

CHAPTER 14

All in the Family: Violence against Women, Children, and the Aged

Aysan Sev'er

Learning Objectives

- To recognize positive 'myths' about families.
- To understand and be able to define different types of abuse.
- To learn about existing theories of abuse, and to distinguish the strengths and weaknesses of theories of abuse.
- To understand the difficulties of measurement of abuse.
- To develop an awareness about the incidence and consequences of wife/partner, child, and elder abuse.
- To think about possible interventions at the social and structural levels of society.

Myths about the 'Loving' Family

Although families come in many forms and shapes, there are predominant myths about the family. The myths make families appear to be more homogenous than they really are. First and foremost, people think about a heterosexual couple with children, although some families are same sex (with or without children), and some other families are child free. Families are assumed to reside all together, whereas many families are headed by mothers, some families live apart, and yet others, commute. The most entrenched myth about families is that they are loving and caring groups of related people. Folk wisdom, religions, conservative politicians, movies, the media, the music industry, and children's stories intentionally or unintentionally contribute to this myth. The vision is so potent that we even project 'traditional family' characteristics onto imaginary worlds where Bambi, the Lion King, Shrek, etc., live within familial love and devotion. The truth is that many families are indeed close and loving. Some families have a mix of loving and conflictual relationships. Nevertheless, it is also true that positive myths often hide the severe power differences among family members due to gender and age (Eichler, 1997). Researchers recognize the 'dark side of the family' (Straus et al., 1986; Gelles, 1987, 1994), where power differences sometimes translate into mental, physical, and/or sexual abuse. In extreme cases, many women and children and some men lose their lives at the hand of their spouses, parents or other family members (Statistics Canada, 2008).

In this chapter, I will review the basic definitions of intimate forms of abuse. Then, I will introduce theories that explain violence. I will then focus on the most frequent types of violence: the abuse of female partners, child abuse, and elder abuse. Violence within families extends to dating relationships, same-sex couples, and caregiving institutions. Some men, also, are victimized by their partners. However, this chapter will focus on the most frequently and most seriously targeted members of families—women, children, and the elderly. Overall, the discussion will concentrate on Canadian patterns, with some US findings, and will conclude with some suggestions to stop the violence.

Defining Violence

United Nations (UN) Definition

Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (UN, 1993) defines violence as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary

deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life'. Within this context, 'physical, sexual, and psychological violence in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, [and] marital rape', are considered a violation of human rights (UN, 1993, Articles 1 and 2).

Legal Definitions

In the Canadian Criminal Code (CCC), violence within the family is subsumed under sections 444-446 (assault, assault with a weapon, aggravated assault and sexual assault). The Criminal Code requires both an 'intent' and an 'act' for an incident to be considered a crime. For example, neither hurting someone by accident nor contemplating to hurt someone will be considered a punishable crime. The single exception to the CCC rule is treason, where intent is sufficient even without the 'act' component. As we are going to see, criminal neglect is another area which blurs the requirement of an act.

General Definitions

It is always useful to understand how dictionaries and data collection agencies have defined the important terms with which one is concerned, and for our purposes these are **abuse**, **violence**, **spousal violence**, and **neglect**.

- *Abuse*. Dictionary definitions of 'abuse' include bad practice or custom and using harsh and insulting language. By referring to custom, the definition hints at the relationship between the abuser and the abused. By reference to insults, there is recognition that the induced hurt can be psychological.
- *Violence*. Dictionary definitions of violence include rough force in action, rough treatment, harm or injury, and unlawful use of force. Like the CCC definition of assault, the definition of violence emphasizes both the act itself and the outcome (harm or injury). Yet, it does not presuppose intention.
- *Spousal violence*. Statistics Canada defines spousal violence as 'cases of murder, attempted murder, sexual and physical assault, threats, criminal harassment, and other violent offences in which the accused person is a spouse, ex-spouse, or common-law partner of the victim' (Statistics Canada, 2005).
- *Neglect*. Neglect includes commissions (acts that put dependants at risk/injury) or omissions (failing to prevent risk/injury). The subtypes of neglect are abandonment, failure to provide food, medical care, and the emotional well-being of children. Neglect is the most common form of abuse, especially when the relationship is a one-sided dependency (child on parent, or elder parent upon adult child), when it is repeated, and when the consequences are (or could have been) severe. Thus, neglect includes observable harm or imminent risk of harm to children and elders (Rose and Meezan, 1995), but can also apply to a spouse. Although difficult to prove and prosecute, CCC recognizes criminal neglect.

Feminist research and theory have played a large part in creating a greater awareness of the hierarchical power within most families, and consequently feminists question the generic terms of abuse. For example, rather than 'domestic abuse' or 'family violence', which fails to identify the most likely perpetrators or targets, they insist on such terms as 'woman abuse', 'wife abuse', 'violence against female partners', and 'child abuse' or 'elder abuse'. They insist that violence

within families: (1) is not random; (2) is not one-time, but cyclical; (3) is often severe; and (4) in general, perpetrators of violence are men and victims are women, children, and the aged (Sev'er, 2002a; Statistics Canada, 2005).

In this chapter, I will use 'abuse' and 'violence' interchangeably. Unless otherwise stated (e.g., child or elder abuse), 'violence' means intimate partner abuse against women. As in the Statistics Canada (2005) definition, intimate partners may include married or common-law spouses or ex-spouses, but not casual dating or other transient relationships. Same-sex partners may also perpetrate violence, but our knowledge on that type of violence is still sketchy (Renzetti, 1998).

Types of Violence

Physical violence approximates the CCC definition of assault, where one person (usually a man) intentionally and repeatedly hurts another (usually a woman, a child, or an elder). At the extreme, murder (intimate **femicide**, infanticide, filicide) is the outcome (Sev'er, 2002a; Statistics Canada, 2008).

Intimate sexual violence occurs when someone forces another (most likely a woman) to engage in sexual activity or intercourse against her/his consent or will (Mahoney and Williams, 1998). It can also take the form of inflicting pain or exposing the partner to unwanted pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases. Sexual violence against children ranges from sexual touching, molestation, and incestuous rape to participation in the making of child pornography (Bergen, 1998b; Kendall-Tackett and Marshall, 1998; Sev'er, 2002a). A child is less likely to understand 'consent' in reference to sexual abuse and may indeed come to associate the inappropriate sexual attention with 'love'. Therefore, the responsibility of molestation must be placed on the adult, not the child. Efforts to measure the impact of sexual violence towards children usually takes into account the age at the onset of molestation, whether additional violence was involved and/or whether the child was believed at the time of disclosure. Elder women, and disabled members of the family are also prime targets for sexual assault (Sev'er, 2009).

Psychological abuse is very common, but also very controversial. Some scholars argue that hurtful name-calling, put-downs, and constantly dismissing a woman/child/elder can be just as devastating as hits or punches (Sev'er, 1996, 2002a; DeKeseredy and MacLeod, 1997). Others avoid the term 'abuse' for verbal behaviour, preferring concepts such as '**controlling behaviours**' (Dobash and Dobash, 1998). Expanding the boundaries of violence to include psychological abuse is feared to de-genderize the concept. Moreover, men are feared to attempt to legitimize their physical violence by claiming they were verbally 'victimized.' The literature also includes economic abuse and spiritual abuse as types of abuse. The first refers to one partner's (most likely a woman) lack of access to resources and opportunity to partake in the family's financial decisions. Elders, especially those who may have forms of dementia, are prime targets of economic abuse. Spiritual abuse occurs when one partner (or parent) forces another to practise a different belief system (APA-Online, 2008; Canada's Aging Population, 2002).

Theories about Interpersonal Violence

Theories are logically interrelated statements that order, describe, explain, and predict the causes and consequences of personal or social problems. Theories are generally abstract and vary on the micro/macro continuum. Some seek the causes of events within the person, some focus on social interaction, and still others concentrate on the structural domains. To understand the complex phenomenon of intimate violence, we have to consult a range of theoretical orientations.

Individual Pathology Models

Gender-neutral theories see violence stemming from personal weakness or pathology. Theories of psychopathology are capable of explaining violence perpetrated by a few, troubled individuals (e.g., notorious killers like 'Son of Sam' and Jeffrey Dahmer), but they are weak in explaining violence within families. Pathology models also include single-trait explanations such as alcohol/drug dependencies. Indeed, statistics show a close link between addictions and violence against women (Dugan and Hock, 2000: 21; Jacobson and Gottman, 2001). Statistics Canada (2005) findings also show that drinking is one of the highly predictive variables of violence in relationships. Some findings suggest that men who were heavy drinkers were six times more likely to assault their female partners than a comparative group of non-drinking men (see Rodgers, 1994; Johnson, 1996). Although the high correlation is not disputed, alcohol consumption cannot be considered the cause of intimate abuse for the following reasons:

- Not all men who drink, abuse.
- Abusive men do not abuse their partners or children each time they drink.
- Abusive men do batter their partners or children when they are not drinking.
- Some men who are non-drinkers also abuse.
- Some alcoholics who stop drinking continue to abuse (Gelles, 1993; Gelles and Straus, 1988).

