems with children or when our partners don't do what we want). Family systems theorists believe that families have a life of their own, one that involves patterns of behavior, communication, structure, and involvement with the world outside the family.

Family Systems. Family systems is an approach to dealing with abuse issues that emphasizes the importance of the family context (Wright & Allbaugh, 2016). It is the dominant model within the field of marriage and family therapy (AAMFT, 2016). One pioneering figure in the family therapy movement is the late Virginia Satir, who is regarded as a gifted family therapist with a knack for explaining very complex clinical concepts in clear, easy-to-understand language (Satir, 1988, 2015). Satir advocated that behavior is learned in families and that it can be unlearned. In one of her last pieces of work (Satir, 1988), she describes four changeable family characteristics that distinguish families which are functional from those which are troubled: the family's rules; its communication patterns; the degrees to which the self-esteem of each member is respected; and family connections to the bigger community through friendship networks, work, church, neighborhood, and so on. In Satir's scheme, dysfunctional families have rigid rules, unclear and dishonest communication patterns, low self-esteem among members, and weak ties to the rest of the community. As we'll see later, weak social ties are consistently cited as a characteristic of abusive families, as are rigid, autocratic family power systems.

The work of Virginia Satir provides an intuitively satisfying and practical way to make "thumbnail" representations of functional and dysfunctional family systems. I find this simple, clear model helpful to many of the families I've worked with over the years as well as to students in my classes. It should not, however, be regarded as the final word on family systems or as scientifically valid without more testing and empirical validation.

Consistent with Satir's model, isolation (or not being very well connected to the world outside the family) is commonly cited as a descriptive characteristic of families in which family abuse occurs (Gelles, 2009; Hines, 2014; Tucker & Rodriguez, 2014). In families in which child abuse occurs, there appears to be less support, less positive communication, and more hostile communication

(Milner & Crouch, 1993). In terms of family systems, power imbalance has long been identified as a risk factor for abuse (Davies, Ford-Gilboe, & Hammerton, 2009). Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980), for example, found significantly less spousal abuse among couples where decisions are arrived at democratically and where neither the wife nor the husband dominates the decision-making process. Depression and a low sense of self-worth are among the most highly correlated factors associated with child abuse (Bungert et al., 2015; for an early discussion of this topic see Milner & Crouch, 1993). While self-esteem appears to be an individual marker, it is also important to consider it relevant to understanding the context, or relationship, the person is in.

It might be noted that Satir was associated with Don Jackson and the famed **Palo Alto group**, headed by anthropologist turned family systems theorist, Gregory Bateson (Gurman & Kniskern, 2014). Bateson is regarded as a founding father of family systems theory. The son of a noted biologist, he was fascinated by general systems theory, and many think he integrated significant general systems theory concepts into his own work. In addition to what has come to be called the **experiential school** of family therapy, which is associated with Virginia Satir, at least two family therapy branches have roots in the pioneering work of Bateson and his associates, notably **structural family therapy** and **strategic family therapy**.

Addictive Family Systems. One approach to applying systems ideas is in the area of addictions (Klostermann & O'Farrell, 2013). Two pioneering addictions practitioners have suggested that not only do families strive to adapt to their environments but that family members each find unique ways of adapting to troubled family systems (see Black, 1981; Wegscheider, 1981). These adaptations, or coping systems, take the form of particular family roles. For example, one member might adapt by taking on the role of "hero," assuming leadership or caretaking functions; another might help the family by becoming a "mascot," or person who makes it possible for family members to feel good; another might become isolated, or the "lost child"; and yet another might react with anger and act out the family's hostility. Originally, these ideas were popularized as a way to describe adaptations to families who have a central family figure with an alcohol or drug addiction problem. More recently, these concepts have been applied to many other kinds of family systems that seem driven by similarly acting compulsive behaviors—for example, rage, obsessive sexuality, workaholism, and the like (see Bradshaw, 1988). While these concepts do provide an easy-to-understand, and intuitively interesting, model for explaining why people respond the way they do to troubled family systems, we do not have good, controlled research that can tell us how well it works in the real world.

