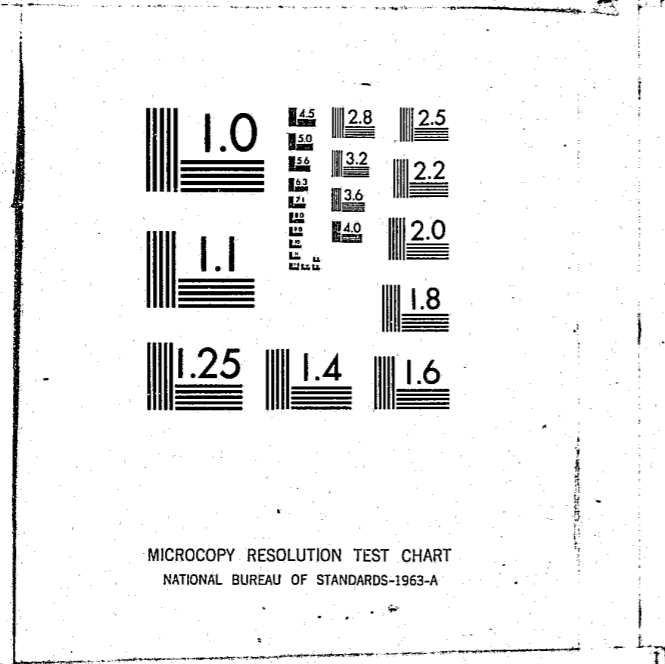


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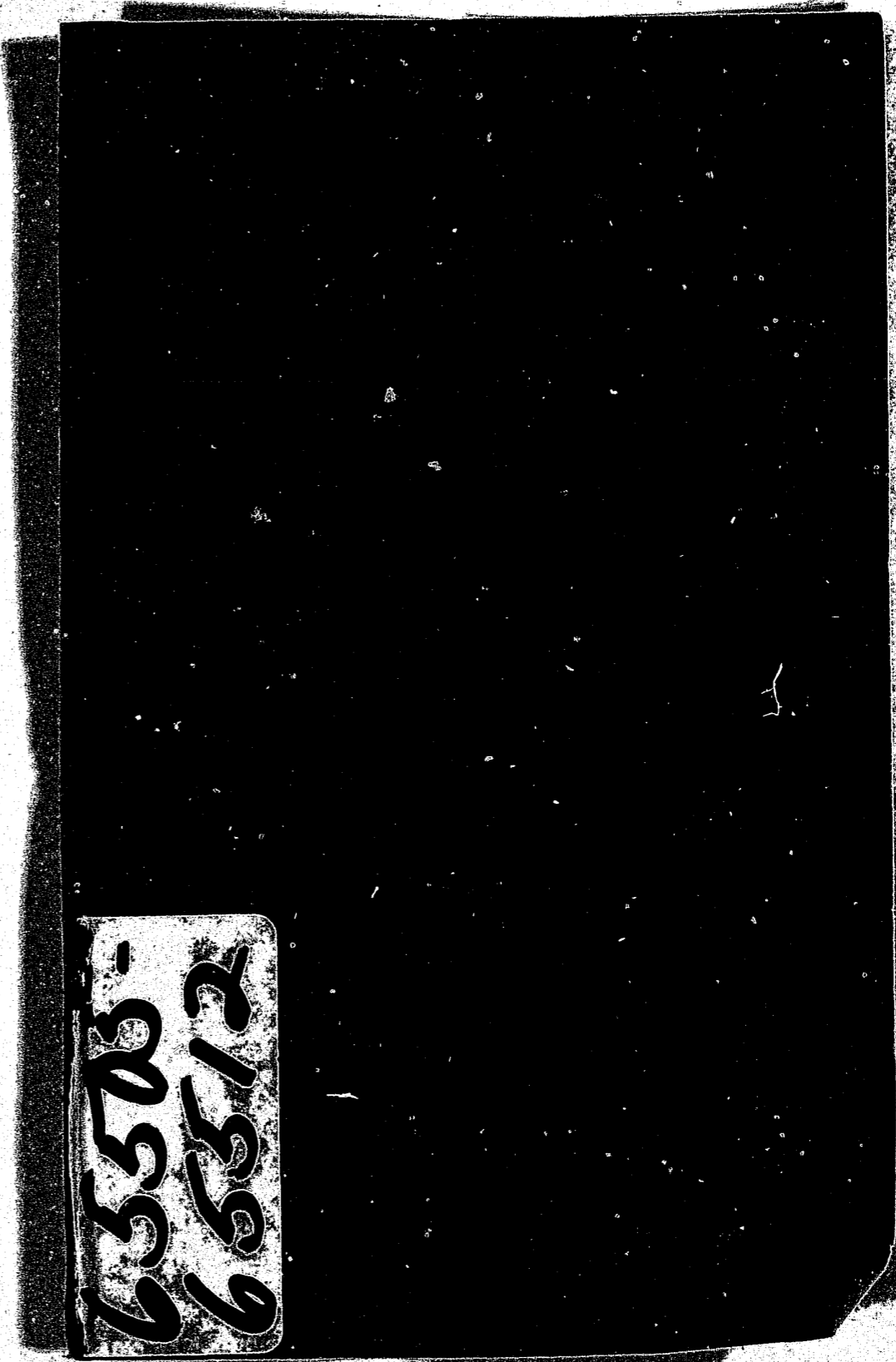
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**DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, 1978**