One intrapersonal theory of violence classifies the victimizers as 'cobras' or 'pit bulls' (Jacobson and Gottman, 2001). Cobras are anti-social, cruel, egotistical men who enjoy hurting a variety of people, including their partners. They lack empathy and thus, hurt people without remorse. Cobras generally have charismatic personalities but are also capable of murder. Pit bulls, on the other hand, confine their violence to their family/spouse. They are jealous, possessive, and fear abandonment. Once pit bulls sink their teeth into their partners, it is extremely difficult to get them to let go (ibid.).

Sigmund Freud's (1974 [1920]) intrapersonal theory has focused on the victims of violence. Freud has perceived women as masochistic, emotionally immature, and deviant. Women are also seen as 'deficient men', both biologically (lacking a penis) and morally (never successfully completing their identification process). Ironically, strong women are also seen as maladjusted, and as taunting and 'castrating' the men in their lives. Thus, whether women were strong or weak, Freud saw them as the engineers of their own demise. Feminist scholars have observed a disturbing resurrection of some of these damaging stereotypes (Kelly and Radford, 1998; Russell and Bolen, 2000; Steed, 1994).

Intrapersonal theories have little explanatory power in understanding a widespread and often gendered phenomenon like men's violence against women, children, and elders. Since late 1980's, it is clear that only about 10 percent of intimate violence is due to some kind of clinical pathology (Gelles and Straus, 1988). This leaves most intra-family abuse to be explained through factors other than individual pathology (Sev'er, 2002a). Moreover, by personalizing problems of violence, theories of pathology fail to challenge the social-structural context of violence, such as poverty, inequality, and patriarchy (DeKeseredy and MacLeod, 1997; Sev'er, 2002b).

Social Learning Theories

Social learning theories see aggression as a learned behaviour. Causes of violence are sought within interaction with significant others and in the rewards and punishments for certain types of behaviour (Bandura, 1973). Learning may be gender-specific. For example, the intergenerational transmission theory suggests that girls who experience violence are more likely to become victims of partner violence in their adult lives whereas male witnesses/victims of violence may become abusers themselves (Levinson, 1989; Scully, 1990).

Intergenerational transmission is extremely important when one considers the fact that children witness violence against their mothers in about 40 percent of violent marriages (Fantuzzo and Mohr, 1999; Lehmann, 1997; Ney, 1992; OAITH, 1998; Rodgers, 1994; Wolfe, Zak and Wilson, 1986). Moreover, many children (especially girls) are victims of violence or sexual violence (Kendall-Tackett and Marshall, 1998; Statistics Canada, 2008). To understand child abuse, Finkelhor (1986, 1988) extended the learning theory to what he calls the **dysfunctional learning model (DLM)**. The components of DLM are traumatic sexualization and feelings of betrayal, powerlessness, and stigmatization. All of these dimensions have serious consequences in the adult lives of child victims.

A branch of learning theories focuses on male peer support (Godenzi et al., 2000) and highlights the intergenerational transmission of violence (violent peers, subcultures of violence). In highly masculinized circles, male peers develop standards of hurtful, degrading, and destructive patterns in dealing with women. Peers may also reward misogynist acts and punish those who deviate from macho expectations (DeKeseredy and MacLeod, 1997; Godenzi et al., 2000). There is substantial support for male peer support models, especially among college students (DeKeseredy and Kelly, 1993; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997).

There are also legitimate challenges against learning theory arguments. Kaufman and Zigler (1993) show that transmission of violence is not absolute, but mediated by biological, socio-economic, and cultural factors. For example, although some abusive men may have been witness to or victims of violence in their childhood, a larger proportion of abused children do *not* become abusers. In contrast, some boys who were never abused become abusive men. Although it is reasonable to argue that learning takes place in almost all situations, what exactly is learned—aversion to or acceptance of what is being modelled by the significant other—will vary. Moreover, learning theories in general are inadequate in explaining child sexual abuse, because even in macho subcultures, there are strong taboos against child molestation. Some men molest children anyway. Moreover, elder abuse arises from dependencies, shame, isolation, and societal values that devalue age, and requires an explanation other than early socialization.

Stress and Crisis Theories

A version of the frustration/aggression theory proposes that family violence is the outcome of stress. Yet, families differ in how they deal with stressful events. In what is called the **abcx model**, Hill (1958) proposed that events (a), mediated by family's resources (b) and the meanings associated with the event (c), will lead to a particular outcome (x). For example, a pregnancy (a) may be seen as a blessing in one family (positive b/c), but a crisis in another (negative b/c). A more current version of the model (double abcx) purports that the history of the family's ability to deal with the same or a similar event/crisis will also affect the outcome, sometimes exacerbating, other times cushioning, the impact (McCubbin and Patterson, 1983).

Dependency theory is also a stress model. It asserts that violence against an aging parent results from stress, especially when the elder's debility escalates. Scarcity of resources and the increasing needs of the elderly also tax the caregivers. Interestingly, Pillemer (1993) has

transposed the causal direction suggested by the dependency theory. He contends that the abusive adult children are the ones who are dependent on their aging parents: abuse serving as a means to usurp parental resources. Either way, stress from the incongruence in the relationship (dependent parent or dependent adult child) is seen as the cause of abuse.

Stress theories of violence are alluring. There is no doubt that skills, resources, past experiences, and emotional or economic dependencies of families affect coping skills. However, there are major problems with stress theories. First, by failing to identify violence as a moral wrong regardless of personal or social conditions that engender it, they appear to resign to the unavoidability of violence. Second, stress theories de-genderize (and sometimes, de-age) interpersonal abuse. For example, mothers under stress may physically abuse their children, but it is extremely rare that they sexually abuse them. Father figures may do both, with or without stress (Crull, 2008). Young children do not abuse their parents, but some older children do. Older women are still most likely to be abused by their male partners, whereas both older men and older women are equally likely to be abused by their sons (Sev'er, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2008). Thus, regardless of the level of stress, coping skills, or resources, more men than women abuse their partners, children, and parents. Third, stress theories are blind to cultural variations. In patriarchal cultures where age brings status, abuse of elders is rare. In cultures where the aged are marginalized, they easily become scapegoats for other people's frustrations. Sev'er (2009) has recently proposed a model to account for the complex patterns of causality amongst individual, social and structural patterns in understanding violence towards the elders.

Feminist Explanations of Violence

Feminist explanations of men's violence towards intimate partners are numerous (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Flax, 1976; Mitchell, 1973; Yllö and Bograd, 1988). Marxist feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism form some of the better-known variations. Although details of these theories fall outside of the focus of this chapter, it is important to stress that feminist theories converge on seeking the roots of violence in social structures without disregarding the role of interpersonal or intrapersonal processes.

Feminists criticize the gendered distribution of power and resources, the gendered division of labour, and the role of a patriarchal system that protects these inequalities. In feminist explanations, the triangulation of gender, power, and control determines relations in work, politics, law, health, and education as well as male dominance within coupled relationships. Because of this perceived linkage, the UN Declaration on Violence Against Women (1993) holds the signatory states accountable for eliminating all forms of inequality in education, work, and family realms.

Radical feminists underscore the fact that even men who do not directly harass, abuse, or otherwise subjugate women benefit from the male dominance in the status quo (Bart and Moran, 1993; Brownmiller, 1975; MacKinnon, 1982; O'Brien, 1981; Rubin, 1983; Russell, 1989). Through their groundbreaking Duluth project, Pence and Paymar (1993) proposed a conceptual model for the interrelated dimensions in the cycle of violence. The model suggests that power-seeking men intimidate, emotionally abuse and degrade their partners, isolate them, minimize their complaints, or blame them as the instigators of their own suffering. Men use children against their partners and/or directly hurt children. Men also use coercion and threats to silence their partners (ibid).

There is also a newer development (Johnson, 2008; Johnson, Leone & Xu, 2008), which asserts that intimate violence is not a unitary phenomenon. Instead, violence is seen in three,

analytically separable categories: **intimate terrorism**, violent resistance and situational couple violence. The authors suggest that the first is rare in ongoing relationships, but much more common in ex-partner relationships (especially ex-partner men). They also suggest that surveys are not capable of capturing this type of violence, giving credibility to feminist critiques of surveys (ibid).