Patrick Carnes, a psychologist interested in sexual addictions, proposed an addiction model to help explain sexual abuse (Carnes, 2013; Games, 1989; see Chapter 7). His early research used the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES II) to measure two dimensions of family functioning—adaptability and cohesion—in the families of offenders and non-offenders (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 2014). In this model, balanced family systems are seen as the ideal, extreme families as unfavorable, and mid-range families some-

where in between. As Carnes himself suggests, the results of this research need to be interpreted cautiously. They do indicate that family systems functioning contributes to sexual offending behavior by some of its members. Offenders were more likely to come from extreme family systems than non-offenders. A smaller percentage of offenders came from mid-range family systems and fewer yet from balanced family systems.

Family systems approaches do not hold all the answers, however, and one serious criticism of applying a family systems approach to family violence is that there is a danger of **victim blaming**, or unfairly viewing victims as participants in the abuse. Another more sobering caution is that we put victims at risk when we attempt family counseling. Family therapy can be extremely stressful, especially for an abuser who stands to lose control over his victim. We should ask ourselves, "What happens to the victim when they get home after a stressful family counseling session?" Many experienced clinicians tell us that victims are further victimized when they get home. Some seasoned therapists assert that even attempting to do conjoint family counseling, in which the perpetrator and victim are in the same room, is by its very nature unethical because of the danger to the victim.

THE MICRO LEVEL: INDIVIDUALISTIC EXPLANATIONS

If, as our research seems to show, some individuals can refrain from behaving abusively despite having observed or experienced abuse in childhood, this suggests that individual differences play an important role in determining adult behavior. Our culture itself emphasizes the importance of the individual, and individual responsibility for behavior. Because abusive behavior appears so aberrant, it's common sense to try to ferret out the suspected deep-seated individual psychopathology. Many of those who are interested in family abuse are in fact clinicians who want to learn more about assessing and treating the problem. Being that they are clinicians and practitioners, it shouldn't surprise us if they tend to focus on emotional or psychological reasons.

In terms of approaches to studying family abuse, there is probably no single approach that has been more widely used than studying the perpetrators themselves (e.g., Caffaro, 2013; Damashek, Nelson, & Bonner, 2013; Douglas & Mohn, 2014; Marshall, Laws, & Barbaree, 1990; Wallace & Robertson, 2015). Since many perpetrators have multiple victims and have hurt so many over the course of their deviant careers, this may not be an altogether bad thing. One popular approach to understanding perpetrators is to develop profiles. This has been an especially widespread practice in the field of sexual abuse (Groth et al., 1982; Marshall, Laws, & Barbaree, 1990), but certainly not unknown in the areas of domestic violence (Dutton, 1988; Gondolf, 1988; Wallace & Robertson, 2015) and child abuse (Douglas & Hohn, 2014; Gelles & Cornell, 1990). Later in this text, when exploring specific patterns of abuse, we'll study some of the profile models in more detail.

What we now seem to be discovering is that these profiles tend to generalize too much and aren't very accurate. With regard to male batterers, for instance, one prominent investigator, (Gondolf, 1993) says that, despite preliminary studies that sketch the profile of a batterer as having an "inexpressive, impulse-driven,

traditional, and rigid personality with low self-esteem and frequent drug and alcohol problems," there is no conclusive "batterer" profile that exists. In another passage, Gondolf makes a remarkable comment: "The vast majority of batterers aren't distinguishable from the normal 'good guy'—in fact, many of them may be 'good guys' on all other counts." The perpetrator characteristics may also vary depending upon the type of domestic abuse. As discussed in Chapter 10, Johnson suggests there are actually four categories of domestic abuse: situational couple violence, intimate terrorism (or coercive control), violent resistance, and mutual violent control (Johnson, 2008, 2016; Kelly & Johnson, 2008).