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**HEARINGS**  
BEFORE THE  
**SUBCOMMITTEE ON**  
**CHILD AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**  
OF THE  
**COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES**  
**UNITED STATES SENATE**  
NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION  
ON  
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO  
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
MARCH 4, 1978  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
MARCH 8, 1978

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(II)

CONTENTS

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WITNESSES

MARCH 4, 1978

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

	Page
Presley, Hon. Robert, a senator from the California State Legislature.....	3
Stephens, Betty J., chairperson, California Commission on Status of Women.....	5
Dales, Alyce M., former victim of spouse abuse, Laguna Beach, Calif.....	11
Y'Barra, Hon. Steve, assistant to the secretary, Department of Health and Welfare, State of California, accompanied by Benton Clark, chief, protective services section; and Joyce Paomer, child protective services, Department of Health and Welfare.....	12
Waters, Hon. Maxine, assemblywoman, California State Legislature.....	29
LeFils, JoAnn, executive director, Emergency Shelter Program, Inc., Hayward, Calif.; Beverly Monasmith, director, Rosasharon, North Hollywood, Calif.; and Susan Naples, Women's Transitional Living Center, Orange, Calif.....	32
Fil, Sabrina, board of directors, YWCA.....	71
Soccio, Lina, deputy probation officer, adult probation, Riverside County, Riverside, Calif.; and Frederick H. Samuels, assistant unit supervisor, California Department of Correction, parole and community services division, Riverside, Calif.....	72
Back, Susan Malone, Ph. D., Director, HEW Services to Battered Women Project, Denver, Colo.; Marilynne Brandon Hampton, sociologist, University of California, Riverside, president, Riverside County Coalition for Alternatives to Domestic Violence, Riverside, Calif.; and Barbara Star, Ph. D., school of social work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.....	87
Muniz, Diane, director, East Los Angeles Hotline, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif., Sue Martin and Bea Robinson, Women's Alliance (WOMA) San Jose, Calif.; Barrie Levy, coordinator, Southern California Coalition on Battered Women, Santa Monica, Calif.; and Nancy Clinch, California Coalition Against Domestic Violence, San Diego, Calif., a panel.....	151
Chandler, Margrit, Huntington Beach, Calif.....	162

MARCH 8, 1978

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Kennedy, Hon. Edward M., a U.S. Senator from the State of Massachusetts.....	167
Anderson, Hon. Wendell R., a U.S. Senator from the State of Minnesota.....	170
Mikulski, Hon. Barbara A., a Representative in Congress from the State of Maryland.....	178
Steers, Hon. Newton I., Jr., a Representative in Congress from the State of Maryland.....	186
Barnett, Hon. Wallace, a senator from the Nebraska State Legislature.....	196
Cardenas, Hon. Blandina, Commissioner, Administration for Children, Youth, and Families; and Hon. Gerald R. Klerman, M.D., Administrator, Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.....	241

(III)

Davoren, Elizabeth, social worker consultant, family issues, National Association of Social Workers; Sara-Ann Determan, Esq., cochairperson, Committee on Rights of Women, Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, American Bar Association; Ira S. Lourie, M.D., American Psychiatric Association; Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Ph. D., University of Delaware, representing the Coalition of Family Organizations; Bonnie Tinker, chairperson, Steering Committee, National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Portland, Ore.; and Hon. Suzanne B. Wilson, vice mayor, San Jose, Calif., chair, Public Safety Policy Committee, National League of Cities, a panel.....	Page 268 350
Harriet, a battered wife, St. Paul, Minn.....	352
Beardslee, Cheryl, staff member, Women's Advocates, St. Paul, Minn., Jennifer Fleming, director, Women's Resource Network, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. Kathleen M. Fojtik, commissioner, board of commissioners, Washtenaw County, coordinator, Domestic Violence Project, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich.; Curdina Hill, vice president, Casa Myrna Vazquez, Boston, Mass.; Sandy Ramos, executive director, Shelter Our Sisters, Hackensack, N.J.; and James C. Walsh, A.C.S.W., C.S.W., executive director, Victims Information Bureau of Suffolk, Inc., Suffolk County, N.Y., a panel.....	468

STATEMENTS

American Bar Association, Sara-Ann Determan, co-chairperson, committee on rights of women, section of individual rights and responsibilities prepared statements.....	279
American Psychiatric Association, Ira S. Lourie, M.D., representing, prepared statements.....	285
Anderson, Hon. Wendell R., a U.S. Senator from the State of Minnesota.....	170
Prepared statement.....	173
Back, Susan Malone, Ph. D., Director, HEW Services to Battered Women Project, Denver, Colo.; Marilynne Brandon Hampton, sociologist, University of California, Riverside, president, Riverside County Coalition for Alternatives to Domestic Violence, Riverside, Calif.; and Barbara Star, Ph. D., school of social work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.....	87
Prepared statement.....	96
Barnett, Hon. Wallace, a senator from the Nebraska State Legislature.....	196
Prepared statement.....	199
Beardslee, Cheryl, staff member, Women's Advocates, St. Paul, Minn., Jennifer Fleming, director, Women's Resource Network, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. Kathleen M. Fojtik, commissioner, board of commissioners, Washtenaw County, coordinator, Domestic Violence Project, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich.; Curdina Hill, vice president, Casa Myrna Vazquez, Boston, Mass.; Sandy Ramos, executive director, Shelter Our Sisters, Hackensack, N.J.; and James C. Walsh, A.C.S.W., C.S.W., executive director, Victims Information Bureau of Suffolk, Inc., Suffolk County, N.Y., a panel.....	352
Prepared statements.....	355
Blackhall, Edith, program administrator, child protection program, Milwaukee, Wis.....	468
California Commission on Status of Women, Betty J. Stephens, chairperson, prepared statements.....	8
Cardenas, Hon. Blandina Commissioner, Administration for Children, Youth and Families; and Hon. Gerald R. Klerman, M.D., Administrator, Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.....	241
Prepared statement.....	250
Chandler, Margrit, Huntington Beach, Calif.....	162
Citizens Against Spousal Assault, Howard County, Md., prepared statement.....	691
Dales, Alyce M., former victim of spouse abuse, Laguna Beach, Calif.....	11