Feminist theories, especially radical feminist assertions, are quite robust in explaining the abuse of female partners, female children, and older women. Their combined assertions on control of resources and control of women's sexuality explain why men abuse and how they get away with it. Feminists place violence on a continuum, where personal experiences interrelate with social, educational, political, legal, criminal, and economic dimensions. Extended versions also examine social constructions of masculinity, including male sexual socialization (Bowker, 1998; Seymour, 1998). However, feminist assertions are less robust in dealing with men's violence towards male intimates (sons, aged fathers, etc.). With a few exceptions (Sev'er, 2002a), they are also shy in addressing women's own violence. Moreover, only recently have feminist theories started to address race, ethnicity, and culture. Table 14.1 summarizes the major assertions of violence theories and their general applicability.

[catch table]

Table 14.1 Explanatory Power of Theories of Violence

Type of Theory	General Assertions	Explanatory Power		
		Wife Abuse	Child Abuse	Elder Abuse
Intrapersonal Models	Cause: Individual pathology or addictions	Low	Low	Low
– Individual pathology	Creates typologies to predict violence			
– Addictions	See alcohol as the cause			
– Freud's psychoanalytic	Blames women as weak or as domineering			
Social Learning	Cause: Modelling, imitation or exposure	High	High	Low
– General social learning	Evaluates the rewards or punishments			
– Intergenerational transmission	Emphasizes the behaviour of significant others, and emphasizes gendered learning			
– Dysfunctional learning	Stresses traumatic sexualization and feelings of betrayal			
– Male peer support	Emphasizes macho male-peer cultures			
Stress and Crisis Models	Cause: Inability to deal with stress and inadequate coping	Low	Medium	High
– abcx model of stress	Emphasizes events, resources and perceptions			
– Double abcx model	Emphasizes earlier experience/coping			
Feminist Theories	Cause: Power difference between family members	High	High	Medium
– Marxist feminism	Emphasizes structural inequalities and work			
– Social feminism	Emphasizes unequal division of labour, and different access to			

	opportunities			
– Radical feminism	Emphasizes patriarchal legitimization and reproductive subjugation of women			
– Power and control model	Emphasizes interrelated aspects of the violence wheel			

[end table]

[catch box]

Box 14.1 Abuse of Women by Male Partners and Intimate Femicide

On a warm summer day in 2000, a completely naked Gillian Hadley (32) ran out of her house, carrying her one-year-old baby in her arms. She was trying to escape her estranged husband who ambushed her while she was taking a shower. Gillian's last motherly act was to hand over her baby to a bewildered neighbour before she was shot to death by Ralph Hadley. Hadley also shot himself to death (Toronto Star, 23 Oct. 2000, B1; Toronto Star, 24 Oct. 2000, A1).

Peter Kyun Joon Lee (38) of Oak Bay, British Columbia, seemed to have everything to live for: a wife (Yong Sun Park, 32), a young son (Cristian, 6), and a million-dollar home. Yet, in September, 2007, he barricaded himself in his house, then shot his wife and son to death. He also killed his in-laws Moon Kyu Park (66) and Kum Lea Chun (59), before turning the gun on himself. A few months before the rampage, Yong had asked for a divorce and for the custody of their son, and has requested a restriction order against her abusive husband (CBC News, 2007).

In March, 2008, the charred remains of a pregnant woman was found in Surrey, British Columbia. The remains were identified as that of Manjit Panghali, who had left her home to attend a pre-natal class but had not returned. Her husband, Mukhtiar Panghali was charged for murder. In Canada, there is no provision to charge a person for the death of an unborn child (White, 2007).

[end box]

Violence against Intimate Partners

Violence against women crosses over boundaries of ethnicity, race, education, income, sexual orientation, marital status, and physical ability (Crawford and Gartner, 1992; DeKeseredy and MacLeod, 1997; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 1997; Koss and Cook, 1993; Renzetti, 1998). Nevertheless, poor, uneducated, immigrant or refugee women may be more isolated and thus more vulnerable to social conditions that fuel violence (Richie and Kanuha, 2000) or may come from cultures where male violence is tolerated.

An early Canada-wide study involving 12,300 women, the Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS, 1993), reported that 29 percent of women had experienced intimate violence at some point in their lives. Forty-one percent of women who had suffered abuse from a former partner reported 11 or more incidents of violence (ibid.). In a recent Canadian survey, over 1.2 million people (546,000 men and 653,000 women) were estimated to have suffered intimate violence (Statistics Canada, 2005). Although the proportion of reported violence was similar for women and men (7 versus 6 percent respectively), the consequences of violence were much more severe for women (Statistics Canada, 2005, also see Pottie-Bunge, 1998). For example, 34 percent of the assaulted women stated that they feared for their lives (versus 10 percent of men). Women were also much more likely to report 10 or more assaults against them (23 percent women versus

15 percent men). Many more women (44 percent) than men (18 percent) stated that they were injured as a result of their partner's violence (ibid).

As the above examples show (Box 14.1), termination of relationships does not guarantee the termination of violence. On the contrary, relationships that were not violent can turn violent, or relationships that were already violent may become more violent at the onset of separation (Johnson, 1995; Kaufman-Kantor and Jasinski, 1998; Kurz, 1996; Sev'er, 1997, 1998). Other findings also attest to the increased risk engendered by separation (Crawford and Gartner, 1992; Fleury et al., 2000; Gartner et al., 2001; Jacobson and Gottman, 2001; Johnson, 1995; Kurz, 1995, 1996; Rodgers, 1994; Sev'er, 2002a; Wilson and Daly, 1993). A recent Canadian survey (Statistics Canada, 2005) also found termination of relationships to be a strong predictor of violence. Sixteen percent of previously coupled men and 21 percent of previously coupled women reported violence from their previous partners. These statistics partially explain why women are afraid to leave their violent partners (Glass, 1995, Johnson, 2008).

For the first time in Canada, violence between same-sex partners was also included in the general survey (Statistics Canada, 2005). The rate of violence reported by lesbian and gay partners (15 percent) was more than twice as high as the rates for heterosexual partners (7 percent). This major discrepancy may be due to estimation errors due to the small numbers of same-sex versus the much larger numbers of heterosexual couples. Another reason could be that 40 percent of the responding gays/lesbians stated they did not have a current partner (versus 16 percent of heterosexual respondents, ibid). As already mentioned, violence amongst estranged couples is generally higher than violence in continuing relationships, regardless of the sexual orientation.

Homicide Data

In the most extreme cases, women and some men are killed by their partners. As a matter of fact, spousal homicides represent 17 percent of all homicides, and 47 percent of family homicides in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). For women, the likelihood of being a victim of spousal murder sharply increases during or shortly after separation (Campbell, 1992; Crawford and Gartner, 1992; Ellis and DeKeseredy, 1997; Jacobson and Gottman, 2001; Kurz, 1995, 1996; Wilson and Daly, 1993). In an earlier analysis of Canada's homicide data, Wilson and Daly (1994) reported 1,435 cases where women were killed by their husbands, and showed that separation presented a six-fold increase in homicide risk (Wilson and Daly, 1993; Gartner et al., 2001). Recent violence statistics (Statistics Canada, 2005) show a similar pattern, where a much larger proportion of separated women (26 percent) versus separated men (11 percent) were killed by an ex-spouse (ibid). Overall, men were 4 to 5 times more likely to kill their female partners than women were likely to kill their male spouses. Moreover, females between the ages of 15-24, were killed at a rate that was three times higher than all victims of spousal murders (Statistics Canada, 2008).

According to the recent national findings (Statistics Canada, 2005), 76 percent of all homicide-suicides involved family members. Over half of these were committed by male spouses/ex-spouses, and 97 percent of the victims were women. Jealousy, arguing, and the dissolution of relationships were the prominent reasons for homicide-suicides (ibid).

Problems with Numbers Official Reports

Statistics Canada (2005) estimates the total number of victims of spousal violence between 1999 and 2004 to be 1.2 million. However, only 27 percent of these incidents were reported to the police. Women were more likely to report than men (37 versus 17 percent). About one third (32 percent) of those who reported the violence to police also sought a restraining order. Women were much more likely to do so than men (38 versus 15 percent). From these estimates, we can deduce that almost three-quarters of victims *do not* report the violence they suffer. The following reasons will demonstrate why the actual rates of violence may be much greater than shown in official records.