Based on a clinical sample of convicted and incarcerated sexual offenders, Groth, Hobson, and Gary (1982) proposed a typology, or system, of categorizing offenders. This model proposed some general characteristics of offenders but differentiates between two major types—fixated and regressed. In this framework, regressed offenders are often similar to what we think of as incest offenders who abuse their older female children. The fixated offender refers to the *pedophile*, a person who is virtually exclusively attracted to children for sexual gratification. The work of Groth et al. represents a pioneering effort to understand sexual offenders, who most people would just as soon write off. A number of researchers and clinicians, however, have become disillusioned with the model because it does not seem to accurately describe the full range of sexual offenders who actually exist (Robertiello & Terry, 2007). Conte (1993) commented: "To date, no empirical evidence exists for the accuracy of the [Groth et al.] typology to classify adult sexual offenders."

Many social scientists have come to the conclusion that theories proposing only single causes for something as complicated as child sexual abuse are inadequate (Robertiello & Terry, 2007). Among the first are David Finkelhor and Sharon Araji, who reviewed the available literature. Based on the kinds of questions asked in each of the studies they reviewed, they developed a four-factor model to explain why child sexual abusers develop as they do (Finkelhor & Araji, 1986). In the chapter on child sexual abuse we'll be taking a closer look at this model, but we'll summarize briefly for now. The four factors Araji and Finkelhor (1986) found in the literature are still helpful in terms of understanding offender dynamics. They are 1) emotional congruence, 2) sexual arousal, 3) blockage to normal sexual outlets, and 4) disinhibition. Emotional congruence refers to the emotional comfort molesters feel when intimate with children. The explanations for why the sexual offender feels comfortable with children include emotional immaturity and fear of intimacy with an equal. Sexual arousal refers to the heightened arousal of the offender to children. Blockage, as the name implies, refers to barriers to meeting sexual needs in culturally appropriate ways. Disinhibition refers to the breakdown of normal inhibitions to sexually inappropriate behavior with children. This model, if for no other reason than that it opens up the topic to broader exploration, seems to be a significant advancement over previous approaches to studying child sexual abuse. Rather than focusing on a single factor, it looks at the interaction between a number of suspected factors.

In the area of child physical abuse, many early studies were conducted that try to isolate individual perpetrator characteristics to determine the causes of the

abusive behavior (Gelles & Cornell, 1990; Milner & Crouch, 1993). However, the emphasis on developing profiles, so evident in domestic-violence perpetrator and sexual-offender studies, has not been as prominent in the child physical abuse arena (Agrawal, 2013; Darrow, 2011). Milner and Crouch (1993) did review a number of studies that nevertheless look at individual perpetrator characteristics. These characteristics ranged from unrealistic expectations of the child, to the tendency to blame outside influences for circumstances, to depression. Just based on incidence, women were more often implicated in child maltreatment than men. The experience of stress and the practice of substance abuse are often associated with physical abuse. Some early studies showed that physical abusers had more negative sensitivity, or irritability, to children—their interaction with their children is less positive and more hostile. Abusive parents were also reported to be more socially isolated and to have fewer social supports. In addition, they seemed to use physical punishment more often (and reasoning less often) to get their children to behave.

The Complex Nature of Abuse

Many people, professionals included, feel that there are important relationships between forms of abuse but have been hard pressed to describe and prove exactly what they are. As we've already discussed, the family abuse field has been specialized and segmented, with people within one specialty area perhaps not even being aware of the work of colleagues engaged in the study of another aspect of family violence. Without a high degree of awareness and communication between people working on various facets of the family maltreatment problem, it seems difficult to draw too many conclusions. What can we confidently say we really know about the relationships between the various forms of abuse? Embarrassingly, the best answer is probably something like, "Some, but not enough."

The data we do have about the relationships between forms of abuse are probably at best correlational and at worst sketchy, inconsistent, or speculative. However, a few themes emerge. One is that some family maltreatment (e.g., in child physical abuse and domestic violence) seems to involve the exertion of domination and control by a more powerful family member over a weaker member. Another theme, especially in child sexual abuse and aspects of domestic violence, involves the aberrant use of another in a sexual way. Yet a third theme, especially in elder maltreatment, involves the exploitation of a dependent family member. Informally comparing risk factors between various forms of abuse, we also find some common elements. These include young maternal age, single parent status, poverty, inability to control anger, inadequate information about child development and how to provide basic child care, social isolation, as well as living in communities with high levels of violence and having inadequate services (Daro, 2011). In addition, it is evident that being exposed to intimate partner violence puts children at significant risk (Graham-Bermann & Howell, 2011).