70 pp  
55 pp  
65 pp  
10

Davoren, Elizabeth, social worker consultant, family issues, National Association of Social Workers; Sara-Ann Determan, Esq., cochairperson, Committee on Rights of Women, Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, American Bar Association; Ira S. Lourie, M.D., American Psychiatric Association; Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Ph. D., University of Delaware, representing the Coalition of Family Organizations; Bonnie Tinker, chairperson, Steering Committee, National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Portland, Ore.; and Hon. Suzanne B. Wilson, vice mayor, San Jose, Calif., chair, Public Safety Policy Committee, National League of Cities, a panel.....	Page 268
Domestic Violence Project, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich., Kathleen M. Fojtik, director, prepared statement.....	382
East Los Angeles Hotline, Inc., Diane Muniz, director, prepared statement.....	160
Emergency Shelter Program, Inc., Hayward, Calif., JoAnn LeFils, executive director, prepared statement.....	46
Fili, Sabrina, board of directors, YWCA.....	71
Harriet, a battered wife, St. Paul, Minn.....	350
International Association of Chiefs of Police, Glen R. Murphy, director, Bureau of Governmental Relations and legal counsel, prepared statement.....	640
Kennedy, Hon. Edward M., a U.S. Senator from the State of Massachusetts.....	167
Prepared statement.....	167
Klerman, Hon. Gerald R., M.D., Administrator, Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, prepared statement.....	260
Langley, Roger, and Richard C. Levy, co-authors of "Wife Beating: The Silent Crisis", prepared statement.....	470
LeFils, JoAnn, executive director, Emergency Shelter Program, Inc., Hayward, Calif.; Beverly Monasmith, director, Rosasharon, North Hollywood, Calif.; and Susan Naples, Women's Transitional Living Center, Orange, Calif.....	32
Prepared statement.....	46
Los Angeles County Commission on the Status of Women, Beverly Polokoff, committee chair, Ad Hoc Committee on Battered Women, prepared statement.....	674
Merritt, Kenneth A., psychologist, director, Youth and Family Services Bureau, prepared statement.....	63
Mikulski, Hon. Barbara A., a Representative in Congress from the State of Maryland.....	178
Prepared statement.....	181
Muniz, Diane, director, East Los Angeles Hotline, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.; Sue Martin and Bea Robinson, Women's Alliance (WOMA) San Jose, Calif.; Barrie Levy, coordinator, Southern California Coalition on Battered Women, Santa Monica, Calif.; and Nancy Clinch, California Coalition Against Domestic Violence, San Diego, Calif., a panel.....	151
Prepared statements.....	160
National Association of Social Workers, Inc., Elizabeth Davoren, social worker consultant, prepared statement.....	271
National League of Cities, Suzanne B. Wilson, vice mayor, San Jose, Calif., on behalf of, prepared statement.....	339
Presley, Hon. Robert, a senator from the California State Legislature.....	3
Rosasharon, Inc., North Hollywood, Calif., Beverly Monasmith, director, prepared statement.....	55
Socio, Lina, deputy probation officer, adult probation, Riverside County, Riverside, Calif.; and Frederick H. Samuels, assistant unit supervisor, California Department of Correction, parole and community services division, Riverside, Calif.....	72
Prepared statements.....	81
Star, Barbara, Ph. D., school of social work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif., prepared statement.....	148
Steers, Hon. Newton I., Jr., a Representative in Congress from the State of Maryland.....	186
Prepared statement.....	188
Stephens, Betty J., chairperson, California Commission on Status of Women.....	5
Prepared statement.....	8
University of Delaware, Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Ph. D., individual and family studies, prepared statement.....	308

6 DP  
65512  
65506  
65509  
7 DP  
2 DP  
65508

Victims Information Bureau of Suffolk, James C. Walsh, A.C.S.W., C.S.W., executive director, prepared statement.....	447
Waters, Hon. Maxine, assemblywoman, California State Legislature.....	29
Women's Advocates, St. Paul, Minn., Cheryl Beardslee, staff member, prepared statement.....	355
Women's Resource Network, Philadelphia, Pa., Jennifer Fleming, director, prepared statement.....	366
Y'Barra, Hon. Steve, assistant to the secretary, Department of Health and Welfare, State of California, accompanied by Benton Clark, chief, protective services section; and Joyce Paomer, child protective services, Department of Health and Welfare.....	12
Prepared statement.....	18