In North America, family relationships are designated to the private sphere (Eichler, 1997). This ideology is reflected in physical barriers such as large yards, fences, gated communities, security systems, etc. It also monopolizes the attitudes towards families. Thus, a selective blindness about what goes on behind closed doors leads to the under-reporting of serious crimes like incest, child abuse, elder abuse, and woman abuse.

Fear of the perpetrator, immature age, feelings of shame, lack of social support, family pressure, ignorance about the law, and distrust towards police are also responsible for low rates of reporting. Most women do not call the police; those who call do so only if the attack was severe, if their own or their children's lives were in danger, or only after repeated beatings (Finkelhor, 1993; Kurtz, 1995; Sev'er, 2002a). Language restrictions may make immigrant and minority women even more reluctant to report their experiences (Finkelhor, 1993; Huisman, 1996; Johnson and Sacco, 1995; Koss et al., 1987; Rodgers, 1994).

Data from Women's Shelters

Since the 1970s, the number of shelters for abused women in Canada has grown to about 500 (OAITH, 1998). Shelters routinely compile information on the characteristics of women and children who seek refuge. However, although the reliability of data from shelters is very high, shelter-based findings are problematic in making generalizations, since some characteristics are over-represented among shelter clientele:

- They are preponderantly younger women, with young children.
- Most of the women are literate, but not highly educated.
- They are unemployed or employed in low-paying jobs with lower socio-economic status.
- Overwhelmingly, the women are urban dwellers.

Shelter data also over-represent certain groups (black and Aboriginal) but under-represent others (women from the Middle East and Asia) (Huisman, 1996). In sum, although shelters provide extensive information about violence against women and children, these data under-represent older, more affluent, and some immigrant women (OAITH, 1998).

The Standardized Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS)

Measuring abuse is a problem, because the person whose experience matters most is often contested (Currie, 1998). So far, the **Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS)** from the New Hampshire school remains the most frequently used tool of measurement (Gelles and Straus, 1988). This instrument defines violence in gender-neutral terms as an act carried out with the intention of causing pain or injury to another person (ibid). The questions are concerned with acts such as throwing something; pushing, grabbing, or shoving; slapping; kicking, biting, or hitting; hitting or trying to hit with something; beating up; threatening with a knife or a gun; and using a knife

or a gun. The violent acts are listed in ascendance of severity. Respondents (both sexes) are asked whether any of these events happened to them within an identified span of time (last year, last five years, lifetime). Although CTS like scales have added two additional items (like sexual attacks) to expand the validity of their measures, just the belief that violence is 'quantifiable' still raises suspicion against these types of measurements. Despite its extensive use, the CTS is insensitive to intent, context (who hit who first, whether the act was offensive or defensive), frequency, sexual forcefulness, or the severity of consequences (a slap may leave a bruise or break a jaw). Due to measurement problems, the CTS fails to differentiate chronic and severe abuse of women from a random hit or a slap of a male partner (Currie, 1998; Kelly, 1997). Studies using the CTS often find symmetry between men's and women's violence, but feminists insist that men and women are unequal combatants (Kelly, 1997; Pagelow, 1985; Sev'er, 2002a). Johnson (2008) also argues that quantitative surveys fail to measure 'intimate terrorism' (also see Johnson, Leone & Xu, 2008).

Consequences of Abuse of Women

Consequences of violence can be physical and psychological. Physical consequences can range from cuts, bruises, lacerations, broken bones, induced miscarriages, and mutilations to death. Repeated violence also leaves emotional scars. Women victims of abuse report chronic pain, sleeping problems, eating disorders, chronic depression, and an increased propensity for attempted suicides (Stark and Flitcraft, 1996). Women victims of violence also are more likely to abuse both legal and illegal drugs (Sev'er, 2002a). What also needs to be underscored is that the parenting skills of abused women may be seriously compromised (Levendosky and Graham-Bermann, 2001; Orava et al., 1996).

Child Abuse

Like intimate partner abuse, child abuse can be physical, sexual, psychological or in the form of neglect. Gender and age hierarchies and privacy norms that shield families from social scrutiny can increase the vulnerability of children. Neglect is very common, and numerous studies suggest that the effects of neglect may be cumulative (English et al., 2005, Kaufman-Kantor and Little, 2003). In 2002, an emaciated five-year-old Jeffrey Baldwin died, covered with sores and weighing only as much as an average 10-month-old baby would weigh. In 2006, his maternal grandparents were convicted of second-degree murder for Jeffrey's starvation death. The little boy had been placed under his grandparents' care following allegations of physical abuse by his natural parents. Unfortunately, rather than finding comfort, he spent his tragic life "in a cold, urine-soaked, feces-coated dungeon", with occasional scraps of food, and water he drank from the toilet (Coyle, 2006). He was so emaciated that he was never able to stand upright or walk. The sentencing judge called Jeffrey's demise the worst case of neglect in the history of Ontario (ibid). In this case, the parents, grandparents, neighbours, friends, and even the child-protection agencies had failed this boy. The question is how many other children who are still alive also suffer from severe forms of neglect?

Physical, sexual, and/or psychological forms of abuse disproportionately victimize female children (Public Health Agency, 2003; Statistics Canada, 2005). Most North American scholars interpret child abuse as a gross violation of Article 19 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which Canada ratified in December 1991. Canada also ratified the optional protocol of the same convention in July 2000 (UN Ratifications, ND). Article 19 states that all children have a right to protection from all forms of violence (UNICEF, 2000). Ironically, section 43 of the CCC

still allows teachers, parents, or parent substitutes to use force in disciplining a child under their care, and most Canadians resist repealing this controversial section.

[catch box]

Box 14.2 Child Abuse and Murder

In Ontario, a couple from the Durham Region tortured their two adoptive sons for a period of 13 years. The two boys were repeatedly tied up, left alone, beaten, and locked in cribs that were turned into cages. They often consumed their own feces to cover up accidents during long periods of confinement. The abusive couple received only a nine-month jail term despite a public outcry (Roy, 2004)

An estranged Alberta couple, Meara McIntosh (27) and Richard Saunders, were caught up in a bitter custody battle. During a court-ordered parental visit, Richard killed his little boy Colton (3) and himself. Rather than returning Colton to his estranged wife, Richard had locked the little boy in his car and let the exhaust fumes snuff out both their lives. Previously, Meara had gotten a restraining order against her estranged husband, claiming that he was likely to shoot her to death. However, even Meara had not thought about the mortal danger Richard posed to her little boy (Richards & Zickefoose, 2008)

In Toronto, Katelynn Sampson (7) died because of severe injuries she suffered from repeated beatings. In this case, the perpetrators were the grandparents. As it turns out, Katelynn's mother, Bernice, was struggling with addiction related problems, and had entrusted the little girl to her parents' care as she tried to straighten out her life. Regrettably, rather than love and protection, Katelynn has found nothing but serious forms of abuse at the hands of her grandparents (CTV, 2008).

[end box]

In Canada, an early national survey brought the issue of child abuse to the forefront when 53 percent of girls and more than 30 percent of boys under the age of 21 reported experiencing at least one incident of sexual molestation (Government of Canada, 1984; Duffy and Momirov, 1997). Currently, children and youth under the age of 18 account for 21 percent of victims of physical assault and 61 percent of victims of sexual assault (Statistics Canada, 2005). Parents were the perpetrators in 40 percent of the cases of sexual assault of children (Statistics Canada, 2008). Moreover, research has shown that pregnancy is a very vulnerable time for women (Kurz, 1995; 1996; Sev'er, 2002a). This means that via abuse of the mother, violence may start even before the child is born.

In terms of child murders, the current rate in Canada is 4.4 per million children/youth (Statistics Canada, 2005). The majority of child-killers (90 percent) are parents, who are young. Fathers are more likely to kill their children than mothers are (Statistics Canada, 2008). In six out of every 10 child murders, the accused is between 15-24 years of age (ibid). Infants under the age of one consistently account for the highest rates of child victims, and the risk for baby boys is higher than for baby girls (ibid). Moreover, between 1961 and 2003, 517 Canadian children became victims of a homicide and parental suicide. Boys under one and girls between 1-5 were at the greatest risk of being homicide-suicide victims (Statistics Canada, 2005).

A long list of researchers argue that witnessing violence against mothers has negative consequences for children (Bagley and King, 1991; Wolak and Finkelhor, 1998; Fantuzzo and

Mohr, 1999; Jacobson and Gottman, 2001; Jaffee et al., 1990; Reppucci and Haugaard, 1993; Russell and Bolen, 2000; Sev'er, 2002a; Zima et al., 1999). In light of what can be gleaned from theories of intergenerational transmission of violence, the implications of these findings are overwhelming (Health Canada, 1996; Graham-Berman and Levendosky, 1998; Turton, 2008).