Where power and control seem to be the driving issues, it probably shouldn't surprise us that there seems to be a correlation between spousal violence and child abuse. We have already talked about the correlation between witnessing spousal abuse as a child and perpetrating abuse as an adult. As many as 15.5 million chil-

dren are exposed to intimate partner violence each year. Seven million of them were exposed to severe forms of violence, such as seeing a parent beaten up, threatened with a knife or gun, or being stabbed or shot (Graham-Bermann & Howell, 2011). When intimate partner violence occurs, children are present 75% of the time (Hutchison & Hirschel, 2001). Witnessing abuse, because of the psychological trauma it causes, can in itself be understood as a form of child psychological maltreatment (see Chapter 4). In addition, there appears to be a significant overlap between intimate partner violence and being subjected to violence and child abuse. One study shows that 30-60% of children who witness intimate partner violence are also subjected to child abuse (Daro, Edelson, & Pinderhughes, 2004).

In a classic study, Straus and Smith (1990) analyzed the results of the 1985 *National Family Violence Survey*. They found that parents who have conflict with each other are also more likely to be abusive with their children, and parents who are verbally abusive to their children are also more likely to physically abuse them. Children are three times more likely to be hit in families where one parent is also violent toward another. In addition, children who witness aggression at home by parents in turn tend to be assaultive to siblings.

Substance abuse is frequently associated with family maltreatment (Graham-Bermann & Howell, 2011; Mental Health Services Administration, 2009). According to an early analysis done by Straus and Gelles (1990), the correlation between substance abuse and spousal battering ranges to be from .36 to .52. Other estimates suggest it may be as high as high as 70%. Heather Hayes and James Emshoff (1993) reviewed the literature and discuss the comorbidity, or co-occurrence, of substance abuse problems and family violence. Their review suggests that several published studies link over half of child abuse and neglect cases to substance abuse in the family. Among families in treatment for their substance abuse problems, they note that as many as 60% may have experienced domestic violence. Their review also cites figures suggesting that as many as two-thirds of children raised in alcoholic homes may either have been physically abused or have observed domestic violence.

Summary

In this chapter we attempted to acquire an overview of the family abuse landscape. Public awareness and professional concern often go hand in hand. We traced the growing awareness of the problem from Freud's time to the present. In the past few decades child physical abuse, domestic violence, child sexual abuse, and elder abuse have each in turn captured public attention. We highlighted several high-profile cases, such as those of Josh Powell, L.A. teacher Mark Berndt, and coach Jerry Sandusky. In order to get a better handle on the scientific study of family abuse, we surveyed how social scientists study and explain human behavior. We differentiated between descriptive, correlational, and causative data and discussed the kinds of generalizations we can make based on each type of evidence. We used a model of basic human needs as a way to give the topic a context: the assault on or neglect of one of these basic needs. We defined forms of family maltreatment in that context, looking at both abuse and neglect, and added to our definition the status of the victim (e.g., the child, spouse, or elder).

Because the subject of family abuse is so complex, we outlined an ecological approach in order to give us an organizational framework. We discussed how to use a simple micro-meso-macro model in which to study the complex dynamics at various levels of explanation. Within that framework we looked at broad cultural issues, family systems, and individual factors.

In order to get a feel for the research done on family abuse, we reviewed selected statistics on the incidence and prevalence of various forms of family violence. While relatively infrequent when compared to the overall incidence and prevalence estimates, cases resulting in death can be very dramatic. When looking at the role of social and economic factors, we briefly discussed that while the risk of maltreatment is higher among the disadvantaged, poor families are sometimes misidentified as neglectful.

Official reports and prevalence estimates can give us some evidence of how big the problem is. Examples of cases like that of Eli Creekmore can tell us about the impact in extreme incidents. Neither, however, helps us understand why it happens. In an effort to understand the reasons for and causes of abuse, we looked at some theories and ideas about the role that society, culture, communities, the family, and individuals may play. While we may want to believe that perpetrators fit a certain profile, in reality the problem is far more complex and involves dynamics that go far beyond disordered individuals.

