

Response

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Women and Children

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RESPONSE TO THE VICTIMIZATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN
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The Importance of Sheltering in the Lives of Battered Women

LEE H. BOWKER and LORIE MAURER

Although wife-beating has always been common in western civilization, no formal attempts to shelter women from such abuse were made until 1971. Before that time, the public and the criminal justice system preferred to ignore what went on between adults in the home, or even sanctioned a husband's "right" to do what he pleased (short of murder) with his wife.¹ In 1971, Erin Pizzey opened Chiswick Women's Aid in London, which has been full beyond capacity ever since.² Other social services were not equipped to act as refuges. The obvious need for such a service as well as the public's awareness and condemnation of the problem of wife-abuse have led to a significant increase in the number of shelters during the past decade. Ferraro reports that while there were only two shelters in the United States in 1974, by 1978 the number had increased to 200.³ The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence estimates that there are now approximately 780 shelters for battered women in this country.⁴ All shelters share the common goal of acting as refuges for abused women and their children and all share some common problems, but many develop different policies for reaching their goals and dealing with their problems.

Because Chiswick Women's Aid was the first formal shelter, its methods of functioning have set the style for many other shelters. Chiswick occupies a house that was about to be demolished and functions as a crisis refuge. It has an open door policy, which results in 70 to over 100 women and children living there for as long as three or four months.⁵ The women arrive in crisis and live there, working together with no formal therapy programs, until they feel ready to move on into "second stage" housing. These second-stage homes are houses obtained by the

women at Chiswick to provide long-term support. The battered women move into these houses with a few of the other abused women and their children. There, women have a chance to become self-supporting and self-reliant without the financial burden of being the only one paying rent and without the social isolation of living alone. Chiswick is unusual in that its location is public knowledge and only one irate husband has ever broken in.⁶

Most shelters attempt to remain anonymous, and even so, angry husbands have been known to try to force their wives to return to the battering household.⁷ Like Chiswick, many shelters have been founded by volunteers. Although it is dangerous for them, many women will take battered wives into their own homes for protection if there is no shelter available.⁸ Most shelters are located in either older, one-family buildings or newer, communal living buildings built specifically to be used as women's shelters. Few shelters have second-stage housing, though at least one includes obtaining such housing as a long-term objective.⁹ One shelter administered by the YM-YWHA is housed in an apartment building, which allows each woman to have her own apartment.¹⁰

Many shelters limit the number of women they will accept at any one time to try to avoid the severe overcrowding experienced at Chiswick and other shelters with "open door" policies.¹¹ Morgan indicates that among the six shelters studied in Wisconsin, approximately 3,000 persons were sheltered annually.¹² Harris found that between July and October of 1981, 92 women and 176 children went to the YM-YWHA Transition Center for shelter.¹³ The Internal House in Glasgow, Scotland had 10 women and 31 children living in a three bedroom flat at one point.¹⁴ Labell reports that 512 women and 682 children were sheltered at Hubbard House from November 1, 1976 through October 6, 1978.¹⁵ Sojourner Truth House, during its first year of operation, sheltered 112 women and 273 children. Although the number of women who received shelter seems large, Ferraro tells about one shelter that must turn away 30 women per month,¹⁶ and Pagelow reports that 85 percent of the Minnesota women who wanted shelter were turned away.¹⁷ In Kentucky, 25 percent of battered women studied wanted shelter, but only two percent received it.¹⁸ Crisis line volunteers are usually the ones who must make the decision about which women

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will be sheltered. Ferraro describes a screening process that probably seems very intimidating to frightened abuse victims, so that only those who are truly desperate are finally able to decide to go to the shelter.¹⁹

Because many shelters have been founded and are administered by formerly abused women who have no training for executive responsibility in a social service agency, the shelters face many other problems, primarily financial ones. Even shelters which have professional administrative staffs may have difficulty in competing with more conservative, less feminist social service agencies. Funding for all social services is restricted and administrators must know where money might be available and how to write grants (The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence has published a handbook to aid shelter administrators in obtaining grants).²⁰ So many shelters like Chiswick must function on what donations they can solicit from the public and on the welfare money some women receive while being heavily in debt much of the time.

Although Barr and Carrier have made a convincing argument as to why shelters—which either offer the same services at a lower cost or better services at the same cost—should receive state assistance,²¹ other authors have pointed out that such feminist agencies are less likely to receive governmental support than more traditional agencies.²²

Barr and Carrier argue that shelters provide the same or better services than other similar agencies.²³ Although few social service agencies provide shelter for their clients, there are many other services that are offered by both these agencies and shelters. The abused woman is often depressed and feeling helpless. She may seek the services of a psychologist for either individual or group counseling to help alleviate these feelings. She may wish to divorce her husband or press assault charges against him and require a lawyer's advice. Once she decides to leave the batterer she needs the information a social worker can provide on how to find inexpensive housing for herself and her children, how to find a job, or how to receive welfare, etc. Most abused women seek formal help only when the abuse has become too severe for them to continue to tolerate. They may be suffering intense, acute and chronic physical problems that require the immediate attention of a physician, possibly followed by ongoing medical care. Many good social service agencies and shelters will furnish their clients with these services, and those that cannot should be able to refer the women to sources that will provide the services inexpensively.

There are some services which are unique to shelters. Their primary purpose is to provide refuge to abused women, and maintain confidentiality about their location to prevent abusive husbands' attempts to force their wives to return home.²⁴ Gayford reports that in England, a woman cannot start legal proceedings against her husband until she is no longer living with him, and a shelter is a safe place to stay in the meantime.²⁵ Harris describes four major benefits for battered women at shelters: the women are away from immediate danger; they have time (at shelters that allow women to stay for more than a few days) to

heal both physically and mentally; they are better able to get a clear, unbiased picture of their situation and options; and they no longer feel alone.²⁶ This last benefit may be the most important and it has frequently been discussed in the literature.²⁷ A similar benefit discussed by several authors is that shelters, especially those with longer-term, second-stage housing, provide these women an opportunity to be independent and in control of their destinies, which builds their sense of self-esteem and self-confidence.²⁸ The present study examines women's satisfaction with the services provided at shelters as well as characteristics of women who use shelters and the proportion of battered women who seek sheltering.

Methods

An article entitled "New Hope for Battered Wives" in the March 9, 1982 issue of *Women's Day* magazine included an announcement soliciting subjects for this study. The announcement asked that readers who wished to participate in the ongoing research discussed in the article write to Dr. Lee H. Bowker. Those who responded were mailed questionnaires and asked to fill out and return them. Eighty-seven percent of the questionnaires mailed were returned, and the first 854 usable questionnaires comprised the bulk of the sample. An additional 146 once-battered wives (the sample on which the *Women's Day* article was based) from southeastern Wisconsin were included in this national sample. All of the Wisconsin women had managed to extricate themselves from domestic violence by strategies other than leaving their husbands and were violence-free for at least a year prior to participating in the study. The data from the in-depth interviews conducted with these women were recoded to be consistent with the questionnaire format.

One quantitative and two qualitative pools of data were produced by the announcement in *Woman's Day*. When the women wrote letters requesting questionnaires, some of them spontaneously included up to 20 pages of case history material. Another spontaneous set of letters (called "supplementary letters" to distinguish them from the others) were returned with the questionnaires and were produced by the women to enlarge upon their responses in the questionnaires. Letters were accepted for nine months after the announcement appeared in *Woman's Day* although computer processing requirements forced an early deadline for inclusion in the data base.

The quantitative data from the respondents were analyzed using two statistical methods. Tau b, an ordinal measure of the strength of bivariate relationships, was the primary method used. The statistical significance of Tau b given in the article should be viewed as no more than a general indication of substantive significance in light of the absence of random sampling in the methodology. When appropriate, multiple regression was used to supplement the bivariate analyses. The regression analyses reported in the article must not be taken as being of more than heuristic value in view of the fact that the ordinal nature of some of the variables entered into the regression violates one of

the statistical assumptions on which the procedure rests.

All data discussed are based on the subjective observations of abused women. These data are not balanced by data from records of the shelters, interviews with professionals working at the shelters, or quasi-objective observations of trained social scientists. This limitation is inherent in any consumer approach to professional service delivery, but may be responsible for systematic response biases.

Studies of specialized services to certain populations are extremely difficult to carry out using standard random sampling techniques. Cases from records kept by shelters, volunteer samples of shelter populations, and case studies are common substitutes in such research for random samples drawn from the population at large. The unusually large sample size and its national character are advantages of the methodology used in the present study. Technical representation with respect to an identifiable universe of battered women cannot be postulated with any certainty.

Findings

The battered women in the study were drawn from all major groups in American society. Some of the descriptors of the sample are: White, 93 percent; Protestant, 49 percent; Catholic, 31 percent; high school graduate, 74 percent; four-year college graduate, 11 percent; mean number of children with the batterer, 1.8; home ownership, 61 percent; and mean number of relocations during married years, 3.4. Forty-three percent of the women and 38 percent of the batterers held at least one job during their years together that was classified as professional, technical or managerial. The states most heavily represented in the sample are: Wisconsin (175 women), California (79), Illinois (58), Michigan (53), Ohio (51), New York (50), Pennsylvania (48), Texas (41), Florida (29), Indiana (27), Minnesota (23), and Virginia (21). Except for Wisconsin, which is overrepresented because the first 146 cases were taken from the state by design, the distribution of subjects by states is similar to the national population distribution.

The level of violence suffered by the battered wives was quite high. Two-thirds of them experienced assaults more serious than kicking, biting, and punching, and only 11 percent were assaulted less severely than this standard of abuse. Weapons were involved in one or more of the assaults for 41 percent of the women. The abuse continued or began while 48 percent of the women were pregnant (58 percent if we adjust for the fact that 173 of the women never became pregnant while living with the batterer) leading to miscarriages for 72 women (in 15 cases more than once, and in one case, a dozen times). Few of the women were battered on only a small number of occasions, and more than one of every six women were assaulted in excess of a hundred times. Of the 772 women who reported having one or more children with the batterer, 543 (70 percent) were aware that he had also assaulted the children. Most (56 percent) of the women were raped by their husbands, and 96 of them reported being subjected to more than 100 rapes during their marriages. A fair summary statement about the sample women

is that they appear to be a cross-section of the American population and to have experienced serious violence at the hands of their abusive husbands.

The Use of Shelters and Sheltering

Given the life-threatening character of the violence suffered by most of these women, the importance of the sheltering experience is obvious. Seventy-six percent of the battered wives availed themselves of this opportunity, most of them more than once. The three major providers of sheltering services were relatives, friends, and formal shelters. Relatives were asked somewhat more than friends, and both of them were much more likely to provide sheltering services than formal shelters. Forty-three percent of the women were sheltered by relatives, as compared with 32 percent for friends and 13 percent for formal shelters. One reason why formal shelters were so infrequently used is that few women had a shelter nearby when they needed it. The average woman in the sample married the batterer in 1969 (range 1933-1981). For those women who eventually left the batterer permanently, the average year of separating was 1979 (range 1958-1982). During most of these years, shelters were found in only the largest urban areas, and even then, shelter capacities were much too low to meet the sheltering needs of all the battered women in their service areas.

The disjunction between shelter needs and shelter capacity is evident when we examine the frequency of use statistics. Approximately three-quarters of the battered women who were sheltered by relatives received shelter services on more than one occasion, as did more than half of the women who were sheltered by friends. In comparison, less than a third of the women who stayed in a formal shelter returned for a second visit. Almost none of them went to a shelter on more than three occasions, while this level of use of sheltering provided by family and friends was quite common. Many shelters discourage multiple visits and limit the stay of first-time clients because their capacity is minute in comparison with the need in the surrounding community.

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of sheltering experiences among sample women because the questionnaire used pre-coded grouped response categories on this item. Taking the average value for each response category (for example, 4-6 averages to 5.0) and making the conservative assumption of an average of 8 for the "7 or more" response category, there were 3,018 sheltering incidents experienced by the 973 women who provided complete sets of data on their use of sheltering. Nearly half of these were provided by relatives (1,503), with most of the remaining shelter services being supplied by friends (878) and formal agencies (237). If we define need in terms of reported use, a definition that is certainly conservative, the capacity of the formal shelters in the United States would have had to be multiplied by nearly 15 in order to fully meet the demonstrated need. Of course, not all sheltering experiences must be provided by formal organizations, but this consideration is balanced by the likelihood that the

true sheltering need among the sample women was far greater than the 3,018 occasions in which they were successful in obtaining shelter.

Correlates of the Use and Effectiveness of Shelters

The battered women were not asked to evaluate all sheltering experiences as a single type of help-source. As a result, the bulk of the analysis which follows focuses on the use and effectiveness of formal battered women's shelters. Shelter provided by informal sources such as family and friends is combined with the other services provided by these help-sources and is not broken out separately, except as noted above. Similarly, shelter usage includes both overnight sheltering as discussed above and day services such as therapy groups, emergency aid, and counseling. Using this global measure of shelter usage, we find that 26 percent of the women received some kind of service from a shelter, nearly all of them on five or fewer occasions. Shelter usage was not strongly correlated with any of the background variables, family characteristics, and violence descriptors included in the study. Shelter usage in the *Woman's Day* study was primarily associated with chronological variables due to the recent opening of most formal shelters. Shelter effectiveness was related to a wide range of variables, most importantly, current marital status, number of separations, and husband's religiosity.

Battered women's shelters received extremely high effectiveness ratings from their clients. Forty-four percent of the women who utilized their services rated them as very effective in helping to decrease or end the violence. Twelve percent rated shelters as somewhat effective, 16 percent as slightly effective, and 22 percent as not effective. The remaining handful of battered wives reported that their husbands' violence toward them actually increased because of their having gone to a battered women's shelter. The generally positive responses of the women to the shelters are captured in the following quotations from letters they submitted when they agreed to participate in the study or to supplement the answers they gave in the questionnaires.