The true incidence of child abuse is likely to be much larger than the official reports. Neglect is difficult to detect unless it reaches extreme proportions such as the one resulted in Jeffrey Baldwin's death. Younger children may not have the language to report abuse and older children may be too frightened to do so. Thus, child abuse remains a grossly under-reported crime, and problems with official reports include:

- Strong taboos exist against talking about children and sexuality, even when children are sexually victimized.
- Young children may be threatened or dissuaded from disclosing the abuse, or they may be blamed or disbelieved.
- Strong positive biases about parent-child relations and social norms regarding family privacy may deter observers (neighbours, teachers) from reporting the abuse.
- Young children's injuries from out-of-the-ordinary sources may be difficult to identify and hard to prove.
- Mothers of abused children may also be victims of spousal violence. This will reduce their ability to intervene on their children's behalf. Sometimes, abused women themselves use violence against their children.

Effects of abuse will vary according to age, severity, duration of abuse, and the relationship of the abuser to his/her victim (Finkelhor, 1988; Crull, 2008). Very young children may suffer the most serious and sometimes lethal forms of abuse. Physical abuse may lead to cuts, bruises, infected sores, malnutrition, broken bones, and death. With sexual abuse, where many more girls than boys are victimized, abuse may produce genital tears, infections, sexually transmitted diseases, and/or unwanted pregnancies. Perhaps the most enduring consequences of abuse are psychological—the angst of eating disorders, self-hatred, self-blame, feelings of worthlessness, inability to trust, inability to form relationships, and problems with sexual intimacy as either promiscuity or frigidity, and suicide ideation (Crull, 2008; Kendall-Tackett and Marshall, 1998; Sev'er, 2002a).

Elder Abuse

On December 16, 1991, UN passed resolution 46/91 to encourage the governments of the world to incorporate principals of independence, participation, care, self-fulfillment, and dignity for their aging citizens. The goal was to “add life to the years that have been added to life” due to improved hygiene, control of infectious diseases and reduction of premature deaths (Seniors Resource, 2005). Despite the UN call for dignity for the aged, one of the most perplexing crimes of our time is violence against the elderly. Statistics Canada (2008) reports violent crimes against seniors to be 149 per 100,000.

Although definitions of senior abuse may vary, most fall under the categories of physical, emotional, sexual, economic, and neglect (Department of Justice, 2003; Health Canada, 1999; McDonald, Collins & Dergal, 2006; Sev'er, 2008). Often, victims suffer more than one type of abuse. Although Canadians over 65 are the least likely age group to be victims of violent crimes, those who are victimized by family members are on the rise (Lindsay, 1999; Statistics Canada,

2005). Older females (40 percent) are twice as likely to be victimized by a family member than older men (20 percent). However, in all age categories, male relatives were eight out of 10 times more likely to use violence against older female and male relatives (Statistics Canada, 2005).

Between 1994 and 2003, four out of 10 solved homicides against adults 65+ were committed by a family member (Statistics Canada, 2005). In 2003, there were 35 homicides committed against older adults, and this represented six percent of all homicides (Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 54). Moreover, between 1961 and 2003, there were 137 spousal murder-suicides that involved couples over 65 years of age (Statistics Canada, 2005).

[catch box]

Box 14.3 Elder Abuse and Murder

On May 1999, David Patten (44) bludgeoned to death his parents, Claire (72) and Manus (80), with a shovel. When the bodies were found, the flowers David had given to Claire on Mother's Day were still on the windowsill. David was unemployed, and had lived with his parents for the last several years (Toronto Star, 15 May, 1999, A2).

In March 2007, Donald Noseworthy (55) was sentenced to three-and-a-half years of imprisonment for manslaughter. This was the first time in Canadian history that neglect to provide the necessities of life had led to a conviction of manslaughter. As the judge noted, Donald's mother Mary (78), who suffered from Alzheimer's, was repeatedly abused both mentally and physically. Mary was also kept tied to a filthy bed, and near starvation. (CTV, 2007).

In March 2008, Aaron Howard (19), brutally killed his mother Frankel (61). Neighbours testified that Aaron was always verbally abusive to his mother. At the end, he bludgeoned her to death with a lead gas pipe. Then, he carried her blood-soaked body to a refrigerated room in the basement and left her there for a week. When his girlfriend inquired about the blood stains in the home, he said the family dog killed an animal and dragged it to the basement (Lofaro, 2008).

[end box]

The Hidden Nature of Abuse of Seniors

DeKeseredy (1996) refers to seniors as 'hidden victims.' Many of them live isolated lives and some may be immobile, or may have reduced physical or mental capacity. Moreover, older adults may be physically, emotionally, and/or economically dependent on their abusers. Elderly victims may remain silent, especially if the abuser is a spouse, son or a daughter. Moreover, disbelief, shame, or fear of further victimization may prevent older victims from reporting the violence they experience (Sev'er, 2008). Some researchers have explored the negative effects of co-dependency of seniors. **Co-dependency** occurs when a person who does not have a problem him or herself, is seriously affected by someone who does have a problem such as addictions to drugs, alcohol or gambling. A co-dependent person may try to cover up, rationalize or minimize the negative effects of the other person's behaviour on his/her life (Alcohol and Seniors, 2005). In the case of the aged, co-dependency may also take on the form of minimizing the abusive behaviour of a son or a spouse.

In Canada, reported cases of elder abuse range from 4–7 percent of the 65+ population (Canada's Aging Population, 2002). The rates for the 85+ group is much higher. Yet, given the strength of factors that suppress reporting, this may be the peak of an iceberg (Canada's Aging

Population, 2002; Neysmith, 1995; Patterson and Podnieks, 1995). Moreover, since 65+ portion of the population is on the rise, and is expected to reach over 22 percent of the population by 2030, violence against seniors will become a much larger problem than it already is (Canada's Aging Population, 2002; McDonald, Collins & Dergal, 2006; Sev'er, 2008). Moreover, older women victims of abuse are not well served by the shelters and transition houses, which are geared towards younger victims with dependent children (Sev'er, 2002b; Patterson and Podnieks, 1995). Institutionalized elders may also be subjected to abuse by their care providers (Canada's Aging Population, 2002).

Consequences of Elder Abuse

In some cultures and societies—for instance, in China, the Middle East and amongst many Aboriginal groups—age often confers status, and the younger generations are routinely socialized into showing respect for their elders. Abuse may still occur in such societies, but the social sanctions against it are likely to be strong. In contrast, North America reveres wealth, power, mobility, and physical perfection, and thus often marginalizes people weakened through age. A preoccupation with individuality and the emphasis on nuclear versus extended forms of family also contribute to the alienation of the elders from the younger generations in a family. Thus, isolation may increase abuse, and in turn, abuse may increase isolation, creating a vicious cycle (Neysmith, 1995; Patterson and Podnieks, 1995). Sev'er (2008) suggests that a positive attitude towards ageing is a prerequisite in reducing violence against older Canadians.

Senior victims of violence may suffer injuries. Moreover, injuries may have more serious consequences for seniors. They may take longer to heal or may precipitate death—a broken hip can be a cause of death in an elder person. Statistics Canada (2005) underscores that one third of older adults who suffer family-related violence have suffered minor or major injuries (also see National Centre, 2005). Moreover, psychological feelings of despair may also push a senior into taking his or her life. Still, the largest proportion and the hardest to detect forms of violence towards the elderly is through neglect.

Discussion and Conclusions

Despite the positive biases about family relations, a dark and often hidden side may cast a shadow on many lives. Partner, child, and elder abuse is widespread in Canada. What can be done at the personal, social, and structural levels to combat intimate abuse? For preventative or interventional answers, insights from the discussed theories will be helpful.

As we saw, individual pathology theories are not much help, since only a negligible number of offenders have clinical pathologies. However, partners who are extremely jealous, highly controlling, and abusive in the early stages of interpersonal relationships are likely to continue or even escalate their abuse in the future. Parents or partners who are young, who use drugs or alcohol are also more likely to revert to violence. Yet none of these factors, in isolation, accurately predicts the type or severity of violence.

