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ABSTRACT

An exploratory study was conducted to investigate the growth towards independence of four battered women. Those studied were assumed to be a heterogeneous sample of a target population of women who have separated from physically abusive husbands. The A-B-A design allowed for a treatment period in which a semi-structured counselling program could be implemented. Qualitative data was obtained in eight, weekly counselling sessions and was recorded in the form of four case studies. A semantic differential instrument of 12 polar adjective pairs was used to gather quantitative time series data for descriptive analysis. The women assessed their feelings in the given areas a total of 45 times over the three phases. Consistencies among the women within childhood were discussed as well as possible contributing factors to the growth process. The women's self-assessed effects of the treatment program were also explored. Based on the data, conclusions were suggested for individual and social change to more effectively meet the needs of battered women.
DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to all battered women but, in particular, to the author of this poem. At the time of this study, she was 20 years old, a mother of two children, and was separating and returning weekly to an abusive husband. She gave a copy of this poem as a gift to the researcher. Before presenting this study, the latter wishes to write, as the author of the poem wrote, "May my words, in some way, help you to remain as strong."

Secret Love

Like the ocean he captures my sight,
Tall, dark, mysterious and strong,
And like a peacock in many ways,
Attracting an admiring throng.

He's as cold as ice, yet can melt my heart
With a single glance, and his body
Ripples with confidence, with sturdy grace;
To my eyes a rhapsody.

But rather than be as all before me,
Just another feather in his cap,
I'll love myself, and stay my jealousy,
Learn to hear my own heart tap.

One day perhaps he'll notice this girl,
And sidle charmingly to her side,
And soon he'll be trying to tear out her heart,
To conquer her, destroy her pride.

He'll never take what's never revealed!
So I'll hide my love inside a shell
And never show happiness, anger or tears,
Then he'll be trapped in my love cell.
Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Lorette Woolsey for her constant support, guidance, and encouragement from the day this research was a few pages of notes and thoughts until its emergence in its present form. I wish to thank Larry Cochran for his patient and valuable assistance with the research design and, in particular, the use of a semantic differential measure. I also extend thanks to Robert Armstrong for his insight into future program needs and his encouragement to expand my thoughts on program design towards specific goals. I am grateful to the women who work at Monroe House, Battered Women's Support Services, and the Women's Research Centre for the resource and positiveness they provided me.

To all my family and friends who listened to me, helped me clarify my thoughts and words, shared my ups and downs in the creation process, mediated my sometimes stormy relationship with a computer, or poured me coffee through the night....you enriched this research as you did me. Thank you.

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Background of The Problem

A violent society. Wife battering has taken place for thousands of years (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, Note 1) within all economic (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, Note 1; Downey & Howell, Note 2) and social groups (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). It is not specifically a condition of the 20th century or of any particular cultural or economic group. Despite its prevalence and longevity within society, it would seem there is no single understanding or definition of the act of "abusing" or "battering" when it is contained within the boundaries of marriage.

There is agreement in the literature that there is a physical dimension to "abuse" of women by their husbands but the question arises as to the range of these behaviors. In British Columbia a woman is able to charge her husband with physical assault. Should she decide to withdraw the complaint for any reason, the trial will "traditionally not proceed" unless the woman has sustained severe injuries (Ransom, Note 3). This would not necessarily be the case were the victim and assailant separate individuals who were not married to each other. The laws appear to be interpreted differently, depending upon the relationship of the parties involved.
Straus (1978) defines the marriage contract as a "hitting license." He is referring to the presence of violence between spouses to which there is often no legal or social response due to certain behaviors being so widely practiced. It would appear that he is alluding to a discrepancy between a certain degree of violence which is accepted between a husband and wife versus that which is condoned with unmarried individuals. He describes "normal violence" within the family structure as being a range of low risk (of injury) behaviors which are carried out on a repeated basis. For the purpose of this study, "battering" or "abuse" will be assumed to involve a high risk of injury. This definition will be expanded upon in a subsequent section.

At this point, it would appear valuable to consider the implications of the preceding reference to "normal violence" between spouses or, more specifically, against women. It appears that there exists a social condition which is acknowledged and socially condoned to some degree. There is a section to follow which addresses this particular issue. A husband's physical attack of his wife within a range of "normal" behavior seems to be simply a reflection of the general acceptance of a range of aggressive behaviors within society as a whole. For example, findings suggest that over 90% of American parents use corporal punishment with their children (Straus et al., 1980). Of these same parents, 70%
believe fist fights are a normal part of a boy's development years and just less than 50% support corporal punishment in the schools.

Physical punishment of one's children is not to be confused with the severe forms of either child or wife abuse but it does, however, contribute to the spectrum of aggression which is accepted and practiced within our society. One could question whether the range of acceptability is a reflection of the level of practice or if "normal violence" is carried out as a result of lack of social response and control. If social sanctions exist in response to behavior, the possibilities for "acceptable" boundaries of violence would appear limitless, given existing violent behaviors.

An estimated condition. Based on a study of 2,143 American families, it has been estimated that there are approximately 6,000,000 wife beatings occurring every year in that country (Straus et al., 1980). The same researchers suggest that 1.8 million American women are being assaulted by their husbands approximately two to three times per year with 33% being beaten five times or more. Canadian estimates predict that at least one in ten women is seriously abused by her spouse (McLeod, 1980). Information on the Vancouver area is also a matter of estimates alone but in 1978, 89% of Greater Vancouver Ministry of Human Resources social workers surveyed reported seeing at least one bat-
tered wife and 26% saw more than ten (Sanders-Krause and Hodgson, Note 4).

At this point it is necessary to define the terms "husband" and "wife" as any man and woman who are living together and maintaining a fulltime intimate relationship.

As stated, the figures available are merely estimates. Wife abuse is often camouflaged by symptoms of alcoholism, financial irresponsibility, child misbehavior, child abuse, or tension and anxiety experienced on the part of the woman. For example, 56 out of 60 women referred for psychiatric evaluation to a rural health clinic were actually victims of marital abuse (Hilberman & Munson, 1978). Also, of a total of 32,000 assaults experienced by a sample of 109 women, 517 or less than 2% were reported at all (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). It is suggested that a range of "normal violence" contributes in two ways to the underreporting of serious abuse. Firstly, if the woman has not recognised the progressions of abuse, she will not even be aware that she is being "battered" because of her initial acceptance. Secondly, the severity of her situation, once she has realized it, can cause her to withhold her feelings as a result of her own sense of shame and embarrassment. When underreporting is taken into account, estimates suggest that between 50% and 60% of women will, at some time, be physically abused by their husbands.
The violent family. Assessing the total spectrum of this 'hidden' violence within society, it appears to fall largely within the bounds of what is idealistically viewed as the central structure of love and nurturance—the family. Statistics for police officers killed on duty place domestic calls as the highest risk (Straus et al., 1980). Figures suggest that between 20% (martín, Note 1) and 22% (Straus et al., 1980) of police deaths occur while the officer is involved in mediating a domestic dispute. In regard to intrafamily homicide, there is greater risk that a woman will be murdered by her husband than by an unknown man whom she has been socialized to fear (Freeman, 1979). For example, on a less severe level, greater than one in six households have one spouse striking his or her partner in one year or greater than one in four over the course of a marriage (Straus et al., 1980). The structure of the family, along with its reputation for nurturance, must also assume the responsibility for being the most consistently violent body within our society (Straus et al., 1980).

What is wife battering? Straus (1978) describes the marriage license as a "hitting license," the reason being that there is such a degree of violence between married partners that it is difficult to distinguish limits of "normal" behavior. The line between socially condoned force and illegal assault is a thin one (Freeman, 1970). As
introduced previously, it can often depend on interpretation of the law and discretion of intervening personnel as to whether a husband is charged with assault and whether charges are, in fact, carried out. In his survey of over 2,000 couples, Straus (1978) gathered his data using what he termed "Conflict Resolution Techniques (CRT) Scales." Techniques or actions with a high risk of injury were classified to be within the Wife-Beating Index, namely, kicking, biting, hitting with the fist or with an object, "beating up," and being threatened with or using a knife or gun. Straus emphasized that he did not wish to convey an acceptance of pushing, shoving, grabbing, slapping, and throwing objects but that he could not include these acts in the Index due to the frequency with which they were carried out. They were labelled as "normal violence."

Frequency is also to be considered when defining a "battered" wife. If a woman is assaulted by her husband on only one occasion the question remains an academic one as to whether or not she can be defined as "abused." Relationships are not static and once a negative form of relating is initiated, there is a high probability that it will progress further in that direction (Shainess, Note 5). The destruction resulting from only one violent encounter (Pizzey, 1974) simply indicates and adds to the power struggle which lies beneath it (May, 1972; Straus, 1978). Not only do
statistics indicate a median for American couples of between two and three assaults each year (Straus, 1978) but, of the 33% of the women who were beaten only once in the year of study, figures are not available as to the number of times they were beaten in subsequent years.

Why focus on women as victims? This study focuses on the woman in the marriage relationship. There are a number of reasons for this. There are men who are physically abused by their wives but findings (Straus et al., 1980) as well as overt physical differences point to it being a considerably lower figure than the incidence of wife abuse. The woman's goal is most often self-defence (Martin, Note 1).

In addition, women's needs for growth, independence, and freedom of choice have historically been ignored (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Women have been subordinated to men in a role which has naturally promoted lack of respect for their sex and position and fostered the direct byproduct of abuse. Perhaps it is the acceptance of physical force as an appropriate expression of masculinity (Straus, 1978) that presently allows some legal systems to underreact to women as victims but overreact when they assume the aggressor role (Richette, Note 6). This study wishes to take into account a historical 'deficit' as well as address existing conditions. Husbands inflict more severe injuries on their
spouses and also repeat the violence more frequently (Straus, 1978). Confronted with the differences in physical strength, the question arises as to what percentage of the wife's violence is in self-defence against that already initiated by her husband (Straus, 1978; Martin, Note 1). Straus (1978) has also emphasized the need to focus on the woman because of the social and economic "locks" which hold her in the marriage in ways which do not affect the man (p.449).

**Why does the woman stay or return?** Studies on wife battering describe the physical limitations faced by these women should they choose to leave the marriage—lack of money, job skills, and a safe living environment. Leaving temporarily or permanently is difficult when the woman is physically prevented from doing so, whether directly or by threat of future violence. Her fear in leaving is justified (Fleming, 1979) as the ultimate potential danger is death. It is more likely that a woman will be murdered by her spouse than by a stranger (Freeman, 1979). Gelles (1972) found that one of the best indicators of whether the woman chose to leave or stay was the level of abuse. Rounsaville (1978) states that, in order for the woman to leave, the fear and hardship of leaving must be less than that experienced by staying. If leaving is the more threatening, financial and emotional resources which are present can even
be ignored when she decides to remain. It is suggested that a woman stays out of fear, only for as long as her concerns for her personal safety are less than they would be were she to leave. It is distressing to consider the potential severity of such a situation in which a woman pursues a relationship to a point where she fears for her life no matter what she does. It is appropriate at this time to add that the two most severely battered women in the case study conducted by the researcher both made comments to this effect. They could suggest no intervention which, in retrospect, they would assess as having been effective in promoting them to leave the battering relationship at an earlier point in the cycle. One woman said, "I wasn't ready to listen....I had to be pushed to my limit."

The review of the literature will provide an indepth exploration in answer to the question which heads this section. An understanding of why many women remain within or return to a battering relationship is synonymous with an understanding of the battering cycle itself. The remainder of this section addresses the specific belief that a woman remains to be abused solely for reasons of physical needs.

A condition which generated this study is that there are many women who leave and then return, repeatedly, to a battering spouse (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; McLeod, 1980; Rounsaville, 1978). Some never leave at all. While Dobash and
Dobash (1979) found that 88% left at some time, 48% of these stayed away less than a week and 90% said they most often remained in the home immediately after the attack. These figures appear to support the very debilitating and almost universal feelings felt by battered women following an abusive encounter (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Gelles, 1972; Martín, 1976; McLeod, 1980; Straus et al., 1980; Walker, 1979). The woman feels afraid, isolated, helpless, unsupported, and guilty. At this point, suffice it to say that battered women are responding with real feelings to a very real and destructive environment. To say, however, that these women stay within or return to a marriage because they have no place to go (McLeod, 1980) would be to oversimplify. Many women with economic resources remain or return, while many without financial independence permanently leave.

The women who seek assistance from transition and emergency houses are often working class or from lower socioeconomic groups with little or no money, education, or job skills (Barnsley, Note 7; Johnson & Gordon, Note 8). Statistics are even less clear in regard to middle class women. They are often more able to use private services available or to separate from their husbands in some way without seeking public assistance from transition houses, counseling services for women, government social services, etcetera. For whatever reason, women from lower economic
groups appear to use public resources more frequently than
woman in marriages of greater affluence (Fleming, 1979).

**Psychological effects of physical battering.** Most
force within society is neither visible nor violent (Goode,
1971). The psychological and sociological aspects of wife
abuse are farreaching and serve as a major influence in
affecting the woman's behavior. She is often governed by
social, cultural, and traditional sex role expectations, all
of which shape her goals, beliefs, and expectations of her
self and provide her with a range of accepted behaviors and
responses. For example, if a woman is raised to believe she
should be "weak" in order to be approved of by a man, she
need not be physically abused in order for her to consider
herself unequal to her spouse. In this situation, it would
appear that her 'victimization' would have already begun on
a psychological level.

The woman experiences the psychological effects of the
physical battering itself with a considerable background in
support of them. Often she was not only raised within a
society and a family both of which promoted traditional role
differences, but she is faced with similar social conditions
as an adult. The isolation, criticism, and threats to which
she is subjected by an abusive husband constitute major
forms of psychological abuse (Women's Research Centre, Note
9). In response, she begins to doubt her own worth,
control, and even her own sanity. There has often been little or no direct physical battering up to this point. There can also be sexual abuse—forced sexual activity—at some time in the cycle which may or may not involve physical assault and injury. Needless to say, the psychological effects of this form of abuse are of a similar magnitude to the hurt and destruction possible from many forms of physical battering. Walker (1979) states that psychological abuse is as powerful as physical abuse in destroying a woman's self-esteem and reducing any belief that she had in her own ability to control her environment.

The physical battering may clarify the very real threat to the woman's safety but, on a psychological level, it would appear to promote a cycle of destruction which is already in process. The theory of victimization, applied to battered women, would suggest that by the time the initial shock and denial is decreased, the woman is already debilitated to a low level of self-esteem (Walker, 1979). This progression need not involve a physical dimension in order to commence. At the point at which physical abuse is begun, the woman's belief in her own lack of worth is verified and she can, in turn, become "an accomplice to her own battering" (Walker, 1979, p.69).

Statement of the Problem

This study will attempt to present an indepth unders-
standing of a woman's growth after leaving a battering relationship. As it is exploratory in nature, this study asks the following question: What factors contribute to a woman's feelings of independence and self-worth as she psychologically separates from her abusive husband? In addition, are there steps indicated in such a process? Is there a point at which specific intervention, activity, or a realization of a particular nature is indicated as valuable? Are there any apparent benefits of a semi-structured treatment program?

'Clarification of terms.' Permanent separation is not to be understood as an implied goal of this study. Rather, physical separation has been suggested as the most effective means presently available to abused women in order to commence personal growth towards psychological independence (Walker, 1979). For this reason, it is assumed that psychological separation and independence are preceded by physical separation.

A second clarification applies to the definition of the term "independence." It is not a financial goal but a psychological or emotional one. It implies an increase in self-esteem linked with a belief in one's ability to be self-determining. The emotional bonds that link the couple are extremely strong (Davidson, 1978; Walker, 1979). In this study, the psychological bonds are approached as being
of considerable importance. Researched data is widely available on the woman's needs in the areas of finances, physical safety, shelter, job skills, and child care (McLeod, 1980; Roy, 1977; Downey & Howell, Note 2; Barnsley, Note 7). There is also an awareness of the needs for emotional support to reduce the effects of living in terror and isolation (Richette, Note 6). Despite the fact that these needs are being met for some women, there are those who repeatedly return to their husbands. This would seem to indicate that those who manage to remain separated are, in some way, benefiting from certain experiences or awarenesses that give them the ability to resist the psychological bonds to the batterer. This study seeks to explore the nature of this input. Through an indepth understanding of the separation of a small sample of women, it is hoped that implications for a target population will lead to effective program design to approach those women newly separated from an abusive husband. It may even be of potential benefit to those still living in violent situations.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

Myths

There are many myths existing around the subject of battered wives. Perhaps one of the widely accepted beliefs is that the men who batter their spouses are social deviants
and form a minority. Straus (1981) and Walker (1979) estimate that one in two women will, at some time in their marriages, be seriously physically abused by their partners. The widespread practice of physical violence discounts the myth of it being an individual pathology. Without considering the roots of such behavior at this point, this study supports the view that physical violence is a chosen response, a set of purposeful behaviors emerging from a certain rationale or belief system and ending in the attainment of a specific set of goals (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Rounsaville, 1978). It is a "psychosocial disorder of society at large" (Walker, Note 10, p. 75).

A second misconception lies in the myth of the family being solely a structure providing love and affection. Family isolation occurs when society perpetuates such an idealistic and unrealistic view of family life that stresses, often resulting from a natural change pattern, are not confronted in any way. Violence which results further promotes the psychological as well as physical isolation of the woman. As a society, we have set severity and situational limits for such violence. Whitehurst (1971) found that, of a sample in which 53% were male and 85% were married with some college education, 62% said it is acceptable to act violently with one's spouse when extramarital sex is the issue. Nearly 33% believed this violence is not
only negative but is also a sign of love and concern (p.688).