I and my one month old son got away from my husband six months ago, and went to a women's crisis center where I learned a lot and received much help. (Letter number 207)

I finally called the shelter and I spoke to a wonderful lady who told me she would call a cab which would take me to the police station where she would meet me. She was going off duty but made sure I got settled. Staying overnight at the shelter was a wonderful experience. The counselor was very helpful and she made me realize I wasn't the crazy one. I met two nice girls (*sic*) and the stay helped me a great deal. If I was able to work from their location I would have stayed longer. As it turned out, a lady drove me to my home with a police escort and I gathered what

I could and then later my cousin picked me up and drove me to my parents' home. I truly didn't want to involve them but I didn't have much of a choice. (Letter number 479)

I lived through this—I wanted to help other victims—by my survival—In our county . . . we now have . . . a domestic violence shelter—running full time. I was active in its opening, thank God. I did have my home as emergency shelter for women. There were too many for our shelter and I talked because *they* wanted to *talk*—just *talk*—sometimes all through the night with these women and I did note that afterwards, I was exhausted—never knew if anything I said made any impression. (Supplementary letter number 75)

I went to a battered wives' shelter which my police station arranged. I now have a place with my daughter; she is at peace also. She has an emotional problem from all this. (Letter number 917)

One year ago I found out there was shelter for abused women. I had been beaten the night I heard about the shelter. When I got off work the next morning I took my first chance for safety. I traveled fifty miles to reach the shelter and I have not returned once but to get my belongings. Today I am furthering my education, have an apartment of my own and I work full time at the shelter I fled to when I needed help. I thank God there were people there who cared. . . . (Letter number 997)

What's bad is, there are no shelters anywhere around—the closest is a two and one-half hour drive away. I had to rely heavily on friends for four days. (Letter number 157)

Through a shelter for abused and battered women, I got my foothold on a new future. A new start. (Letter number 1,045)

These quotes illustrate a number of aspects of the shelter situation in the United States. First, there is evidence of the powerful therapeutic relationships which develop in shelter settings. Second, referrals from the police are an important source of clients in need of immediate help. Third, there is the distance between many women and the nearest shelter, which points to the need for a vastly expanded shelter system. The fourth quote, from a woman who began her own informal shelter and ran it until a formal shelter opened nearby, is particularly moving.

Finally, the quote from the woman whose daughter "has an emotional problem from all this" reminds us that it is not just battered wives who need sheltering, but also their children. The community, state, and federal administrators and politicians who refuse to provide adequate support for shelters reduce the chance that both women and their children will be able to free themselves from domestic

violence. As stated earlier, children suffered violence in more than half of the families where wife-beating was present, and the methodology of the study makes it likely that this figure seriously understates the true prevalence of child abuse in the sample.

Comparing Shelters With Other Formal Help-Sources

Only district attorneys and women's groups were used less often than battered women's shelters by the *Woman's Day* sample wives. The clergy, medical professionals, and lawyers received somewhat more use, and the highest use statistics were found for social service or counseling agencies and the police. The battered women were approximately twice as likely to turn to the police and social service or counseling agencies for help as they were to visit a battered women's shelter. This is another indication of the low availability of formal shelters to battered women. When all the personal strategy and help-source use rates were intercorrelated and subjected to factor analysis, shelter use was highly loaded on the fourth of the five factors identified. The only other usage variable with a high loading on factor four was women's groups. This suggests that what we might call feminist therapy occupies a place in the lives of battered women that is separate from the other formal help-sources, which appeared in two other clusters. One of these clusters had high loadings on the use of the police and district attorneys, and the other one contained all the remaining formal help-sources.

Battered women's shelters were more likely to be rated as very effective than any other formal source of help. Forty-four percent of shelter users rated their shelter experience as very effective in helping them to decrease or end the violence. Comparable ratings for other professional groups were: 30 percent for lawyers, 27 percent for women's groups, 23 percent for district attorneys, 20 percent for social service or counseling agencies, 19 percent for the police, 12 percent for the clergy, and eight percent for physicians and nurses. Shelters were less likely than any other formal help-source except the clergy and women's groups to be associated with increased violence. This risk is much greater when the police or district attorneys become involved (19 and 17 percent, respectively) than when a woman goes to a women's group (five percent), a battered women's shelter (seven percent), or the clergy (seven percent).

Policy Implications

It is impossible to explain away the high effectiveness of battered women's shelters by an analysis of the internal structure of the data or the methodology of the study. Of course, one could argue that the subjective reports of the battered women are far more positive than objective reality, but there is no reason to think that this might be the case. Women's effectiveness ratings for shelters show no sign of a halo effect. They are reasonably balanced, and only appear extremely good when compared with the

effectiveness ratings for the traditional formal help-sources. Although few battered women are trained in program evaluation, no one is in a better position to evaluate help-sources than those who receive their services. We believe that the positive effectiveness ratings given to shelters by battered women must be taken seriously.

Some traditional agencies support women's groups and shelters, but most do not. Shelters are usually poorly funded and often have inadequate facilities. How is it that they are so successful when they are also funded and staffed at a much lower level than traditional agencies? We can offer the following tentative answers, based more on the 146 in-depth interviews that began the study than on the 854 questionnaires that followed. These factors fall into four general areas: the content of the help provided, client social relations, organizational goals, and staffing.

Battered women's shelters offer a combination of services that cannot be found in any other type of helping organization. The crucial elements in the content of shelter services to battered wives include separation from the batterer, protection from outside influences, and security from the possibility that the batterer will force his way into the shelter and use violence to subdue his wife and compel her to return to virtual slavery in her own home. If therapy groups are part of the services offered by the shelter, then role modeling becomes an important element in the service delivery modality. Separation, protection, and security are significant in the lives of battered women since they have probably not experienced this degree of personal safety and the opportunity to freely plan their futures since early in their marriages.

Battered women need more than physical protection. Wife-beating combines physical assaults with sustained psychological abuse to produce a kind of brainwashing which undermines a woman's self-respect, her ability to have a balanced perspective on what is happening to her, and her capability for planning how to free herself from the violence. Separation, protection, and security are important because they temporarily break the cycle of violence, providing battered wives with the safety necessary for them to regain a balanced perspective on their lives and to begin planning for the future.

It is the misunderstanding of the purpose of shelters as physical protection alone that leads to a misplaced satisfaction with a length of stay which does not extend beyond the period of greatest physical danger. Battered women need separation, protection, and security for a much longer period of time than this in order to regain their psychological balance, a measure of self-respect, and to make carefully thought out decisions about their future. Rather than one or two weeks, two or three months should be minimum stays at battered women's shelters. Shelter workers sometimes complain about battered women who return to their husbands too easily, suffer further assaults, and then apply to reenter the facility when the physical abuse once again becomes life-threatening. In doing so, these staff members are failing to understand the fullness of the services they have the potential to provide to their clients. If shelter capacities were increased so that battered

women could stay long enough to regain their psychological as well as physical strength, they would be more likely to free themselves from the cycle of violence and less likely to return to the shelter in the future.

Freeing themselves from the cycle of violence does not necessarily mean divorcing their husbands. Another possibility is that the batterers may choose to change their behavior rather than lose their families. The efforts of the battered women, supported by shelter personnel, must be supplemented by an array of criminal justice and counseling services directed at batterers in order to maximize the probability of achieving what is really a revolutionary change in the ways of relating that exist in violent families.

Another reason for the success of battered women's shelters is the nature of client social relations. Life in a shelter is not unlike living in a commune—a very special kind of commune in which nearly all the members have been the victims of repeated felonious assaults and most of them have suffered numerous instances of rape at the hands of their loved ones. Clients associate with each other 24 hours a day, in and out of sessions defined as therapeutic. They constantly exchange experiences, and in doing so learn a great deal about the range of outrages that violent men are capable of perpetrating on their wives and also about what sometimes works to diminish the violence. Wife-battering, like other forms of brainwashing, operates by isolating the victims from the rest of society.

Sheltering strikes at the heart of the batterer's isolation strategy by suddenly immersing his wife in communal living. This radical, if all too short, change in the social life of the battered wife sets the stage for a major reorientation of her approach to life. The battered wife's learning that she is not alone, that her problems are actually quite similar to the problems of other shelter clients, and that her situation is not hopeless is part of the reason for the vast potential for personal growth and development that exists in battered women's shelters.

The effectiveness of a formal help-source is related to its goal flexibility and its attentiveness to client goals, as well as to the isomorphism between agency goals and self-defined client goals. Shelter goals are likely to be very close to the service goals of battered women at the point at which they enter the organization. In addition, there is a reasonable degree of goal flexibility and attentiveness to client goals that is based on both the personal backgrounds and attitudes of staff members and on the absence of an ossifying tradition of service delivery. The other formal help-sources have developed specific subcultures over the years. These professional subcultures tend to formulate standards limiting the appropriate forms of service delivery, thus reducing their flexibility in meeting the goals of their patients and clients.

The final advantage that what we might refer to as feminist forms of service delivery have over the other formal sources of help for battered wives is in the set of professional qualifications and background experience of staff members. It is likely that most workers in battered women's shelters do not have graduate professional degrees. Their technical education in service delivery may be

fairly limited, perhaps to the in-service training provided by agency executives who have advanced degrees or by consultants from the community. Shelter staff are often as likely to be hired for their commitment to service delivery to battered women as for their professional degrees. This is sometimes the result of a deliberate strategy adopted by the executive director and the board, but is more often due to financial constraints. In any case, women's groups and battered women's shelters employ a higher proportion of paraprofessionals on their service delivery staff than other formal organizations used by battered wives.

A great many of these paraprofessionals and some of the professional staff members have had personal experiences with spousal violence. Once battered wives, daughters, and dates, these women have been triumphant over their diverse victimizations and gone on to live reasonably happy, productive, and successful lives. Some are still living with their former abusers, others left and developed more satisfying long-term relations with different male partners, and a third group has demonstrated that less traditional patterns of social relations can lead to personal growth and happiness. All of these women provide role models for shelter clients. Most battered women entering a shelter probably never have met a woman who successfully ended the violence in her life and transcended her victimization in the new or modified life she built for herself (and her children in most cases). Exposure to staff members who have confidence that battering can be ended based on their own experiences, as well as to staff members whose professional expertise can be brought to bear on client requests for assistance, maximizes the change-enhancing impact of the shelter experience. Many of the changes will occur over time with repeated exposure to appropriate role models, and so will not be visible to shelter workers when shelter stays are limited to a week or two. An understanding of the stages through which battered wives fight their way to freedom from abuse reassures us that visible changes do not occur until the psychological groundwork for these changes has been laid. One does not recover from brainwashing overnight, as is shown by the experiences of the prisoners of war who returned from Korea.

We interpret these findings and analyses to be supportive of the need for a rapid increase in the number and capacity of battered women's shelters. Shelters deliver more positive effects per unit cost than their much more expensive and less satisfactory competitors in the field of services to violent families. Given the extremely high incidence of wife-beating in the United States found by Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz,²⁹ as well as the level of sheltering need established in our 1,000-woman national sample, the magnitude of the desirable increase in battered women's shelters is considerable. It would not be inappropriate to set a national goal of increasing the number of shelters by a factor of five by 1990, with the understanding that a further expansion of shelter capacity may be necessary if studies conducted in the late 1980s continue to find, as we have, that existing facilities do not begin to meet the existing need for the sheltering of battered women.

NOTES

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Wife Abuse and the Church: The Response of Pastors

JIM M. ALSDURF

Many feminist writers (Martin, 1976; Walker, 1979) and other researchers (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Star, 1979) contend that Christianity has contributed to the victimization of women by advancing a patriarchal philosophy which asserts that women are, and should be, subordinate to men. The claim is frequently made that as church leaders, men have used patriarchy to discriminate against women (Davidson, 1978; Fleming, 1979; Pagelow, 1982; Roy, 1979).

Despite strong criticism against the church for endorsing a system that many charge is a spawning ground for wife abuse, only one study to date has specifically considered the role that the church plays in violence against wives (Bowker, 1982). No systematic study has explored the dynamics of wife abuse in relationship to pastors and religious faith.

The fact that the clergy have been cited by some (Pagelow, 1982) to be the most frequently contacted institutional resource by battered women (preceeding psychologists, lawyers, police, or marriage counselors) indicates the level of influence that the church can have in helping people in abusive marriages. Despite limited investigation of the ways in which pastors deal with the problem, it is clear that the church has failed to assume a leadership role in helping victimized women (Chapman & Gates, 1978; Martin, 1976; Roy, 1977). The theological perspective on women's roles advanced by many ministers and churches is seen as the primary factor in the church's lack of involvement in this problem (Davidson, 1978; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Fleming, 1979).

Many abused wives report that discussions with their pastors resulted in feelings of guilt, condemnation, or responsibility for the conflict (Langley & Levy, 1977; Thorman, 1980). The pastor, in his role as counselor, often subtly reinforces the traditional attitudes that fostered the abuse (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). However, in evaluating the services provided by the clergy to battered wives, Bowker (1982) reports that the overall effects are more positive than negative. Abused wives in his study rated

clergy intervention along a five-point "successfulness" continuum (success being the cessation of violence). Fifty-three percent of the respondents labeled pastoral intervention as fairly successful, 22 percent rated it as fairly unsuccessful, and only two percent as very unsuccessful.

While identifying deficiencies in the help that members of the clergy have provided, Bowker's research refutes the common assumption that clergy are inept, sexist, or disregarding in their dealings with battered women. Although many writers have accepted the self-reports of victims as sufficient evidence of the inadequacy of the church's response to abused women, no data has been gathered directly from pastors to support or refute this view. Since they function as the primary agent of the church, serving as the translator of faith into practice, a survey of pastors is a logical place to begin an investigation of the role of the church in responding to the problem of domestic violence.

The Study

A two-page questionnaire was sent to 5,700 pastors from Protestant churches throughout the United States and Canada. The questionnaire was designed to evaluate the pastor's: 1) experience with the problem of wife abuse; 2) level of awareness of the problem; 3) personal difficulties in counseling victims; 4) reaction to wife abuse; 5) response to the problem based on his or her theological presuppositions; 6) theoretical understanding of and perspective on wife abuse; and 7) views on the church's responsibility for and potential solutions to the problem.