The social dynamics of violence, especially when they intersect with gender, suggest more promising opportunities for change. Development of attitudes, perceptions, prejudices, and behaviour takes place throughout one's life, but learning is most crucial in early childhood. Mass media and other symbolic agents of socialization have the potential to build or to blur the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours. Training grounds for violence include exposure to violence of family members, peers, the media and popular sports (Hatty, 2000). If learning theory is correct, when significant others that children look up to use violence, the

propensity for them to use violence will increase (Health Canada, 1996). Children may see their abusive fathers, bullying peers, or sports heroes rewarded for their unacceptable behaviour. Thus, it is crucial for parents and educators, mentors in sports and entertainment industries, and leaders in all public roles to emphasize respect for others and teach skills for resolving differences in non-violent ways. Moreover, this educative responsibility must go beyond just words and include modelling of non-violence.

As the power and control model suggests, abuse finds a fertile ground in family relationships where there is an imbalance of power. Balancing the power between historically powerless groups (children, women, the elderly) and men may transcend family boundaries and require political and judicial interventions at the state level. The responsibility for the states to proactively end systemic forms of violence are within the UN decrees and conventions.

The necessary agents of intervention include police forces who have specialized in family violence and prosecutors and judges sensitive to gender, ethnicity and race issues. Availability of shelters, short and long-term affordable housing, quality child care, and access to counselling may help to provide a way out for the victims. The rebuilding of the welfare state to include a guaranteed annual income/affordable housing would also be a significant step in removing economic dependencies of women and their children. Dependency often traps victims in abusive relationships. We must also keep in mind that the criminal justice system should be the last resort, albeit an important one, in dealing with interpersonal violence (Dobash et al., 1995; Pence and Paymar, 1993). As English and her colleagues remind us (2005), policy changes to protect the vulnerable are crucial, but must be carefully crafted to avoid infantilizing the poor, women or the aged.

Elder abuse may be a sleeping monster, awaiting awakening through the demographic rise of the 65+ population (Sev'er, 2008). Aging Canadians increasingly find themselves isolated and considered obsolete in our youth and power-oriented culture. When aging parents become a challenge for their adult children, children who have grown up in strictly nuclear families may have few positive role models to emulate. Adult women's lives may be sandwiched between parents and children/grandchildren. As things stand, intergenerational stress and conflict may be exacerbating both structural and gendered problems in later stages of life.

This chapter has identified the reasons and provided examples for how powerlessness and dependency cycles in families make children, women, and aging adults vulnerable to maltreatment. It has also identified ways in which these vicious cycles can be broken. Awareness must be translated into programs for educating and promoting non-violent solutions in social relationships, and into policies that can protect the rights of all citizens to lead their lives free of violence.

Study Questions

1. Define and compare different types of abuse.
2. Discuss the problems with reporting of abuse and measurement of abuse.
3. Why do some feminists object to the concept of psychological abuse?
4. Which theoretical orientation best explains wife/partner abuse? Why?
5. What are some consequences of child abuse? Why are younger children more vulnerable for abuse?
6. Why is elder abuse one of the most under-reported crimes?
7. Do you think elder women abuse is wife abuse that has gone old? Why or why not?
8. Can you imagine a society where there is no intimate partner violence? Why or why not?

Glossary

ABCX model A stress theory that predicts a causal link between events, meanings associated with events, resources, and outcomes.

Abuse Violation of custom, injurious behaviour, or the use of harsh and insulting language.

Co-dependency occurs when a person who does not have a problem him or herself, is seriously affected by someone who does have a problem such as addictions to drugs, alcohol or gambling. A co-dependent person may try to cover up, excuse, rationalize or minimize the negative effects of the other person's behaviour on his/her life.

Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) A quantitative and gender-neutral instrument which is used to measure acts of violence between intimate partners. It does not measure frequency, intent, premeditation or consequences.

Controlling behaviours As used by feminists, a term that refers to men's psychological domination over women's behaviour, especially language, clothing, social contacts, and work.

Dependency theory Asserts that violence against an aging parent results from stress, especially when the elder's debility escalates.

Dysfunctional learning model (DLM) Finkelhor's assertion that child abuse is betrayal that leads to trauma, powerlessness, and stigmatization.

Femicide Murder of women by men.

Intimate terrorism is one of three categories of partner violence, where the abuser is controlling, dominant and jealous. M.P. Johnson suggests that this type of violence is perpetrated by more than than women, and also, less likely to be measured by survey research.

Neglect Failure to provide care or necessities for someone in need of care; applies both to omissions and commissions.

Social learning theories Theories that predict links between modelling, rewards, punishments, and such behaviour as aggression.

Spousal violence Murder, attempted murder, sexual and physical assault, threats, criminal harassment, or other violent offence by a spouse or partner.

Violence Rough force in action, rough treatment causing harm or injury, and unlawful use of force.

Websites

[www.unhcr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/\(Symbol\)/A.RES.48.104.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhcr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/A.RES.48.104.En?Opendocument)

This UN site includes the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, as well as information on all kinds of violence in work, health care, and family life.

<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/fm>

The federal Justice Department offers strategies to eliminate violence within the family as well as detailed statistical information and provincial comparisons.

www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/owd/english/facts/preventing.htm

The Ontario Women's Directorate, an agency within the provincial government, presents detailed statistical information on violence against women in Ontario and facts on women's stays in shelters.

www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030623/d030623c.htm

Statistics Canada's *The Daily* publishes detailed statistical reports on various issues, and this site allows searches by topic and date. It also includes excellent yearly reports on intimate violence, especially for the years 2002, 2003 and 2005.

www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050615/d050615a.htm

This Statistics Canada site provides the latest information on Canadian shelters and the characteristics and experiences of women who use them.

www.un.org/womanwatch

Woman Watch, a UN research arm and website, tracks reproductive, health, and violence issues that the world's women face.

Further Readings

- Bergen, Raquel K., ed. 1998. *Issues in Intimate Violence*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage. A collection of 18 theoretical and analytical articles on abuse of women and children.
- Crull, Marie C. 2008. *Following Sexual Abuse: A Sociological Interpretation of Identity Reformation in Reflexive Therapy*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Jasinski, Jana L., and Linda M. Williams. 1998. *Partner Violence: A Comprehensive Review of 20 Years of Research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage. Seven articles that review two decades of work on intimate violence. Most of the work represented here is from the US.
- Krane, Julia. 2003. *What's Mother Got to Do with It?* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Shows how state ideologies shift the responsibility of child sexual abuse away from the perpetrators by holding mothers responsible for protecting their children.
- Sev'er, Aysan. 2002. *Fleeing the House of Horrors: Women Who Have Left Their Abusive Partners*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Analyzes the struggles of 39 women who have left their abusive partners and proposes a model of post-violence adjustment.
- Statistics Canada. 2008. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice [Cat. No. 85-224-XIE]

References

- Alcohol and Seniors. 2005. <http://www.agingincanada.ca/enios%20Alcohol/1e6.htm>; accessed 5 November, 2008.
- APA Online-Elder Abuse and Neglect: In search of solutions (2008). <http://www.apa.org/pi/aging/eldabuse.html>; accessed 31 March, 2008.
- Bagley, Christopher, and Kathleen King. 1991. *Child Sexual Abuse: The Search for Healing*. London: Tavistock.
- Bandura, Albert. 1973. *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bart, Pauline B., and Eileen G. Moran. 1993. *Violence against Women: The Bloody Footprints*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.

- Bergen, Raquel K., ed. 1998a. *Issues in Intimate Violence*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- . 1998b. 'The reality of wife rape: Women's experiences of sexual violence in marriage', in Bergen (1998a: 237–50).
- Bowker, Lee H., ed. 1998. *Masculinities and Violence*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Brownmiller, Susan. 1975. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Campbell, Jacqueline C. 1992. "If I can't have you, no one can": Power and control in homicide of female partners', in J. Radford and D.E.H. Russell, eds, *Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing*. New York: Twayne, 99–113.
- Canada's Aging Population. 2002. Minister of Public Works and Government Services. [Cat. H39-608/2002E]. <http://dsp.psd.communication.gc.ca/Collection/H39-608-2002E.pdf>: accessed 8 April, 2008.
- CBC News. 2007. Victoria man in murder-suicide case had troubled past. <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2007/09/05/bc-oakbay.html>; accessed 10 November, 2008.
- Coyle, Jim. 2006. "A miserable existence" eked out behind the closed door of a bedroom', *Toronto Star*, 8 Apr., 1.
- Crawford, Maria, and Rosemary Gartner. 1992. *Woman Killing: Intimate Femicide in Ontario, 1974–1990*. Toronto: Women We Honour Action Committee.
- Currie, Dawn H. 1998. 'Violent men or violent women: Whose definition counts?', in Bergen (1998a: 97–111).
- CTV, 2008. Toronto child murder victim laid to rest. http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20080812/Sampson_funeral_080812/20080812?hub=Canada; accessed 10 November, 2008.
- CTV, 2007. Man sentenced in landmark elder abuse case. http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20070320/elder_abuse_sentence_070320/20070320?hub=Canada; accessed 10 November, 2008.
- DeKeseredy, Walter S. 1996. 'Patterns of family violence', in M. Baker, ed., *Families: Changing Trends in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 249–72.
- and Katharine Kelly. 1993. 'The incidence and prevalence of women abuse in Canadian university and college dating relationships', *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 18: 137–59.
- and Linda Macleod. 1997. *Woman Abuse: A Sociological Story*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- and Martin D. Schwartz. 1997. *Sexual Assault on the College Campus: The Role of Male Peer Support*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Department of Justice Statistics. 2003. 'Abuse of older adults: A fact sheet'. At: <http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/fm/adultsfs.html>; accessed 27 Sept. 2004.
- Dobash, Emerson R., and Russell P. Dobash. 1979. *Violence against Wives: A Case against Patriarchy*. New York: Free Press.
- and ———, eds. 1998. *Rethinking Violence against Women*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- , ———, Kate Cavanagh, and Ruth Lewis. 1995. *Research Evaluation of Programmes for Violent Men*. Manchester, UK: Violence Research Unit.
- Duffy, Ann, and J. Momirow. 1997. *Family Violence: A Canadian Perspective*. Toronto: Lorimer.