If one acknowledges individual choice and responsibility, it is clear that the woman can, in no way, frustrate, nag, or force her husband into a violent response. She may promote his anger or insecurity but she does not 'cause' him to be abusive. His choice to be violent may extend to the point where he makes it acceptable by imagining provocation (Davidson, 1978). In living with and accepting these responses, the woman is playing a part in their continuation. Contrary to the belief that the 'problem' is solely the husband's (Dobash & Dobash, 1979), the battered woman lives in constant fear. Her own victimization is reinforced by the daily conditions with which she is forced to deal as long as she lives with abuse. Realistically, she is victimized but it can be the woman's perception of her own powerlessness which holds her in the relationship as opposed to a real level of powerlessness (Dutton & Painter, Note 11). The woman can acknowledge her active role, however, without acknowledging debilitating guilt. It is a positive step towards her recognizing her own potential for control. She also is focusing on changing her own behavior and not that of her husband.

This writer suggests that there are misconceptions that imply that the woman can control her husband's violence
through her own behavior. Thorman's (1980) view is that the woman remaining within the marriage can insist on an absence of violence. Gayford (Note 12) believes that an abusive husband is less likely to be violent if he is aware that his wife has the ability to leave. It should be noted that the woman's isolation is fostered by such assumptions. Further, this writer queries the accuracy of such beliefs, in that a basic tenet of counselling is that people ultimately only have full control over their own behavior. While we may counsel individuals in the hope that they may improve their relationships with others, such improvement involves only influence, never complete control of the other's action. A woman is further victimized when it is suggested or she believes that she should change her own behavior in order to change her husband's behavior (Martin, Note 13). Rather, her progress from victimization to mental health is promoted when she changes her own behavior in order to protect her physical and emotional health.

A related, widely accepted belief alongside this myth is that the woman is passive in attempting to avoid or remove herself from the violence. This is not the case (Barnsley, Note 7; Gelles, 1972; Rounsaville, 1978). This researcher suggests that the abused woman initially seeks counselling help in order to understand and control her spouse as opposed to herself. Recognition of realistic
limits (i.e. one cannot "change" another person who is unwilling to change, simply by seeking counselling oneself), is the first step. She will often recognise that she has to leave her husband only after this, when she accepts her inability to change his 'illness' and behavior (Hilberman, Note 14).

There has existed a strong belief that if the woman does not leave and her husband does not change, she must be a masochist to live under such conditions (Snell, Rosenwald, & Robey, 1964). These same researchers suggested that a violent marriage in which the husband batters his wife is maintained at an equilibrium by such destruction (p.110). They suggest that her need to be controlling is responded to by his violence which allows him to vent his aggression while decreasing the guilt she had developed. This researcher could find no other articles in support of this theory. Masochism is disregarded by current theorists and researchers as a cause for women remaining within a battering relationship (Carlson, 1977; Walker, Note 10).

A common misconception that further serves as a social reinforcement of abuse is that men and women are equal in marriage. Dobash and Dobash (1979) base their sociocultural view of battering on sexual inequality, lack of social awareness, and the idealizing of the marriage relationship, all of which they believe reinforce the sense of isolation
felt by the woman and the actual isolation of her condition.

The supposed clarity of rules is another myth. With rules between spouses being "undefined, implicit, and ambiguous" (Straus & Hotaling, 1980, p.140), it is difficult for the battered woman to understand her husband's limits let alone exert any predictability in her own life while she is living with him. This lack of predictability will be expanded upon in the section on learned helplessness. Based in the belief that the rules are clear, when in fact, they are not, the myth has developed that the husband and wife should vent their feelings in a cathartic experience of working through their differences. Such venting not only causes problems of its own but rarely is it directed at the specific issues (Straus & Hotaling, 1980) or at changing existing patterns in dealing with conflict. Such venting should not be confused with self-defence on the part of the woman. If women do physically and verbally show their anger and frustration through retaliation, most of these actions are generated by fear and have self-protection as the goal, not abuse of the husband (Martin, Note 1). In summary, lack of clarity in a relationship in such areas as intimacy, distance, and communication of feelings can serve in a number of ways as a contributing factor to violent patterns.

The battered woman has to face very real concerns of financial security and physical and psychological retalia-
tion if she leaves her husband. The following myth does not question the severity of these risks in leaving. Rather, in response to very real fears, the woman does not 'have to' remain in the marriage. Those who leave are often more severely battered than many who remain (Gelles, 1972). Also, the women who risk independent living often have either little or no money (Barnsley, Note 7; Johnson & Gordon, Note 8).

An assumption exists that there are certain personality characteristics shared by the women who remain within a battering relationship. Their symptoms are often not the cause but the result of their being battered (Walker, Note 15).

A final myth is that wife abuse is a recent form of family violence. While it is only since the early 1970's that it has been exposed and studied at any length, there is no indication that our present society practises wife abuse to any greater degree than preceding generations. Dobash and Dobash (1979) present an indepth historical review of the rights, social requirements, and legal and social limitations of women in a patriarchal society. Throughout the Reformation, so-called nagging or scolding women were publicly ridiculed and often punished (p.59). The same charges could not be made against the husband because his rights extended to far greater lengths in order for him to
guide, control, and discipline his wife. In 1878, American working class battered women were acknowledged with the passing of the Matrimonial Causes Act which gave Magistrates' Courts the power to grant a separation order and maintenance to be paid if the woman was in physical danger living with a husband who had been convicted of aggravated assault (Freeman, 1979). The campaign which preceded this act and the efforts which followed it did not, however, acknowledge battering of middle class women. The changes which are presently occurring on a legal, medical, and social level follow many years of effort in dealing with a practise which is rooted in the very framework of the social structure. Six years ago it was possible for a researcher to find no references to wife abuse in professional journals (Nichols, 1976).

The Abusive Relationship

An awareness of what characterizes the abusive couple would appear to serve as a valuable background towards understanding the various theories behind wife abuse. It should be noted that the data which have been obtained to date are primarily of couples who have, by some means, come to public attention. One of the exceptions is the study by Straus et al. (1980). Data can only convey the degree and nature of the abuse of which we are aware and not the actual incidence of the whole spectrum of violence.
The profiles of both the husband and wife are almost identical in some respects (Moore, 1979). The woman's low self-esteem is characterized by feelings of guilt, incompetence, shame, powerlessness, and lack of worth (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Moore, 1979; Downey & Howell, Note 2). The husband's jealousy and possessiveness (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Rounsaville, 1978; Walker, 1979) are indicative of his own lack of esteem. The tenacity with which they both approach an intense relationship is one of the most frequently noted aspects of their continuing cycle (Davidson, 1978; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Rounsaville, 1978; Walker, 1979; Segovia-Ashley, Note 16). The woman is often aware of her husband's violence prior to their marrying or living together (Rounsaville, 1978). This same researcher also found that 58% of the women were under 20 years of age when they married or cohabited, with 49% being involved in a courtship of less than a year.

Despite the similarities between spouses in the area of low self-esteem, there have been found to be differences in their backgrounds. In regard to family violence experienced or viewed as a child, Straus et al. (1980) found that men who had seen their parents physically attack each other were more likely to have hit their spouse in the year preceding the study; one in three or 35% versus one in ten or 10.7%
for those who had no family history of violence. Violence viewed during the teen years was especially influential. A majority of battered women, on the other hand, have been found to have not experienced violence in their birth homes (Walker, 1979). Findings suggest these figures to be as little as 26% (Rounsaville, 1978) and 29% (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Prior to 15 years of age, 66% of the women and 78% of the men were, however, exposed to a family disruption (Rounsaville, 1978). This might take the form of separation from a parent through death or divorce or emotional distance in the family characterized by delinquency or serious school difficulties.

Straus et al. (1980) found that the women at highest risk are of a minority background, live in a city of one million or greater in population, are of lower socioeconomic status, and often have not completed high school. The presence of children is not a differentiating characteristic, but pregnancy appears to alter the battering cycle (Hilberman & Munson, 1978), often increasing its frequency. The battering husband has often graduated from high school and has, within the past year, experienced a major life crisis—unemployment, major illness, jail, or death of a close relative. Based on findings that 27% of 92 men were child abusers and 44% of 73 men had criminal records, Carlson (1977) states that the assailants were more deviant
than the victims (p.457). Although this would appear to be the case, spouse abuse is not limited to pathological persons.

Similarities in age, income, education, employment status, population density, and religion are factors that have provided a common thread between marriages characterized by wife battering (Straus et al., 1980). In contradiction to one of the above findings, however, the husband has also been found to have less formal education and/or a lower paid job than his wife (Downey & Howell, Note 2)—61% in one study (Rounsaville, 1978).

Although the husband has been found to have a higher incidence of alcohol and drug abuse than his wife, it is suggested that these could simply be the vehicles through which he chooses to carry out his desired actions. Carlson (1977) states that 60% of the sampled men versus 10% of the sampled women abused alcohol and 21% of the men versus 5% of the women abused nonprescription drugs. There is a possibility that the woman uses these means as an escape from the violence of the marriage. This researcher found that two of the four women studied said that alcohol had "dulled the pain" or "made life more bearable." The incidence of battering when both spouses are sober (Rounsaville, 1978) would indicate neither drugs nor alcohol can be scapegoated as the single catalyst.
The battering relationship is often intense to the point of being symbiotic (Rounsaville, 1978). Each partner has often been found to see the mate as powerful versus a powerless self (Dutton & Painter, Note 11). The frequency of extreme feelings of jealousy on the part of the battering man (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Rounsaville, 1978; Walker, 1979), leads him to socially isolate his wife. This isolation further promotes the woman's feelings of helplessness. As Davidson (1978) outlines, the woman is often in one of three stages. Either she is anxious to change her husband, resigned to her situation and longing for help, or she is eager to change her own life.

Despite physical disparities, the wife will sometimes fight back, especially if she has witnessed violence between her parents as a child (Straus et al., 1980). Dobash and Dobash (1979) found that 24% hit back a few times, 42% seldom hit back, and 33% never did. Psychological abuse, however, can be more powerful and destructive than physical abuse (Walker, 1979). The former can occur in many ways, three major forms being name calling and constant criticism, unpredictable accusations and threats, and forced physical isolation from friends and community. The physical and emotional isolation the woman is experiencing only intensifies her self-doubts and promotes the destruction of her self-esteem.
Pizzey (1974) provided a possible view to understanding the beginnings of the battering cycle and what seem to be unrealistic responses of the woman. At the point at which either psychological or physical abuse recognizably occurs for the first time, the woman is likely to respond in one of two ways. If she was exposed to violence as a child she is more inclined to respond with passivity whereas if she was not familiar with it from her childhood she will respond with shock. In either case, she believes she can do something different in order to change her husband. Her subsequent response is guilt, shame, unworthiness, incompetency, powerlessness, and anger when the battering pattern intensifies rather than decreases despite her attempts to improve the relationship.

Over time, as the violence continues there is an increased probability that there will be other family or friends present despite the earlier pattern of the cycle to keep this aspect of the relationship a secret (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The most common areas of disagreement prior to a violent encounter are sexual jealousy (44%), money (16%), and home skills (16%) (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). These disagreements are merely symptoms of a cause. Underlying the overt aggression is a fear of loss of control by both spouses (Hilberman & Munson, 1978; Rounsaville, 1978). The result is a conflict around dependency and independency.
issues, Rounsaville (1978) also describing the husband's personality as possessive with paranoid tendencies and the wife as fluctuating between passivity and aggression. Davidson (1978) uses the term "fusion" to describe the intensity of their interaction and the husband's need for his wife as a part of himself. The violence is rarely discussed, with findings indicating only 8% of the men show immediate remorse and 22% show it a few days later (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

Anywhere from 74% (Rounsaville, 1978) to 88% (Dobash & Dobash, 1979) leave their husbands at some point in the relationship with 44% leaving at least twice (Rounsaville, 1978). Less than half have been found to stay away less than one week (Dobash & Dobash, 1979), often living with other family members within the neighborhood. This researcher found that, in the case studies conducted, the women lived apart from their husbands on at least three occasions during the relationship for as brief a period as three days. During any of these periods they had constant contact with him by phone or in person.

The loss of control felt by the woman, the isolation, and the physical and psychological battering promote her clinging to any identity for fear of her losing one altogether (Cottrell, 1978). In Meadian theory, the self is not a static state but a dynamic process of change (Cottrell,
1978, p.155). "If the defining actions of the significant others are denigrative and rejective of the person and if the social context is so impoverished as to provide no social alternatives, then she will appear to cling to that identity and evoke responses confirming it in preference to having no identity at all" (Cottrell, 1978, p.158).

Two of the factors which contribute to the woman’s leaving her husband are negatively related to each other, namely, severity of abuse and self-esteem. Whereas the degree of battering promotes the woman leaving her husband, it also destroys her self-esteem which promotes her staying (Gropper & Currie, Note 17). As stated, both women who leave a battering husband and those who remain lack financial resources. Financial need is a contributing but not a deciding factor as to whether the woman physically separates. In addition, the woman will often possess a traditional view of sex roles (Walker, 1979). As a result, the stigma of being separated or divorced, a single parent, and without the security of a spouse will contribute to her questioning of her own sense of worth. This researcher found that all four of the women studied described their seeking psychological security as opposed to financial security in their relationships with their husbands. A third contributing factor to the woman’s leaving is her recognition of her husband’s ‘illness’ and her consequent inabi-
lity to change him in any way (Hilberman, Note 14).

The irony is that violence succeeds in the short run in keeping many families together and carrying out daily requirements of living (Straus & Hotaling, 1980). Over time, the woman comes to act out the small degree of false 'control' that she does have through active precipitation of the husband's violence (Walker, 1979). Dobash and Dobash (1979) state that any acknowledgement of victim precipitation is an acceptance of the use of physical violence (p. 135) but Walker (1979) describes the woman's instigation of the violent encounter as her desire to bring about the inevitable so as to have some degree of control and to more quickly reach what she defines as the third phase of the cycle, that is, reconciliation and peace.

There are three basic factors which have been outlined as major influences on the woman leaving an abusive husband—severity, self-esteem, and belief in the husband's inability to change. There are several theories as to why she stays. These various theories will be examined following a discussion of the social response to battered women. The sociocultural view is based entirely on the existing social inequality of the sexes. Closely linked with this inequality is the response given by the legal and medical professions, law enforcement, and government social service personnel when the woman requests help in
changing or dealing with her situation. It is suggested that the response she receives from one or more of these sources can assist her in developing a sense of personal control or can further support her feelings of guilt, helplessness, and lack of worth.

**The Social Response**

The absence of support for battered women by legal, medical, law enforcement, and social service personnel is well documented (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Pizzey, 1974; Rounsaville, 1978; Steinmetz, 1977; Straus, 1978; Sanders-Krause & Hodgson, Note 4; Women's Research Centre, Note 9). Women have traditionally been viewed as the precipitators of their own victimization and, therefore, solely responsible for maintaining, changing, or terminating their relationship with the man.

In British Columbia, "battered women are not addressed per se in legislation, policy, or regulations of the Ministry of Human Resources MHR. They fall under the mandate in two situations—as an extension of child welfare or because they require substitute income sufficient to provide basic needs" (Women's Research Centre, Note 9, p. 167). Should the woman not have a child living with her or be financially in need, individual interpretation on the part of the interviewing social worker plays a large part in the services and emotional support she will receive. There exists no
mandate for dealing with these women despite the fact that they might have been severely injured by their husbands on a number of occasions.

For families, "the goal of Ministry policy is that of keeping the family together" (Women's Research Centre, Note 9, p. 165). Ideally, this suggests marital counselling and/or reconciliation. The next step to be pursued would be an inquiry into the required support, financial and/or psychological, for the woman and her accompanying child or children. As stated by the Women’s Research Centre (Note 9), the Ministry can provide all of the services needed to help a woman leave a battering situation should reconciliation be deemed inappropriate. An apparent contradiction is contained within the statement that "it would be unusual for a social worker to encourage a woman to leave, although the worker would probably support the woman if she decided to do so on her own" (p. 174). In either case, the woman receives no support in her decision-making process. Even if she carries out her separation and seeks various forms of support in doing so, there is no record kept of her having been battered. If she remains with her husband her request will be labelled as marriage-related. The Ministry does not require that statistics be maintained on battering.

A "Policy Statement on Social Work Practice with Assaulted Women and their Families," issued by the Canadian
Association of Social Workers in October, 1982, addressed the social worker's role in more effectively documenting, treating, and changing the condition of battered women. Reconciliation and family counselling techniques are stated as "potentially inappropriate, ill-timed, or dangerous for the woman and her children." Their appeal for improved services for abused women emerges from a growing recognition that professionals have often not been aware that they have been seeing abused women and that they may be contributing to the maintenance of a potentially lethal situation. In a December, 1975, to May, 1976 pilot study of agencies in Greater Vancouver, Transition House was the only one specifically recording incidence and details of battering (Downey & Howell, Note 2).

Of a total of 283 domestic violence calls to the Vancouver Police over a two month period, a police car was sent out 53.8% of the time. Only 10% of these were given "priority one" attention with the probability rising to 67% if weapons and alcohol were involved or to 73% if children were present in the home (Dutton, Note 18). There exists what might be termed a stalemate between battered women and law enforcement personnel. With the incidence of battering in Vancouver increasing to almost double in the last few years to 75 or 80 calls per night, Vancouver Police find it discouraging when a woman will not press assault charges.
against her husband or will withdraw them before the court date (Van Fleet, Note 19). One indication of progress occurred in August, 1982, when the Criminal Code was amended so that spouses could also be charged with sexual assault.