The sample consisted of 99 percent men and one percent women who ranged in age from 20 to over 60, with a median age of 35. Pastors from conservative, Protestant denominations were represented in the sample; three denominations (Assemblies of God, Baptist-General Conference, and Independent) account for nearly one-third of the respondents. The remaining 66 percent were distributed among the other 31 denominations. The greatest numbers were found among the following denominations: United Methodist, Lutheran-Missouri Synod, Presbyterian Church in America, United Presbyterian, Nondenominational, Conservative Baptist, Independent Baptist.

Forty-seven percent of the respondents were seminary trained while the others had graduated from Bible college,

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college, or graduate school. The greatest number of responding pastors lived in the Midwest (32 percent) and West (32 percent), followed by the East (20 percent), and South (13 percent). Fewer lived in the more specific regions: Northwest (six percent), Southeast (six percent), and Southwest (eight percent). The size of the pastors' church staff ranged from one to 23, with 43 percent reporting only one staff member and two percent reporting more than 10 staff members. The ethnic composition of churches was predominately Caucasian (80 percent), with 17 percent of the respondents reporting a membership representing three or more ethnic groups.

The population of the pastors' communities was less than 50,000 for half of the respondents and exceeded one million for 10 percent of the pastors. The number of years in the pastorate varied substantially, with 14 percent having been in the pastorate for three years or less, and 50 percent for over 10 years.

The relatively low response rate to the survey presents a possible response bias since respondents were a self-selected group. Also, since differences between responders and nonresponders are unknown, generalizations made from the data must be tentative and limited to the conservative, Protestant pastors who responded. However, given that respondents were obtained through a theologically conservative, evangelical publishing company (pastors asked to be placed on their mailing list) that has a reputation for taking perspectives consistent with that viewpoint, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of pastors who received the questionnaire hold viewpoints similar to those of the evangelical company.

Survey Results

The responses suggest that the role and attitudes of clergy toward wife battery are both complex and important. The claim made by some writers that pastors hold a patriarchally-informed attitude toward women which predisposes them to respond to victims in a distrustful, even subtly accusatory manner, was confirmed. Many pastors are uncertain of their positions on or hold varying perceptions about the problem of wife abuse. Definitions of wife abuse and supplemental comments offered by the pastors who responded to the survey show them to be both concerned about abused women and frequently torn by theological beliefs that conflict with this concern.

Eighty-four percent of the respondents indicated that they had counseled a woman who had been physically abused by her husband. Ten percent of the pastors had never counseled a battered woman, and six percent were not sure if they had. Of those who had counseled a battered woman, 25 percent had counseled one to two, 33 percent had counseled three to five, 15 percent had counseled six to 10, five percent had counseled 11 to 15, and 14 percent had counseled more than 15 battered women.

One-third of the respondents felt that the abuse would have to be severe in order to justify a Christian wife leaving her husband, while 21 percent felt that no amount of abuse would justify a separation. Fifteen percent of pastors felt

that a moderate expression of violence would justify the wife leaving her husband, while 14 percent interpreted an occasional act of violence and 17 percent, physical violence seldom expressed, as grounds for separation. Twenty-six percent of the pastors agreed that a wife should submit to her husband and trust that God would honor her action by either stopping the abuse or giving her the strength to endure it. However, a majority of the respondents (73 percent) disagreed with this view. Respondents were about equally split in their concern that the husband's violence not be overemphasized and used as a justification for breaking the marriage commitment.

Patterns of Responses

Factor analysis yielded four factors. Factor 1, *Discounting Women's Reports*, was comprised of items which suggest a mistrust in the veracity of wives' reports of violence by their husbands, a belief that the women's movement has overemphasized the problems of wife abuse, and a belief that a wife's failure to be submissive to her husband accounts for much of his violent behavior.

Factor 2, *Submission to God and Husband, and Spiritual Endurance*, was comprised of items that endorse a viewpoint that a wife's proper (and Godly) role is in submission to her husband, that such submission is required of her except under the most extreme situations (i.e., violence must be life threatening in order to justify her leaving), that it is her spiritual responsibility to endure the violence, and that the presence of violence does not minimize her marriage commitment.

Factor 3, *Obtain Protection and Treatment*, included items that encourage a woman to pursue legal intervention and protection from her abuser and medical treatment in the case of injury. To endorse these items was to take a position against violence and to see the woman's health and safety as of primary importance.

Factor 4, *Personal Difficulty for Pastors*, revealed the personal struggles that some respondents have in counseling victims. This self-awareness factor required that pastors be aware of the emotional demands involved in working with abused wives and recognition that a victim's needs can be both personally taxing and difficult to meet.

Factor Correlations

Correlations among the factors and between the factors and the demographic and descriptive variables for pastors found two significant relationships. Factor 1 (*Discounting Women's Reports*), was positively correlated to a significant degree with Factor 2 (*Submission to Husband and God, and Spiritual Endurance*). This finding suggests that pastors who are distrustful and disregarding of a woman's report of spousal violence will also be significantly inclined to require that she submit to her violent husband, or to stay with him unless his violence was life-threatening. Thus, a theological perspective that emphasizes the proper role of wife as one of submission to her husband may predispose a pastor to be distrustful of a woman's report of

violence and to minimize its danger.

The second significant correlation was between Factor 2 (Submission to God and Husband, and Spiritual Endurance) and Factor 3 (Obtain Protection and Treatment). The correlation was negative, indicating that pastors who endorse a wife's submission to her husband and to God in the face of violence do not support a woman's efforts to protect herself from a violent husband.

Women, Marriage, and Personhood

In their responses, pastors suggest certain socio-theological presuppositions regarding three important issues: women, marriage, and the sanctity of personhood. A pastor's perspective of women can be assessed, in part, from his response to those items that pertain to women's role within marriage and the deference given to her report of violence. Pastors who agree with those items that discount a woman's report and show disregard for her rights affirm a position that expect a wife to "naturally" occupy a submissive role in her marriage and which would link her failure to do so to her husband's violence.

A pastor's perspective on marriage is the second key issue which influences his response to the problem of wife abuse. Two items in particular: 1) the grounds he finds acceptable for a Christian woman to leave her husband, and 2) the emphasis he places on violence as a justification for breaking the marriage commitment, most specifically reveal his position on marriage as it relates to the problem of wife abuse.

Most pastors in this study are more willing to accept a marriage in which some violence is present even though it is "not God's perfect will," than they are to advise a separation which might end in divorce, also "not God's perfect will." To some degree, these pastors are more committed to their concept of the Christian marriage than they are to the Christian concept of loving nurture. By affirming this belief, these pastors are minimizing the impact and importance of the violence and failing to acknowledge their collusion in the perpetuation of abuse.

In regard to the third key issue, the sanctity of personhood, most pastors, when faced with the moral decision of having to support either a violent marriage or marital separation to end the violence, would support separation. However, the majority of these pastors do not see divorce as an acceptable resolution of the problem. This suggests that whereas most pastors recognize the sanctity of the victim's personhood, they find it difficult to balance this belief with their commitment to marriage.

Those pastors who endorsed items calling for the wife to remain in the home until the abuse becomes "severe" and those who would not consider violence as a justification for breaking the marriage commitment appear to view the primacy of the marriage commitment above the sanctity of the woman's life. They fail to take seriously her rights to safety and freedom from assault, and place a higher value on the institution of marriage than on the individuals who comprise the institution. By doing so, they mistake the purpose and substance of marriage in much the same way

that the Pharisees mistook the intent of the Sabbath: "The Sabbath was made for man, not the man for Sabbath," (Mk. 2:27), and create a law that alienates rather than redeems its adherents.

Conclusion

This study shows that while a pastor's views on patriarchy are a key factor in determining his response to the dilemma of wife abuse, these views are not the only factor. The data indicate that other individual differences such as age, educational background, personal experience with victims, etc., must also be taken into consideration.

Reports from pastors must be examined alongside reports from abused women themselves about their experiences with clergy. Since a gap is evident between what the pastors in this study reported regarding their competency in dealing with victims, and the reports given by victims in other studies about the inadequacies of the clergy counsel they received (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Thorman, 1980; Walker, 1979), further documentation of actual pastoral response and advice is needed.

Through further scrutiny of what pastors feel, how they respond, and what they think personally and theologically about wife abuse, a framework can be established from which the response of pastors can be reliably assessed. This framework can provide the basis for educational efforts that will result in more effective pastoral interventions in wife abuse and related problems. Given the varying socio-religious persuasions of those working in the field of domestic violence and the strongly anti-patriarchal perspective of many authors, it is essential that more studies be conducted from which to draw reliable conclusions about the relationship between the clergy and wife abuse.

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Alcohol Use and Spousal Violence: Implications for Social Service Intervention

ELLIOT H. BERN

An association between alcohol use and spousal violence has been found in virtually all relevant studies.¹ Richard Gelles found alcohol consumption involved in 48 percent of the violent incidents that he studied.² Other studies have found alcohol use in 14 to 93 percent of incidents.^{3,4}

Inconsistent findings and contradictory reports regarding this relationship characterize the literature. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the wide variance in batterers' behavior. Many batterers do not drink heavily, and many alcoholics do not beat their wives. Some men who drink heavily beat their wives when they are drunk, while other heavy drinkers beat their wives only when they are not drinking. These differences help to account for the several conflicting theories that have been offered on the role of alcohol in family violence. The need for clarification of this relationship is important for the planning of appropriate treatment programs for batterers, alcoholic or not.

Present Theories

Current theories and research in both areas of spousal violence and alcohol abuse point to dynamic, complex causes with cultural, historical, physiological, and psychological bases. The traditional explanation for their relationship is that alcohol consumption reduces inhibitions and increases the likelihood of assaultive behavior.⁵ This theory assumes that humans have basic aggressive instincts that emerge when socially-imposed inhibitions are removed.

Gelles, who found an association between violent incidents and alcohol use in the 80 families that he studied, theorizes that batterers use alcohol as an excuse for their violent behavior.⁶ People, Gelles reasons, have a need to see themselves and their families as normal and know that society would label as deviant most instances of conjugal violence.⁷ He believes that alcohol use serves as a disavowal or defensive function—by drinking, batterers can absolve themselves of responsibility for their “deviant”

behavior. Once this pattern is learned, the abuser can drink with the intention of beating his wife, knowing that he can blame the alcohol, not himself, and thus continue to see himself and his family as normal.⁸

Morton Bard believes that the correlation between alcohol use and violence may be spurious.⁹ Observing that people often drink to relieve stress, Bard speculates that rates of drinking found among batterers may be no higher than rates found in other groups where the level of stress is likely to be high.

Although each of these theories may explain the behavior of some individuals or subgroups, all are too simplistic to provide a useful model to explain the relationship between such complex and multi-determined behaviors as alcohol use and spousal violence. Further, each theory implies that different intervention strategies will be effective.

What is known about the relationship between alcohol use and spousal violence generally comes from correlational studies. These studies, however, do not provide the information needed to design effective intervention models. Author Graeme Newman states that, “it would be absurd to suggest an integrated theory of violence since...violence involves such diverse phenomena, contexts, conditions, etc., that there cannot be a unitary explanation.”¹⁰ Others have suggested that systems theory will be helpful to conceptualize the many interacting variables. Multi-variable studies as well as research that compares specific subgroups of batterers and drinkers are needed.

The following research questions have yet to be answered: How do batterers who drink heavily differ from batterers who do not abuse alcohol? Do batterers with different personality types use alcohol in different ways? What are the service needs of these different types of batterers?

Typologies of Alcoholics and Abusers

Research and clinical observation have identified sub-populations of alcoholics. In an attempt to understand the role of alcohol in the personality structure of the alcoholic, Hill conducted a study comparing alcoholics to non-alcoholics on a variety of psychological tests.¹¹ She identified two distinct personality types which use alcohol differently.

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For alcoholics with low ego strength, alcohol facilitates the forgetting of threatening material, whereas, for alcoholics with strong egos, alcohol does not reduce the threat associated with failure. Alcohol use affects different people differently, both psychologically and physiologically.¹²

Research and clinical observation have also begun to identify sub-populations of batterers.¹³ Symonds describes several of these types: batterers who feel no guilt about using violence; batterers who are guilt-ridden, poorly-controlled, and subject to mood swings; batterers who appear neurotic or psychotic; and those who show no signs of psychiatric disturbance.^{14,15}

The existence of these typologies and subgroups suggests that distinct patterns might also characterize the relationship between alcohol use and spousal violence. Members of these subgroups are likely to respond differently to different types of social service interventions.

Assessment and Treatment

Any effective treatment plan for batterers will depend upon a comprehensive assessment. During the assessment, violence is addressed in a direct and non-judgmental manner. The social worker is sensitive to subtle references to violence or other abusive behavior. For example, if the batterer mentions a particularly bad argument, the interviewer asks, "How do you mean?" or "Did you hit her?" If violence is mentioned, the interviewer probes for a complete understanding of its nature and occurrence. Questions such as, "When does it occur?" "How often does it occur?" "What leads up to the battering?" "What actually happens—do you use your fist, a kick, a weapon?" are appropriate and important to ask. It is also important to obtain as much information as possible about the history of violence in the batterer's family of origin, and the batterer's feelings about women and marital roles.

If the issue of alcohol use does not come up during the assessment interview, the interviewer asks about it directly with such questions as, "Do you drink?" "How often do you drink?" "What do you drink and how much?" "What times of the day do you drink?" "Do you ever black out?" "When did you first use alcohol?" "Do you think you have a drinking problem?" "Have you ever sought help for your drinking?"

Also, ask about the relationship between alcohol use and violence: "When you hit her, are you drinking?" "Do you intend to hit her before you begin to drink?" "Do you recall the violent incident the next day?" "Do you hit her when you are sober?" "Do you drink after the violence to cover feelings of guilt and shame?" The answers to these questions provide valuable insights into the nature of the relationship between alcohol use and violence for this abuser.

This information is integrated with other information collected during the assessment and that provided by family members and other agencies to draw a full profile of the batterer. This profile forms the basis for the batterer's treatment plan.