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Articles, publications, etc.:	
Assault Crisis Center, statistical information on domestic violence.....	389
Battered Wives: Help for the Victim Next Door, by Marcia Rockwood, from Ms. Gazette.....	656
Battered Women and Children Conference, report on, from the New Mexico Commission on the Status of Women and Bureau of Indian Affairs, Albuquerque, N. Mex.....	697
Blaming the Victim: Parallels in Crimes Against Women—Rape and Battering, by Mildred Daley Pagelow, sociology department, University of California, Riverside, Calif.....	608
Battered Women: A New Perspective, by Mildred Daley Pagelow, sociology department, University of California, Riverside, Calif.....	521
California Penal Code, excerpt from.....	75
Domestic Violence: the hidden crime, by the Assault Crisis Center, Ann Arbor, Mich.....	421
Domestic Violence Project: a summary of the project's organization and activities, by Susan Wallendorf, volunteer.....	398
How I Stopped Beating My Wife, Interview with Bill M., by Ann Gericimos, from Ms. Gazette.....	653
Most American Violence Happens in the Home, "One of These Days—POW Right in the Kisser," by Judith Gingold, from Ms. Gazette.....	651
Phenomenon of the Abused Adolescent: A Clinical Study, by Ira S. Lourie, M.D., from Victimology: An International Journal, vol. II, No 2, summer 1977.....	295
Preliminary Report on Battered Women, by Mildred Daley Pagelow, sociology department, University of California, Riverside, Calif.....	555
Safe House: A Nonviolence Milestone, from the Ann Arbor News, November 15, 1977.....	397
Secondary Battering: Breaking the Cycle of Domestic Violence, by Mildred Daley Pagelow, sociology department, University of California, Riverside, Calif.....	484
Shelter Services for Battered Wives, from the Ann Arbor News, November 7, 1977.....	306
Spouse Abuse: Couples in Conflict, by the VIBS Counseling Center, Hauppauge, N.Y.....	458
Unforgettable Letters from Battered Wives, from the Ms. Gazette, December 1976.....	647
Women Alive! A License for Violence, a Chiswick Women's Aid Film, introduction, analysis and commentary by Gloria Steinem.....	660
Women's Resource Network: A National Resource in Response to Family Violence.....	377

63508

Testimony Prepared for the  
Senate Sub-Committee on Child  
and Human Development  
March 8, 1978

## X Violence in the Family

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I am pleased that after researching the area of family violence for 8 years, I have been requested to testify before the Senate regarding pending Domestic Violence legislation. I am here representing COFO, Coalition of Family Organizations, which is composed of the American Home Economic Association, National Council on Family Relations, American Associations of Marriage & Family Counselors and Family Service Association, which are deeply committed to both research on and providing service to families and their members.

Introduction

Although extensive media coverage of family violence is a recent phenomena, an examination of court records, newspaper articles and laws suggest that as long as there have been families there has probably been family violence. It certainly pre-dates violence on TV, the movies or magazines.

An examination of early laws also suggest that family violence is not just a contemporary phenomena.

A 1646 law attempted to help parents control their rebellious children, noting that unless the parents "have been very unchristianly negligent in the education of such children or so provoked them by extreme and cruel correction," any child over 16 years of age and of sufficient understanding who cursed, smited and would not obey his natural mother or father "would be put to death" (Brenner, 1970:37).

In 1874, public reaction to the story of Mary Ellen, the nine-year-old rescued from her physically abusive parents by appealing to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was instrumental in the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The cost of incarcerating wife beaters and providing for their families was of such great concern that in 1885 the Pennsylvania legislature suggested public whippings as an alternative punishment (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974:45).

While much attention was given to legislative remedies for wife beating, husband beating did not go unnoticed. A favorite theme of turn-of-the-century comic strips such as Katzenjammer Kids and Bringing Up Father, was the husband who endured verbal and physical abuse from his wife. The popularity of these domestic relations comics was most likely sustained because they approximated, albeit in a comic, non-serious manner, common family situations. The movies are full of heroes slapping their mate -- The Love Machine has several scenes where the woman is first seduced then beaten in true James Bond fashion. Likewise, hardly a

"girl next door" movie of the 50's or "beach blanket" film of the 60's was without a scene where the heroine was insulted or perceived herself to be insulted -- she hauls off and slaps the offending male in the face -- he turns, head lowered and leaves. We are all satisfied that justice has prevailed.

In spite of the above attention paid to violence among family members, nearly a century passed before family violence was acknowledged as a serious social problem.

#### Extensiveness of Violence in Families

Given the recent interest in family violence it is appropriate to ask just how extensive is family violence? Is the problem serious enough to justify all the attention recently focused on it?

#### Marital Violence

The data below (see Table I) suggest that marital violence is not selective. Its presence is felt in large cities as well as the suburbs and is found in all geographic areas.

#### Table I here

The reports listed represented only a selection of existing data. Although the different methods of presenting the findings and different sources do not allow comparisons across studies, it is quite evident that marital violence is a wide-spread, all-prevailing phenomena. Three studies listed (Steinmetz, 1977b; 1977c; Straus et al., 1977b) are based on samples which allow estimates to be made for larger population. Applying these data, to the

total married population which is 47 million couples my data indicates that 3.3 million wives and over a quarter million husbands experienced severe beatings from their spouse. Based on the National representative study done by my colleagues Straus and Gelles and myself, over 1.7 million individuals had faced a knife or gun and over 2 million had been beaten up. Since only intact families were surveyed in these three studies, the extrapolated findings only apply to couples presently living together. As a result, these data probably greatly underestimate the total number of individuals who have been violently attacked by a spouse in a previous marriage, either because they were eliminated from the sample because they are no longer married or because they were questioned about their relationship with a current spouse.

#### Parent-Child Violence

Corporal punishment, which fulfills the generally accepted definition of family violence "intent to inflict physical injury" and which differs only in degree of severity from child abuse is an important aspect of family violence. First it is the most prevalent form of family violence. Numerous studies (Blumberg, 1964-65; Erlanger, 1974; Stark and McEvoy, 1970) have indicated that between 84 and 97 percent of all parents have used physical punishment at some point in the child's life. A high percentage of these families continued using corporal punishment for disciplining their children until tenth grade (Bachman, 1967) and twelfth grade (Straus, 1971; Steinmetz, 1971, 1974a).