Hesitation on the part of the woman to call the police or press charges could be a reflection of an arrest rate of 7% (Dutton, Note 18) and of the leniency of the courts. In a Vancouver Sun survey in November, 1982, the harshest sentence given in 68 family disputes was 12 months probation, and this was only in two cases. Vancouver Police "Crisis Intervention Techniques" material advocates "compromise" and "the goal for the officer...to get parties in conflict to commit themselves to a verbal contract about specific future behavior" (p. 30). The question is an academic one as to whether these goals adequately protect the woman in the situation because 85% of the time mediation is not even possible (Van Fleet, Note 19). Apart from removing the husband from the home, there appears little that can be done to ensure the safety of both spouses but, in particular, the woman. It would appear that other preventive measures must be initiated. Vancouver has a group-based counselling program for abusive men, coordinated by Dr. D. Dutton, Department of Psychology, at the University of British Columbia.

The question of social responsibility extends to the
individual within society. One study conducted found that a total of 68% of the sampled women had been physically abused in public by their husbands but that only 3% of these women had received help (Rounsaville, 1978). In such a case, the reality of the women's social isolation is validated through personal experience.

Theoretical Approaches

**Preface.** The theories of wife battering are presented as separate and distinct from each other but there are few researchers who do not acknowledge the contribution of a number of factors to the inception and continuation of the battering cycle. By clearly delineating these existing theories, this researcher believes that a more intensive understanding of the woman's response to abuse will be obtained alongside a greater awareness for future program design.

**Sociocultural.** The feminist-political (Walker, Note 15) or sociocultural theory of wife battering describes the abuse largely as a reflection of unequal power relationships within a patriarchal social structure (Richette, Note 6). The success or failure of a woman's marriage becomes a major determinant of her self-esteem. Concurrently, she loses her "personhood" in this union (Martin, Note 13, p. 44). Martin (Note 1) quotes a Connecticut court ruling as recent as 1962 which states that the wife's obligation is to be her hus-
band's "helpmate, to love and care for him in sickness, and to labor faithfully to advance his interests." She must perform "her household tasks and domestic duties...without compensation. A husband is entitled to benefit of his wife's industry and economy" (p. 12-13). The woman's enculturated duty to be subservient and nurturant to her husband (Segovia-Ashley, Note 16), linked with a social environment which teaches her that she needs a man to take care of her (Walker, Note 15), results in feelings of helplessness and confusion when she is confronted with a battering partner.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) define the problem as the acceptability of social and personal domination and "rightful" control of women by men (p. 243). They acknowledge the religious, economic, and political sanctions of such a power imbalance. The acceptance and promotion of men's authority over women within the family and society as a whole has been supported as a contributing factor to the intergenerational pattern of wife battering (Freeman, 1979; Straus & Hotaling, 1980). The deference, in time, becomes a moral issue (Freeman, 1979). Physical control is unnecessary when much more effective ideological ones are present. The strength of the emotional bond of pity (Segovia-Ashley, Note 16) is only reinforced on a physical level when abuse occurs. The acceptance of agents of force in acquiring desired goals within an unequal power system such as the
family does not deal with the source of the problem, namely, the lack of communication in response to real or perceived challenge to authority (Steinmetz, 1977). With the emphasis on power within the family, the husband will resort to violence as a socially approved tool of dominance, often in response to what he perceives to be threats to his superiority (Rounsaville, 1978). His wife's actions need not be carried out to challenge or incite. It is only necessary that the husband 'believes' that they are.

Rosenberg's (1979) theory of the development of the self would serve to clarify at this point. The individual flexes the boundaries of the self in order to incorporate external elements in the formulation of a self-concept. Self-esteem is seen as being specific to a role, task, or set of abilities which the individual values. If one considers the culturally-defined expectation of women to fulfill a 'traditional' role, it would seem that the inherent and inevitable destruction of self-esteem for the woman within the battering cycle has far-reaching dimensions.

The October, 1982, Policy Statement of the Canadian Association of Social Workers acknowledges a sociocultural view when it states that "battering is the result of the perception of women as possessions which leads to their utilization as objects of men's violent behavior." The sociocultural view indicates the importance of social condi-
tions in creating and allowing the continuation of the battering cycle between spouses. The model fails, however, to account for the differences that exist between the males' responses (Dutton & Painter, Note 20).

**Social learning.** Wife battering can be viewed as a set of behaviors which have been learned and accepted as a result of the cognitive and behavioral dimensions of socially sanctioned sexual inequality. It can also be linked with family and individual patterns. This latter component is what might be termed 'microculturation' in that learning on a cognitive and behavioral level is presumed to take place as a result of what occurs specifically within the home. A basic premise of the social learning theory is that the violence sanctioned within the childhood home will be re-enacted within the adult home. In point, the sons of violent parents have a rate of wife battering 1000% greater than those of nonviolent parents (Straus et al., 1980). These same researchers say that one out of four parents who were physically abused as a teenager are likely to abuse their own children as compared to one out of sixteen for those of nonabusive parents. The links between wife battering and child abuse will not be reviewed in this paper but, in brief reference, serve to support the social learning view of the former.

There is a cognitive dimension to social learning which
promotes men to believe that they should be tough and aggressive and not tender and soft (Whitehurst, 1971). Hepburn (1973) also states that it is socially acceptable for men to use alcohol as an excuse for violence and apparent uncontrolled behavior. He states that the psychological cost of failure or losing face is often less than the embarrassment of physical violence. Straus et al. (1980) state that we learn to accept the struggle for power within the family as well as the techniques with which to carry it out. Aggression is a learned response to threatened control (Hilberman & Munson, 1978). Rarely is the link between the two recognizable. It is possible that, while the husband is directing his undifferentiated aggression onto his wife, the woman is concurrently directing her anger onto herself (Hilberman, Note 14). She is covertly denying her "rage by means of a complex mythology about wife beating" (p. 159), a mythology which promotes her belief in her own control in and separation from the destructiveness of the abuse. Alongside, it is interesting to note Rounsaville's (1978) findings that state that 16% of the women in his study approved of spouses hitting each other at certain times and 20% said they deserved a physical reprimand at some point.

The behavioral aspect of this theory is closely linked with what is termed "identification with the aggressor" or "defensive identity." The child who sees violence within
the home is more likely to be a perpetrator of it or, if a woman, to be a victim as an adult (Gelles, Note 21). There are significant effects resulting from viewing violence as well as from participating in it. The viewer will take the role of agent of abuse in order to decrease anxiety (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961; Rounsaville, 1978). There is a possibility that, for women in particular, early exposure to wife abuse may serve to desensitize them (Carlson, 1977) as skills are most often learned from the parent of the same sex (Straus et al., 1980).

Norms to justify wife battering (Straus & Hotaling, 1980) develop alongside an awareness of when, where, and how it is socially acceptable. As there are consistencies on a cognitive dimension between individuals within society, there exists a degree of similarity on a behavioral level. Social norms contribute to a pattern of behaviors between abusive spouses as well as between couples in general. Wife battering is not 'random' in terms of degree or occurrence (Straus & Hotaling, 1980). Straus (197 ) recounts a story in which a battering husband acknowledged his loss of control in hitting his wife. When asked why he did not stab her, he said he would not do such a thing. It appeared that he had set limits for himself and that he could 'lose control' only within certain boundaries of behavior.

Straus and Hotaling (1980) outline what they believe to
be a number of contributing factors towards family violence. These ten factors can be summarized by saying that family members often spend much time together, engage in a wide range of activities with an intensity that can easily create feelings of infringement of space and threaten ascribed family roles. Not only is membership, inherently, involuntary but stress from constant change can emphasize age and sex differences to the point where each individual's vulnerabilities are tested by other family members. The social expectation of the 'right' of family privacy often assists in isolating rather than educating the family members. Positive interaction within the family is socially valued without the skills often being taught in order to bring it about. Instead of skills of communication, there exist skills of aggression or passivity. The apparent result is the man's denial of his violence or rationalizing of his actions. As long as the woman sees herself as the cause of the violence, she will feel obligated to remain in the relationship (Dutton & Painter, Note 20).

In conclusion, this theory of wife battering cannot be solely relied upon for the reason that it does not account for the differences between men (Dutton & Painter, Note 20) and also between women. All men who view violence as a child will not choose to carry it out nor will all women choose to remain victimized by a batterer. It would appear
valuable to consider the theory of contributing stress.

**Stress theory.** The basic premise of this theory is that wife battering is a final effort in a struggle for power within the family (Straus et al., 1980). The external pressures of unemployment, substance addiction, lack of money, and/or the effects of low status jobs on self-esteem (Carlson, 1977; Hilberman & Munson, 1978) combine with the stress of constant change within the family system (Kardener & Fuller, 1970). Poor impulse control and pathological jealousy can form a desperate mix when combined with any or all of the above (Hilberman & Munson, 1978). The battering and violence in general emerges as the symptom of underlying fear of actual and/or predicted powerlessness (Hilberman & Munson, 1978; May, 1972). The low self-esteem of both the husband and wife create and contribute to a violent means of achieving desired self-esteem and significance (May, 1972). Contrary to some existing theories which accept violence as a rational response to stress, frustrations, or threats to identity (Gelles, 1972), it is more frequently deemed an inappropriate and negative means of responding (May, 1972; Straus et al., 1980) to what is considered to be a reservoir of power needs that our socialization process creates within us (Martín, Note 22). The findings link lower socioeconomic families with greater degrees of external stress and higher proportions of wife battering (Freeman, 1979; Gelles, 1972).
It is suggested that there is an increased potential for wife abuse when authority is challenged or perceived to be challenged within the family (Steinmetz, 1977). The stresses present are the catalyst but not the cause. Wife battering has, in fact, been found to be three times as frequent when the husband is employed part-time as opposed to being twice as frequent when he is unemployed (Straus et al., 1980).

May (1972) describes one response to the stress of powerlessness as "pseudoinnocence," a reframing of helplessness as a virtuous state of avoidance. In not coming to terms with the destructiveness in one's self or others and in making use of positive power in terms of responsibility, this innocence becomes self-destructive (p. 50). If this theory is applied to battered women, an acknowledgement of self-directed aggression and ignored personal strengths implicates the woman's participation in a denial of her self-worth. Stress, aligned with a sense of powerlessness, can be seen as a significant influence on the behavior of both spouses.

Two stressful conditions which are not discussed in a majority of the literature on abuse are boredom and intimacy. The former, also termed "underload" (Straus & Hotaling, 1980), would seem to support the doubled rate of wife abuse when the husband is unemployed but fails to account
for the higher figure when he is employed parttime. As for intimacy, the potential for conflict tends to increase alongside an increase in physical and emotional closeness (Straus & Hotaling, 1980).

A final stress the researcher would like to add is that of guilt which results when social norms condemn both the batterer and the victim without acknowledging and/or accepting the existence of abuse. If the criticism in acknowledging the battering is seen as greater than the value in changing existing abusive patterns, the isolation felt by both spouses will most probably be increased.

**Learned helplessness theory.** Walker (1979) is a major proponent of a learned helplessness model in understanding the battered woman's behavior when she remains in the marriage. Walker outlines what she theorizes are the three stages of the battering cycle—tension building, explosion, and loving calm. The victimization becomes complete in the third phase when the symbiotic bonds are deepened. The women whom she describes as susceptible to the role of the victim are those who believe in an external locus of control and, therefore, that their personal action will not be a determining factor of experience. She refers to the woman's awareness of these stages as a reason for any provoking behavior on her part. Dobash and Dobash (1979) believe that any suggestion of the woman's provocation would allow for
"an acceptance of the use of physical violence" (p. 135). Walker presents it as one of the means of pseudocontrol that the woman has in order to serve as a catalyst for her own pain, thereby being more able to predict it. One of the most important steps in breaking the cycle is for the woman to recognise that her behavior can affect what happens to her (Walker, 1979).

A more indepth study of the learned helplessness theory enables it to provide a greater understanding of the woman's choice to remain. Helplessness can affect an individual in three areas—motivation, cognition, and emotion (Seligman, 1975). The effects are seen in decreased voluntary control of general events, difficulty in learning to take and accept control, and physical inaction. The real helplessness which the individual experiences when an outcome is not affected in any way by the person's action will affect subsequent responses. The sense of control, predictability, and effect of one's behavioral framework is replaced with distrust and, "to the degree that uncontrollable events occur, either traumatic or positive, depression will be predisposed and ego strength undermined" (p. 99).

The theory of learned helplessness, applied to battered women, has been discounted as a total explanation as it does not account for the differences in response. Whereas some women have responded by feeling helpless in relationship and
leisure activities (Rounsaville, 1978), not all the women who feel similar levels of helplessness will respond by remaining with their husband.

Reinforcement and opponent-process theories. There are two theories which will be presented as separate entities although they also both contribute to an understanding of the theory of traumatic bonding. The (negative) reinforcement theory states that emotional bonding takes place in response to an anxiety producing situation as a result of a decrease in aversive stimulation. The physical contact following a threatening situation is considerably more influential because it is associated with a decrease of a painful state. "To the extent that fear and other aversive states are present in the context of a heterosexual relationship, the reduction of relatively higher levels of such arousal will lead to increased attraction" (Kendrick & Cialdini, 1977).

The second theory is that of opponent-process. Solomon (1980) states that the initial, affective reaction to a stimulus will decrease over time while the after-reaction, often of an opposing quality, will increase as it is repeated. In situations of battering, the after-reaction or "b" process seems the equivalent of Walker's (1979) third phase of a helplessness model when the love and calm are almost in extreme as a result of the preceding explosive
period. As the "b" process is strengthened, the "a" or violent process has weakened. The individual has become accustomed and/or dulled to the initial pain and fear sensations.

Two concepts described by Solomon are the critical decay period and the savings effect. The latter is a 'reservoir' of past learnings which allow for the "b" effect to accumulate. The time between each "b" is critical. It can be either too long, despite an accumulation effect so that the "b" will not be sufficient to outweigh "a" or it can be too short and thereby reduce its strength.

**Traumatic bonding theory.** The basic assumptions of this theory of bonding are that there is a severe power imbalance and that there is an intermittent quality to the abuse (Dutton & Painter, Note 11). The power difference in itself can promote dysfunctional behavior in individuals. Strong bonds based on apparent need result from the low power person's lack of self-worth and the controller's desire to maintain his false power in order to avoid confronting his own lack of self-esteem. The reinforcement of the intermittent nature of the abuse (Rounsaville, 1978; Dutton & Painter, Note 11) is accompanied by intermittent reward, encouraging pursuit of a goal much longer than with either consistent or non-existent reward (Skinner, 1938). This researcher was surprised with the high level of
cooperation between husband and wife in maintaining this power imbalance.

Support: What are the Needs?

There are a variety of answers given to the question of the needs of the abused woman. The sociocultural and social learning theorists ascribe to a total shift in attitudes and patterns on a society (Dobash & Dobash, 1979) and family level (Straus et al., 1980). Sexist norms in society and the family need to be changed so that women are respected as equal to men and both are free to choose their domestic or professional roles. Eliminating norms of family isolation or 'privacy' and also those of "normal" violence (Straus et al., 1980) would provide a social base from which to begin individual changes. If family conflict can be accepted as inevitable it can perhaps be separated from the belief that violence is the only possible response. Integration with the extended family and with the community, as well as skills in parenting to decrease corporal punishment of children, are both behavioral measures aimed at removing the sanction for violence and developing an alternate pattern of response (Steinmetz, 1977; Straus et al., 1980).

Personal counselling and support for either the batterer or the abused is not adequate on its own to bring about the necessary social changes (Straus et al., 1980), although counselling for the men who commit the abuse is a
priority (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Straus et al., 1980). The man must believe that battering his wife is not a 'mas-culine' act (Martin, Note 13) while the woman needs to separate her passivity from her perception of femininity. In behavioral terms, she needs to be prepared to leave after the first slap (Straus, Note 23). In general, insight-oriented counselling for battered women, on a group or individual basis, is discouraged (Walker, Note 10; Segovia-Ashley, Note 16) in favor of behavior-oriented, short term techniques aimed at raising self-esteem (Walker, Note 10). Possible reasons for this are that insight counselling might be thought to delay action, inadvertently perpetuate the situation, and lead the woman to assume an inappropriate amount of guilt and responsibility.

The researcher, in response to the indications of this study, believes that insight-oriented counselling can, to a degree, provide verification for behavior and an increased sense of control in response to understanding. Peer and self-help groups can provide emotional support for a battered woman (Fleming, 1979; Thorman, 1980; Warrior, Note 24) but encounter and client-centered groups have been dis-favored as many of the women are described as not having a level of self-esteem to make it a positive experience (Richette, Note 6). More directive group techniques such as role-playing, dyads, relaxation skills, venting anger, and
psychodrama have been used (Fleming, 1979).

A woman's psychological readiness to take the steps she believes necessary can be promoted by her openly discussing the issues (Straus, Note 23). She needs to recognise her potential for change despite a lack of social support (Walker, 1979). There is a need for greater education of battered women as to their rights and alternatives as well as skills to handle the battering when it occurs (McLeod, 1981). As shelter is a concern of women who leave their spouse and home (Downey & Howell, Note 2), there exists not only a need for transition housing but also for public education so that women living with violence are aware of the resources available to them.

There is a paradox within the support system for abused women. Despite an awareness of the need for the woman to remove herself from the relationship (Pizzey, 1974; Walker, 1979), a need has also been expressed for support for the woman in her decision to remain if that is her choice (Walker, 1979). It is suggested, based on the personal assessments of the subjects in this study, that the battered woman is often in need of acceptance by significant others in order for her to learn to accept herself. The counsellor can convey an acceptance of the individual and still maintain an independent opinion about the various options available to the woman. If the counsellor and other people in
the woman's natural support system show that they expect her to leave the violent situation and to stay out of it, these expectations, in themselves, are powerful motivators. It is important that these people not reject and disapprove should she return, one or more times. Respect and acceptance need not allow for complicity around a woman's decision to remain in a physically and emotionally destructive situation. "Abetting a woman in going back with her battering mate clearly negates any efforts to validate and abet her sense of self-respect and independence. If many women leave a shelter to return to a battering man, it's a sure sign that the shelter has failed them in some way" (Warrior, Note 24, p. 73).