In the treatment of batterers, effective programs have several common components.^{16,17,18} These include a

clear and consistent goal of ending the violence, a focus on client responsibility for his own behavior, the use of confrontation, a psychoeducational approach, a structured format, a directive counselor, the use of groups, and a sensitivity to sexism. However, the treatment plan must be individually designed according to the needs and circumstances of each batterer even though the nature of the violent behavior appears to be identical to behavior exhibited by other batterers. For example, if violence were found to be associated with organic dysfunction or a psychotic process, treatment might require individual psychotherapy or psychotropic medication. If the batterer were psychotic, confrontive therapy would be ineffective and, perhaps, dangerous. In some cases, arrest, probation, or other criminal justice remedies are necessary. And, if the batterer is alcoholic, alcohol treatment should accompany treatment for battering.

One Program Model

The Domestic Violence Program at Volunteer Counseling Service in Rockland County, New York provides a model for the treatment of batterers through coordination of a variety of community services such as alcohol abuse programs, mental health services, and other social service programs.¹⁹ Only one component of the program, the Spouse Abuse Educational Workshop (SAEW), will be described here. This program came into existence with the cooperation of the County family court system. The court mandates that convicted wife batterers attend the workshop and self-referred clients are also accepted.

The primary goal of the six, one and one-half hour sessions is to help the participants realize that:

- domestic violence is illegal and damaging;
- they are not alone in having this problem;
- it helps to talk about it; and
- they are responsible for their violent behavior.

A secondary objective is to facilitate assessment and referral to on-going services, including alcohol treatment, once the SAEW program is complete.

SAEW is innovative in two respects: It was conceptualized at a time when few programs were interested in working with batterers, and it differs structurally from most other batterer's programs. The SAEW does not attempt to follow the traditional therapeutic model. Rather, its goal is to make the batterer accept responsibility for his actions and become aware of the extent to which violence damages his family and himself. Its primary method is education. The batterer is given information on battering through audio-visual materials, questionnaires, and group discussion.

In the workshops, an attempt is made to establish a personal connection with the batterer in order to break the pattern of isolation which is a major dynamic in both battering and alcohol abuse. Each participant is assured that the group leaders will call him once a month for a year following the workshop to monitor his progress. He is encouraged to maintain contact with the group leaders through the agency. Attempts are made to connect the

batterer with other counseling and social service programs as well.

Workshops are led by male/female teams who model assertive, non-abusive male/female relationships. This unique and important aspect of the program confronts the sexism that underlies most domestic abuse. Leaders are aware of the relationship of sexism to abuse and trained to demonstrate egalitarian principles in their workshop interactions.

SAEW is effective in stopping violent behavior in some types of batterers. It is not recommended for abusers who are psychotic or who manifest other types of criminal behavior. Batterers who are also substance abusers should be referred to appropriate treatment programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous or in-patient facilities to augment the batterer's program. These programs will be more effective in stopping the violence if combined in a coordinated treatment approach.

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Payment for Forensic Examinations for Sexual Assault Victims: A Comparison of State Laws

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In 1982, the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime released its final report based on its nationwide hearings into the critical problems facing crime victims today. Among the Task Force recommendations for federal and state action was a call for states to enact legislation to ensure that victims of sexual assault will not be required to pay for the medical examinations necessary to collect forensic evidence needed to successfully investigate and prosecute a case.

This recommendation was premised on a conclusion reached by the Task Force, that victims of sexual assault should not be singled out to bear the costs of obtaining criminal evidence. This view was articulated by Task Force Chair, Lois Haight Herrington, now Assistant Attorney General for Justice Programs, who commented, "Victims of other crimes such as burglary or robbery are not charged when police examine their homes for evidence such as latent fingerprints, and it is unfair and inappropriate to assess rape victims for the cost of evidence collection."

The primary purpose of the sexual assault examination is to identify injuries for which medical treatment may be indicated. These injuries constitute evidence of the sexual assault. As part of the examination, other evidentiary material may be obtained which document the use of force and occurrence of penetration. The presence of physical evidence from the assailant may also be found on the person of the victim.

Transmission of this material from the examiner to a pathology laboratory may produce evidence to aid in the apprehension, prosecution, and conviction of the offender. The medical report may be introduced as corroborating evidence at the trial. For these reasons, the sexual assault examination is carefully designed to substantiate the elements of an offense as defined by criminal law. As such, it constitutes a significant evidentiary tool for the criminal justice system, at times providing the only corroborating evidence of the crime.

Mary Ann Largen is Policy Analyst for the Center for Women Policy Studies and was Principal Investigator for this project.

In order to encourage implementation of this Task Force recommendation, the Department of Justice (Office of Justice Programs) awarded a grant to the Center for Women Policy Studies to conduct a nationwide survey of states' policies and practices in paying for forensic examinations for victims of rape, and to develop a model statute for consideration by state legislatures. The results of this study and the model statute will be published by the Department of Justice and disseminated through the new National Victims Resource Center being established by the Office of Justice Programs.

This article is the first in a two-part series; it will summarize the CWPS survey of state legislation. Part two will discuss the policy implications of using statutory provisions to address this problem.

Survey Results

The CWPS survey found that 22 states have no statutory payment plan for payment of the forensic medical examination of sexual assault victims. These states rely on hospitals, police, or prosecutors to voluntarily absorb these costs, or the victims pay for the medical exam and apply for reimbursement of recoverable costs through the states' crime victim compensation programs if in existence.

Twenty-eight states were found to have taken responsibility for payment of medical examinations by authorizing some state or local governmental unit to pay all or part of the costs involved. However, states that have enacted a statutory payment plan have followed no particular model or pattern in the development of their statutes. As a result, there is little uniformity among existing laws.

On one point, there is universal agreement: All states with payment plans recognize the value of collecting forensic medical evidence from the victim, and provide for public payment of some of the costs of collecting that evidence. However, there is no consensus on other points such as the extent to which elements of the medical examination relate to criminal law. Nor do all states show a level of interest in public health that is equal to their interest in criminal justice. As a result of these and other differences, existing statutes have produced a plethora of payment

plans that have diverse consequences for victims.

Where states show at least some concern for the uniform treatment of victims and/or uniform evidence collection procedures, medical costs are usually paid from state appropriations by some unit of state government. In states where the interest in criminal justice prevails over the interest in public health, the designated unit is likely to be a criminal justice unit, and vice versa.

The CWPS study found that 20 of the 28 states fell into the category of state-administered payment programs; five of these states delegated payment responsibility to a criminal justice unit, and seven states to a public health or social service unit; eight states delegated payment responsibility to a victim compensation unit. Only three out of these eight states have established special payment funds administered in a fashion similar to other states; the remaining five have authorized the compensation programs to reimburse victims for all costs where other criteria are met.

Where the medical examination of sexual assault victims is seen as a local law enforcement matter, states were found to statutorily delegate fiscal and administrative responsibility to local jurisdictions. Occasionally police or prosecutors are specifically named as payees, but usually that designation is left to the discretion of each jurisdiction. Eight states were found to fall into this category of state-directed payment plans.

Recoverable Costs

The application of these payment statutes depends on several factors: 1) the clarity of the statute; 2) the interest of the payment agency administrator in interpreting the statute; and 3) the level of funding made available by state or local government. Because each factor directly determines the medical procedures for which each state will pay, there is considerable range among states in recoverable costs. However, some conclusions concerning the program features found in these payment plans can be drawn.

All state-administered plans pay the basic costs of emergency room charges, physicians' fees, and the sexual assault evidence kit (if not otherwise provided). The majority pay, as a matter of statute or practice, initial and/or follow-up costs of venereal disease, and/or pregnancy testing, prevention, and treatment. A few states pay for ambulance services, psychological counseling, or in-patient medical care.

Payments made by state-directed plans depend entirely on jurisdictional discretion. As a result, some jurisdictions will pay all emergency medical costs while others will pay only the emergency medical costs associated with the sexual assault kit. Variations in payment exist among jurisdictions within each state.

Payment Methods

While many vagaries also exist in the methods of payment for sexual assault examinations, there is some agreement that victims should be spared direct involvement in the billing and payment process during the period of crisis

following the rape. For this and other reasons relating to a more efficient administration of government payments, 23 states make payment directly to the providers of the medical services. To the extent that payment is made for all costs, victims are spared administrative involvement.

The criteria for state and local payments also vary considerably. In some states, the medical services provided to victims must conform to the standards established by the states. In others, the burden for meeting the states' eligibility criteria falls primarily on the victims. In these states, victims may have to obtain the medical examination within a specific time period or may be required to file an official complaint as a condition of free medical care.

Conclusion

The CWPS study to identify the extent and nature of states' response to this problem confirmed the Task Force's opinion that states are not universally assuming responsibility for the costs of collecting forensic evidence for the prosecution of sexual assault cases. Nearly half (45 percent) of states were found to offer little or no such assistance to rape victims. However, the study also provided some useful information on the effectiveness of the assistance now being offered by 55 percent of states. One thing is clear: the lack of uniformity among states has created serious consequences for the victims who the states' are seeking to help.

The extent to which the benefits to sexual assault victims are substantial or minimal is directly related to the jurisdiction in which the assault occurred. For example, victims in New Mexico, North Carolina, and Illinois receive comprehensive free medical services while victims in Arizona, Kentucky, and Vermont receive only limited free care. Victims in Maryland, Oklahoma, and Virginia are spared involvement in the billing and payment process while victims in New York, New Jersey, and Washington must take responsibility for both initial payment and obtaining reimbursement from the state.

Hospitals, too, are subject to vagaries in states' payment plans. Hospitals in California and Missouri may develop their customary bills for services and send them directly to the payer, while hospitals in Arkansas and Florida must develop separate bills for victims and the state which reflect separate charges for the various elements of the examination. As a result, many hospitals find it simpler to ignore the state's resources and bill the victims for the full amount.

One conclusion that must be drawn from the CWPS study is that uniformity of approach is essential in both the development of new forensic payment statutes, and in existing ones. The model statute developed by CWPS should provide a useful tool for victim advocates and legislators who share those goals.

To obtain a copy of the CWPS report and model statute when it becomes available, write to the Department of Justice, National Victims Research Center, Washington, DC 20531.

Pornography, Power, and the First Amendment: A Feminist View

RUTHANN ROBSON

As a feminist, I believe that pornography is the propaganda of a patriarchal culture that desires to reduce women to objects. As an attorney, I believe that the First Amendment should (but does not) protect all types of speech and that censorship is an anathema to a free society.

Arguments against pornography consistently come up against a defense of the First Amendment. In fact, pornography and the First Amendment have become soldered together in the public mind—to discuss one, we must discuss the other. This fusion has created unnecessary controversy and the obfuscation of each concept in the light of the other.

Obscenity vs. Pornography

To understand the relationship between pornography and the First Amendment, it is initially necessary to distinguish between pornography and obscenity. These two concepts are not synonymous.

The United States Supreme Court, in *Miller v. California* (1973), noted that pornography derives from the Greek: *porne*—harlot and *graphos*—writing. Andrea Dworkin, in her book, *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, agrees that pornography is properly defined as “the graphic depiction of whores.” She points out that historically, the *porne* was the lowest class of whore—the cheapest, least regarded, and least protected of all whores including slaves.

Obscenity, however, is derived from the Latin for “filth.” The Supreme Court has quoted the general definition of obscenity as being “grossly repugnant to the generally accepted notions of what is appropriate,” and “offensive or revolting.” In addition to its usage in common language, obscenity has acquired a legal meaning.

As first defined by the Supreme Court in 1957, obscenity is “material which deals with sex in a manner appealing to the prurient interest.” Although, the legal construction of obscenity has developed somewhat since then, it still revolves around this concept. Prurient interest has not been legally defined by the Supreme Court but generally means lustful or lewd. Neither has the term pornography been

adequately defined by the law, and the Supreme Court has been justly criticized for removing “hard core pornography” from the purview of the First Amendment without ever defining the term.

The Supreme Court has recognized the distinction between pornography and obscenity. As put by one federal court, “Definitionally, obscenity may or may not be pornographic, and pornography may or may not be obscene.” Andrea Dworkin explains the distinction this way: “Obscenity is an idea; it requires a judgment of value. Pornography is concrete; the graphic depiction of whores.”

The Problem of Definition

Distinguishing between pornography as an object and obscenity as a concept only begins to address the many definitional problems involved in a discussion of obscenity, pornography, censorship, and the First Amendment. The Supreme Court has often been criticized for its failure to adequately define and delimit obscenity. Justice Stewart’s oft quoted remark that he knows it (obscenity) when he sees it, has become a standard but not-so-funny joke. If obscenity is to be used as a term in criminal statutes, it must be adequately defined. Otherwise, the statute will violate due process. Further, the juridical definition of obscenity must be broad enough to encompass what is wished to be prohibited, and narrow enough to exclude what is wished to be protected. In an attempt to place the legal definition of obscenity within those bounds, the Supreme Court has introduced the subjective standard of “serious value.”

To find material obscene and convict a person of crimes like selling, manufacturing, transporting, or “pandering,” a jury of one’s peers must now find that:

- the average person, applying contemporary community standards would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest;
- the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable statute (e.g., patently offensive representations or descriptions of ultimate sexual acts, normal or perverted, actual or simulated; patently offensive representations or descriptions of masturbation, excretory functions, and lewd exhibition of genitals); and

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- the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.

It is interesting that a jury will often hear "expert" testimony concerning whether or not a work appeals to the prurient interest or whether or not the work lacks serious value. Yet, the jury must apply the standards of the community from which it is drawn. While most of the objection to this method centers around the chance that the same book will be banned in Boston and allowed in New York, the community standard raises another problem. In no other case does the court request that a jury apply the conscience of other people. Usually, the jury, as a representative of the community, is instructed only to follow the law and their individual consciences.

The legal analysis of obscenity applies to what feminists protest as pornography in an accidental and arbitrary manner. While pornography may in fact appeal to lewd or lustful interests, and usually involves representations or descriptions of explicit sex acts or genitals, pornography has a distinct characteristic: it presents a degrading and demeaning portrayal of women.

The definition of pornography as, "verbal or pictorial explicit representations of sexual behavior that have as a distinguishing characteristic the degradation and demeaning portrayal of the role and status of the human female as a mere sexual object to be exploited and manipulated sexually," suffers from the same underinclusive and overinclusive problems as do the legal attempts to define obscenity.