- Dugan, Meg K., and Roger R. Hock. 2000. *It's My Life Now: Starting Over after an Abusive Relationship*. New York: Routledge.
- Eichler, Margrit. 1997. *Family Shifts: Families, Policies, and Gender Equality*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, Desmond, and Walter S. DeKeseredy. 1997. 'Re-thinking estrangement, interventions and intimate femicide', *Violence Against Women* 3, 6: 590–609.
- English, Diana J., Richard Thompson, J. Christopher Graham, and Ernestine C. Briggs. 2005. 'Toward a definition of neglect in young children', *Child Maltreatment* 10, 2: 190–206.
- Fantuzzo, John W., and Wanda K. Mohr. 1999. 'Prevalence and effects of child exposure to domestic violence', *Future of Children* 9, 3: 21–32.
- Finkelhor, David. 1986. *A Sourcebook on Childhood Sexual Abuse*. New York: Sage.
- . 1988. 'The trauma of child sexual abuse: Two models', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 2, 4: 348–66.
- Flax, Jane. 1976. 'Do feminists need Marxism?', *Quest* 3 (Summer): 46–58.
- Fleury, Ruth E., Criss M. Sullivan, and Deborah I. Bybee. 2000. 'When ending the relationship does not end the violence', *Violence Against Women* 6, 12: 1363–83.
- Freud, Sigmund. 1974 [1920]. *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*. Middlesex, England: Penguin.
- Gartner, Rosemary, Myrna Dawson, and Maria Crawford. 2001. 'Confronting violence in women's lives', in B.J. Fox, ed., *Family Patterns, Gender Relations*, 2nd edn. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 473–90.
- Gelles, Richard J. 1987. *The Violent Home*, updated edn. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- . 1993. 'Alcohol and other drugs are associated with violence—They are not its cause', in Gelles and Loseke (1993: 182–96).
- . 1994. 'Introduction: Special issue on family violence', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 25, 1: 1–6.
- and D.R. Loseke, eds. 1993. *Current Controversies on Family Violence*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- and Murray A. Straus. 1988. *Intimate Violence: The Causes and Consequences of Abuse in the American Family*. New York: Touchstone Books.
- Glass, Dee Dee. 1995. *All My Fault: Why Women Don't Leave Abusive Men*. London: Virago Press.
- Godenzi, Alberto, Walter S. DeKeseredy, and Martin D. Schwartz. 2000. 'Toward an integrated social bond/male peer support theory of woman abuse in North American college dating', unpublished paper.
- Government of Canada. 1984. *Sexual Offences against Children*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Graham-Berman, Sandra A., and Alytia A. Levendosky. 1998. 'Traumatic stress symptoms in children of battered women', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 13, 1: 111–28.
- Hatty, Suzanne E. 2000. *Masculinities, Violence and Culture*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Health Canada. 1996. *Wife Abuse: The Impact on Children*. Ottawa: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence.
- . 1999. *Abuses and Neglect of Older Adults*. At: www.hc-sg.gc.ca/hppb/familyviolence/html/agenegle.html; accessed 27 Sept. 2004.
- Hill, Robert. 1958. 'Generic features of families under stress', *Social Casework* 49: 139–50.

- Huisman, Kimberly A. 1996. 'Wife battering in Asian American communities', *Violence Against Women* 2, 3: 260–83.
- Jacobson, Neil S., and John M. Gottman. 2001. 'Anatomy of a violent relationship', in A.S. Skolnick and J.H. Skolnick, eds, *Family in Transition*, 11th edn. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 475–87.
- Jaffee, Peter G., David A. Wolfe, and Susan K. Wilson. 1990. *Children of Battered Women*: Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Jasinski, Jana L., and Linda M. Williams, eds. 1998. *Partner Violence: A Comprehensive Review of 20 Years of Research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Johnson, Holly. 1995. 'Risk factors associated with non-lethal violence against women by marital partners', in C.R. Block and R. Block, eds, *Trends, Risks and Interventions in Lethal Violence*, vol. 3. Washington: National Institute of Justice, 151–68.
- . 1996. *Dangerous Domains: Violence against Women in Canada*. Toronto: Nelson.
- and Vincent Sacco. 1995. 'Researching violence against women: Statistics Canada's national survey', *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 37: 281–304.
- Johnson, Michael P. 2008. *A Typology of Domestic Violence: Intimate Terrorism, Violent Resistance and Situational Couple Violence*. Boston: Northwestern University Press.
- , Leone, Janel M., and Xu, Yili. 2008. Violence in general survey data: the gender debate revisited-Aagin. Retrieved from <http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/m/p/mpj/dvpage/html> (last visted March 13, 2009).
- Kaufman, John, and Edward Zigler. 1993. 'The intergenerational transmission of abuse is overstated', in Gelles and Loseke (1993: 209–21).
- Kaufman-Kantor, Glenda, and Jana L. Jasinski. 1998. 'Dynamics and risk factors in partner violence', in Jasinski and Williams (1998: 1–43).
- and Liza Little. 2003. 'Defining the boundaries of child neglect: When does domestic violence equate with parental failure to protect?', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 18, 4: 338–55.
- Kelly, Katharine D. 1997. 'The family violence and woman abuse debate: Reviewing the literature, posing alternatives', in A. Sev'er, ed., *Cross-Cultural Exploration of Wife Abuse*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 27–50.
- Kelly, Liz, and Jill Radford. 1998. 'Sexual violence against women and girls: An approach to an international overview', in Dobash and Dobash (1998: 53–73).
- Kendall-Tackett, Kathleen, and Roberta Marshall. 1998. 'Sexual victimization of children: Incest and child sexual abuse', in Bergen (1998a).
- Koss, Mary P., and Sarah L. Cook. 1993. 'Facing the facts: Date and acquaintance rape are significant problems', in Gelles and Loseke (1993: 104–19).
- , Christine A. Gidycz, and Nadine Wisniewski. 1987. 'The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 55, 2: 162–70.
- Kurz, Demie. 1995. *For Richer, For Poorer: Mothers Confront Divorce*. New York: Routledge.
- . 1996. 'Separation, divorce and woman abuse', *Violence Against Women* 2, 1: 63–81.
- Lehmann, Peter. 1997. 'The development of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in a sample of child witnesses to mother assault', *Journal of Family Violence* 12, 3: 241–57.