CHAPTER III
Methodology

Design

The design implemented in this study was of an A-B-A type within the framework of a case study format. Quantitative data were obtained through the use of a time series measurement. There were a number of reasons why this particular design and format were considered advantageous.

The goals of this study were two-fold. Firstly, there was a goal to explore and obtain indepth information on the growth of battered women towards psychological independence. There was also a clinical goal to provide a semi-structured
educational counselling program for the subjects. The single case method was chosen for its ability to combine research for the purpose of general knowledge as well as for individual value and growth (Leitenberg, 1973). The case study method was selected as an effective means through which to investigate the short term effects of the therapeutic procedure (Kazdin, 1981; Leitenberg, 1973). It also enabled the researcher to obtain detailed information on the history of each subject and the variables contributing to the change process. The object was not to 'pinpoint a cause' but to assess a range of behaviors (Lawrence & Selber, 1965) towards an understanding of the factors which might contribute to individual difference and/or common experience (Leitenberg, 1973). The case study method can lead to a greater awareness of treatment effects, the information approximating that which is obtained through experimental research (Kazdin 1981). In addition, the importance of specific life events can surface along with objective measurements of change. The design enabled feedback so as to change the intervention to answer individual needs (Bloom, 1978). The sessions were semi-structured with a majority of the questions being open-end in format.

Case studies rely heavily on incident accounts and the researcher/counsellor's inferences from them (Kazdin, 1981). Conclusions cannot be as clear as with experimental designs
as incident information is not enough to conclude change (Kazdin, 1981). Two weaknesses exist—the question of causality and the generalizability of results (Smith, 1981).

In answer to the question of determinism, two steps were taken in this research. Firstly, a steady state was obtained prior to the treatment phase. The importance of this level is reflected in the ability to predict behavior in continuous assessment and, therefore, to increase internal validity (Kazdin, 1981). If change is immediate and of adequate magnitude, it is more likely due to treatment than external variables. Secondly, results were verified with a quantitative measure (see Appendix C) which was descriptively analysed (see Chapter V). In the case studies, objectivity was also pursued through support of anecdotal accounts with an exemplifying behavioral component. The researcher is aware, however, that the results must be seen as suggestive rather than conclusive.

The baseline was two weeks in length with seven weeks for the treatment period and four weeks for the posttreatment period. The zones have not been, and need not be constructed as statistical ends in themselves (Bloom, 1978). They do allow, however, for adequate measurements to be made in each phase so as to increase internal validity.

Sample

The effects of extraneous variables must be minimized
in order to fulfill internal validity requirements. Generalizability or external validity is also a concern. In order to address both, four case studies were undertaken, rather than a single case study. External validity is, nevertheless, extremely limited and the study is intended to have mainly suggestive and heuristic value, providing insights for further investigation.

Subjects were assumed to be a heterogeneous sample of the target population, namely, physically abused women who have physically separated from an abusive spouse. They were obtained through referral by a Vancouver transition house and by a counselling service agency for abused women. Initial contact was made with a letter (see Appendix A) followed by a telephone call to confirm an initial contact time. All of the women had volunteered to participate prior to referral however this was not considered to be a significant biasing factor. Due to the high level of secrecy within violent homes and the confidentiality needs of those women who come in contact with the social service system, true random sampling was not possible. The only requirements of the subjects were that they have been physically abused by their husbands and that they be living apart, having physically separated themselves from the violence.

The four women ranged in age from 22 to 40 years of age and all had one child under three years of age. The
presence of children had not been a requirement. They had left a battering relationship from between four months to ten months prior to the commencement of this study. All were on social assistance and, apart from the one woman who had a suite in a second stage transition house, they were living alone in their own apartments. The sample size was considered small enough to explore external variables but of adequate number to make implications from the study and subsequent recommendations for future research. "If the same fundamental laws did not govern all people there would be no science of psychology. Situational differences influence behavior but they do not alter human nature" (Maier, 1963). A control group was not required because in single subject design the subject is his/her own control (Howe, 1974) through comparison of earlier levels with later ones (Bloom, Note 25).

**Qualitative Data Collection: Case Study Format**

The study covered a total period of 13 weeks with the three phases of baseline, treatment, and posttreatment being two weeks, seven weeks, and four weeks, respectively. The purpose of the baseline phase was to establish a level of existing behavior. Quantitatively, it was undertaken through the use of a time series measurement. Subjectively, extensive historical data was obtained from each subject. During the treatment phase, subjects met on a one to one
basis with the researcher for a total of eight, one-hour counselling sessions or one session each week with a final session at the beginning of the eighth week.

The researcher maintained a nondirective format (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deütsch, & Cook, 1960) in conducting these interviews by presenting more open than closed questions (see Appendix D). Whereas closed questions tend to provide somewhat superficial information, open questions allow for much greater clarity by putting far fewer restrictions on the response (Kerlinger, 1964). "Open-end questions are flexible; they have possibilities of depth;...they enable the interviewer to ascertain a respondent's lack of knowledge, to detect ambiguity, to encourage cooperation and achieve rapport, and to make better estimates of respondents' true intentions, beliefs, and attitudes" (p. 483-840). With this design, objective information could be obtained without the researcher leading the subjects.

All the women were made aware that information was being gathered on their growth towards psychological independence following their leaving an abusive spouse (see Appendix A). They were, in no way, lead to believe that they were to be asked to assess the therapeutic value they obtained from the treatment intervention. As a result, it was hoped that their comments would more closely reflect their personal evaluations as opposed to what they perceived
the researcher wanted to be told.

A ninth or final interview was conducted following a posttreatment period of four weeks. At this time, the subjects were asked, through open-end questions, to assess the treatment program and to recall specific interventions or techniques within the interviews that they believed contributed to their attaining a feeling of greater self-esteem and independence. The purpose of this third phase was to allow a return to the baseline or to provide indications for reliability of the findings over time without treatment.

**Instrument**

A quantitative measure was used in addition to objective qualitative case study data. The selected instrument was a semantic differential (SD) which was used as a repeated measure in a time series design. With continuous assessment, the effects of influencing variables was reduced (Kazdin, 1981). The semantic differential is a sensitive technique in assessing change in the course of a program (Osgood, 1957).

The instrument (see Appendix C) was comprised of a list of 12 pairs of opposite adjectives, as tested by Osgood. The subjects evaluated their own feelings at the time of each measurement, marking the appropriate point on each of the seven-point Likert scales. They completed the test a total of 45 times over the 13 weeks, six times weekly during
the baseline phase and three times weekly thereafter. The length of each phase was constructed, not as a statistical end (Bloom, Note 25), but in order to provide a greater understanding of the women's shift in feelings throughout a transitional period of growth towards independence. Semantic differential data is unique in that it can be interpreted on an individual or group basis (Kerlinger, 1964). Descriptive analysis of both combined and individual data is given in Chapter V. A quantitative analysis of the time series data was not conducted for two basic reasons. The sample size limited the implications and conclusions that could be made from the research. Also, the clinical implications would not be greatly enhanced through an intensive quantitative testing of the data. In short, quantitative time series analysis was considered beyond the scope of this exploratory study. A primary recommendation for future research would be to include a statistical analysis of similar data within a large group study.

The validity of a semantic differential is mostly "face." Osgood et al. (1957) compared it to two other scales--the Thurstone and Guttman scales--and found them to support it as an index of attitude. Objectivity is achieved through its explicitness and easy replication while reliability coefficients are not necessary because the scores are too consistent (Osgood et al., 1957). The seven point
scale, using the terms of "extremely," "quite," and "slightly," "do yield nearly equal psychological units in the process of judgment" (p. 327).

The three basic dimensions represented by the adjectives are termed "evaluation," "potency," and "activity" by Osgood. Evaluation factor loadings were found to be somewhat higher than the other two. The adjectives selected by the researcher were chosen for their validity within the study as well as their high factor loadings within one of the aforementioned dimensions. They had to be assessments with which the subjects felt at ease as well as which they felt appropriate to their own range of feelings about themselves. Evaluative factor loadings range from .55 to .82, the potency and activity factor loadings from .44 to .62 and from .41 to .59, respectively. Three of the adjective pairs are from the activity dimension--active/passive, ferocious/peaceful, sharp/dull. Three of those remaining are from the potency dimension--brave/cowardly, deep/shallow, strong/weak--and the other six are from the evaluative group.

The scoring procedure placed the high score of "seven" on the positive adjective, namely, relaxed, clear, active, peaceful, happy, sharp, brave, kind, calm, strong, deep, and valuable. The lowest score of "one" was given to their opposites, namely, tense, hazy, passive, ferocious, sad,
dull, cowardly, cruel, agitated, weak, shallow, and worthless. It was assumed that the higher semantic differential scores indicated a higher self-evaluation in the adjective areas.

CHAPTER IV

Qualitative Case Study Results

Preface

The four case studies are presented to provide an indepth assessment of the childhood and adult experiences of a small sample of battered women. Also important are their cognitive and emotional reactions to these experiences. Verbatim quotations of the subjects' are included as often as possible and are designed with double quotation marks. The researcher's comments are enclosed with single quotation marks or prefaced by "appears" or "seems."

It is necessary to clarify the approach used in obtaining the early recollections. The positive or negative quality of early memories was not specified. The subjects were asked to describe a single event that they recalled from their childhood. They could not be events about which they had been informed at a later point in time.

The names used are fictitious. Some events and locations have also been changed to protect the identity of the women and their families. No changes have been made that will misrepresent the research information.

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Case Study 1

Family of origin. Catherine was 28 years of age at the time of this study. Her parents as well as her grandparents were all Canadian born. Catherine knew nothing about her grandparents' marriages as to the presence of abuse, separation, or divorce. She described both her grandmothers as "strong personalities." She had always felt closest to her maternal grandmother, Rachel, above any other family member. She attributed this partly to their complementary astrological influences but largely to Rachel's clear and predictable favoritism for her. In a family in which Catherine felt much competition and fear around unpredictable criticism, Rachel would clarify her preferences for certain grandchildren. When visiting, the children could take money from a jar of copper coins if not favored or from a jar of silver coins if favored. Catherine said she was never aware of the criteria for her grandmother's decisions in this regard. Catherine described her family as continually judging its members as acceptable or not acceptable within the family system. In response, there would exist favoritism or an ignoring of that member. She was unaware of the bases for these judgments. For example, although Catherine did not know the details, Rachel was assumed to have "killed" her husband by "forcing" him to go out on a cold evening. As a result, he was chilled and died of pneumonia.
Catherine's paternal grandparents, John and Sylvia, were not violent with each other as far as Catherine knew. She described John as "quiet" and "strong" and Sylvia as "domineering" and "powerful." She did not feel close to Sylvia until she was 17 years old when she realized that her grandmother "cared for her." She described this as a point of development for her as opposed to linking it to any specific changes that her grandmother had recently made.

Catherine described her mother, Marion, as "lonely" and "sad" but she said she did not see her mother in this way until one year after Marion's death. Catherine described her change of feeling as being in response to a dream which she likened to a spiritual experience. She could not describe her mother as she saw her during her childhood except that she, Catherine, had lain awake nights planning how to "kill" her. Catherine believed her anger towards her mother was based in her own desire for emotional intimacy and touch that she did not receive from Marion. She recounted incidences in which her mother fulfilled "traditional" role expectations in regard to household tasks but did not hug the children or respond with nurturing to their stated fears or concerns.

Catherine described her father, Gerald, as "controlling," "authoritarian," and "unpredictable." He had been the older of two children. Marion's family had expected her
to marry a professional. Gerald was a skilled tradesman and, as a result, Marion was "disowned" for marrying "beneath her." She was subjected to family criticism, social segregation, and emotional distance.

Marion and Gerald had three children. Tanya was born in 1952, Catherine was born 13 months later in 1953, and Sharon was born six years later in 1959. When Catherine was 6 years old, her mother returned to work outside the home. Following Marion's and Gerald's divorce in 1971, Gerald remarried a woman with one daughter. Catherine had already left the family home and was sharing an apartment with a female friend. Catherine said she had had little to do with her stepmother since the latter's "betrayal" of her by going to Gerald and imparting Catherine's confidences in regard to her father's physical abuse of her as a child.

Catherine was unaware of any alcoholism, drug addiction, or physical violence within her extended family background.

Development years. Catherine described herself as an "abused child." She saw her father's violence as a release of his own anger although she said he would never discuss his anger with any family member. She said she felt "controlled" as it was impossible to disagree with her father. He would respond by striking, punching, or throwing her across the room so that she was bruised from hitting the
wall. Often the anger she felt in response to his violence and control was "buried." She did not feel confident to share her feelings with her father for fear he would punish her further. She also said that his feelings were "inconsistent" and "unpredictable" and there were many times she viewed her own behavior as totally unconnected to his violence. She remembered one occasion when she was riding on a farm wagon and she was suddenly and forcefully hurled to the ground by a blow from behind. She first believed it to be her father, disciplining her for something she was unaware of. She later learned it was a low hanging tree branch.

Catherine also experienced difficulty in predicting her mother's responses, finding them often inconsistent. She recalled one occasion when her mother shouted that she loved Tanya more than Catherine. She had just previously said that the latter was her favorite. As a "loner" with few friends, Catherine felt unsupported in trying to understand what she perceived to be her mother's mixed messages. Catherine felt like she was constantly competing with her older sister, Tanya being socially popular and "outgoing." Catherine said she had always felt a degree of resentment for Sharon, her younger sister, who was considered the "good" child of the three but who was "spoiled" in many ways by being given privileges not given to the other two.

If there was physical abuse between Catherine's parents
she was unaware of it. She said they would go into the bedroom and shut the door when they had differences. There was a considerable degree of violence within the home, however. Catherine could recall one occasion when her father threw the sofa through the living room wall in a moment of anger. She believed herself to be the major victim of his abuse towards family members.

Catherine could not recall seeing her parents show affection towards each other or their children. When Catherine was 6 years old, she asked her mother for a hug but was told she was "too old for that." She was raised with a strict behavioral and moral code which had an external base. As an example, after Tanya's birth the mother would not hang the diapers on the clothesline for fear that the neighbors would then be aware that she had been pregnant prior to marriage.

The upbringing of her parents, as well as her own upbringing, was "traditional" only in certain ways. Firm behavior demands were not sexually specific. Catherine understood that her parents had total "control." She saw herself as having no input into setting her own behavior limits as a child or adolescent. She became confused when she was told by her parents to "talk nicely" when they consistently swore and shouted at her. She felt a strong expectation to receive the approval of others, in particu-
lar, her parents. It seemed to her that, no matter what she did, she was unable to please either her mother or father. She felt as if she was constantly teased by the family about her physical size because "if they teased me enough, they thought I'd get over my sensitivity." She saw her parents as still trying to control her at 17 years of age when they locked her in her room for missing school. She said, "I can't remember them ever praising me. I was always 'stupid'....I grew up thinking I was dumb as well as physically ugly."

Catherine believed herself to be "your basic bad person" during her early years. She grew up with a great dislike for rules in general which she saw as confirming her assumption of her "bad" character by removing her responsibility for control over herself. Despite her recognition in this area, when her thoughts and actions deviated from a region of "acceptability," she would often ask herself, "Am I crazy?" She explained this as a reaction to the strict codes with which she was raised and her inexperience with alternate views. She currently viewed herself as a "victim" of her own childhood and her parents reactions: "What do I do? I can't change my childhood." She said it was confusing because she wanted to be liked by her parents and yet, in pleasing them, she saw herself losing her individuality and independence. She said she spent much of her middle teens
"either stoned or drunk" because she did not want to get in the way of her father's anger. The drugs and alcohol also helped her remain passive and, therefore, not incite him. She completed Grade 12 after leaving home at 17 years of age.

**Early recollections.**

1. **(age: 2 years)** Catherine was sitting with a large, red fuzzy toy in front of her. She especially remembered its bright color and that she was looking forward to play with it. All of a sudden, someone came and took it away. She felt "sad" and "confused."

2. **(age: 3-4 years)** Tanya and Catherine were sitting on a table in the kitchen eating peanut butter sandwiches. Before she could do anything, one of the sheep from the farmyard came in the door and took her sandwich away from her. She described the "panic" she felt when it was stolen.

3. **(age: 4 years)** She was in the hospital having an eye operation. She had pulled up the bandage to look around the room when her mother entered. She felt both angry and unhappy when her mother was "mean" and quickly pulled the bandage down over her eyes.

4. **(age: 5 years)** She was bouncing a stuffed rabbit, saying to her mother that she wanted to go out and play. Her mother slapped her and knocked her into the wall. She then "threw" her into her
room, saying that she liked Tanya better. Catherine was "totally demolished."

Summary of recollections. In each of her recollections, Catherine recalls herself in the role of a victim. In all four situations an unpredictable and uncontrollable act removes something of value or puts her in a position of discomfort. She appears powerless in her recollections just as she says she feels powerless in many situations as an adult.

Relationships with men. In regard to needing friends, Catherine wrote in her journal, "the world is too big to fight it alone." She has male as well as female acquaintances but her more enduring friendships appear to all be with women. She said that, as a result of her upbringing, she sees herself being either totally committed within a romantic relationship with a man or feeling guilty for being a "loose" woman in leading a man on. She appeared unaware of how to separate a sexual dimension from her closeness with men. She spoke of no men to whom she had ever been emotionally close and, at the same time, with whom she had not been sexually involved. She had had three relationships involving commitment, Catherine describing all three men as possessive and unsupportive of her independence. In her two most recent relationships, the man would often threaten her if she tried to see friends.