This definition is overinclusive because it includes what we have previously decided is literature. It is underinclusive because it excludes pornography without female participants, for example pornography demeaning male homosexuals or male kiddie-porn.

The First Amendment—Not Without Exceptions

The First Amendment contains a very clear statement: Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech. However, the historical interpretations of these simple words have been convoluted. There are those who believe that the First Amendment should mean exactly what it says and nothing less: that anyone should have the right to say or write anything that he or she pleases.

The fallacy in this absolutist view is that it presupposes that everyone has the equal power to say or write whatever he or she pleases and that everyone has the equal power to ignore or discount what others say or write. Supreme Court Justice Douglas, a First Amendment absolutist, did not fully understand this fallacy. He wrote, "there is no 'captive audience' problem in these obscenity cases. No one is being compelled to look or listen."

What Douglas failed to see is that a woman is confronted with the pornographic image of her body wherever she goes. A woman sees pornography casually on display where she buys her morning paper, in the place where she works, or in the house where she grew up. She also must live and work with men who have been exposed to and affected by pornographic images of women for much of

their lives. Woman is captive in a pornographic culture.

Legally however, the captive audience problem has never been deemed important as far as women and pornography are concerned. Neither has the absolutist view of the First Amendment been the prevailing view. In fact, certain criminal categories have always been exempted from the protection of the First Amendment such as criminal liability for inciting others to riot or soliciting others to commit crimes. Obscenity has also been carved out as an exception to the First Amendment, not because obscenity degrades women, but because it has been deemed to be without social importance.

Yet, the feminist objection to pornography is that it posits the idea that women should be sexually subjugated, often violently, to men. They admit that this message is, regrettably, socially important. Yet their complaints about pornography are often ridiculed, and they are accused of not being able to take a joke. When women find themselves arguing in court against pornography, they find themselves in the midst of a judge and jury and pornographer who all have a vested interest in the preservation of male power.

Working from the exceptions carved out of the First Amendment by the courts, feminist attorney Robin Yeaman argues that, "there is legal precedent to permit lawyers and courts to take the position that pornography—the media equation of sex with violence which directly and indirectly encourages violence against women and children—must stop. Speech soliciting people to commit crimes is not permitted. Pornography is virtually soliciting men to commit crimes of violence, although the solicitation may be termed implicit and not explicit."

Pornography and Empiricism

Robin Yeaman's argument also raises the issue of whether pornography does in fact cause violence towards women. In 1970, the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography appointed by President Johnson to study the effects of pornography and obscenity, and to make recommendations regarding legislative action, released its findings. The Commission reported that "empirical research has found no evidence to date that exposure to explicit sexual materials plays a significant role in the causation of delinquent or criminal behavior among youth or adults" and recommended that pornography should not be subject to proscriptive statutes. The term "explicit sexual materials" is broad enough to encompass women in torn clothes strapped to dentists' chairs with drills in their vaginas as well as sex education films showing the insertion of IUDs. The Commission did not employ the term pornography, concluding that the term itself is a value judgment.

There are now studies that establish a causal link between pornography and violence. One study has found that convicted rapists report an earlier age of "peak experience" with pornography. But do we really need social scientists to tell us that pornographic depictions of the violent sexual subjugation of women has an effect on a ten-year-old boy? Perhaps Ann Jones, author of *Women Who*

Kill, answers that question for us with her story of a man who abducted a 17-year-old woman, took her to an abandoned church, tied her to the altar, tortured her all night, mutilated her while she was still alive, murdered her with a hammer and threw her body down a well. After his arrest, the man explained, "Ever since I was a young boy, I have wanted to torture a beautiful young girl." Asks Jones, "Now where do you suppose he got an idea like that?"

It is reasonable to assume that people are influenced by what they see and hear, and that people act in accordance with their beliefs. Pornography advances the belief that women should be dominated, subjugated, and violated. Another part of the pornographic message is that women enjoy their subjugation. Perhaps this enjoyment is necessary to ease the viewer's conscience. The argument that pornography acts as a pressure valve and keeps men from subjugating women in reality simply doesn't make sense.

Pornographic Culture

To assume that a woman escapes the effects of pornography if she has not been forced to view it or has not been sexually assaulted is another mistaken assumption. Pornography defames all women, although a legal action cannot lie for defamation of a class of people. While it may be slander to say, "Mary Smith is a slut" (assuming one could convince a jury it was not true), it is not slander to say that all women are sluts.

We live in a pornographic culture. Simultaneously, it is a culture that considers itself subject to the rule of law. It has been suggested that pornography only becomes actively prosecuted when it exceeds the bounds of the culture. For many, what is called "hard core pornography" exceeds those cultural bounds and the Supreme Court has attempted to include hard core pornography in its definition of obscenity. Yet, few object to "non-hard core pornography", in fact, it has become the staple diet of our society.

Soft core pornography, such as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*, poses a more serious threat to females than hard core pornography because it is so insidious and masquerades as serious. Millions of men (and women) read *Playboy* for the interviews and articles, although no one has ever explained why interviews with Presidents and pictures of nude women go together so well.

Conclusions

The central question about pornography is not whether it should be legal or illegal, or whether it should be protected or unprotected by the First Amendment. The question central to pornography as a genre is *why*. Why would someone make, do, buy, enjoy this? Susan Griffin has toured the pornographic mind and offers some stunning psychological analysis in her book *Pornography and Silence*. Andrea Dworkin concludes that pornography is

about male power. Angela Carter views the Sadeian Woman as the personification of sexuality as terrorism. Beatrice Faust tells us that pornography is a product of male biology. All conclude that pornography is about the relationship between men and women. Like rape, it is more concerned with power and violence than with sex. Sex is only the medium.

The relationship between pornography and the First Amendment is forced. To acknowledge pornography as an evil is not to sanction every legal remedy possible. To believe in the First Amendment is not to authorize expression of all ideas by any means necessary. Neither does the idea that something is protected by the First Amendment mean it must be sanctioned or accepted by our society.

Pornography can be seen to silence female speech. Women (and men) who believe that pornography is just as much a cancer in society as is censorship must exercise our right to protest against and end the proliferation of pornographic images of women and children. We must expect and work to insure that the legal system protects us in our exercise of free speech. However, we cannot expect laws to do that which should be done by people. Public opinion has always been the best censor.

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Center for Women Policy Studies Publications

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OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Economic Independence for Women: The Foundation for Equal Rights, Jane Roberts Chapman and Margaret Gates, Eds., Sage Publications, 1976, 320 pages, \$12.50 (paperback)

This classic collection explores the full range of factors that influence the economic status of women in America. The volume considers the roots of and solutions to the problems of dependency, poverty, low wages, tax and social security disincentives, and discrimination.

Economic Realities and the Female Offender, Jane Roberts Chapman, Lexington Books, 1980, 234 pages, \$22.95 (hardback)

This book examines the economic rehabilitation of women offenders within the framework of the general social movement to improve the status of women. It includes an analysis of female criminal patterns and services provided for adult women during the criminal justice process from pretrial to post-incarceration. The book identifies policy issues and makes recommendations for the development and implementation of effective correctional programs for women.

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Violence Against Women in Films

DANIEL GOLEMAN

Films portraying extreme violence against women sexually stimulated nearly a third of the men who watched them as part of a study, even though the films contained relatively little that was explicitly sexual, according to a new report of the study.

Several researchers have found, moreover, that repeated viewings of films such as "Friday the 13th" and "The Texas Chainsaw Massacre" instill attitudes in the minds of the viewers that are similar to those found in rapists. For instance, viewers, including women, become more callous in the face of the films' portrayals of violence toward women and more likely to believe that a woman who was raped wanted to be.

Other data show that such scenes have proliferated in commercial films in the last two years. A survey found that one in eight movies commercially released in 1983 depicted violent acts against women, a sharp increase from 1982 when the rate was one movie in 20.

These results were announced in a symposium on the effects of violent pornography at the meeting of the American Psychological Association (Toronto, September 1984). The new findings are prompting psychologists to broaden their definition of pornography to include depictions of violence against women that have little or no overt sexual content.

In a series of tests of the effects of graphic, nonsexual violence against women, Dr. Neil Malamuth, a psychologist at the University of California at Los Angeles, told the symposium that he found that 30 percent of the men studied were aroused by nonsexual violence. Psychologists had previously thought that this pattern was unique to men who actually raped women.

Some of the research describing the specific effects of repeated viewings of such films was done by Edward Donnerstein, a psychologist at the University of Wisconsin. The study assessed the psychological effects on men of watching over a period of several days, five "slasher" movies which feature graphic scenes of bloody violence mainly to young women. The men were given psychological tests before and after seeing the series of films.

After seeing the films, according to data described at the symposium, the men found the movies to be progressively less upsetting, more enjoyable and less debasing to women. When asked to sit in as the mock jury of a rape

case, the men more often judged the rape victim to be at fault for what had happened, according to Dr. Donnerstein.

"A guy who has raped 20 women is the extreme of where those attitudes point," said Dr. Gene G. Abel, a psychiatrist at Emory University, in an interview.

Women who viewed the same movies had a somewhat parallel reaction. They became emotionally desensitized, finding the movies progressively less upsetting. They also were more likely to judge a rape victim to be at fault.

"Straightforward pornography, movies like 'Debbie Does Dallas,' don't seem to have these effects on people's attitudes toward women," Dr. Donnerstein said in an interview.

Similarity to Known Rapists

A small group of men in the study of slasher films showed in their initial testing such a strong similarity to the profiles of men willing to commit rape that for ethical reasons they were not allowed to view all five films.

Along with an attitude of callousness toward women and such beliefs as "women want to be raped," men in this small group also scored higher on tests for traits of hostility and mental turmoil.

In the view of many who treat men convicted of rape, it is psychological factors such as these that distinguish men who rape from those who do not but say they might.

John Briere, a psychologist at the University of Manitoba, has found that attitudes among men that were once thought to signify the thinking of rapists were held in some degree by many men.

Speaking at the symposium on "Sexual Violence in the Media," Dr. Briere reported that his survey also found rape itself to be far more common than had been thought: 10 percent of college men admitted to having physically forced a woman to have sex against her will.

Those who admitted to rape shared the attitudes held by convicted rapists, said Dr. Briere. These included subscribing to such myths about rape as that women want to be forced to have sex, that rapes do not occur but are instead women's lies, and that women enjoy sexual violence.

These men also reported being sexually excited by one or more nonsexual aspects of rape, including the subjugation, degradation, or domination of women. According to Dr. Briere, these men were not particularly heavy users of pornographic films or magazines, although they reported reading more pornographic books than other men in the study.

Daniel Goleman reports on psychology for the New York Times, 229 West 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036.

Myths About Rape

Other research, including a survey of high school students in Los Angeles mentioned by Dr. Malamuth, has found myths about rape, which violent pornography seems to promulgate, to be more widespread than experts had thought.

Close to 50 percent of college men subscribe to such myths, according to data reported by Dr. Malamuth. And in another survey of more than 2,000 men, 35 percent said they might rape a woman if they could get away without being caught.

Other studies presented at the symposium reported that men who had watched films that combined sex and violence—even the critically acclaimed “Swept Away,” which was directed by a woman, Lina Wertmüller—became more callous toward women.

The link between aggressive pornography and violence diverges from the findings of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, published in the United States in 1970. That report found no connection between sex films and violence. But Dr. Malamuth observed that in 1970 pornography with a component of violence was relatively rare.

A study published recently in the *Journal of Psychiatry* reported a large increase in portrayals of violence toward women on the covers of such commonly available sexually explicit magazines as *Hustler*.

Some of the new findings have already been used in several cities, including Indianapolis, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis, in arguments favoring antipornography ordinances.

Censorship Not Advocated

Still, the psychologists conducting these studies do not advocate the outright censorship of violent pornography. According to Dr. Malamuth, one reason is that while violent pornography seems to harden men's attitudes toward women, it has yet to be shown that it leads them to acts of sexual violence.

Writing in *Pornography and Sexual Aggression* (Academic Press), an anthology to be published next month, Dr. Malamuth notes that there is “ample reason for concern about the effects of aggressively toned pornography.” For one, “the coupling of sex and aggression in these portrayals” might lead some people to similarly combine sex and aggression in their lives. That effect, however, seems most likely to occur among children and adolescents who have not yet established strong sexual preferences, Dr. Malamuth said.

Dr. Malamuth's research with college students shows that exposure to depictions of violent sex does not seem to increase sexual arousal since by that age sexual patterns tend to be well-established. Dr. Malamuth has found, however, that men who are shown such films as “Swept Away,” which depict women resisting and then enjoying violent sex, become more accepting of the idea that women want

to be forced to have sex.

This change in the attitudes men hold toward women, the researchers at the symposium pointed out, may be socially significant. While individual pathology may be one factor that leads a man to rape, experts agree that the overall climate of attitudes toward women is also a factor.

Even though rapists are aroused by the fantasy of violence to women, they do not seem to be among the most frequent users of such pornography, according to Ronald Johnson, a social worker at a Minnesota treatment center for adolescent sex offenders. He said that most young rapists have had little or no exposure to pornography.

Many Rapists Were Victims

More than 90 percent, however, were victims of sexual abuse as children. “I don't think pornography has that much influence on those who rape,” Mr. Johnson said in an interview. “More important is what's happened to them in their past.”

A similar view on the use of pornography by rapists is held by Dr. Abel, a leading authority on rapists. “Men who rape don't need pornography to stimulate their violent fantasies about women; they're obsessed by these fantasies,” he said. “Many rapists have been masturbating to the fantasy of violence against women since they were teenagers. The rapist's obsession with rape fantasies is so great that it warps his sense of reality about women.”

Watching violent pornography, in Dr. Abel's view, is “only of consequence if a man then begins to have that fantasy in masturbation or intercourse, and only then if it becomes an obsessive fantasy for him. That ups the ante considerably. Even so, there are probably many men with that fantasy who will never be rapists.”

“The most telling effect of scenes of violence toward women may be on our children, who are still forming their sexual outlooks,” Dr. Briere said. “We won't know for years exactly what the effects of that exposure will be. But it is unlikely to be very healthy.”