Corporal punishment is also the most accepted form of family violence. Parents are expected to control and mold their children and they are given considerable freedom in selecting the

mechanism they use to obtain this control. Unlike Sweden where a parent can be imprisoned for a month for striking a child, spanking is considered to be an acceptable way of disciplining children and the privilege to spank has been recently extended to school teachers and school bus drivers.

A final consideration is the existence of a positive relationship between corporal punishment and other forms of family violence. Severe physical punishment marks the childhoods of numerous adults who commit physically violent acts on family members and strangers. Several researchers have stated that physical punishment is at one end of the continuum, the other end being child abuse (Gelles, 1973, 1975a; Gil, 1970; Straus, et al., 1977a). With increasing stress, physical punishment can easily develop into child abuse, as suggested by estimates of child abuse presented in Table II.

Table II here

The data in Table II suggest a range from an optimistic 6,000 per year (Gil, 1970) to a more realistic 500,000 based on Light's (1974) reanalysis of Gil's data. Probably the most accurate data for estimating child abuse is that provided by Straus, Gelles and myself (1977b) which is based on parents' reports of specific "disciplinary" techniques. Our data has two limitations when estimating child abuse. The first, discussed above, is the limiting of the sample to intact families. The second is the collection of data on children between 3 and 17. Child abuse appears to occur more frequently in single parent families and among infants and toddlers (perhaps because they are at greater risk for injuries

requiring medical attention, and therefore detection). Therefore, these estimates accurately reflect abuse which occurs among single parent families, and those in the infants and toddlers stage of the life cycle.

Sibling Violence

Probably the form of family violence considered to be most normal is violence between sibs. Yet an examination of Table III suggest that we tolerate a considerable amount of extremely violent acts if they occur between brothers and sisters. These same acts if they occurred between husband and wife or parent and child would result in criminal charges, and social service intervention. If we were to see a grade school child with bruises and perhaps a black eye and were told that his parent had inflicted the injury we would immediately be filled with rage and disgust. If, however, are told that the injuries resulted from a flight with a brother or sister -- the typical reaction is to nod and remark "Kids will be kids."

Table III here

Our complacency regarding sibling violence needs to be jarred. Children are capable of violent and often fatal attacks on sibs. Although only 0.3 percent reported actually using a knife or gun in the national study (Straus et al., 1977b) extrapolating this percent to 36-1/3 million children between 3-17 who have siblings suggests that an estimated 109,000 children actually used a knife or gun on a sibling during the survey year. When the analysis was based on "ever happened" rather than limited to the survey year, 18 percent of the families reported siblings "beating up" each other, and 5 percent reportedly faced a gun or knife wielded



by a brother or sister. Thus 6.5 million children have been "beaten up" by a sibling and nearly 2 million children sometime during their childhood have faced a gun or knife.

Battered Elderly Parent

Our knowledge about the battered elderly parent mirrors our knowledge of the extent of child abuse in the early 60's or the extent of our knowledge about wife abuse in the early 70's. If we were to label the 60's as the decade of interest on child abuse, and the 70's as decade of wife abuse studies, then I predict, given the generally increasing concern for the elderly and more specifically concern of abuse of elderly in public institutions, that the 80's will be the decade of the Battered Parent.

There are several parallels between the battered child and battered parent. First, both are in a dependent position - relying on their caretaker for basic survival needs. Second, both are assumed to be protected by virtue of the love, gentleness, and caring which we assumed that the family provides. A third point is both the dependent child and the dependent elderly adult can be a source of emotional, physical and financial stress to the caretaker. While the costs of caring for one's children are at least a recognized burden, the emotional and economical responsibility for the care of one's elderly parents over a prolonged period (a problem not likely to be faced by most families in the past) has not been acknowledged.

Some of this battering takes the form of benign neglect-inadequate knowledge about caring for the elderly which results in harm.

The English with their typical dry humor first labeled the problem "granny hashing", but have begun to refer to this growing problem as "gram-slaming". However, England, recognizing the stress placed on the caretaking children, does provide periodic respite care. Unfortunately, in the U.S. the care of over 22 million individuals over 65 (of which only about 5 percent are institutionalized) is left to chance. Based on population and economic trends one can predict the following:

- 1 - more elderly people, a higher cost of living and a greater demand for alternative housing for elderly.
- 2 - higher cost of living requiring that a greater percentage of income be allocated to basic necessities with a smaller amount being available for 2 cars, vacations, single family homes and college for their children.
- 3 - more women working and/or looking forward to resuming work when children are launched to meet these expended costs.

With increasing conflict between the needs of parents and the goals of their children we can predict an increase in the amount of violence children use to control their elderly parents unless adequate support systems are available.

Homicides

Homicide, the most extreme form of violence, is also a part of husband-wife interaction. Domestic quarrels were a factor in 31 percent of 255 homicides occurring in Atlanta, Georgia during 1972 (Boston Globe, 1973), and based on F.B.I. reports accounted for 13 percent of homicides during 1969 (Truniger, 1971). In Detroit, 23 percent of the homicides were between husband and wife (Wilt and Bannon, 1976).