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Her first relationship culminated in her marriage to Roger just prior to her 19th birthday. She described her husband as "boring" and "passive" but when he proposed she was "flattered" as she did not expect any man would ever ask her. Her self-esteem would appear to be directly linked to her perceived acceptance or rejection by her male peers. Even though she recognised she had rushed into marriage to Roger, she described herself as a "real die hard" in such situations. "If I'm rejected by a man I'm dating or living with, I immediately ask myself what's wrong with me and how can I change." She found she reacted to Roger's passivity by doubting his caring for her. She described herself as being possessive in the marriage while holding a lot of her jealousy inside. She objected to the time that Roger spent on activities that excluded her. Concurrently, she felt unable to express her anger to him in this regard. She currently perceived this as only one instance in which her lack of opportunity to learn to deal with her anger as a child placed her in a "victim" position as an adult. Catherine saw the marriage as breaking down as a result of the imposed structure. As Roger was in the Services, they were living on a military base and Catherine found it difficult to deal with the authority-based lifestyle. Roger threatened abuse but Catherine believed he would never physically carry it out. There was no physical abuse in the marriage.
Catherine said that Roger had provided her with an escape from her family as well as from what she had since assessed as their unrealistic demands around behavior and control of anger. She recognised that she had married a man of whom her family approved and, in leaving Roger, she expected rejection from her father. In retrospect, she believed that her boredom in the marriage was largely due to her inability to share her feelings of anger or love with Roger. She attempted suicide with sleeping pills shortly before leaving the relationship. She said she caused herself to be sick to rid her body of the pills when she realized she "didn't want to kill herself....There were other ways out of the marriage....I could just walk out."

Shortly after leaving Roger, Catherine met Dave and moved in with him. She described him as both extremely "kind" and "considerate" as well as extremely "jealous" and "violent." He was "unpredictable," especially in the area of affection. She said she never knew whether he would be saying he loved her or shouting that he hated her. Catherine said she was familiar with his "abuse of power" from her father so there was an aspect to the relationship that was predictable and comfortable for her. She believed that, as a child, Dave's father had "beat the hell out of him" and that she had a constant fear of him doing the same to her. She did not fear his physical abuse, however, as
much as his psychological retaliation by name-calling, criticising, and insulting when he was drunk. Catherine said that, despite the "beautiful man" that Dave became when he was sober, it was "not worth it" as he only stopped drinking a quarter of the time. She said, "the next time he hit me I was afraid I was going to get a broken jaw, so I left." They had lived together for almost two years but had never married. They had planned to have a child and their son was born four months before they separated permanently. Catherine had had no contact with Dave since that time.

Her relationship with Gordon was over a year later in the summer of 1982. She described him as more "unpredictable," "dependent," "domineering," "insecure," and "demanding" than Dave. "I must have been really desperate for a man/woman relationship....I knew what he was like two weeks after I met him and yet I moved in with him four weeks later." She said she then spent the next couple of months deciding how she would leave. She felt psychologically abused in that he called her "stupid" and "lazy" and constantly criticised and threatened to hit and stab her. "When he blackened my eye, that was it. I'd had enough of that as a child and I just wasn't going to put up with it." She linked her emotional readiness to leave Gordon with the abuse she received from her father. She could predict the feelings she would experience and she knew she did not want
to think as poorly of herself as she had in the past.

Catherine's current relationships with men appeared superficial and brief. Her fear was that they would not be honest with her and that she would answer her "heart" and not her "head," being unable to separate once she was committed. She said, "I have to keep telling myself that Dave won't sober up. If he did, I'd go back in a flash.

Relationships with women. Catherine said that she has a few close female friends although she has "never really related well to women." She appeared to feel more vulnerable with women. She lacks trust in them, believing that they will confront her on certain issues after she has confided in them. It had always annoyed her when women would "use" their weakness as she believes in sexual equality. The main activity that Catherine shares with female friends is "partying" in mixed company, her most enduring friends seeming linked with activities involving a release of tension as opposed to a deeper level of emotional sharing. She referred to men as "emotionally weaker" and less sensitive than women. She believed that a particularly negative and unsupportive social worker was judgmental, largely because of his sex. She appears to view women, as compared to men, as more supportive of women but she concurrently bases her self-esteem on the support she receives from men. This comment is supported by statements
in the preceding section.

Relationship with son. Catherine feels generally stronger as a result of her relationship with her son. She said, "I don't know what I'd do without him." He is not only a companion for her but he also confirms her trust in her own ability to provide a consistent yet loving home environment. In addition, he has caused her to question her role as a single parent. She said she feels somewhat guilty and does respond with occasional self-doubt in regard to her parenting skills. Some of her feelings of guilt also appeared to be based in her desire to provide a two parent family for her son. Until recently, she had been "committed" to bringing up a child with both role models.

Recent history and concerns From the time she left Dave until the present, Catherine spoke of feeling a great deal of pressure from her family, her brief relationship with Gordon perhaps being part of her attempt to separate herself from her father in particular. She referred to her father's criticism of her parenting, her "hippie" lifestyle, and her being on social assistance. She believes he labeled her as a "hippie" because of her choice of clothing and her smoking of marijuana. She also felt criticised in trying to have her grandmother live with her instead of in a hospital. Catherine was constantly called names and accused of "lying" and "stealing" by her family. "I had to separate from them
in order to keep my sanity," she said. She described a large fantasy wall that she had placed between herself and her father, stepmother, aunt, and sisters. While she said, "I've separated enough so they can't hurt me," she also acknowledged a love/hate bond still very much in existence; "Everyone hates the sight of each other but when something happens, you feel." She was aware that she would, at times, have to talk with her family in regard to her grandmother but she appeared unaware of the apparent ineffectiveness of the "wall" she had created in helping her to feel less criticised and controlled by her father. The bonds appear both negative and strong.

In separating from both her father and from Dave, Catherine said she began to question her own emotional strengths and abilities. In broadening her own understanding of herself and verifying her own actions and feelings, she found greatest support from her women friends, a female welfare worker, and a single visit to a male psychiatrist. She seemed to receive validation from him as he confirmed that she was not "crazy."

A concern for her is her difficulty in dealing with authority figures, specifically as part of her being on social assistance. She feels negatively judged by others because of her financial situation, and judges herself as a result. She appears almost desperate in her desire to
increase her self-esteem. The only ways she sees herself doing so, however, is by improving her education, controlling her feelings of anger, removing herself from welfare, or bringing about a change in her family’s response to her. Given her present circumstances and belief system, these goals appear beyond her grasp. It would seem that her self-esteem also remains an 'ideal.'

**Lifestyle and attitudes.** Catherine felt unable to assess her own actions. She believed she would often seek validation from others. She attributed this to her childhood training by her parents and a stress on "being nice" because of how others would react. While she said she has no control over "anything," she said she is constantly placing herself in positions where she has to "fight" out, almost as a test. Her relationships with men, her "victim" assumptions, and her dealings with financial aid personnel would seem to support this. She recognised that, in a way, she is able to attempt control without feeling responsible to continue doing so as her belief is that her attempts are always in opposition to a stronger external power. She predicts her own failure and there is, thus, not as high a risk in attempting control as she presumes she will not have to maintain it for any period of time.

She linked her procrastination with her fear of failure. She felt victimized by her childhood. She believed
her current hesitation to accept control over much of her own life emerged from her lack of experience in setting personal limits as a child. At the same time, she believed that change cannot occur without her separating her childhood learning from her capabilities as an adult. This would involve her accepting her own ability to bring about that change. She felt threatened to think of stopping "fighting the system." She appeared to view living as involving a constant defense. She maintained her belief in life as unpredictable, out of her control, and eliciting of emotional as opposed to intellectual responses on her part. In short, she stated firm goals for herself while conceptualizing her own sabotaging of their attainment through her assuming a "victim" role.

In regard to future relationships with men, Catherine said she is looking for a father figure for her son but that the equality she wants is not favored by most of the men she meets. She said, "You can't be yourself. You're always a man's puppet." Her relationship with her father remains undefined. It is neither a separation or a closeness; "I know I'm still trying to please him. I want to really do well so I can show him I can do it and he can tell me I'm okay."

Influencing factors. Catherine had dealt with her loneliness since leaving Gordon by returning to school and
organizing evenings out for herself. She also felt more capable of accepting living alone because of her "loner" quality as a child. While fighting for government subsidy to return to school provided her with a 'strength through opposition,' her primary wish was to be able to defuse her anger, in response to authority figures in particular. She said she would like to be able to put forth her point of view, despite opposition, without losing control and being either rude or crying. She found she could no longer bury her anger and yet she saw crying as a sign of weakness. She also wanted to feel a greater sense of self-worth, control of her anger being an integral part of this.

She said she found the treatment sessions valuable in a number of ways towards her recognising and dealing with her concerns: "I'm not crazy. You didn't react to anything I said about me!" She used the sessions to gain external feedback as well as to realize her control through understanding the source of her behaviors. She said she had come to recognise her negative understanding of an open comment and her need to believe in her own ability to change.

At first confused by the discussion of early recollections, she was later able, without prompting, to recognise repeated patterns from her childhood. She found it difficult to separate her feelings from her responses to those feelings and to accept intellectual over emotional
control. Laughter was a valuable release of tension for her throughout each session, especially when responding to a confrontation. She was not aware of the serious side of her character, the high expectations of control she had of herself, and the degree to which she reacted to what she perceived to be rejection of her by others. She said she found several of the confrontations valuable in achieving a greater understanding of her past responses and her choices in the present. She said she appreciated the researcher listening and also providing an alternate opinion as she did not feel confident that she had established her own set of limits, attainable goals, or tools of self-assessment. She believed her strength in not returning to either Gordon or Dave came from her experience as an abused child and yet being abused as an adult made her severely doubt her own self-esteem, worth, and sense of control. Accomplishing independent living skills had not been sufficient on its own to prevent her continuing to criticise herself.

In summary, she said she appreciated many of the directive techniques of the treatment sessions. Those she made reference to were largely a type of behavior contracting or cognitive restructuring. She found the techniques which caused her to focus on experiencing her anger were frustrating, at least initially. She felt a sense of helplessness to deal with the feelings which were brought to the surface.
She appreciated the positiveness of the sessions but felt the need for more discussion of her experiences around her father and her childhood alongside more specific skills in controlling her responses to her own anger.

**Case Study 2**

**Family of origin.** Maureen was born in 1941, the middle child in a family with three daughters. She was able to provide an indepth understanding of her grandparents, parents, and sisters. Her own uncertainty in her own capabilities was apparent when, prior to commencing, she had said her "sisters would probably know it better."

Her maternal grandparents were both English but, after marrying, had moved to Canada. Maureen's grandmother, Elaine, had married a man of whom her family did not "approve." Her grandfather was a "sailor" but he began farming after arriving in Eastern Canada. Maureen described her grandmother as a "ruler" who was "fussy," "stately," and "strong." She spoke of her grandfather as "always there" and "always working" although she did not recall having shared any emotional or physical closeness with him.

Maureen's mother, Lorna, was one of six children but Maureen did not know her birth position. She described her as a "hard worker" who was "weak in some ways" but often "giving." She saw her mother as weak when she would be physically abused by her husband. Maureen remembered her
mother cooking and baking rather than being emotionally involved with her children.

Maureen's paternal grandparents were unknown to her. Her father, Lance, had been the oldest of two boys until his mother remarried a man with two daughters, both older than Lance. Maureen had had little or no contact with her uncle or aunts. She said she had visited one of her aunts several years before and realized that she "didn't want to be like her," one of the reasons being that the aunt was constantly sedated with tranquilizers. The uncle had been hospitalized for emotional difficulties some years previously and had died in an institution. Maureen did not know the details of his illness. She described her father as a "good time Charlie" who was often drinking and out with his friends. She said he was also "kind" and "gentle" and would "spoil" his daughters by bringing them gifts but would rarely spend time with them.

Maureen had a sister, Nora, who was one year older and another sister who was four years younger. It appeared that there was a value placed on perseverance and effort as Maureen described each of her sisters as a "hard worker."

Development years. Maureen described herself as "innocent," "inferior," and "good" as a child. She wanted to "please others" but felt she had to constantly compete to do so. She often felt in competition with her sisters. She
believed her naivete allowed her to avoid comparison and perceived threats of criticism. She believed she was raised with many "traditional" values within a home where both parents fulfilled clearly defined role models. Her mother would invite friends to the house, would bake and cook, and looked "pretty" when she was young and would "dress up." There was a strict "moral" code within the home which provided social guidelines for the children but Maureen saw her father's behavior as often opposing these rules. She remembers him frequently bringing home other "drinkers" from the depot where he worked as a bus driver.

She recalls her father abusing her mother, often when he was drunk. He would hit or kick her and, on one occasion, "put her head through the kitchen window." Maureen said she was "scared" when her parents fought and she would either take her "mother's side" and "kick" her father or would leave the house until the fight ended. She said that she was not regularly abused as a child because her father "couldn't catch" her. On a few occasions when she was hit, however, she would run off and "usually bang into something" so her parents would "feel sorry" for her.

Maureen expressed concern about her jealousy, anger, and guilt as a child. She said she always believed her sisters excelled in many areas and she viewed herself as "not being able to meet up to them." Eventually, she
believed that the only area in which she felt confident was in "being pretty." She also recalled sports' days at school and how they provided her with the opportunity to "be different and better than" her siblings. She especially appreciated these days because her father would come to watch her and she felt special to him. She said he often had "little to do with his children."

Maureen felt "constantly guilty" as a child for not doing the "right" thing or when she believed she did not meet up with what she perceived to be the other person's expectations of her. She saw a similar quality in her mother. For example, she felt a great deal of guilt around her father's death. After one of the nights when she fantasized his death, she awoke to be told that he had died in his sleep. She felt ashamed and guilty for she did not know him well and, at the time, she believed herself to be a "witch" because of the powers she appeared to have. Maureen was 16 years old at the time and she saw herself as just beginning to "know" her father. She said, "I guess I resent not having a dad" from that point on as well as in the previous years when she felt that they had shared very little time or emotional caring.

Maureen said that, as a child, she would either "fight back" or become "quiet" and "shy" when she was provoked. She would never allow her feelings to show infront of her
parents, however. She described it as "unacceptable" within the family to express feelings, especially anger. She said, "if anyone spoke of feelings, that would mean something was wrong with you." If she felt attacked or criticized, she saw herself being "just as mean" in return rather than speaking of her own hurt or anger. She still felt guilty for some of her retaliatory behavior as a child. She recalled one incident when, after feeling criticized by her older sister, she "chased her around the house with a butcher knife just to throw a scare into her." Maureen's alternate response to her own anger was to "keep it inside." She would "hide in the corner," feeling "unsupported" and "rejected."

She linked a great deal of her adult anger to her feelings of helplessness to respond to what she perceived as rejection by her parents and significant others. She said she felt like an "inconsequential daughter" who could "go away and never be missed." She said that she believed her father favored her sisters by "babying" the youngest and admiring the sense of responsibility of the eldest. Maureen felt uncertain as to how to go about receiving an equal level of recognition. She never knew how she fitted into the family. She could not be specific about her parents' responses to her except that she never felt they understood her "shyness" as a child.
Young adult years. An additional section has been included in this case study due to Maureen having been married some years previously and the extensiveness of her experience. At 40 years of age, she was the oldest subject within this study.

Maureen was 19 years old and pregnant when she married Roy. She described him as a "glamorous figure" who would "flatter" her and make her feel "like a woman" by taking her out and treating her kindly. She said, "He took advantage of me" when he was sexually intimate one evening when she had been drinking. She believed she was "not ready for marriage" and she also feared that Roy was "too good" for her. She saw him as skilled and confident and herself as "shy" and "backward" but she believed it was "right" to marry because she was pregnant. She said, "I expected him to take care of me" but, after the first year of marriage, "my hero wasn't my hero." She often felt jealous of the time he spent pursuing interests outside the marriage and, in response, would "throw things" in anger. She felt unsupported by him in becoming "worldly" or in having friends. At the same time, she saw herself "waiting on him hand and foot."

When they would fight physically, she said it began with her hitting Roy first; "I didn't know it wasn't okay because my parents did it." She said the fighting increased
over time. On one occasion, she recalled him "kicking" her down the stairs because he did not want her to go to a dance. She also felt consistently "pulled down" by him as he called her "stupid" and would make comments that Maureen believed were critical and rejecting. She linked those comments to her beginning to doubt her own sense of worth as, by the time she recognised what was occurring, she did not feel confident that she could effect the pattern. She felt "so brainwashed" as a result of Roy "dominating" her on a psychological level, that she would believe that "black was white" if he had told her.

It would appear that Maureen described their relationship as "the perfect marriage" because traditional roles were maintained. They had three children, the oldest being 21 years old at the time of this study. Maureen said she had always felt closest to her youngest son who was currently 17 years old. She described the older boy as "selfish" and "more like his dad." She said she felt positive about herself as a result of her input into raising the children. She feels some anger towards herself, however, for having put all her efforts into fulfilling her parent and spouse roles throughout the marriage. She believed that she had not attempted to understand or meet her own needs as an adult but remained dependent upon Roy.

When she was 34 years old, Maureen left Roy and the
children because of what she described as her "boredom" with her life. It would appear that she was also experiencing some anxiety or tension which she felt unable to share with Roy. A few months after separating, she agreed to enter hospital for psychological treatment. She recalled the extreme guilt that she was experiencing at that time as a result of her "fling" after leaving the marriage. She said she had been drinking heavily and had been intimately involved with a number of men whom she later described as "losers." She found the behavior modification program at the hospital was beneficial in helping her to resume daily tasks and to eventually begin a period of independent living. She said she had found it very difficult to accept that she "couldn't have her own way in going back to Roy." She recalled "yelling" and "screaming" at him while she was in hospital. She blamed him for her being there and the several suicide attempts she made.