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Sexual Assault Law Project

As part of a year-long project on rape law reform, the CWPS is studying the impact of the legislative changes of the last decade. We welcome inquiries, referrals, and sources of information from activists, practitioners, and researchers. The project is being funded by the National Institute of Justice and will ultimately develop information with which to assess the need for further criminal code reform as a means of improving the reporting and prosecution of such offenses.

Victims of Crime Act of 1984: An Analysis for Sexual Assault and Family Violence Programs

MARY ANN LARGEN

On October 12, President Reagan signed into law the Victims of Crime Act of 1984. This Act establishes within the United States Treasury a Crime Victims Fund (CVF) into which the proceeds from the collection of federal criminal fines, forfeited bail bonds, penalty assessments, and forfeited literary profits (in an amount not to exceed \$100 million) will be deposited. The Act authorizes the Attorney General to make grants from the Fund to states for reimbursement of their crime victim compensation expenditures and for award to community-based crime victim assistance programs. Authorization expires September 30, 1988. At that time Congress may choose to reauthorize or dissolve the Fund.

Under the terms of the Act, monies allocated from the Fund will be disbursed each year by the Department of Justice according to the following formula: up to 50 percent for Crime Victim Compensation (CVC); 45 percent for states' Crime Victim Assistance (CVA); and five percent for federal CVA. CVC programs may apply directly to the Fund for reimbursement of up to 35 percent of their total expenditures for the previous year, however, allocations to states for victim assistance will be based on a combination flat rate and population formula. Each state will be entitled to a minimum CVA grant of \$100,000 per year, with additional funds allocated on the basis of population. The federal share of the CVF will be distributed to federal agencies for the initiation of federal crime victim services and related activities.

CVF Revenues and Formula Implications

Unlike federal programs that rely on annual appropriations, the CVF will rely on revenues collected each year from both old (federal fines, forfeited bail bonds) and new (penalty assessments, literary profits forfeitures) funding sources. While estimated revenues from some of these sources can be predicted, others cannot. It is estimated that \$50 to \$70 million will be generated during the first year.

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Factors that will affect the amount of funding available include:

- 1) the amount of revenues actually collected,
- 2) whether or not states' compensation programs use all of their 50 percent allocation, and
- 3) whether the federal government uses its five percent allocation.

Should state programs not use their full entitlement, unspent funds will be added to the victim assistance portion of the Fund for award to states. However, additional CVA funds that might result are not likely to be substantive.

The collection process will necessitate a one to two-year delay before funding is actually available to beneficiaries. CVA programs will experience the longest delay because the distribution formula requires states to receive their compensation reimbursements before grants for victim assistance may be made.

Beneficiaries

A review of the Victims of Crime Act and its legislative history allows for a preliminary analysis of the statute: who is to benefit from the new federal legislation, the eligibility criteria that beneficiaries must meet, and ways in which the revenues must be used. A final analysis must await the release of Department of Justice guidelines for the implementation of this Act. In the interim, Congressional intent has been shown as follows:

Crime Victim Compensation: Beneficiaries of the compensation allocations will be states' CVC programs. Though primarily intended to benefit existing compensation programs, those that meet the eligibility criteria during the life of the Act are also eligible for funding. The Act specifies six eligibility criteria. These criteria are waived for first year grants from the Fund. States have one legislative session after the first award of compensation grants to conform to the criteria of the Act. Thereafter, they must:

- 1) compensate victims for medical expenses, including expenses for mental health counseling and care attributable physical injury resulting from a compensable (defined by the state) crime; compensate victims for loss of wages resulting from same; compensate survivors for funeral expenses resulting from same;

- 2) promote victim cooperation with the reasonable requests of law enforcement authorities;
- 3) agree to compensate in the same manner as residents, those nonresidents who are victimized within the state's jurisdictions;
- 4) agree to compensate victims of exclusively federal jurisdiction crimes committed within states borders;
- 5) certify that federal funds will not be used to supplant state funds; and
- 6) agree to provide all required information and assurances related to this section of the law.

Because this new federal law allows states to define compensable crimes themselves, the Crime Victims' Act will not alter states' ability to exclude marital rape, incest, or other interfamilial crime from eligibility for compensation. However, states will be required to compensate for certain mental health services for victims of other sexual assaults and will no longer be able to discriminate against nonresidents.

Crime Victim Assistance: Beneficiaries of the victim assistance allocations will be public and private nonprofit programs (or a combination of both) offering direct services to victims of crime. These would include sexual assault, child abuse, family violence, and victim/witness programs. Entities providing other community services in addition to crime victim assistance (e.g., YWCA's, CMHC's, etc.) may apply but are restricted to using the funds for services to victims only.

Victim assistance allocations are intended for both existing and start-up programs, though some variations in eligibility criteria would apply. Programs that existed prior to the availability of the CVA funds must demonstrate both a record of providing "effective" services (e.g., longevity, community support, and services commensurate with the program's financial history); and at least a portion of their financial support (e.g., cash, in-kind contributions, etc.) from sources other than CVA funds. Programs applying for start-up funds must receive a substantial portion of their financial support from sources other than CVA.

Under the terms of the Act, states must give priority to eligible CVA programs "providing assistance to victims of sexual assault, spousal abuse, or child abuse." The legislative history in the House of Representatives defines "priority" as substantial funding to support 24-hour crisis intervention services for these victims. This intent is supported by Senate floor statements indicating that the intended priority is to provide funding for purposes of ensuring that these victims receive adequate assistance. This criteria will be applied to states' use of the CVA funds.

Under Section 1404 of the Act, CVA programs must meet a number of eligibility criteria in order to receive financial assistance. First, they must be operated by a public agency, private nonprofit organization, or a combination of both (service providers may apply individually or in conjunction with other community-based programs). Also, these programs must receive part of their financial support from sources other than the CVA. Additional eligibility criteria require programs to:

- 1) demonstrate either a record of providing effective

services to victims and financial support from sources other than the Fund (this provision applies only to programs that existed prior to passage of this Act), or substantial financial support from sources other than the Fund; and

- 2) use volunteers except in extraordinary circumstances, promote the coordination of public and private efforts aid victims, assist victims in seeking crime compensation, and use the grants from the Fund exclusively for providing victim services.

Pre-existing sexual assault centers and shelters for battered women should have no difficulty in meeting the financial support requirement, as in-kind contributions (e.g., volunteer hours, donated property, etc.) are allowed to be counted in this support. Further, nothing in the language of the Act would preclude grants from federal sources other than the Fund as contributing to the requisite support. Due to the requirement that at least 50 percent of their financial support be from sources other than the Fund, new programs would only be able to secure matching funds under this Act. The CVC is not intended to provide "seed money" for starting up programs but rather to support programs that have demonstrated a firm commitment to the provision of victim assistance.

The use of volunteers is an absolute requirement except where the Chief Executive (or state's grants administrator) finds a "compelling reason" to exempt the applicant from this requirement. The term "compelling reason" was intended to strictly limit the state's discretion to waive the requirement. Only in such unusual instances as where the collective bargaining agreement of a public agency or an insurance carrier prohibits the use of volunteers in any capacity, should this waiver be applied.

Services Covered

Examples of the victim services to be supported by the Fund include crisis intervention, emergency transportation to court, short-term child care, temporary housing and security measures, assistance in participation in criminal justice proceedings; and payment for medical examinations of sexual assault victims if not otherwise reimbursed or paid. Applicants are not required to provide each and every service. However, the legislative history of the House clearly indicates that crisis intervention services are particularly vital.

The term, "effective services" is not to be interpreted as a licensing requirement for CVA programs; but rather to evaluate applicants on the basis of community support as evidenced by the program's longevity and on the quality of services provided. It was not intended that states evaluate applicants on the basis of a generalized evaluation model that does not recognize the unique needs of special victim populations. Nor, since new programs must conform in design to the other criteria of this Act in order to be eligible for funding, was this criteria intended to exempt them from demonstrating their own effectiveness in subsequent grant applications.

Of special significance to rape crisis and family violence

programs are two provisions relating to states' administration of the CVA grants and confidentiality of records. First, the Chief Executive of each state has full discretion to appoint the state's CVA grants administrator. Governors may delegate responsibility to a singular person or state agency or organization, or divide the responsibility among two or more. Thus, governors may delegate responsibility for sexual assault or family violence services to state administrators or agencies now administering other federal or state grants for these services.

Second, Sec 1407(d) of the Act restricts disclosure of any research or information furnished under the legislation and identifiable to any specific person. Grant recipients may not use or reveal information obtained during counseling, and such information is immune from legal process and cannot, without the consent of the person providing the information, be admitted as evidence for any purpose in any legislative, judicial, or administrative proceeding. This provision was intended to protect the confidentiality of persons seeking counseling assistance from a CVF grant recipient.

Department of Justice Guidelines

As noted, this analysis is based upon the Congressional committee reports, hearing records, and floor statements that constitute the legislative history of the Victims of Crime Act of 1984. By law, the Department of Justice must be guided by this history in the development of guidelines for the implementation of the provisions of the Act; however, the Department is permitted some discretion in interpreting legislative intent. The proposed guidelines are expected to be published in the Federal Register in February and the public will be given an opportunity to comment on them before they are officially adopted.

For further information regarding Department of Justice Guidelines, call Charles Hollis at 202/724-5947. Transcripts of House hearings on Legislation to Help Crime Victims before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, House Judiciary Committee (serial #161, 98th Congress) can be obtained from the House Document Room, U.S. Capitol, Washington, DC 20515, on or after March 1, 1985.

RESEARCH NOTE

Trends in Child Abuse and Neglect

The American Humane Association (AHA) has published a summary and analysis of official reporting data on child maltreatment for the seven year period between 1976 and 1982. The report, written by Drs. Arlene Bycer Russell and Cynthia Mohr Trainor, looks at the national data as it relates to reporting issues, the characteristics of families and children reported to child protective services (CPS), and the way the system has responded to maltreatment cases.

The analysis shows that the number of child abuse and neglect reports entering the system yearly since 1976 has risen by 123 percent, and rates of reporting have doubled. This is true despite evidence that many valid cases are now being screened out, and the five percent decrease in the size of the child population during the period. While improvements in reporting systems, broadening reporting legislation, public awareness campaigns, and the implementation of 24-hour hotlines undoubtedly influenced this increase, there are indications that a significant proportion of all abuse and neglect cases remain unreported. One national study found that two out of three known cases were not reported to child protective services agencies. An AHA survey suggests that there has been an increase in the severity of the problems reported to CPS and an increase in clients in crisis due to economic problems in recent years. Another AHA analysis indicates that rising unemployment is accompanied by more reported child maltreatment. These studies lead AHA to suspect that the lower yearly increases in reported child abuse over time may reflect the inability of a beleaguered system to respond to a growing problem, rather than the fact that reporting is increasingly reflective of incidence.

The characteristics of reporting sources and the types of reports which have been made to the CPS system over the years have been relatively constant. Despite the move by more states to make neglect a reportable condition during this period, the proportion of neglect reports remained relatively stable. This suggests that agencies respond to abuse reports more readily and may be screening out neglect cases that consume more staff time to treat and are perceived to be less serious.

The data also indicate that adolescent cases appear to have been subjected to more screening, since they have comprised a smaller proportion of all reported cases as the years have passed; also, the proportion of adolescent neglect reports has declined.

The authors note that Blacks have always been over-represented in the reporting statistics relative to their representation in the general population, but comment that this may be a function less of race than of their level of economic difficulty. The fact that poverty is a particularly strong factor in Black maltreatment cases is evidenced by the consistently higher reporting of neglect over abuse for Blacks, and the increase in the percentage of neglect reports over the seven-year period. Because of a greater likelihood that Blacks will be reported for neglect, it is possible that many more Black families in need of services are being screened out of the system.

Finally, sexual abuse reports have risen considerably over the years and appear to have a priority status within the system, at least in terms of case acceptance. Despite extensive public awareness efforts, the bulk of sexual abuse reports are made by professionals. It is noted that the percentage of reports made by law enforcement personnel has declined over the years, while the percentage of reports made by social services personnel has risen. This trend indicates a broader recognition that sexual abuse is not primarily a legal problem.

Treating Violence-Prone Families

ERIN PIZZHEY

In 1971, there was only one shelter in England that defined itself as a refuge for battered women and their children. I established the shelter in response to the desperate need of the badly-bruised women who came to me for help, often with their little children in tow. No one was ever turned away. My small facility was often so packed that the women and children had to sleep on the floor. If there was no room on the floor, they sat against the walls and slept with their heads on their knees.

During the first year, Rachel arrived at the shelter with her young sons. Rachel was a kind and gentle woman who was greatly loved by the others at the shelter. She had come to escape from her husband who had abused her mentally, physically, and sexually. He was also violent to Rachel's first son who was not his, and he encouraged his own younger son to strike his mother. This boy remained sullen and hostile for a long time while the family was in our care.

During one of our many talks, Rachel told me that as a child, she was physically abused by her mother and sexually abused by her father. When she was eight, her father walked out of her life and never came back. After he left, her mother beat her almost daily.

Rachel had been an able student but was frequently kept home from school to clean the house. She started dating at an early age, was sexually promiscuous, and had her first child when she was fifteen. So far, this was a common story; I had heard similar recountings from many of the women who came to our shelter.

Rachel's husband, Ken was several years older than she. He rarely spoke and had no friends, but he grew to adore Rachel. It was after the marriage that the beating began. Rachel vowed, like so many other women, that she would never go back to her husband. However, she, like many of the women in the refuge, never stopped talking about the violence. Other women stopped focusing on the traumatic events in their lives shortly after they arrived at the shelter, and instead, began to make plans for themselves and their children.

Several months after I opened the shelter, I began to notice that there were two types of women who came to the shelter. One type of battered women did not go back to their abusive partners. Or if they did go back, they eventually returned to the shelter. In fact, I learned that it was

common for a woman to return to her abuser once or twice as if to test out the reality of the world she was about to leave behind. Most learned that, although their partners were gentle to them at first, they eventually returned to old patterns of violent behavior.