Wolfgang (1958), in an investigation of homicides occurring between 1948 and 1952, found that 24.7 of all victims and offenders were members of the same family and in 18 percent of the incidents they were spouses. There were no differences between the percent of husbands or wives as offenders. Based on F.B.I. statistics, over 15 percent of the homicides in 1975 were between husband and wife. In 7.8 percent of the cases the husbands were victims, while in 8.0 percent of the cases the victims were wives (Vital Statistics Reports, 1976). We do know that filicide is second to spousal homicide as the predominant form of familial homicide (Wolfgang, 1958) and over 2,000 were killed by their parents in 1975 (Besharov, 1975). Although nation-wide statistics are not available for sibling homicides, three percent of the homicides, which occurred in Philadelphia between 1948-52 (Wolfgang, 1958), and 3 percent of the homicides occurring in New York City during 1965 (Bard, 1971) were sibling homicides.

Why should we be concerned with Family Violence?

In spite of the pervasiveness of family violence and its effect on a large number of individuals, the cost to society goes beyond the destruction faced by individuals and their family, and extends to rape, murder, political assassination, severe mental

disorders and suicide.

A childhood characterized by relentless brutality, personal experience with violent death and extremely unfavorable home conditions were found to be common background factors for 33 adolescents who committed murder (Bender, 1959). Sargent (1962) in a study of children who killed, reported that not only did parents use extreme cruelty towards the child, but their cruelty was condoned by other family members. Studies of adolescents who committed parricide (Tanay, 1975; Sadoff, 1971), reveal that the victim parent was cruel and frequently beat other members of the family especially the child's mother. Climent and Ervin, (1972) found that three-fourths of a sample composed of 30 individuals who were admitted to the emergency room as a result of violent behavior had been assaulted by their fathers, and one-seventh had been assaulted by their mothers. Only one-sixth of the control group of 30 emergency room admittances were assaulted by fathers and only one individual was assaulted by the mother in this study. Palmer (1962) found that murderers were more likely to have suffered severe physical beating and traumatic incidents than the control group which consisted of their brothers.

Brutalizing childhoods were found to be characteristic of rapists (Brownmiller, 1975; Hartogs, 1951); split personalities (Schreiber, 1973) and suicide (Gayford, 1975; Bender and Curran, 1940; MacDonald, 1967). A study of the childhood environment of 14 political assassins revealed disorganized, broken families, parental abuse and rejection and marginal integration into society (Steinmetz, 1977b).

Cycle of Family Violence

Gayford (1975) in a study of battered wives discovered that both the batterer and victim had violent childhoods. Owens and Straus (1975) in a secondary analyses of a survey conducted for the Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence reported a strong association between exposure to violence, either as an observer or a victim, during childhood and violent behavior as an adult, a finding supported by Sedgley (1977) in a secondary analysis of NORC data. These patterns were found to continue over several generations in studies of child abuse -- a cycle in which the battering parents had experienced abuse from their own parents (Craft, 1969; Bryant, 1963; Oliver and Taylor, 1971; Silver, *et al.*, 1969; Wasserman, 1967; Zalba, 1966). Wilt and Bannon (1976) note that over one-fourth of the individuals who committed assault or murder reported having frequent arguments with their parents. Furthermore, their analysis of 90 intrafamilial homicides, revealed that 62 percent had been preceded by previous assaults on the same family member. Even in less violent forms, the use of physical force is passed on from generation to generation (Steinmetz, 1977a, 1977b).

Based on a study of 34 boys and 39 girls in a family treatment program, Gladstone expressed belief that "children who have received significant exposure to violent behavior before the age of two are likely to have identified with this pattern of response in a fashion that proves to be essentially irreversible, although a great deal can be done subsequently to contain it" (1975:375). He notes that intervention before the age of 18 months greatly enhances the possibility of modifying the child's violent behavior.

Intervention and Prevention of Family Violence

When attempting to develop mechanism for reducing family violence one must divide the mechanisms into short-term immediate needs and long-term goals.

Short-term needs for victims of family violence would include the providing of shelters for severely battered women who need immediate removal to a safe place. While this often amounts to replacing one "prison" with another, the alternative, removing the male and keeping him in prison (or providing the women with a 24 hour body guard) do not appear to be adequate alternatives. It should be noted that for spouse abuse cases, there is no reason why new statutes could not provide immediate removal of the male (or female if she is the perpetrator) and incarceration for 24 or 48 hours. This would allow the victim time to make alternative plans, as well as a cooling off period, and the opportunity to provide at least minimal legal and emotional counseling. Unfortunately, such laws do not exist. Hot-lines, with 24 hour operation for both spouse abuse and child abuse are needed. There is a need for regional directories, constantly updated, where individual communities could obtain information on shelters and support groups. Foster care and group homes for abused children must be available, as well as intensive therapy with the child and family to counteract the impact of this violence on the child. There is a need for cash grants to be available to victims of spouse abuse. Women often return home after their stay in the shelter simply because they have nowhere else to go. Even if the support group is able to efficiently arrange for welfare and child support payments, the security deposit, one month's rent in advance

and charges for installing utilities require considerably more cash than these women are able to accumulate. The need to provide short-term support services such as homemakers aids, day care, visiting nurses or homemakers would be a considerable help to "at-risk" parents as well as children who are caring for elderly parents.

Also the short-term intervention measures for reducing family violence must address the need to provide in-service training to those agencies that deal with victims of family violence: the police, the courts, the schools, hospitals, doctors, and ministers.