- Levendosky, Alytia A., and Sandra A. Graham-Bermann. 2001. 'Parenting in battered women: The effects of domestic violence on women and their children', *Journal of Family Violence* 16, 2: 171–92.
- Levinson, David. 1989. *Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Lindsay, Colin. 1999. *A Portrait of Seniors in Canada*, 3rd edn. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89–519–XPE.
- Lofaro, Tony. 2008. Son killed mother in 'fit of anger, insanity'. March 27, 2008. The Ottawa Citizen. <http://www.canada.com/ottawacitizen/news/story.html?id=9c5d8d78-2db6-4f0d-9ace-5142955c82d3&k=53009>; accessed 10 November, 2008).
- McCubbin, H.I., and J.M Patterson. 1983. 'Family transition: Adaptation to stress', in H.I. McCubbin and C.R. Figley, eds, *Stress and the Family*, vol. 1: *Coping with Normative Stress*. New York: Brunner/ Mazel, 5–25.
- Mackinnon, Catharine A. 1982. 'Feminism, Marxism, method and the state: An agenda for theory', *Signs* 7 (Spring): 515–44.
- Mahoney, Janis, and Linda M. Williams. 1998. 'Sexual assault in marriage: Prevalence, consequences and treatment of wife rape', in Jasinski and Williams (1998: 113–62).
- McDonald, L., Collins, A. & Dergal, J. 2006. The abuse and neglect of adults in Canada. In R. Alaggia & C. Vine (Eds.). *Cruel but not Unusual* (pp. 425-466). Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier.
- Mitchell, Julie J. 1973. *Women's Estate*. Toronto: Random House.
- National Center on Elder Abuse. 2005. <http://www.ncea.aoa.gov/ncearoot/MainSite/pdf/publication/FinalStatistics050331.pdf>; accessed 10 March, 2008.
- Ney, Philip G. 1992. 'Transgenerational triangles of abuse: A model of family violence', in E.C. Viano, ed., *Intimate Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Bristol, UK: Taylor and Francis, 15–26.
- Neysmith, Sheila. 1995. 'Power in relationships of trust: A feminist analysis of elder abuse', in M. MacLean, ed., *Abuse and Neglect of Older Canadians: Strategies for Change*. Toronto: Thompson.
- O'Brien, Mary. 1981. *The Politics of Reproduction*. Boston: Routledge.
- Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses (OAITH). 1998. *Falling Through the Gender Gap: How Ontario Government Policy Continues to Fail Abused Women and Their Children*. Toronto: OAITH.
- Orava, Tammy A., Peter J. Mcleod, and Donald Sharpe. 1996. 'Perceptions of control, depressive symptomatology and self-esteem of women in transition from abusive relationships', *Journal of Family Violence* 11: 167–86.
- Pagelow, Mildred D. 1985. 'The battered husband syndrome: Social problem or much ado about little?', in N. Johnson, ed., *Marital Violence*. London: Routledge & Kegan.
- Patterson, Christopher, and Elizabeth Podnieks. 1995. 'A guide to the diagnosis and treatment of elder abuse', in M. Novak, ed., *Aging and Society: A Canadian Reader*. Toronto: Nelson.
- Pence, Ellen, and Michael Paymar. 1993. *Education Groups for Men Who Batter: The Duluth Model*. New York: Springer.
- Pillemer, Karl. 1993. 'The abused offspring are dependent: Abuse is caused by the deviance and dependence of abusive caregivers', in Gelles and Loseke (1993).

- Pottie, Bunge V., and A. Levett. 1998. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.
- Public Health Agency of Canada. 2003. Canadian incidence study of reported child abuse and neglect. http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/cm-vee/cscs-ecve/pdf/childabuse_final_e.pdf; accessed November 8, 2008.
- Renzetti, Claire M. 1998. 'Violence and abuse in lesbian relationships: Theoretical and empirical issues', in Bergen (1998a: 117–28).
- Reppucci, N. Dickon, and J. Jeffrey Haugaard. 1993. 'Problems with child sexual abuse: Prevention programs', in Gelles and Loseke (1993: 306–22).
- Richards, Gwendolyn, and Sherri Zickefoose, S. 2008. Alberta RCMP deny threats made before murder-suicide. Canada.com http://www.canada.com/topics/news/national/story.html?id_20a2d384-b235-40ed-b85b-fe0d6cd09b3b; accessed 10 November, 2008.
- Richie, Beth E., and Valli Kanuha. 2000. 'Battered women of colour in health care system: Racism, sexism and violence', in A. Minas, ed., *Gender Basics: Feminist Perspectives on Women and Men*, 2nd edn. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth.
- Rodgers, Karen. 1994. *Wife Assault in Canada: The Findings of a National Survey*. Juristat 14, 9. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.
- . 2000. 'Wife assault in Canada', in Statistics Canada, *Canadian Social Trends*, vol. 3. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 237–42.
- Rose, Susan J., and William Meezan. 1995. 'Child neglect: A study of the perceptions of mothers and child welfare workers', *Children and Youth Services Review* 17, 4: 471–86.
- Roy, C. 2004. 'Relatives get off easier for abuse, survey finds', *Toronto Star*, 7 July, B2.
- Rubin, Lillian B. 1983. *Intimate Strangers: Men and Women Together*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Russell, Diana E.H. 1989. 'Sexism, violence and the nuclear mentality', in Russell, ed., *Exposing Nuclear Fallacies*. New York: Pergamon, 63–74.
- and Rebecca M. Bolen. 2000. *The Epidemic of Rape and Child Sexual Abuse in the United States*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Seniors Resource (2005). http://www.seniorsresource.ca/docs/conference_Report.pdf; accessed 10 April, 2008).
- Schwartz, Martin D., and Walter S. DeKeseredy. 1997. *Sexual Assault on the College Campus: The Role of Male Peer Support*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Scully, Diana. 1990. *Understanding Sexual Violence*. Boston: Unwin.
- Sev'er, Aysan. 1996. 'Current feminist debates on wife abuse: Some policy implications', *Sonderbulletin* (Berlin: Humboldt University Press): 121–37.
- . 1997. 'Recent or imminent separation and intimate violence against women: A conceptual overview and some Canadian examples', *Violence Against Women* 3, 6: 566–89.
- , ed. 1998. *Frontiers in Women's Studies: Canadian and German Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- . 1999. 'Exploring the continuum: Sexualized violence by men and male youth against women and girls', *Atlantis* 24, 1: 92–104.
- . 2002a. *Fleeing the House of Horrors: Women Who Have Left Their Abusive Partners*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- . 2002b. 'A feminist analysis of flight of abused women, plight of Canadian shelters: Another path to homelessness', *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless* 11: 307–24.
- . 2009. 'More than wife abuse that has gone old: A conceptual model for violence against the aged in Canada and the US'. In Press. *Journal of Comparative Family*.
- Seymour, Anne. 1998. 'Aetiology of the sexual abuse of children: An extended feminist perspective', *Women's Studies International Forum* 21, 4: 415–27.
- Stark, Evan, and Anne Flitcraft. 1996. *Women at Risk: Domestic Violence and Women's Health*. London: Sage.
- Statistics Canada. 2002. 'Homicides', *The Daily*, 25 Sept.
- . 2005. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. Catalogue no. 85–224–XIE. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.
- . 2008. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile*. Catalogue no. 85–224–XIE. Ottawa: Canadian Center for Justice Statistics.
- Steed, Judy. 1994. *Our Little Secret: Confronting Child Sexual Abuse in Canada*. Toronto: Random House.
- Straus, Murray, and Richard J. Gelles. 1990. *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8145 Families*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- , ———, and Suzanne K. Steinmetz. 1986. 'The marriage license as a hitting license', in A.S. Skolnick and J.H. Skolnick, eds, *Family in Transition*, 5th edn. Boston: Little, Brown, 290–303.
- Turton, Jackie. 2008. *Child Abuse, Gender and Society*. New York: Routledge.
- UNICEF. 2000. *A World Fit for Children: Millennium Development Goals Special Session on Children Documents the Convention of the Rights of the Child*. New Delhi, India: UNICEF.
- United Nations (UN). 1993. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW). At: www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/devaw; accessed 24 May 2001.
- UN Ratifications (ND). http://www.bayefsky.com/pdf/canada_t1_ratifications.pdf; accessed 20 October 2008.
- Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS). 1993. *The Daily Statistics*, 18 Nov. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11–001.
- White, Hilary. 2007. Police say murder of mother and unborn child a crime that 'defies comprehension'. Lifesite News. <http://www.lifesitenews.com/ldn/2007/mar/07031306.html>; accesses November 10, 2008.
- Wilson, Margo, and Martin Daly. 1993. 'Spousal homicide risk and estrangement', *Violence and Victims* 8: 3–15.
- and ———. 1994. 'Spousal homicide', *Juristat* 14: 1–15.
- Wolak, Janis, and David Finkelhor. 1998. 'Children exposed to partner violence', in Jasinski and Williams (1998: 73–111).
- Wolfe, D., L. Zak, and S. Wilson. 1986. 'Child witness to violence between parents: Critical issues in behaviour and social adjustment', *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology* 14, 1: 95–102.
- Yllö, Kersti A., and Michel Bograd, eds. 1988. *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Zima, Bonnie T., Regina Bussing, and Maria Bystritsky. 1999. 'Psychological stressors among sheltered homeless children: Relationship to behavioural problems and depressive symptoms', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 69, 1: 127–33.