The other type seemed drawn to violent people. Rachel was an example of this second group. She used to tell me that she would be all right as long as she didn't hear her husband's voice. If she did, she would surely follow him.

With assistance from the shelter staff, Rachel proceeded to file for divorce from her husband. On the day of the court hearing, the staff made the usual plans to return her to the shelter without being followed. Unfortunately, through a series of legal errors, the shelter address was read aloud in court. A week later, Rachel was gone; she left a note apologizing to the staff, explaining that she felt responsible for her husband. Soon after, we received the news that Rachel was dead.

I have since had many similar experiences with women like Rachel who I have come to believe are "violence-prone." In thinking back to my many conversations with Rachel about her life, I remembered that she only really seemed alive when she was talking about her violent experiences. It was as if through her early experiences as a victim, she had become addicted to physical and emotional pain.

The London refuge eventually became a shelter that specialized in the treatment of "violence-prone" women, and I have recently come to America to continue that work. Underlying that work is my belief that these women need more than shelter for themselves and their children; these women need to be a part of a therapeutic community where they can be helped to come to terms with their violent pasts. This community needs to be available to all members of the family, including abusers.

Assigning blame should not be the primary therapeutic goal in the treatment of family violence. Many abusers were themselves victims of violence during a critical phase of their development. These men are still victims of this violence and need to be treated with the same compassion and understanding that their wives and children receive. Such treatment is important if the cycle of intergenerational transmission of violence is to be broken.

Erin Pizzhey established the first shelter for battered women in England in 1971 and continues her work at The Watershed, 10 Conchas Loop, Santa Fe, NM 87501.

Erin Pizzhey's book, Prone to Violence, which includes a description of a treatment program for violence-prone women, is available for \$4.00 from The Watershed, 10 Conchas Loop, Santa Fe, NM 87501.

PROJECT NOTES

Preventing Domestic Violence

Death and disability resulting from violence between adults residing in the same household, or otherwise related to one another, pose a serious health problem in the United States. Unfortunately, there is a lack of valid surveillance data to monitor the rates of domestic violence and to guide service efforts. As a consequence, basic descriptive and analytic epidemiology in the area of domestic violence remains undeveloped.

Under contract to the Violence Epidemiology Branch at the Centers for Disease Control, Drs. Gary Bowen and Andrea Sedlak at Westat, Inc., and Drs. Murray Straus, Gerald Hotaling, and David Sugarman at the University of New Hampshire are currently assessing the potential for developing a data collection system to monitor rates of morbidity and mortality associated with domestic violence, and to guide the development and evaluation of intervention and prevention programs in states and local communities.

Scheduled for completion in October, 1985, this study offers an unique opportunity to identify the issues involved in applying our knowledge of domestic violence to monitoring and prevention efforts. A key objective is to determine the feasibility of establishing such a domestic violence surveillance system. Researchers and practitioners interested in learning more about the study should contact Dr. Gary Bowen, Project Director, at Westat, Inc., Organizational Research Group, 1650 Research Blvd., Rockville, MD 20850 (301-251-8253).

Sentencing Disparities for Sex Offenders

Do legislators, prosecutors, and judges accord sex offenses against children in the same seriousness they accord sex offenses against adults? That will be the central question addressed by a project being undertaken by the American Bar Association's Criminal Justice Section Victims Committee.

The six-month project, which is being funded by the National Institute of Justice, will develop data and explore the extent to which the age of a sex offense victim influences statutory penalties and the justice system's processing and disposition of sex offense cases.

ABA committee chair David Austern comments that, "Many child advocates are critical of judges who, they assert, sentence child sex offenders more leniently than offenders who act against adult victims. Many judges, on the other hand, are quick to dispute these assertions, claiming that penalties are dispensed even-handedly."

The ABA project, through a survey of the statutory penalties in the 50 states, will provide a factual basis for determining whether legislators require or promote sen-

tencing disparities. It will also provide objective data on actual sentences imposed in three selected jurisdictions over a given time period. The ABA and the National Institute of Justice expect the project to shed considerable light on how statutory penalties and a number of other factors affect the processing and ultimate outcome of sex offense cases involving children and adults. These findings will provide a context in which legislators and criminal justice practitioners around the country may reconsider their own policies and practices. In addition, the project findings should point to areas where future research would be useful.

The project is operating under the general oversight of the section's Victim Witness Project, directed by Susan W. Hillenbrand. The project coordinator is Jane Roberts Chapman, Director of CWPS and a specialist in victim assistance issues and women, and the criminal justice system. For more information, contact Ms. Chapman at the ABA Criminal Justice Section, 1800 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202/331-2260).

Fighting Back

A new investigation of rape victims promises to yield valuable information about when a woman should or should not try to resist a potential rapist. NIMH has funded the Eisenhower Foundation to determine and educate women about when it is appropriate for a woman to aggressively resist a potential rapist. Key staff on the project will be Dr. Jennie McIntyre, a senior associate at Eisenhower and Dr. Lynn A. Curtis, President of the Foundation.

This investigation is a follow on to earlier McIntyre-Curtis work which found that aggressive behavior by a woman at any time during an encounter with a potential rapist decreases the odds that the assailant will complete a rape. What is more, the earlier a woman becomes aggressive the better are her chances of avoiding rape.

McIntyre emphasized, though, that the possibility of serious injury or even death is a legitimate concern of those who advise women as well as potential victims. The fear remains that aggression may anger an assailant, resulting in a truly vicious attack and life threatening or disfiguring injuries. While that did not prove the case during the earlier investigation the question remains: When victims are badly beaten or injured, is it because they refused to comply or in spite of compliance?

Under the new NIMH grant, Eisenhower Foundation staff hopes to find the answer to that question. The Foundation will disseminate the information to women in practical language and will concentrate on working with inner city women who are rape victims in disproportionate numbers. For further information, contact Dr. Lynn A. Curtis, President, the Eisenhower Foundation, 1725 I Street, NW, Suite 504, Washington, DC 20006 (202/429-0440).

BOOK REVIEW

Reviewed by NANCY R. KING

***Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, and Workplace Harassment*, by Diana E. H. Russell, Ph.D. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1984, 320 pages (\$28.00 hardcover, \$14.00 softcover). Order from Sage Publications, 275 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, CA 90212.**

Diana Russell has written a book that identifies and documents critical causal links between rape, child sexual abuse, and workplace harassment. *Sexual Exploitation* grew out of Russell's observation of the void of causal theories in the literature on sexual violence and abuse, both for the individual manifestations of the problem, and together as a unitary phenomenon.

In her study of the causes of sexual exploitation, Russell became further concerned that each of the several forms of sexual abuse was written about, spoken about, lobbied about, and intervened in by different people with different orientations. Each has its separate history, theories, and agencies resulting in an artificial compartmentalization of analysis and treatment. A central goal of this book is to break down the walls that maintain these separations by addressing the issue of causation that, in Russell's view, unifies them.

In *Sexual Exploitation*, Russell summarizes existing research and provides a framework within which to organize present causal theories. This framework, based on a model developed by David Finkelhor, serves to demonstrate her basic thesis—that existing theories of rape, child sexual abuse, and sexual harassment do not compete with each other but rather contribute on different levels of explanation to different questions about the occurrence of all forms of sexual abuse.

While the book includes a review of several studies in the current literature, Russell leans heavily on her own study—a community-based random sample survey based on interviews with 930 women residents of San Francisco.

The book is divided into five parts. In Part I, Russell reviews the literature on rape, reporting on incidence and prevalence, and the social and psychological characteristics of victims and perpetrators. Here, she provides a detailed discussion of her survey which indicates that there is a 46 percent chance that a woman living in San Francisco will become a victim of a completed or attempted rape. She casts aside the myth that only a small percentage of women are sexually victimized and, in fact, concludes that rape has become a true epidemic in our society in a pattern that is escalating over time.

In Part II, Russell discusses the causes of rape utilizing

Finkelhor's four factor model (1981) developed to explain the occurrence of child sexual abuse. The model suggests that there are four preconditions that allow rape to occur: 1) factors creating a predisposition or desire to rape; 2) factors reducing internal inhibitions against acting out this desire; 3) factors reducing social inhibitions against acting out this desire, and 4) factors reducing the potential victim's ability to resist or avoid the rape.

Russell provides a particularly useful discussion of factor one, synthesizing feminist theories, biological theories, and sociological factors such as media violence and pornography. In her discussion of the male sex role, she repeats a comment made in her previous writings—that rape is not so much a deviant act as an over-conforming one—an extreme acting out of qualities that constitute the *masculine mystique*.

Part III addresses the prevalence and legal aspects of child sexual abuse. Again, the findings of the Russell survey are used predominantly to document the extent of the problem. A chapter co-authored with David Finkelhor addresses the "gender gap" among perpetrators. The authors conclude that the extent of child sexual abuse perpetrated by women is very small. The causes of child sexual abuse are the focus of Part IV, again based on Finkelhor's model.

The final and shortest section of the book addresses sexual harassment in the workplace. Here, Russell summarizes the findings of the Merit Systems Protection Board on harassment among federal workers. In a brief discussion of causation, she focuses on social control theory—sexual harassment as a means of pursuing and preserving men's economic self interest. She also applies the Finkelhor model.

In *Sexual Exploitation* Russell opens a door to new research and thinking that challenge our basic social norms, in particular, the male sex role. She feels that it is crucial to the well-being and indeed survival of our culture to recognize the problem of male violence, and observes that if 90 percent of crimes of violence were perpetrated by a particular minority group or social class, that group would be viewed as a distinct problem and treated accordingly. The fact that this 90 percent is also the ruling class in our society demonstrates the capacity of those in power to define the problem.

Russell challenges us to face the fact that this culture's notion of masculinity—particularly as it is applied to sexuality—predisposes men to violence, to rape, to sexual harassment, and to the sexual abuse of children.

In *Sexual Exploitation*, Diana Russell establishes sexual victimization as a unitary phenomenon with several inter-related manifestations that are linked by their causal commonalities. This, in itself, is a new and important contribution to our understanding of the problem. However, Russell does not stop here. She uses this perspective to illuminate a primary causal factor that cuts to the core of sexual abuse—a factor that, as a society, we are reluctant to see—perhaps because its implications are too threatening to the current social order. If sexual abuse is indeed reaching epidemic proportions as Russell documents here, it is time to hear this message and accept her challenge.

BOOK REVIEW

Reviewed by GARY L. BOWEN

***Wife Battering: A Systems Theory Approach*, by Jean Giles-Sims, Ph.D., New York: Guilford Press, 1983, 193 pages (\$17.50 hardcover). Order from The Guilford Press, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10003.**

Since the 1970's, there has been a proliferation of research and published studies on various forms of domestic violence. Although the major research to date has been designed to establish reliable estimates of the incidence of domestic violence and to identify factors associated with its occurrence, there has been considerable interest in explaining why abused women stay with their assaultive husbands and why those who do flee from an abusive situation usually return. Reflecting this later interest, *Wife Battering: A Systems Theory Approach* by Jean Giles-Sims, moves beyond the individual psychopathology and social structural approaches to explaining the responses of battered women, to a focus on the behavior reciprocity of the husband-wife relationship.

Guided by the conceptual tools of general systems theory, Giles-Sims attempts to demonstrate the advantages of a process model of social interaction to understanding how patterns of wife battering become established and possibly change over time. Her application of general systems theory to the study of wife abuse is grounded by empirical data on events in the life histories of 31 women who voluntarily sought help at a shelter for abused women.

The book develops from two basic premises. The first is that only women can convey the complexity of their abusive relationships. Based on this assumption, a central focus of the book is the detailed histories of three battered women presented in their own words. The second premise is that by studying violence in the conjugal framework where it occurs, researchers can discover general processes relating context and behavior in battering relationships. To analyze these processes requires conceptualizing the battering relationship as a system, focusing on the process of actions and reactions as a continuous causal chain. The influence of both of these premises are apparent throughout the book.

In Chapter 1, Giles-Sims introduces the reader to modern systems theory, relating concepts such as boundaries, positive and negative feedback processes, open versus closed systems, and thresholds of viability within systems to the study of wife beating. Based on Buckley's application of systems theory to the social sciences, this chapter provides an informative review of key system concepts, giving the reader an analytical perspective for understanding adaptation and change within systems. The next chapter provides theoretical and empirical rationale for integrating

the literature on wife battering with the concepts of a systems approach. In this chapter, Giles-Sims makes an important distinction between asking "why" wife battering occurs and asking "how" it arises and becomes stable. It is the second question that Giles-Sims is most interested in examining from a systems theory approach. Together, the first two chapters provide an important background for the empirical study which forms the basis of the book.

Combining the theoretical groundwork presented in Chapters 1 and 2 with a longitudinal research design, the next set of chapters present the results from Giles-Sims' study of 31 abused women.

Chapter 3 presents a profile of the characteristics and relationships of the 31 women, as well as quantitative comparisons of levels of violence, key aspects of the history of violence, and an analysis of the circumstances surrounding three incidents of violence. In Chapters 4 through 6, the author presents detailed life histories of three battered women, focusing on the sequence of changes both in their relationships with their primary partners and in their definitions of self.

Based on an integration of general systems theory and the quantitative and qualitative data from the empirical study, Giles-Sims constructs a six-stage analytical model in chapter seven to describe the processes that govern the patterns of violence over time. Although the stages are not arranged so that one must necessarily precede or follow another, the stages in the model do tend to form a temporal/logical hierarchy: 1) the establishment of the family system; 2) the first incidence of violence; 3) stabilization of the violence; 4) the choice point; 5) leaving the system; and 6) resolution or more of the same. After describing each stage in the process model, Giles-Sims presents a flow chart to illustrate the cybernetic and morphogenic processes that help explain how patterns of violence develop, stabilize, and change over time. Detailed appendices describe research design, setting, instruments, and analytical methods employed in the research.