The measures suggested above, provide short-term, crisis oriented intervention. Unless we see, as the way to reduce family violence, mandating more and more shelters for abused women and children, we must begin to examine long-range, preventive measures. The measures being suggested, grow out of the research on family violence as well as research on violence in general. The issues being addressed include abortion for unwanted pregnancy, better birth control devices and birth control education; developing in each individual self-esteem and a better self-concept; providing non-sexist socialization of our young; providing adequate education for our children; including concepts on parenting and child development for all children in all levels of education, development of community based support groups for parenting and marital enrichment; changing our value system to deemphasize the acceptability of violence, and reordering our priorities to include a larger share of the national budget for preventive human service programs.

#### Abortion and Birth Control

Abortion is not an easy choice for any woman. Regardless of personal feelings on this topic, the research on child abuse clearly indicates that young mothers, poor mothers, uneducated and unskilled mothers, mothers without families to provide emotional and financial support, single parent mothers, mothers who did not want and/or resent the child, and mothers whose child is premature or is born with a mental or physical handicap all have a high probability of abusing the child.

The more factors from the above list, the higher the probability that the mother will abuse. Unfortunately this list also describes mothers who are now denied federally funded abortions. There must be a change in this stance. Furthermore, research into more effective, safer birth control must be continued along with comprehensive educational programs on birth control.

#### Improving Self-Esteem

Our research on abusing parents and battered wives has suggested that these individuals have low self-esteem -- a lack of an adequate self concept. It is difficult to love a child when you do not love yourself. Likewise, women who think they are worthless and deserve to be beaten are unable to find the courage to leave the batterer. My research on battered husbands is most enlightening in this respect. Men report that they stay with the battering wife for the same reasons women give for staying with an abusive husband: The children, stigma, economics.

However, when questioned, men consistently report that they could always leave when they wanted -- if things got too bad. Even men whose wives are the primary breadwinners will report this. Women, on the other hand, consistently report that they cannot leave. While many women are financially trapped, this same response is given by women who are economically independent, have established credit records and adequate resources.

#### Non-Sexist Socialization

Our sexist socialization process has really done a job on women. Marriage has been held up as the ultimate goal for women -- practically the only socially acceptable adult role for women. Women have been socialized to play the submissive, dependent role: "they cannot survive without their man" even when an objective analysis of the situation suggest otherwise. Men have been socialized into believing that they can leave an abusing home any time they desire.

Thus men believe they remain in the abusing home through free choice -- women believe they remain because they have no choice.

We must educate our children, boys and girls, to believe that one chooses to marry and stay married. It is the choice one makes because one chooses to spend one's life (or a part of it) with another individual -- not because one had no other options. I would think that any individual, man or woman, would find it insulting and degrading to know that their mate married them and remains with them because they have no other options. In order to have this prerogative to choose, we must be certain that all children receive education that will prepare them to independently

maintain an adequate standard of living.

#### Educational Needs

In an educational system which has a wide range of academic and vocational courses as well as health education, physical education, drivers education, it seems ironical that we totally neglect the two major roles which almost all adults will fill -- that of spouse and parent. We need to incorporate marriage and parenting concepts into already existing courses at all levels of education.

Some high schools have mandatory courses in marriage preparation as well as child development courses complete with "hands-on" experience with small children. The responses of teachers and students in these courses are overwhelmingly positive. Many churches now advocate (or require) that couples participate in marriage preparation encounter sessions. The focus of these sessions is not on religion or its meaning to marriage, but rather using written and verbal exercises to help couples explore their expectations of marriage and each other. Other community based programs which give mothers time out or parenting experiences include mother's day out programs; mother/child school for two year olds; pre-school programs with a strong emphasis on parenting skills and parent/child interaction; programs which evolved from the natural child birth groups and continued into the child's third or fourth year, allowing a cohort of parents to share positive and negative experiences as well as providing a support group for these couples. Parenting education groups for adolescent, pregnant girls are available in some communities as well as pro-

grams for helping substance-addicted parents adjust to the return of their children who have been placed in temporary foster care while they were institutionalized.

There needs to be an evaluation of these programs to determine their efficiency and how they might be adopted in other communities. We must also encourage people to reach out for help. In our society, we are socialized to believe that seeking help is an admission of failure. One does not seek family counseling until a crisis occurs. We must provide centers where families can seek help in a non-threatening, non-punitive atmosphere. The emphasis must shift from emergency crisis intervention to prevention. This stance is especially necessary for care-takers "at risk" of abusing a child or elderly parent.

#### Examining Our Value System and Priorities

An evaluation of our value system and our priorities is in order. There is a need to develop a sense of responsibility in our youth. It is too easy to blame T.V., the system, the ghettos for family violence, violence in the schools, and violence in the street. We must recognize that as individuals we must share in the blame. There appears to be an all pervading atmosphere of "let Uncle Same do it". While it is easy to recognize this attitude among minority families on welfare, we must also recognize that this attitude is also being fostered among affluent, middle class families. These children destroy their own and others property knowing that their parents will pay for the damage. One need only read about the vandalism in upper middle class schools to recognize that this attitude is not limited to inner city welfare children.

We must foster in our children a sense of responsibility for ones own actions. One such program, the Green Circle program developed by the National Council on Christians and Jews, is being widely adopted in school systems with positive results. This program, which starts in the lower grades, attempts to foster a sense of responsibility and care about one's self which is then extended to one's family, one's friends, one's neighborhood, etc. in an ever widening circle.