Early recollections. 1. (age: 5 years) Maureen and her mother were in a department store, looking for an item that was on sale. When the female clerk sternly said it was not available, Maureen felt embarrassed for her mother and also for herself. She particularly recalled the severe manner of the clerk.

2. (age: 8 years) Maureen was walking down the street when her older sister came running
up. The latter said that their piano teacher had just given her a chocolate bar for practising but that she was not to tell Maureen. Maureen recalled feeling rejected and wanted to quit piano.

3. (age: 5 years) Maureen and her sisters were at the beach with their father. When she was afraid to go out swimming, Maureen remembered her father coming to help her. She felt "protected" and "good" that he was there when she needed him.

4. (age: 6 years) Maureen was in a school play with her older sister. They both had to appear on the stage out of a large cardboard egg and sing a duet. She did not come out of the egg because she felt nervous and the curtain had to be dropped. She felt embarrassed and guilty when her mother was scolding her later for not keeping up with her sister.

Summary of recollections. Women appear in aggressive and angry roles in three of Maureen's recollections. They are also in positions of authority or privilege. Maureen feels embarrassed, guilty, or rejected in response. In the third recollection, she receives help from her father when she is afraid and in a passive position. In all her recollections, Maureen would appear to react to situations rather than placing herself in an active role.

Relationships with men. Maureen felt guilty about
leaving Roy and her marriage but she also was aware of the emotional needs which she believed were not being met within that relationship. She said she was angry at herself as a result of feeling guilty for trying to meet her own needs. She described the men with whom she had been involved since leaving the hospital as "jerks." She appeared to be referring to their moral and values systems. She said she often judged herself in response to her perceptions and opinions of the men around her. She felt "pulled down" at that time, partly as a result of the men with whom she was associating.

Maureen described herself as "sick" when she met Marvin. She believed him to be "a step up" in many ways. She said he had been "a port in a storm" for a number of reasons. He appeared to her to be "sensitive" to her feelings and would listen and respond with physical closeness. She said it seemed as if he also "gave her a little power" at the beginning, for example, to plan activities that they would do together. She said that he later removed it unpredictably and she was both "hurt" and "distrusting" as a result. Over time, she said he "ruined her one last bit of hope" that she had in men. It would appear that she was referring to what she perceived as his eventual rejection of her.

Marvin was a couple of years younger than Maureen and had been married twice previously. Maureen was uncertain as
to whether there had been physical abuse in either marriage. He rented a house and, within a few months of knowing each other, Maureen had moved in with him. She recalled that, as with Roy, she was "clinging" and "passive" with Marvin. She said that she was also verbally and physically aggressive towards him, often as a defense following his criticism of her or his threats against her. She felt jealous as a result of the time he spent drinking with his friends. She recalled, with some embarrassment, when she would "nag" him in front of his friends about coming home. In retrospect, she believed she was seeking her own sense of worth in Marvin's responses to her.

Maureen said that he often called her "crazy" and threatened her with hospitalization. She acknowledged that she was "so screwed up" when she met him that she "didn't care" what man she lived with. She had always believed that men are "strong" and women are "weak." It seemed as if she was desperately seeking a vicarious strength through her relationship with Marvin as she had with Roy. She recognised that she had always sought a man to be a "provider." She said, "I've wanted a man to look out for me and to take care of me." In retrospect, she felt some surprise when they turned out to be "weaker" than her. She believed she was seeking a level of intimacy with men that she did not experience as a child. She appeared to lack the skills and
limits involved in doing so. For example, her own sense of worth was decreased as a result of Marvin's desire for distance which she perceived as rejection. She said, "I've never been treated like I want to be treated, mainly because I've not allowed myself to be. I've always played the victim and allowed the man to dominate, rescue me, then persecute me."

She described Marvin as "mean," "vicious," and "rotten" towards the end of the three year period they were together. She had decided to have a child, hoping that it would change his response to her. Their daughter was born five months before they separated. His psychological as well as physical violence continued to be both hurtful and unpredictable. He would throw her against the wall and shout, "I love my baby but I hate you." She said, "I could easily have got killed." It would appear that their final separation was not initiated by Maureen as she said she had wanted him to call and ask her back but he did not.

Maureen said her ways of relating to men had changed considerably since she had left Marvin. She felt some guilt for her need "to have a guy hanging around." She said that she was no longer looking for "Prince Charming." She believed that she had "babied" Roy and Marvin but that she was able to now link this practise to her own lack of esteem. She seemed to focus continually on her need for a
man to financially support her and her dislike for herself when she is "poor." She referred to her mother experiencing poverty and the effects she perceived it having on her self-esteem. Maureen appears to lack trust in her own ability to financially provide for herself.

Maureen said she had "never felt supported" by her husband or lovers. She had felt restricted in pursuing her own needs as an independent individual and, at the same time, "not appreciated as a woman." In this latter comment she appears to be referring to the sensitivity she showed in her roles of mother and wife. For example, she said she felt a lack of acceptance from Roy which caused her to undress where he could not see her. This remained the case for the 18 years they were married. In addition, he would often call her "stupid" if she were to show her hurt by crying in front of him. She acknowledges she is still trying to lose weight for the response she will receive from men as opposed to how she will feel. She seems to be continuing to base her self-esteem largely on her perceived acceptance by men and yet she also said she does not "trust" any man when he is kind and polite to her. She predicts rejection.

Maureen had had a small number of male acquaintances whom she said she considered good company but with whom she would not wish to become intimately involved. It appeared
that they were providing her with support and encouraging feedback on her appearance and capabilities.

**Relationships with women.** Maureen said she had about three or four close female friends. She said she is attracted to "loving women" who will listen to her when she talks about her feelings. She also appears to be comparing her own actions to theirs and learning from their experience. During the treatment period, Maureen attended "Frywork," a program sponsored by the Elizabeth Fry Society. It is designed to assist women who have experienced some confusion and difficulty to understand their own feelings, reenter the community, and perhaps obtain employment. Maureen found that, in comparing herself to the other women in the group, she felt less victimized by her own experiences.

She described one of the women to whom she is close as "kind," "nice, and "caring." She also said she appreciated her "good morals," a term Maureen appeared to be using to describe her friend's belief in marriage and "respect between individuals." She believed that many of her women friends have been taken advantage of by men and that this is an area of common experience between them. She feels guilty at times for what she perceives as her "use" of them in understanding her own feelings and behaviors.

**Relationships with own children.** Maureen remains reasonably close to her three older children. They visit
weekly and have, on occasion, stayed with her for short periods of time. She commented on their independence and skills and that she feels positive about herself in being able to acknowledge her part in their development years. It would appear that Maureen is able to feel more confident in her own skills as a result of feeling needed by her older children. She feels similarly in response to the needs of her infant daughter except that she said at one point, "I don't know who's taking care of who. Sometimes it's like the baby is taking care of me." Describing her as her "sidekick," Maureen spoke of her daughter as being "everything" to her. She said, "I get so much love back from her." Her fear is that, were she to be incapable, there will be nobody to care for the child.

Recent history and concerns. Maureen had left Marvin five months prior to the commencement of this study and had been living on her own with her infant daughter since that time. Her major concern throughout the beginning of this study was her own anger and her "fear" when she felt helpless to control it. The nature of Maureen's anger will be expanded in this section as well as in the one to follow. Her concerns in this area dominated most of the treatment sessions but also appeared to diminish towards the end of the intervention period. She did not mention these concerns in the follow-up session.
Maureen spoke of feeling helpless to understand the roots of her anger and how she could decrease the intensity of these feelings. She recognised that she was directing much of it towards Marvin but that it was not originating from that relationship alone. For example, she felt less angry when she was able to "build up" her image when speaking with Roy in order to show him that she was "okay."

She linked her anger with both men to her relationship with her father. At one point she asked the researcher, "What the hell's wrong with me?" She was referring to her recent behavior with Marvin and that she had often done and said with him what her mother "should have done with her father long ago." Her anger at herself for such responses with her partner emerged from her wish to avoid using her childhood as an excuse for her present self. She suggested that she might not feel as lonely if she was seeing a man who cared about her and her daughter. Maureen said she was also angry that Marvin was not fulfilling his responsibility as a father. He had not shown any interest in seeing the child or in making support payments for her maintenance. Maureen also recognised the hurt she felt in the area of parental responsibility.

Maureen described herself as having been a "loser for so many years." She was referring to her relationships with men who did not "support" her in developing her own sense of
worth. She was finding it difficult to adjust her thinking patterns to avoid both believing in herself as a victim and placing herself in that position. For example, she stated that she "wouldn't be alive" had she remained with Marvin because of her own lack of worth. She believed she could have successfully carried out one of her suicide attempts. She said she was able to recognise Marvin's affect on her self-esteem only after separating from him. Maureen also had a concern around her financial situation.

She was worried that, in time, she would be forced into wearing clothes which would not be attractive and would make her look "like a dump." She constantly referred to her appearance as an important influence on her sense of worth. She was also concerned about her physical condition in this regard. She often said, "once I get into shape and lose some weight I'll just feel a lot better about myself." She said, "I don't feel like I've got anything else going for me." Her appearance affected "everything" else she did and felt. Maureen appeared very worried that she would lose control of this aspect of her life, despite the fact that it appeared as if she took care of her physical condition. She was often wearing an attractive outfit along with appropriate makeup.

She eventually acknowledged that she had concerns that she would become like her mother by being "sloppy," "bit-
ter," and "resentful" as she got older. She doubts her own "strength" to remain separated from the kind of relationship with a man which she believed caused her mother's responses. Maureen said that she saw her mother as very attractive when the latter was young but that, in Maureen's opinion, her negative appearance and attitudes had been caused by her husband's drinking, anger, and unpredictable abuse. Maureen was afraid that, in repeating family patterns, she would meet another man who would be similar to Marvin, to Roy, and to her father. She would trust him and he would gradually show his lack of support by criticising her skills, dominating her, and eventually being violent.

Maureen said that, at the present time, she did not want to become involved in another relationship with a man because of the "insensitiveness" which she had encountered in the past. It seemed she was distrusting of her own abilities to attract a man who would be supportive and who would allow her to end the patterns which she had developed in her own life as well as those she had seen her mother enacting.

Lifestyle and attitudes. Maureen believed she was gradually becoming able to separate her own achievements or failures from her anger towards Marvin but that it was extremely difficult because she had never had "confidence" in herself. For example, it had been seven months since
Maureen had separated from Marvin when she said, "If I go out and don't have a good time, I'm angry at Marvin for forcing me into this spot....Starting over again is a real hassle."

She said she does not believe she is "in control" of her own self-esteem and that it is important to have others, particularly men, think "well" of her. At the same time, she does not want to "get close to people" because of her fear of being criticised and failing in some respect. She said she had often avoided risking failure as she "doesn't think enough" of herself in order to respond to it in a positive way. Initial anger would be "turned inside" to become "self hatred." Her perception that she has been "rejected" by people would appear to emerge from her belief that she doesn't have "an ego anymore." She acknowledged, "I have been the victim of myself in so many ways and in so many relationships....like I was with my father."

Maureen said she had tried to prevent herself from asking, "What's wrong with me?" She found that the more she focused on what she perceived to be her faults, the more frequent her withdrawal into the role of a victim. While married to Roy, she would attempt a task in which she thought she might make a mistake. As a result, he would comment on her inability which would promote her response of self-doubt and would also cause her to feel rejected by him.
The cycle appeared to be increasingly self-destructive. Maureen said she felt "weak" while realizing that she wanted to feel "strong." She would place herself in such a position but would often respond aggressively on a physical level during a violent encounter. She described herself as an "aggressive/passive" personality. She felt "silly" and "childish" in still wanting Marvin to "take care of" her and yet she also said she would feel less angry if he would care about her so she could respond by "rejecting him."

Maureen felt afraid that she would "lose control" of her anger towards Marvin. It seemed that her concern was that she not turn her anger towards herself, thereby repeating her mother's pattern. Maureen appeared to express a number of 'shoulds' around her own behavior. As a result of her feeling "bloody awful" in not feeling in control of her anger, she acknowledged she felt more angry at herself. It appeared that she was unaware of how to respond to her anger, perhaps partly as a result of her lack of experience as a child and the family belief that "there was something wrong with you" if the anger was acknowledged.

Maureen seemed to have a number of awarenesses on a cognitive level which it appeared she had not integrated within her own thinking and behavior patterns. For example, she constantly referred to the negative effects of her anger, her desire to feel "taken care of," her victimization
of herself as a result of her fear of failure and focus on her faults, and her attempts to establish her self-esteem based on the opinions of others. At one point she said, "nobody can build you up except yourself." It appeared as if Maureen was seeking feedback from the researcher as well as learning from listening to her own awarenesses spoken aloud.

**Influences.** Maureen's changes in attitude appeared to serve as a major influence towards her change in behaviour which, in turn, affected her attitudes, and so on. During the entire period of this study, Maureen was involved in a number of activities which she linked to her new awarenesses and the support she felt as she risked to change. Maureen was specific in referring to the activity, awarenesses, or skills which she believed assisted her in recognising her patterns and changing her behavior.

Maureen had found the "Alcoholics Anonymous" (AA) Program to be a major support to her. She had been attending meetings regularly for several years. She was uncertain as to whether she had been an "alcoholic" but she described the program as "simply a good psychology of living." She said she felt accepted within the groups she attended and did not feel rejected because of her faults. She said she appreciated having others approach her for conversation as her initial lack of self-esteem caused her to withdraw and not
initiate contact with people. She felt more confident in her own abilities as a result of standing up and voicing her perceived weaknesses to the members. She said she was also constantly learning from hearing others speak. She felt "encouraged" and "supported" by the "positive" atmosphere which resulted from the structure and emphases of the AA Program. She particularly recalled one woman who made the statement, "it's a shame what our parents do to us when we're little but it's a real shame we have to stay little."

Maureen completed the "Frywork" Program and found it to be of help in a number of ways. In hearing the "life stories" of the other women in the group, she felt less victimized by her own childhood and past. Their comments that she was "detached" and not involved with any other member of the group appeared to provide her with information of which she was not aware. She recognised that her distance might be due, in part, to her feeling "down" after listening to the others' "problems." She also valued the work experience she obtained through this program. She worked at a business of interest for several days and was able to feel more confident about her own skills as a result.

Specific individuals provided Maureen with support as she began living independently of Marvin. Her social worker and doctor had both told her that she "did not have to remain" in a violent relationship, the former assisting her
to find shelter at the point at which she did leave. She said that she had not been aware that there was a transition house or that she could "cope" with the responsibilities of living on her own and being a single parent. The transition house staff were supportive by listening and helped her to accept her decision to leave and yet not feel guilty in response. She said she gradually was able to feel less responsible for Marvin's actions but that she doubted this would have been possible had she not physically separated from him.

Prior to leaving she said she was constantly thinking that she could not "think enough of herself" or she would not put up with it. She recalls a male friend suggesting she join a women's assertiveness group. At the time, she was being "shouted at" and criticised in her relationship with Marvin. She said "I didn't listen to him. I guess I had to get pushed right to my limit." She likened this to her similar patterns with Roy. Maureen said that she was able to "let go" and allow herself to feel less angry as a result of her recognising that she could not change either man "to be the person Maureen wants. The only person I can change is me."

Maureen said she found the treatment program to be quite helpful in a number of ways. She had previously been unaware of the patterns from her childhood which she was
reenacting as an adult. Discussing them appeared to help her become more aware of her control over her behaviors with men and assumptions of being rejected. She said that, in continually focusing on her anger, she had been feeling less confident in her ability to control. She also felt guilty for feeling angry. She said she appreciated the researcher’s suggestion that she set aside two to three specific periods in a day during which time she would allow herself a few minutes to focus on her anger. She said that, after a period of a few days, she felt so "foolish" about feeling angry that she was able to end the exercise and also feel less angry throughout each day.

Maureen had been frequently telephoning Marvin to vent her anger. She said she felt "even worse" at the end of the conversations. She believed the treatment program was valuable to her in exploring her feelings and helping her discover a range of choices of behavior open to her. Beside the telephone she had placed a list of activities which she enjoyed. When she wanted to dial Marvin she would refer to her list and would carry out another activity. She said "it worked" in decreasing the anger at the time and made it possible for her to feel more in control of her own feelings and actions in response to Marvin. Maureen said she thought she "could never control her mind." She believed the treatment program assisted her in becoming clear on her own
ability to control through an emphasis on and practise in clarifying her feelings by beginning with "I feel."

Maureen recognises that she will be on social assistance only until she obtains job skills and/or employment. For this reason she said she does not believe she is judging herself negatively as a result. She said she is able to remain independent on welfare and not be forced to be "taken care of" by a man. She said, "I know I don't want to live like this the rest of my life." She said she looks forward to feeling more positive about her skills and worth as a result of contributing within a job. Her apparent anxiety, suggested by her vocal tone and inability to focus on one area of interest, would seem directly linked to her patterns of beliefs and actions in which her "only importance was through her husband." She said she had never allowed herself to feel competent to cope with independent living or with the anger that she conceptualized as emerging from her dependence on Roy or Marvin. Throughout the treatment period, Maureen linked her decreasing anger with her belief in her ability to control her reactions and feelings within her relationships with men, despite the contrasting patterns she saw as a child between her parents. She believed her sense of control had emerged from an understanding obtained within the treatment program of the roots and patterns of her feelings and actions. She said she felt
"freer to explore" on a one to one basis than in a group setting.

In the follow-up session, Maureen stated that she had been thinking less about Marvin since she had begun dating other men. She said that remaining active helped her feel less angry towards him and more positive about her own capabilities and worth.