Giles-Sims' work is commendable both for its use of a clear theoretical framework and its use of a longitudinal approach as a means for understanding the social processes that give rise to and reinforce the phenomenon of wife abuse. Although the empirical data that forms the core of Giles-Sims' book has major limitations—reliance on a small, selective, nonrandom, clinical sample; perceptions of only one system member (the wife); and possible biases and distortions from self-report data, she recognizes these shortcomings and is cautious in presenting her research. Unique in combining theoretical grounding with a longitudinal research design, Giles-Sims' book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the complexity of wife abuse and offers a provocative source of new hypotheses for further research. Both researchers and practitioners involved in the study of domestic violence will find the book an important addition to their library.

Gary L. Bowen, Ph.D. is a Senior Research Scientist with Westat, Inc., Organizational Research Group, Rockville, Maryland.

RESOURCES

Hatpin: A Self-Defense Catalog for Women, 1984, 13 pp. Order from Hatpin, PO Box 6144, Santa Fe, NM 87502. This catalog includes ordering information on non-lethal items for self-defense ranging from whistles and mace to electronic immobilizers and security systems for homes and cars. It also includes a number of publications on self defense, incest, and other forms of sexual assault.

When You Get Hurt I Hurt Too, by Linda Bivens and Betsy Kelly. 1984, 4 pp. Order from the YWCA Women's Support Shelter, 405 Broadway, Tacoma, WA 98402. This pamphlet looks at wife battery from the perspective of her children and calls attention to their needs both in and outside the home.

Best Kept Secret, produced by ABC 20/20 News Magazine. 15 minutes, 16mm film or videocassette, purchase price: film \$275; video \$250; 3-day rental \$50. Order from MTI Teleprograms Inc., 108 Wilmot Road, Deerfield, IL 60015 (800/323-5343). This film includes interviews with parents of children who were sexually-exploited at a Manhattan Beach, California preschool. It recreates the scenario which leads to over a decade of child sexual abuse in the town.

Strategies for Free Children: A Leader's Guide to Child Assault Prevention, by the Child Assault Prevention Project. 1983, 284 pp., \$19.95 plus \$1.90 postage (bulk rates available). Order from Intrepid Clearinghouse, PO Box 02180, Columbus, OH 43202. This "how-to" manual for educators, parents, mental health professionals, and anyone else working with elementary school children who want to start prevention programs in their

communities provides information about child sexual assault prevention and children's rights; getting a project started; detailed workshops for children, teachers, and parents; crisis intervention guidelines; reporting child assault; evaluation and follow-up.

If She is Raped: A Book for Husbands, Fathers, and Male Friends, by Alan W. McEvoy and Jeff B. Brookings. 1984, 131 pp., \$9.95. Order from Learning Publications, Inc., 3030 South Ninth, Kalamazoo, MI 49009 (616/372-1045). This is a practical and readable guide for male friends and relatives of rape victims. It was written to help men understand and cope with the rape of a loved one, and to increase their awareness of the important role that they can play in the recovery process. This helpful book tells what it means to be raped, how to talk to the victim and others about the rape, what long-term consequences to expect, and how to overcome fears about resuming a sexual relationship with the victim.

Newsletter, Society for Prevention of Violence, published by the Begun Institute, John Carroll University, Cleveland, OH. One-year subscription \$10; Society membership \$25. For ordering information, contact SPV, 3109 Mayfield Road, Cleveland, OH 44118 (216/371-5545). The Society for Prevention of Violence focuses on the learned and rewarded aspects of violence and seeks to combat these through reeducation. It supports action-oriented programs such as neighborhood councils, community programs centering on conflict resolution, and school programs promoting the development of interpersonal skills among students. The Society also provides information on seminars,

conferences, and other programs designed to prevent violence.

Resource Center News, a publication of the Pornography Resource Center. Annual Resource Center membership \$25 (student rates available); quarterly newsletter free to members. First published in October, 1984, *Resource Center News* disseminates information on pornography. Objectives of the Resource Center itself are to educate women, men, and children about the reality of pornography in their lives and communities; to define and address the needs of all groups of women in relation to pornography; to empower women to speak and act against the abuse and discrimination of pornography; to dispel the myth that women choose to be abused; to encourage the efforts of men who reject the practice of pornography; to work towards creating a vision and reality of human intimacy and sexuality that is based on respect, equality, and choice.

Woman's Counsel: A Legal Guide for Women, by Gayle L. Niles and Douglas H. Snider. 1984, 240 pp., \$8.50. Order from Arden Press, Inc., 1127 Pennsylvania, Denver, CO 80203 (303/837-8913). This book is a practical guide to the law as it relates to the legal problems most often encountered by women. It provides information on legal options in divorce, sexual harassment, rape, wife battery and many other issues. Names and addresses of organizations that provide legal assistance or information are included.

Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme is a bilingual feminist quarterly published in Canada. The Summer '83 issue is devoted to the topic of power and its abuses,

specifically as manifested through sexual abuse, wife hattery, rape, incest, sexual harassment, media exploitation of women, pornography, and legal inequities. This 114-page issue of the journal is available for \$4 plus \$2 postage from CWS/CF, Suite 204, Founders College, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario, M3J 1P3 (416/667-3725).

Institutional Liability for Sexual Assault: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Legal Cases, by Camille LeGrand. 1984, 32 pp., \$25. Order from the Institute for the Study of Sexual Assault, 403 Ashbury Street, San Francisco, CA 94117. This bibliography chronicles the significant U.S. appellate court decisions relevant to the responsibility of hospitals and other institutions for injury to patients, and in particular injuries that result from sexual assaults to patients.

Bibliography of Bibliographies on Criminal Violence, compiled by the Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Criminal Violence. 1984, \$3 (payable to "Trustees, University of Pennsylvania"). Order from Mrs. Selma Pastor, Librarian, Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law, University of Pennsylvania, 3733 Spruce Street, Room 437, Philadelphia, PA 19104. This compilation of bibliographies grew out of ongoing research at the Center for Interdisciplinary Study of Criminal Violence at the University of Pennsylvania. Through online literature searches and other sources, the Center has identified 105 citations to bibliographies on topics including child abuse, sex offenses and offenders, and spouse abuse, all published between 1965 and 1983 and providing more than 50,000 references covering the period from 1600 to 1983.

Self-Defense Teacher's Guide: Proceedings of the National Self-Defense Teaching Practicum. edited by Sunny Graff, Sandy Dickinson, and Sarah McKinley. 1983, 125 pp., \$11.95. Order from Intrepid Clearinghouse, PO Box 02180, Columbus, OH 43202 (301/956-3170). This manual provides a number of techniques and strategies for teaching self-defense to

women. It is organized into three categories: self-defense techniques, special populations, and teaching related issues. Section 1 includes such methods as confrontation training, defense against guns, knives, and multiple attackers, etc.; Section 2 includes guidelines for children, seniors, battered women, chemically dependent women, overweight women, and blind women; and Section 3 addresses such issues as sexual harassment, neighborhood organizing, and developing a feminist curriculum.

The State of Families, 1984-1985, by R. Morton Darrow for Family Service America. 1984, 88 pp., \$10 for the first copy and \$.25 for each additional copy (\$1.25 for postage and handling). Order from Family Service America, 44 East 23rd Street, New York, NY 10010 (212/674-6100). This report presents an overview of the current political, social, economic, and technological trends affecting family life in North America. Future forecasts are included as well. Issues addressed include elder care, redefining family structures, child care, minority populations, family violence, etc.

Broken Dreams: The Secret of Dating Violence. 70 slide presentation with synchronized sound track (for manual or automatic showing) and an 18 pp. discussion booklet, purchase price \$130 (includes shipping and handling), for information on rental fees, call the Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women (612/646-6177). Order from Duluth Women's Coalition, Box 3205, Duluth MN 55803. This slide/tape presentation designed for high school-age students explores the problem of dating violence using high school students as actors and narrator. Its purpose is to introduce the topic of dating violence and stimulate thought and discussion among young people about their own values and expectations in relationships.

Child Sexual Abuse Prevention Resources, a publication of the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse. 1984, \$2 (hulk prices available). Order from the NCPAB, 332

South Michigan Ave., Suite 1250, Chicago, IL, 60604. A compilation of over 125 sources for materials intended to help prevent child sexual maltreatment, many of them designed to teach children how to protect themselves from sexual abuse. The materials range in format from audiovisuals to puppets to coloring books. Instructional materials for parents, teachers, and child care workers are also included.

Malpractice and Liability in Child Protective Services, edited by Wayne Holder and Kathleen Hayes. 1984, 186 pp., \$27.50 (hardcover) plus \$2.50 shipping and handling (prepaid orders only). Order from Bookmakers Guild, 1430 Florida Ave., Suite 202, Longmont, CO 80501. This book examines malpractice issues currently facing professionals who work in the area of child protection. Contributors to this volume represent an interdisciplinary mix of professions including law, social work, education, and psychology.

Chain Chain Change: For Black Women Dealing with Physical and Emotional Abuse, by Evelyn C. White. 1985, 76 pp., \$4.95. Order from The Seal Press, 312 S. Washington, Seattle, WA 98104. This is the first book on domestic violence as it is experienced, interpreted, and challenged by Black women. It provides practical advice on recognizing signs of abuse, dealing with the police and legal system, and getting support from family, friends, and the church. The author analyzes Black women's self image, the batterer's syndrome as it applies to Black men, racism in shelters, and other topics particularly relevant to the Black experience. *Chain Chain Change* is one of three books in the New Leaf Series devoted to the topic of family violence.

Protecting Children, quarterly newsletter of the American Humane Association. One-year subscription, \$8. Order from the American Humane Association, 925 E. Hampden Ave., Denver, CO 80231. This valuable periodical provides current information on Congressional activity affecting children and families.

CALENDAR

February 20-22

"Counseling the Sexual Abuse Survivor: A Conference on Clinical and Social Issues" is the title of a three-day workshop being held in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The program will focus on the incidence and social context of sexual abuse, the long-term effects of sexual victimization, innovative treatment approaches, research on perpetrators, and legal options for survivors. Presenters will include Florence Rush, Lucy Berliner, Sandra Butler, David Finkelhor, and Louise Armstrong. The workshop is being sponsored by the Clinic Community Mental Health Centre and the registration fee is \$175. For further information contact KCMHC at 545 Broadway, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3C 0W3.

February 28 - March 1

This two-day conference entitled "The Second National Conference on Resolving EEO and Other Employment Disputes without Litigation" will be held in Washington, DC. Sponsored by the Educational Fund for Individual Rights, a non-profit foundation, and 26 business, government, and labor organizations, the conference will focus on ways to carry out effective EEO policies and improve employee relations techniques. The registration fee is \$695 for all sessions; a \$500 rate is available for educational and public interest organizations. For further information, write Luceil D. Sullivan, The National Conference on Resolving EEO Disputes, Suite 550, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115.

March 7-10

"National Conference on Family Violence and Theological Education" is the title of a three-day conference being hosted by the Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence. The conference will be held in San Antonio, TX and is designed to bring together administrators, faculty, and upper-level students from theological schools and seminaries throughout the country to develop strategies for incorporating family violence prevention into seminary curricula. The cost for registration, room, and board is \$75. Scholarships are available. Write to CPSDV, 1914 N. 34th Street, Suite 205, Seattle, WA 98105.

March 14-15/April 18-19

Forensic Mental Health Association is sponsoring two one-day workshops entitled "Child Sexual Abuse: Investigation and Initial Intervention" and "Child Sexual Abuse: Treatment and Long-Term Management." Both workshops will be held in Portland, OR in March and Tempe, AZ in April. Faculty will be Drs. Nicholas Groth and Suzanne M. Sgroi. Registration is \$70 for each one-day workshop and \$120 for both; special early registration rates are available. Contact Robert E. Freeman-Longo, PO Box 12951, Salem, OR 97309 (503/581-6115).

April 11-14

"Babler III" is the third annual mid-west retreat for men's programs working to end men's violence against

women. It will be held in Babler State Park near St. Louis, MO. The program is designed to allow for relaxation as well as education. For more information, contact Dick Goodsey, Family Self-Help Center, PO Box 1185, Joplin, MO 64802 (417/782-1772).

April 21-22

The "New York State Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect: The 2nd Decade of Leadership" will be held in Albany, NY to reflect on the past 10 years of accomplishment in prevention and treatment of child abuse and neglect and to set an agenda for leadership in the next ten. For more information, call or write the Family Life Development Center, Dept. of Human Development and Family Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853 (607/256-7794).

May 2-4

Harvard Medical School is offering a course entitled, "Abuse and Victimization: A Life-Span Perspective" in Boston, MA. The course is structured to explore the impact of personal victimization including physical and sexual abuse, wife battery and other types of assaults on human development and functioning. It is geared toward medical, legal, mental health, and social service professionals and will include as presenters David Finkelhor, Richard Gelles, T. Berry Brazelton, and Dante Cicchetti. The registration fee is \$275; CEU credits are available. Write Harvard Medical School, Dept. of Continuing Education, Boston, MA 02115.

Guidelines for Authors

The editor will be pleased to consider article-length submissions of research and analysis of relevant data and innovative program and legislative responses to wife abuse, child battery and sexual abuse, elder abuse, sexual assault, marital rape, pornography, prostitution, workplace harassment, and other related topics. In addition, project and research notes, book reviews, review articles, and conference and seminar announcements will be considered for publication.

Two copies of an article should be mailed to the editor, *RESPONSE to the Victimization of Women and Children*, Center for Women Policy Studies, 2000 P Street, NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036.

The paper should be presented in a form which is readily understandable to the informed reader and useful to the applied practitioner. Specialist terminology should be avoided. Authors are encouraged to use frequent subheadings to increase the readability of the paper.

All copy, including footnotes, must be typed double spaced on 8 1/2 by 11 inch white paper allowing generous margins. The first sheet should carry the title of the paper, the name, professional degree, title, organizational affiliation, address, and phone number of the author(s). If there is more than one author, one should be designated to receive inquiries and correspondence from the Editor.

Footnotes should be typed on a separate sheet(s) following the last page of the text. Footnotes or references will be allowed—not both.

Transmittal letters to the editor should contain the following language: "The undersigned author(s) hereby transfers, assigns or otherwise conveys total copyright ownership of her (his) submission entitled _____ as original scholarship by the stated author(s), to the Center for Women Policy Studies for review, editing, and in its sole discretion, publication in *RESPONSE to the Victimization of Women and Children*."

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