We briefly compared cultures and explored why abuse might occur less often in some cultures than in others. We built on the earlier work of anthropologist David Levinson (as cited in Gelles & Cornell, 1990) and explored in some depth the question about why abuse might be more widespread in some societies than in others. In this regard we both looked at the Western European tradition and explored a culture where battering is traditionally less common, that of the Iroquois.

In order to give our investigation a human touch, we reviewed some of the ideas of family therapist Virginia Satir and discussed how family-related factors might help distinguish between troubled and healthy family systems. In order to round out our discussion, we also briefly reviewed some of the literature about factors associated with individual perpetrators.

REVIEW GUIDE

1. Discuss the development of public concern regarding family abuse issues.
2. Identify some of the recent high-profile cases that have sparked public interest in family abuse. Discuss some of the basic elements in each of these cases.
3. Outline the emergence of concern about family abuse in the professional community.
 - Include the role of Freud and his ideas in the history of professional attitudes about sexual abuse.
 - Identify the influence of the work of Kempe and his colleagues in the areas of physical abuse.
 - Discuss events and influences in the 1970s with respect to domestic violence and other forms of abuse.
 - Familiarize yourself with the reemergence of sexual abuse as an area of study.

4. Review the major terms and concepts associated with the scientific method as used in the social sciences (these are printed in bold within the text and included in the glossary at the end of the book). Briefly define and explain each. Be sure to include the differences between descriptive, correlational, and inferential statistics. Discuss hypothesis testing and the kinds of generalization that can and can't be made, based on the type of data we are working with (for example, what can we assert based on correlational data compared to causative data?). Know the difference between predictors and markers.
5. Discuss how basic human needs can help us understand abuse. Be familiar with Maslow's hierarchy model. Discuss how we can define various forms of maltreatment by noting whether any of these needs are addressed or neglected.
6. Be able to define each of the various forms of family abuse—child sexual abuse, child physical abuse, child neglect, elder abuse, and domestic violence.
7. Familiarize yourself with each of the abuse continuums, their limitations, and ways in which they can be helpful to those working in the family abuse field. Be familiar with each of the behaviors on the continuums, and see if there are some others you might want to add.
8. Discuss the fuzzy lines between the various types of abuse.
9. Summarize what is meant by ecological or systems theory approaches. What are the major concepts in general systems theory? Describe each of the four levels of "ecology" outlined in Belsky's model. Define parsimony. Describe the three-level systems model introduced in this text. Define macro, meso, and micro levels of explanation. Discuss how a systems approach can be used as an organizational model. Be able to define all systems terms outlined in the text. Describe the examples and social science applications of systems theory principles.
10. Discuss what is meant by incidence and prevalence levels. Be generally familiar with the significant statistics related to family abuse. Describe each of the major types of official reports and surveys (e.g., the National Family Violence Surveys, NIS-4). Discuss the statistics associated with fatalities caused by family violence, as exemplified in the Eli Creekmore case.
11. Discuss social (macro-level) factors that seem to be associated with family abuse.
12. Describe family systems, or interrelationship (meso-level) explanations for family abuse.
13. Discuss individual (micro-level) factors associated with family abuse.
14. Review what we know about the relationships between forms of abuse.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Cases such as those of Josh Powell's murder of his two sons, the abuse of third graders by their teacher in Los Angeles, the abuse of children by Catholic priests, and the abuse conviction of former coach Jerry Sandusky attract a lot of public attention. Publicity surrounding such cases makes the public more aware of a problem, but public sentiment can also inflame and distort. How can we balance the need for awareness and the risk of distortion due to media coverage and emotionality?
2. Social scientists identify at least three types of information about human behavior: descriptive, correlational, and inferential. Why is conscientiousness important when doing research?