The acceptability of violence needs to be questioned. We must also examine the effect of "acceptable" violence on our society. We certainly had violence in the family before we had T.V., movies, and magazines. While we know that children who watch violence on T.V. exhibit increased aggression, we do not know whether they become child abusers or spouse beaters. However, violence in the media does act to reinforce the general acceptance of using violence to solve problems if you are bigger, stronger and "right". This attitude is, unfortunately, basic to our value system. Parents spank because it is their right as well as their duty to control "bad" children. Spouses hit because it is their right and duty to control a "bad" spouse. Police have the right and it is their duty to use physical force to control a "bad" citizen, and the military, likewise, has the right as well as the duty to use weapons to control members of "bad" countries. We need to deemphasize, at all levels, the use of physical force to control others. Similarly, while it has been suggested that laws which prohibit spouse abuse are destined to fail because you can't legislate morals, these laws serve an important function. They are a legally based public statement on the unacceptability of this behavior,

a considerable change from earlier laws which not only considered this to be permissible behavior, but even specified the weapon.

It is important to begin to consider not only the immediate needs of women and children as victims of violence, but also the effects on all family members who live in a violent home. When we focus on child abuse or wife beating the remedies suggested tend to be emergency measure such as crisis centers, emergency foster care and shelters. While these measures are certainly needed they are not a panacea. In fact, their track record has been rather poor in providing a positive alternative environment or changing violent family interaction. This is not to suggest that we should abandon these measures, rather we must place these measures in their proper perspective; one remedy within a context of total support systems -- system which encompass adult education as well as K-12 educational programs; community based, readily available family counseling centers; well trained police, legal/judicial, officers; legislation mandating provisions to insure the emotional and physical security of abused victims; long-term basic research and evaluative research for monitoring the problem of family violence as well as the success of existing programs. Somewhere in our funding efforts aimed at eliminating domestic violence, we must make the same type of commitment that is made in the physical and biological sciences. When a rocket or satellite fails, there is a complete investigation into the problem, a reevaluation of the design, and a considerable effort expended to insure the future success. I believe the time has come to place the needs of family members to have a safe, secure, violent-free home, in at least a priority equal to that of building weather rockets, or telecommunication satellites. There needs to be a

long term commitment on the part of the government to recognize that the variability of human behavior insures the failure of most programs on the first try. This commitment needs to be extended to a recognition that when a program doesn't work properly, one goes back to the drawing board, reevaluates the program, re-designs it and replenishes it with new funds.

Our Declaration of Independence states that all men are... "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." For victims trapped in a violent family, these basic rights are denied.

Table I Extensiveness of Marital Violence

Report	Locality	Degree of Marital Violence
Yantowski (cited by Martin) 1976	Washington, D.C.	75 percent of all aggravated assaults
Earden 1974	New York City	82 percent of all aggravated assaults
Eisenberg and Nicklow 1974	Detroit	85 percent of all aggravated assaults
Edmistou 1975	New York Family Courts	17,000 wife abuse complaints in 1975
Langley and Levy 1977	Dade County, Florida Citizens Dispute Settlement Center	1,000 battered women cases heard
	Salt Lake City, Utah	Police recorded 1,125 cases of wife beating a year.
	Fairfax County, VA	2,000 cases of wife beating-estimated to be under-reported by 40 percent.
Gelles 1974	New Hampshire	55 percent of 80 families experienced marital violence  21 percent beat their spouses regularly.
Straus 1974	New Hampshire	16 percent of sample of college freshmen saw their parents engage in marital violence.
Steinmetz 1977b	Random sample New Castle County, Delaware	60 percent of 57 families experienced marital violence. For 10 percent of couples physical violence was a regular occurrence.
Steinmetz 1977c	Random sample New Castle County, Delaware and County Police statistics.	severe physical abuse experienced by 7 percent of wives and 0.6 percent of husbands.
Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz 1977b	Representative sample United States	During a one year period, one out of six couples had a violent episode. 5 percent experienced severe physical abuse. 4 percent used a gun or knife.

Table II Extensiveness of Child Abuse

Report	Sample	Frequency of Child Abuse
Helper and Kempe 1968		10's of thousands
Gil 1970	National Data and interview of sub-sample	6,000/year
Newsweek 1971	New York City	7,000 cases reported during 1971
Fontana 1973	New York City	Increase of 549 percent in cases of child abuse between 1966 and 1970.
Stoener 1972		25,000 incidents per year
Parade 1972		60,000 incidents per year
Light 1974	Re-analysis of Gil's data	Over 500,000 incidents
Lynch 1975	U.S. school sample	65/abuses/100,000 school children
Baldwin and Oliver 1975	British school sample	10 abuses/100,000 school children
Bersharov 1975		300,000 incidents of abuse and neglect each year.  40,000 cases require protective services intervention each year.  2,000 deaths each year.
Straus, et al 1977b		20 percent hit with an object, 4.2 percent "beat up." 2.8 percent threatened with knife or gun on child. 2.9 used a knife or gun on child



TABLE III SIBLING VIOLENCE

Sample	Degree of Violence
57 randomly selected families (Steinmetz, 1977a)	78 percent of sibling pairs 8 or younger used physical violence.
	68 percent of sibling pairs 9-14 use physical violence.
	63 percent of sibling pairs 15 or older used physical violence.
College Freshman (Straus, 1974)	62 percent reported using physical violence during past year.
Broad-based, non-random sample of 78 adults (Steinmetz, 1977b)	72 percent reported having used physical violence on siblings.
National Representative Sample of 733 families with children between 3-17 years. (Straus, et al, 1977)	During the past year 75 percent reported using physical violence. Average of 21 acts per year. 38 percent kicked, or hit: 14 percent "beat up." 0.8 percent threatened to use gun or knife. 0.03 used gun or knife.

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