Case Study 3

Family of origin. Born in the Northwest Territories in 1959, Rita was 22 years old at the commencement of this study. She said she knew very little about her extended family background. She knew nothing of either her paternal or maternal grandfather. She did not recall having known their names but believed both had deceased. She did not remember where or when she had obtained this information. The presence or absence of abuse, separation, or violence of any nature within their marriages was also unknown to her. She had had some contact with her paternal grandmother in that they had talked on the telephone once or twice in the past year. Rita believed that her maternal grandmother was still living but she described her as "just a name in my life." Rita was 15 years old before she knew her cultural heritage and the Native band of which she was a member. She stated firmly, however, that she was a fully recognised Native.
Rita recalled her father, Bruce, with some tears, saying that she was still "angry at him for dying" when she was only 10 years old. He had been born within a family of 12 children but Rita knew nothing of his childhood years or his birth position. He had died after a long illness with cancer. All his brothers were apparently also deceased, Rita having known of two who had "shot themselves." She remembered her father as "gentle, kind-hearted, and well-liked." The day of his death was the one specific date she recalled from her childhood years. Rita recalled him being absent from the home a majority of her early years as his work as a laborer took him out of town. When he was at home, he would severely abuse her mother by punching, hitting, and kicking. Rita recalls him often being drunk when he was violent. She described both of her parents as "alcoholic." In her description of Bruce as "gentle," she stressed that this was in reference to his relationship to Rita and her sister. On one occasion when he did strike her she said she was not only "shocked" but felt a great deal of "resentment."

Rita's mother, Stella, was one of nine children and the second oldest to a brother. She described her mother as "the worst thing on earth." She felt angry as a result of what she perceived as her mother's infidelity. When Stella drank, she would become "loud" and "crude" and on one of several occasions, Rita recalled her bringing home a boyfriend whom
she introduced to the children as their "new father." Bruce was ill in hospital at the time.

**Development Years.** Rita was the second and youngest child in the family, having a sister, Clare, who was two years older. She recalled her early years as "hazy." She was not aware of the sequence of events or of any close relationships she had during those years. Her first 11 or 12 years remain "just a blur." Rita said, "It's like I never lived those years."

Shortly after birth, Rita was placed in a foster home for two years. She was not aware of the reason for this. She said that a great deal of anger that she still felt for her mother emerged from what she saw to be the latter's overt favoritism for Clare. During those two years, Rita believed that Clare remained with their natural parents.

Rita described her upbringing as "destructive" in a number of ways. She felt constantly compared to her sister, both by their mother as well as by teachers at school. She said, "no matter what I did, I could never meet up to her." She said she vividly recalls her mother's criticisms as well as being asked why she couldn't be "more like Clare." Stella would often say that Clare was her favorite. While Clare was labeled as the "good" child, Rita felt she was "expected" to be the "troublemaker" who avoided responsibility and did not do what her parents told her. As a young child, she
attempted to fight what she perceived to be an unavoidable label for her. She saw herself constantly trying, often by doing extra household tasks, to please her mother but failing on all occasions.

She said she had even wondered if she had been an unexpected child of a man other than her father because of the degree to which she was "picked on" by her mother. She found it hard to believe that her mother would vent such anger by overtly "rejecting" her were this or some similar situation not the case. She believed Clare to have a greater number of privileges at home, Rita also seeing herself often taking the blame for Clare's uncompleted tasks.

Recalling that she was always called "stupid" and a "lost cause," Rita said she began to believe her mother's criticisms. The anger which she felt in response was something with which she felt she never learned to deal. She said, "I couldn't get angry...I was the only one who couldn't show it. If I did, my mother would blame me and call me stupid." In response, Rita saw herself becoming "pushy" and "aggressive" as a defense against the favoritism and criticism and her apparent inability to please her mother. She said that it was, in many ways, easier to fulfill the negative expectations she felt from others than to continue to fail at changing them. It would also appear that, partly as a result of her inability to express her
anger, Rita was given tranquilizers at 12 years of age for what she recalled the psychiatrist describing as a "near nervous breakdown."

Rita was uncertain as to the actual amount of time that her father was present in the home because he worked out of town a great deal of time. She said she remembered him as "always there," however, as she felt very close to him and he was often the only one who would "come to her rescue" when she was being singled out and criticized. She conceptualizes some of her current anger as linked to her feelings of "abandonment" when her father died. Her feelings of total lack of control of her life were emphasized when he died and she lost not only a parent but the person to whom she was closest.

Nine months after his death, Rita's mother "walked out" and left both children. They were immediately placed in a foster home together. Rita was unaware of the reasons for her mother leaving, never having discussed the matter with her. In addition to feeling angry, hurt, and confused in response to her mother's actions, she also appeared to be assuming some guilt and responsibility for them. She had tried to assess her own actions to explain her mother's behavior. Her abandonment confirmed her belief in her lack of worth and control. Some years later when Rita was 17 years old, she visited her mother. Rita said she was ex-
tremely hurt at that time when her mother said to call her "Stella" and not "mother." This would seem to have completed Rita's perceived pattern of abandonment and contributed to her childhood belief that she was "never good enough."

Rita still believes her foster mother, Marg, favored Clare as did their natural mother. On one occasion when Rita was chewing her fingernails, Marg reprimanded her by grounding her for nine months. She and Clare remained with Marg from the time Rita was 11 years old until she was 17 years old. During adolescence, Rita saw herself as "fighting to keep a distance" from others for fear of criticism. She sees herself as having associated with "rowdies" although she described herself as being so timid that she "wouldn't say 'boo' to a monkey." She felt accepted within the group, despite her "passiveness," as she recognised in herself an aggressive opposition to social expectations of her. She often felt confused as to the behavior that others expected of her. For example, she said she had been told to express her anger and to also be polite during her teens. She said, as she believed she was not able to do both simultaneously, she was uncertain as to what she was supposed to do. She said, "When I get angry, I get rude. I can't be polite and angry at the same time....What do they want me to do?"

Lacking her own set of limits, she said she would maintain a distance while testing her own ability to "rebef." She
foresaw criticism from her mother and sister, no matter what she did.

Rita recalls "fighting constantly" with Clare. They would shout and swear at each other, often over issues of unequal privilege. Rita states that Clare was also her closest friend. She said there were few people close to her during her teens and that, although she predicted criticism, she hoped to be "liked by everyone." At 17 years of age, she moved to a group home where she stayed for a year. Supported by the group home parents, she had her "best year in school." The group home mother was sensitive to her feelings and would discuss them with her when Rita felt the need.

**Early recollections.** 1. (age: 7 years) Rita clearly recalls standing in a doorway at her first foster mother's house while her parents talked about Rita's upcoming operation to remove her tonsils. She remembered being very excited to talk with the foster mother's son, the adult conversation being of no interest to her. She was "surprised" and "pleased" that she had a foster brother.

2. (age: 6-7 years) Rita was sleeping in a big bed beside Clare when their mother came in to the bedroom and kicked her out. Her mother said she wanted to "sleep with her daughter" and that Rita could sleep in the living room. Her father was sleeping on the couch and she went to tell him what happened. He went into
the bedroom and "fought" with the mother to let Rita stay in the bed because she was sick. She most vividly recalls climbing in beside her father and how "secure" she felt at the time.

3. (age: 9 years) Her father was sick in hospital and "nearly dead." Her mother came home late one night with another man and said to Rita and Clare, "This is your new father. I want you to respect him." Rita remembered saying "he isn't my dad!" and then running out of the room. She recalled her disgust at her mother because of the latter's "betrayal" of the father.

4. (age: 5-7 years) Clare and Rita were dressed up in red and white dresses with fancy shoes and little purses. Clare's shoes were white and Rita's shoes were black. She recalled feeling pleased that they looked so much alike in the outfits. She felt "special" when they posed for a picture.

Summary of recollections. The first three recollections all focus on Rita's relationships with men. In the first, the son would appear to provide her with an opportunity to remove herself from her parents' discussion while in the second and third recollections, it seems she is either being rescued by her father or she is 'rescuing' him in a certain way. In the fourth, Rita and Clare look alike, apart from their shoes, her recollection of their specific color.
being important to her.

Relationships with men. Rita had had only one relationship of any duration with a man prior to this study and that was her relationship with Frank. She described an expectation in her home town that all the women had "an old man." The couple need not have been married but the commitment was understood in terms of sexual involvement. Rita said she was raised to believe that men were "strong" and women were "weak" in an emotional as well as physical sense.

She said that, in the past, she had felt incapable of handling being alone. She said, "I'd walk around the streets at midnight...just wanting someone to talk to." The "love" that Frank promised and the "security" that Rita saw in him was something she said she had never felt before. While she saw herself being "dumped" by "everyone else who she cared about," Frank was somebody who "wanted" her. She was uncertain as to how she defined "security" except that she would not have to feel lonely with Frank. Rita said that she was aware that he had "beaten up" two girlfriends before her but that she believed she could "change him" through her actions. In return, she believed he would "take care of" her.

She was 18 years old in 1978 when they moved from the North to Vancouver. In retrospect, she sees herself as naive at that time, having "grown up" in the following years she
spent with Frank. By this, she meant that she was forced into forming her own set of "limits" for herself and recognizing her own low self-esteem. She did so while, in effect, being isolated from her hometown friends and community.

Rita said she did not realize she was being battered until she was with Frank for at least a year. She linked this lack of recognition to her hope of Frank changing. Although she felt "guilty" and "angry," she "clicked off" her anger towards Frank for fear of retaliation. He would be vindictive by hiding her clothes and punching her, often in the shoulders. She could not leave unless she did so naked. While Frank introduced her to soft drugs, Rita had drunk alcohol prior to their relationship. She said they both drank "fairly heavily" while they were together. This did not, however, effect the pattern of Frank's abuse. She spoke of the physical pain of the violence—punching, kicking, and blackened eyes—but she believed his insults and verbal putdowns to be most hurtful and destructive of her belief in herself. He would tell her she was not capable of coping without him. If she showed any knowledge in a number of life skills areas, he would insult her or physically retaliate. She perceives his fear of losing "control" of her as being the cause of his "pulling her down to his level." What she initially saw as strength, she eventually learned was weakness, acted out in the form of "power."
Frank physically abused her during her first two pregnancies, both of which terminated in miscarriages. On discovering she was pregnant for a third time, she spent the duration until the birth in a residential centre at which time she felt able to assess her situation. She said that, largely through reading, she realized that Frank would not change. Of particular value to her was an understanding of the three stages of battering, as outlined by Walker (1979) in the book, "The Battered Woman." After the birth, Rita attempted a brief reconciliation with Frank but four months later sought the help of a transition house worker in ordering him to leave their apartment.

Rita said, "Although I blame Frank, it goes a long way back." She recalls staying with Frank because she believed the alternative was to "move from one man to another." It would seem she negatively judged such behavior, perhaps as a result of her own lack of clarity around limits. She said she was often unaware of how far to go before she would be criticised by others. One of her stated goals was to establish her own set of acceptable limits for herself in the areas of social behavior and parenting skills in particular.

One month before the end of the treatment period, Rita began living with a man she had known for two years although with whom she had had little contact over that time. While she said she and Frank had begun their relationship as
sexual partners, she spoke of Mark as being a "friend" before they became sexually intimate. Mark is two years younger than Rita and, at the time of this study, was an unemployed tradesman. Rita said she trusts him in a number of ways that she did not trust Frank, not the least of which is his ability to budget money. With Frank, she had been the sole wage earner as well as the only one who was able to save any money. She also sees Mark as someone "who's able to take control if she needs him to." She was referring to occasions when she feels controlled by her own feelings of anger.

She linked her feelings of helplessness at such times with her lack of learning how to deal with her anger as a child. She also felt incapable of preventing her adult anger in response to her childhood experiences. As a result, she believes she often "loses control" as an adult, venting her anger through verbal retaliation. At such times, she is also angry at herself for feeling forced into responding in this way.

She believes that she will gradually be able to separate the feelings and reactions she experienced with Frank from those she would like to experience with Mark. She sees her relationship with Mark as a major influence towards her ability to feel greater self-worth and less emotional attachment to Frank. She is not only less afraid of her
physical safety with Mark present but also feels less gullible towards what she recognises were Frank's lies in regard to protecting her. It often confused her that he spoke of "love" as a reason for his abuse. It is suggested, however, that she might be repeating a pattern to some degree. She says that "seeing it through" with Mark is important to her. It would appear that she might be placing herself in a similar position to her role with Frank where she could perhaps allow herself to test her own limits of physical and emotional endurance and pain once again. Specifically, she said that she saw in her relationship with Frank what she wanted to see and ignored what she did not want to face. She acknowledged she still has "little hopes" that Frank will stop "behaving like a little kid," in which case she "wouldn't mind taking him back."

Relationships with women. After separating from Frank, Rita believes she received all her emotional support from female friends who ranged in age from 30 years to 80 years of age. Towards the beginning of this study, she said that she saw men as incapable of understanding the feelings of a battered woman. She later changed her opinion as a result of Mark's listening and conveying his understanding. She says she has felt less angry as a result. She has felt the greatest amount of support from women who accept her in her present situation but also encourage her to obtain job
skills and remove herself from social assistance.

A major focus in the treatment sessions were Rita’s polar feelings of love and anger towards Clare. She felt victimized as she saw her sister having "used" her without reciprocating by giving time and energy to answer Rita’s needs. She also acknowledged that, once again, she felt somewhat in competition with Clare in regard to material goods and that her jealousy might be influencing her perceptions. She felt afraid of sharing her feelings with her sister for fear that Clare would unpredictably "walk out and leave." Rita said, "She has stepped on me our whole life. She never gave me any of her strength to help me get out of my rut." She was referring to her recent needs following her separation from Frank.

The researcher suggests that, believing in an external locus of control, Rita has allowed Clare to be the initiator of closeness or distance between them. Rita sees herself as the only one who will lose a valued closeness were they to be distanced from each other. This closeness appears to be a major contributing factor towards Rita’s sense of self-worth. She described Clare as "the only family I’ve got."

Relationship with daughter. Rita believes her greatest support comes from her daughter. She said she had always wanted a child and that she enjoys the responsibility as it provides her with a need to structure her life. "I don’t
know what I'd do without her," she said, "she's my whole life." She also spoke of doubting her own parenting skills, largely in the area of setting limits. At the same time, she is concerned that she provide her child with "constant love," something she said she was never given.

Recent history and concerns. Rita's reaction to her perceived vulnerability to external criticism has been to attempt to assess the desires and expectations of those around her. She has often believed that "nobody gives her credit" for the decisions she makes. She recognises that, following many of her decisions, she has sought external validation to prove that she was "right." Frequently, she has felt confused with the variation between the expectations of those significant others, especially around parenting skills, her response to her own anger, and her social behavior with men.

In regard to the latter, she appears to be, in some ways, trying to avoid having to assess her own behaviors with men by pursuing her relationship with Mark. She said, "I want to know where it's gonna go with him so that he's an open book to me. It's too damn hard trying to get to know other guys." In other areas, she feels hurt when Clare says "You'll probably be living on welfare for the rest of your life." She believes welfare is only a step towards her attainment of financial independence.
Rita recognises that she responds with a feeling of anger when she feels out of control. It would seem, however, that she often seeks to control that which is external to her as opposed to internal. She spoke of her anger when she missed the bus as a result of it being ahead of schedule. She also felt a great deal of anger and helplessness in response to the behavior of her apartment landlord.

Her concerns have been oriented towards life skills since she separated from Frank. She says her ability to independently cope with paying bills, doing laundry, cleaning house, and maintaining her child has contributed to her sense of worth. The longer she accomplishes the tasks which Frank told her she could not do, the more confident she feels. She recognised that, despite her efforts to succeed within her self-defined limits in order to promote her own self-worth, she was also continuing to seek approval from others to a greater extent than she would like. She was aware that she was angry at times when she did not feel validated by Clare for her efforts as a parent, a sister, and an individual adult. She had recently said, "it's like I'm not good enough for her" when Clare would not accept Rita's loan of some dishes.

Rita says she "distrusts" Mark's "kindness" to a degree and is afraid of discovering a "dishonesty" behind it. She said, "I'm not used to it....It scares me." She expects
violence and abuse will follow as it did with Frank. She finds that when she feels "depressed," she thinks a great deal about him. She often catches herself reenacting old fighting patterns with Mark, beginning with her calling him "Frank." She tells herself "if I ever made that step backwards, I wouldn't be able to get out." She believes that she would be emotionally tied through being continually pulled down in the relationship once again.

It seemed to the researcher that Rita might have been saying this for the purpose of hearing and convincing herself as well as obtaining feedback and external support. Her vocal tone, the frequency with which she made such statements, and her contradictory comments suggested that she was retaining at that time, a degree of psychological attachment to Frank. Despite her saying he was "sick" and would never change, she also spoke of her fears of losing control and returning to him.

**Attitudes and lifestyle.** Rita realized that she had based much of her past behavior on her desire to please others and her anger when her actions did not bring about a level of control or predictability in others. Rita explained her "extreme" anger as an escape from expectations of control over her environment. She recognised the need to avoid the self-imposed pressure of such expectations through her use of anger. She became aware of the position in which she
placed herself in that she had a concurrent belief system which maintained her in a role lacking control.