3. In the family abuse arena, basic human needs are important, yet they are sometimes forgotten by social scientists in their quest for scientific understanding human behavior. How do we balance the need for objective accuracy in scientific knowledge and the need to be sensitive to the subjective experience of the individual?
4. We identified three levels of explanation for abuse in the family: micro, meso, and macro. Some aspects of the problem are so compelling that it can be easy to define them too narrowly. How can we avoid focusing too much on any one factor so that we get a more rounded understanding of family violence?
5. People from around the world have very divergent worldviews and cultures. We know that differences exist in the use of violence within the family from culture to culture. How do we balance our own view that family violence is bad with a respect for cultural differences?
6. The field of family violence requires professionals to make hard choices. No one likes outside intervention, yet children and domestic partners are killed every year. How do we balance the right to freedom from interference in domestic affairs and protection of potential victims?
7. The research seems to suggest that socioeconomic conditions and poverty, or simply the stresses related to them, increase the risk of abuse in the family. How do we reconcile the removal of public economic support for people living on the margins with a commitment to reducing family violence?

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of any feelings you might have become aware of as a result of the material covered in this chapter. Select one item and write a brief description about it.
2. Watch TV for an evening and make a list of references to women, children, or the elderly that negate their value. Discuss the degree to which you feel society either values or devalues members of these groups.
3. Describe your family and discuss the dynamics, explaining how they work. To what degree are your current relationships like those of family members who came before you?
4. Discuss any of your personality characteristics that influence your relationships.
5. Describe any experiences you have had in which you tried to establish dominance or control over another. How did that experience affect you and the other person?

RECOMMENDED READING

- Briere, J. N., & Scott, C. (2014). *Principles of trauma therapy: A guide to symptoms, evaluation, and treatment*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Highlights the key role of trauma theory in working with abuse survivors, and is both comprehensive in its scope and highly practical in its application. It attempts to provide a creative synthesis of cognitive-behavioral, relational, affect regulation, mindfulness, and psychopharmacologic approaches in assessing and treating people with posttraumatic disturbances. It is grounded in empirically-supported trauma treatment techniques which have been adapted to the complexities of "real world" clinical practice. It serves as a hands-on resource for front-line clinicians, private practitioners, and graduate students in the helping fields.

- Crosson-Tower, C. (2013). *Understanding child abuse and neglect* (9th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Attempts to provide a comprehensive look at child maltreatment. It focuses on the roles of the various helping professionals as they become involved in the child protection process. The book also includes an in-depth discussion of case management procedures. It provides the reader with a way to distinguish between so-called "functional" and "dysfunctional" families. And, it contrasts both healthy and disturbing adaptations in response to abuse.
- Masson, J. M. (1984). *Assault on truth: Freud's suppression of the seduction theory*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
- When first released, this was considered a controversial book about the transformation of Freud's original ideas about child abuse trauma from the realities of abuse to thinking that focused on the myths of Oedipus and Electra.
- Satir, V. (1988). *The new peoplemaking*. Mountain View, CA: Science and Behavior Books.
- This classic title by a pioneering family therapist, is a popular and caring book about human beings in families. Written by one of the most popular and influential family therapy practitioners and teachers.
- van der Kolk, B. (2015). *The body keeps the score: Brain, mind, and body in the healing of trauma*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Described as a "new Bible" for those affected by trauma, such as those who have been touched by abuse in its various forms. The author synthesizes the key new breakthroughs in neuroscience, psychology, and body-centered therapies. He provides a coherent model for both understanding and treating those who have been affected by trauma.

INTERNET RESOURCES

Child Welfare Information Gateway

<https://www.childwelfare.gov/>

Child Welfare Information Gateway provides access to print and electronic publications, websites, databases, and online learning tools to help improve child welfare practice, including resources that can be shared with families.

Minnesota Center Against Domestic Violence and Abuse (MINCAVA Electronic Clearinghouse)

www.mincava.umn.edu/

A leader in innovative violence-related education, research and Internet publishing that now coordinates four nationally and internationally renowned projects. Include resources on child abuse, sexual violence, domestic violence, stalking, trafficking workplace violence, and youth violence.

Project Unbreakable

<http://projectunbreakable.tumblr.com>

A photography project that attempts to give a voice to survivors of sexual assault, domestic violence, and child abuse. The photos in this collection are stunning in their ability to tell the stories of victims in a poignant and humane way. The work of the project has gained critical notoriety, having been featured in such media outlets such as *Glamour*, *TIME Magazine*, *Buzzfeed*, and *The Guardian*.