It would appear that Rita has been assertive, largely in response to the criticism or anger she perceives from others or from her own self-directed anger. She said she "rebels" when she feels criticized. For example, Rita was angry when an elderly friend whom she visits suggested that she wake up earlier in the morning. She recalled her feelings of guilt at being "wrong" in a similar situation with her second foster mother. Rita said, "When I'm told not to hit, that's the first thing I want to do, even harder." She seems aware of her own "power" when involved in a disagreement with another person of either sex. That power, however, appears to be frequently generated by her perceived vulnerability to external criticism or attack. In regard to Mark, she said, "I'm just waiting to have him push my buttons so I can rip into him really bad." She sees her anger as, not only a means of avoiding the pressure of control, but also as a way of preventing others from manipulating her. She is aware that she links her anger with a certain range of behaviors such as shouting and swearing. On one occasion, she said that in being "kind," one allowed others to think "they can step on you."

Rita said, "I hate feeling this way" as she spoke of her perceived lack of emotional control when she is angry. She
believes she could perhaps be assuming the hurt of others at such a time. It would appear that her boundaries of responsibility are not clear in such situations. At one point in the treatment period, she said she had a new understanding of Frank's insults and that when he called her a "bitch," she now saw that "he was actually saying how much he hated himself."

She is aware of her own vulnerability to others' comments. Frank told her she was "stupid" and "couldn't make it without him" and she believed him. She is also aware of the gains she has made towards developing her own strength. She says that she is very conscious that her "passive" side would return to dominate her were she to return to Frank and that she is using anger as a defense against it. It would seem that, since separating from him, she has spent a great deal of effort testing her own limits around giving to others. She said that her recollections of her experience with Frank served as an inspiration towards her changing.

At the point at which she left him, she said that she was completely "drained" with nothing left to give. Since leaving Frank, there have been times when she has felt like saying, "Here, take my life because I'm not doing a very good job of it." In response, she has taken control over meeting her own needs of intimacy, sharing, and security. She recognises her ability to say "no" to others' requests
of her that are beyond her limits is assisting this process of growth. The psychological distancing from Frank that she said had commenced while she was pregnant and separated from him is increasing as a result of her assessing her own emotional needs. In answering these needs rather than burying them in favor of attempting to please others, she feels more in control of her own sense of worth.

Influencing factors. Rita said that, after reading "The Battered Woman" during her pregnancy, it was her "Bible" in helping her to understand the violent patterns and make a decision. She separated from Frank four months later. Of importance to her was an awareness of the three stages of violence—tension, explosion, and calm. As a result, she became more aware of how she provoked Frank for the purpose of getting through "the inevitable" as quickly as possible. She said that, in retrospect, she did not believe she would have been ready for this information at an earlier point and that she was still "learning" up to the time she separated. She had talked with a number of people about her relationship with Frank and it was this feedback which provided her with a positiveness that she believed she needed in order to leave him. She remembered talking to a priest who supported her in saying directly that she need not live with violence.

She is currently trying to establish a routine of
eating, sleeping, and accomplishing tasks as she feels most positive about herself as well as her role as a parent when she has a plan and organization. She receives a great deal of support from female friends but believes that Mark's understanding is more helpful for her towards her separating from Frank. It would appear that, as Mark's understanding and acceptance of her increases, so too does her trust in her own ability to choose a man who will not abuse her. She says she values the physical closeness that they share and the parental role he fulfills with her daughter.

A priority for her at the time of this study was to be able to say "no" to people without feeling guilty for hurting or displeasing them. She also would like to obtain some office skills in order to be able to obtain a clerical job.

Rita said that she believed that the treatment program helped her in a number of ways, not the least being that the researcher invited her out to a play on one evening. She believed her self-esteem was improved by simply leaving the house to do something she enjoyed. As a result, she said she thought less about her relationship with Frank and felt a greater degree of emotional separation. She said she often felt as if she was "balancing" her growing sense of worth and her confidence in independence against her doubts about herself and her vulnerability to return to Frank. In addition, she said that talking with the researcher helped her
separate from her first two children, both of whom miscarried.

The areas in which she found the program to be of greatest help were in dealing with her anger and in accepting Clare. She said she was able to reach a point of recognition as to how she had been assuming the "hurt," "anger," and "jealousy" of her foster mother, natural mother, sister, and Frank. She said she would like more skills in dealing with her feelings for her family but that she felt somewhat less manipulated by them and more in control of her own feelings in response. The researcher had discussed "boundaries" and "accepting only one's half of a relationship" or disagreement. In brief, others' actions were separated from the range of feelings with which Rita could respond. These feelings were, in turn, separated from the choices available to her when responding with a behavior. Rita said she understood Clare's difficulty in relating to her experience of abuse. Rita did not feel as responsible to please Clare nor did she appear to feel as manipulated as a result of discussions within the treatment program which clarified Rita's expectation of external control.

Rita believed she also had a clearer understanding of her feelings as a result of her describing them in the sessions. For example, she became aware that the three
stages of battering about which she had read also defined what she saw as the three stages of her anger. In recognising the patterns in the first stage, she hoped to affect a change in her response to anger in order to feel a greater sense of control.

Rita did not find the journal helpful in clarifying her feelings. She felt almost negative about it in that she would focus on difficulties without knowing how to deal with them at the time. The researcher assessed that it was the form of the journal in terms of its basis of writing and not its focus on self-understanding which contributed to its lack of effectiveness and appeal. Rita often referred to the value of the understanding she was obtaining in the intervention sessions.

It appeared to the researcher that Rita had acquired some cognitive awarenesses from the program and that, over time, she might be able to internalize the information in order to integrate it within her behavior framework as well as her pattern of attitudes. In addition, two sessions of couple counselling took place. They seemed to be positive learning experiences for both Rita and Mark. They were conducted in response to a request by Rita.

Rita said that she learned some additional information about Mark of which she was previously unaware. She stated that her trust in him increased as a result. She knew that
he had been abused as a child and was afraid as to how this would affect their relationship. She did not feel comfortable in confronting him with her concerns as she was not certain that she could handle her feelings of anger and hurt while discussing the issue. She was afraid that he would respond aggressively and she would then return to her patterns of response from her relationship with Frank. A major focus of the couple counselling sessions was control.

Case Study 4

**Family of origin.** Anne was born in the Lower Mainland in 1953, the third eldest of three girls. She knew nothing of her paternal grandparents apart from her grandmother's name. She was unaware of whether the couple was separated or divorced at any time or whether they were abusive to each other or their children.

Anne's father, Will, was the middle child of three with an older sister and a younger brother. Anne had little or no contact with either. Her father is still living within a few miles of her present residence but she has "as little as possible" to do with him.

Her mother, Frieda, was the youngest of five children with two brothers and two sisters, one of the girls being a foster child. The father had died some years previously to this study but the mother, Anne, after whom her granddaughter was named, was still living. Anne said that
her grandmother had always been there to provide "support" and "protection" for Anne when her father was violent during her childhood. There was no violence or abuse within the marriage of the maternal grandparents. It was well known within the family, however, that one of Anne's uncles physically battered his wife. Anne's mother was also physically abused during the 11 years she lived with her husband. Anne's two aunts had remained single.

Frieda was 21 and Will was 23 years of age when their eldest daughter, Sharon, was born in 1947. Their next daughter, Barbara, was born three years later with Anne being born three years after that in 1953. The youngest girl, Denise, born in 1954, was severely handicapped and spent much of her life in an institution. Anne could not remember her living in the home. She said that none of the family had had regular contact with her.

Anne described her mother as "fantastic" and "strong" and her father as a "jerk" who "dominated" his wife and children through verbal and physical threats. None of the children were physically abused because, as Anne said, "we were too fast for him." His domineering approach included restrictive rules for the behavior of the children and his discipline appeared retaliatory to Anne. One of her "early recollections" of her father describes an incident which supports this. It would appear she saw her mother's
strength as partly an ability to withstand her father's physical abuse. Anne said her parents were either fighting or shouting with each other when they were living together. He would punch and hit Frieda, often when he was drunk.

**Development years.** Anne was raised with a strong, matriarchal family structure. She said that most of her early memories do not include her father despite the fact that her parents were not divorced until Anne was 11 years old. Up until that time, she said that her mother would leave Will and take Anne and her sisters to one of their aunt's houses where they would stay for periods of up to a few months. Anne said that it was "great" without her father around as there was no hitting or violence. She described herself as having to be "responsible" as a child because of her father's abuse. Both she and her sisters were aware of the hurt that their mother was experiencing and they would always support her against their father. Anne recalled the last time her parents physically fought. She and her sisters picked her father up off the couch, "beat the hell out of him," and then let their mother order him out of the house. Anne said that her mother had had the opportunity to remarry since that time but that they both believed that "she was strong and would dominate and pound" the man.

During most of her childhood, Anne felt closest to
Barbara but said that their mother's sister, Joan, was the "strength" and "law" within the whole family. She was the one who would make most of the final decisions and would serve as an emotional resource for the other family members. When Anne was 11 years of age, her two aunts and her mother bought a farm and began raising stock. Her adolescence was spent in a rural setting as a result. During those years, Anne had no male models.

She did not view her father as a positive influence at any point. He would visit during their teen years and bring them gifts as he had done when they were younger. Anne said they were aware of his bribery and that they were only interested in what he brought them. She recalls no emotional giving of care, intimacy, or even time on his part. While discipline from both parents was in the form of corporal punishment, she did not feel singled out or scapegoated in any way in this regard. She said she considered herself to have been pampered and "always babied...Somebody was always stepping in" to take over her responsibilities.

Anne said she began to have "temper tantrums" in her teens for which there was often no other reason than she did not have her "own way." It would seem that in demanding her own way by shouting, screaming, or sulking, she could also predict some form of attention from her mother. It would appear that family boundaries were undefined with a consid-
erable degree of enmeshment. At 16 years of age Anne attempted suicide by taking sleeping pills but said that she realized, after swallowing them, that she did not want to injure herself. The researcher suggests that she was perhaps using suicide as a means of establishing independence and separation from her family. Anne said that she "did not even leave home" when she began living with a man at 19 years of age. She would be constantly returning to visit. She still feels guilty when she speaks to her family about wanting distance. At one point during this study, she did not want to stay for the ritual Sunday dinner at her aunt's. She described the objections she received when she persisted and did leave. She felt guilty at disappointing them and also angry that she had to apologise for answering her own needs of independence.

Unable to recall when and how she was taught, Anne recognises her "traditional" views, not all of them entirely sexually based. She said she always "swore" her children would grow up with both parents. It appeared she had a conservative outlook on social relationships between men and women. She requested birth control pills from her doctor for the cramps she was experiencing. She felt very "guilty" when he teased her that she needed them because she was sexually active.

Early recollections. 1. (age: 5 years) Anne's father
caught her playing with matches. He took her and burned the ends of all her fingers with a lit match. She vividly recalls "his big hand and my little hand."

2. (age: 4 years) Anne and her sister, Barbara, were staying with their aunt, Joan. They were eating ham, drinking ginger ale, and crying over a television show they were watching. She clearly remembers Joan carrying them to bed, one under each arm. She felt secure.

3. (age: 7 years) Her father was chasing her and her sisters around the house. The children ran outside and heard their mother laugh as their father chased her inside the house. Anne felt especially happy because they most often heard their mother cry with their father.

4. (age: 7 years) Anne and her sisters were picked up by their aunt Sharon to go visit Joan. When they drove in the driveway, the children hid in the back seat and saw the look of disappointment on Joan's face when Sharon said that Will had not allowed the girls to leave the house. Anne and her sisters then all jumped up. She recalls how fun it was to play a joke and also how good it felt to see the look of joy on Joan's face when she saw them.

Summary of recollections. Anne said she remembered
little of her father and yet he is part of two of the four recollections given. In all of the above, there appears to be an extreme of either happiness or sadness with no people outside the family being included. In three of the four, there is a sense of unpredictable emotion occurring: unpredictable hurt in #1, unpredictable happiness in #3, and the humor related to the unpredictable in #4. In the first two, she sees herself as small and vulnerable to either pain or in need of security from others. In the latter two, she is taking more of an active role but both involve clearly understood games.

Relationships with men. Anne described herself as a "dumb farm kid" when she met Eric, the first man with whom she was intimately involved. At 19 years old, she had left school some time previously and was working parttime on the family farm and also in a warehouse. Eric was two years older than Anne. She described him as "gentle" and "good humored." She acknowledged she "used Eric" to move away from her family. She was referring to an emotional distance as well as a physical one. They both worked as group home parents for the first two years of their relationship until their daughter was born. Anne was 21 years old at the time. The pregnancy had been unplanned.

Eric was not physically violent. Anne said that she felt responsible for their disagreements in many ways
because of her demanding behavior and her temper tantrums if she did not get her own way. She saw Eric simply taking over "caring for" her as her family had done. Knowing that he had to get up to work, she would cling and demand that he stay in bed with her. She would shout or sulk if she did not have her demands met. Eric hit her once across the face, she hit him back, and "that was that." They never struck each other again.

Anne and Eric mutually agreed to separate after being together for four years. Anne was afraid she could not cope or would not enjoy being on her own but she found that, to the contrary, she "liked it" for the challenge it provided her.

Within a few months, she had met Blair and in less than a year, he had moved in with her. He was four years younger than her but, at 20 years old, had already been married and had battered his first wife. As far as Anne knew, Blair had been raised the eldest of four children, his father leaving the family when Blair was 4 years old. Blair had a lengthy history of legal offences, largely drug related. A couple of years after moving in with Anne, he received custody of his 3 year old daughter when her mother left the child.

Anne's first impression of Blair was that he was "sweet," taking her out for dinner and conveying interest in her. He had struck her nine months after they met and just
prior to their living together. She had hoped, however, "that he would change." She described him as "a little boy" whom she "babied" throughout their relationship. She said she had a table set up in front of the television when he got home from work with his dinner ready to be served and a chilled glass for a drink. He was taking nonprescription drugs--largely MDA and cocaine--on a daily basis but she found either alcohol or drugs to be unrelated to his violent attacks. He would often abuse her when he was sober.

During the four years they were living together, Anne did not have any contact whatsoever with her family. Neither did she have any male or female friends. She described herself as a "prisoner" as Blair would not allow her to see friends or involve herself in any activities. She said she only saw her mother or aunts when they came to see her while she was recuperating in the hospital from the battering. She had no bank account but she had no money to deposit. For fear of Blair retaliating, she saw herself constantly trying to please him in answering his demands around household tasks, intimacy, et cetera. She believed she rarely succeeded in that he criticised her no matter what she did. She could not go and buy an item of clothing for the children or herself because, even if she had had the money, she would have been sworn at, shouted at, or often hit by him for doing so. She never hit back as she feared
for her life had she done so. She said, "he would have killed me."

Anne found it extremely difficult to talk about Blair with the researcher. When she did, she felt "down" as it seemed as if she was once again, feeling old anger, hurt, and guilt. In focusing on her present self-esteem, she would revert back to her feelings of low worth during her years with Blair. She recognised that she was, in many ways, avoiding understanding her own growth as well as her relationship with Blair. She appeared to be finding it difficult separating her positive achievements towards independence from her fear and sense of helplessness during the relationship. It seemed she believed if she recognised her control in the present and then responded in such a way that she lost it, she would be vulnerable to be battered once again in a subsequent relationship with a man. To recognise her growth away from Blair would be to acknowledge a certain degree of control which she would be forced to maintain in order to avoid abuse. It appeared that, when she was able to accept her independence and strength, she used it as a defense against her fear of violence and her accompanying low sense of worth. She said it was very "frustrating" to have to recognise her own current loneliness and yet to not return to Blair as "the door" was "open on his side." He had frequently asked that they might resume the relation-
ship.

Approximately two years after they began living together, Anne had a daughter. She said the birth was the one time that Blair was truly supportive and kind to her. The child had been born in the living room at home, several weeks premature. She was dependent on him to care for her until the ambulance arrived. It took her several years to recognise that "it wasn't love but hate" between the two of them. During the relationship, she could not recall how she explained her own behavior. She discussed the secrecy she maintained around telephoning her family for fear of Blair abusing her as a result. She also recognised her fear in considering leaving him. She said she would "sneak out" to a pay phone to call her mother. At that time, she said she was not aware of transition houses and the support that was available for her from these resources.

At the time of this study, she was not dating other men. She felt some anxiety and confusion as to how to attempt to meet a man. She said that, at 29 years old, she felt like a "has been" and that "no man would be interested in a woman with three children." It seemed she was using the children as an excuse to avoid confronting her hurt and lack of trust around men. She also appeared to be setting up an expectation of herself in terms of meeting a compatible mate almost immediately. Were she to fail in fulfil-
ling this 'ideal' she had set for herself, she would feel even less worthy of a positive male-female relationship. Her self-esteem seemed to be greatly influenced by her bonds with men despite the apparent polarity of helplessness or perfection that she saw in these bonds.

Relationships with women. Anne's models of strength had always been women. As a child as well as in the present, her support system was entirely female. She relied on the female members of her family for such things as babysitting or driving her to medical appointments in town. She did not confide in them in the same ways as she said she did with a close friend. Her closest friend was a woman who had also been battered. They met in the transition house and, a year later, continued to meet or talk on the telephone.

Anne feels stronger as a result of being able to share with her about the abuse and her present frustrations and concerns. It would appear that this strength is gained largely through discussion and overcoming adversity related to abuse and subsequent independence. She also feels strong in being able to serve as a resource for her eldest sister who is presently being abused in her marriage. Anne said that she would have appreciated such support when she was with Blair. She is not only informing her sister of available resources but she is also providing Sharon with some
directive advice. She said, through having survived the abuse, she is familiar with certain patterns in a violent relationship.

It would seem that the emotional and physical closeness that Anne has shared with women has consistently been to oppose the destructiveness of the abuse and violence of their relationships with men.

**Relationships with own children.** Anne's daughter and stepdaughter provide her with the opportunity to focus on her own feelings by "tuning into" her when they see she is tense or angry. They have helped her feel more positive about herself in terms of worth though perhaps not control. In reference to her attempted suicide, she said, "I think if it wasn't for the kids, I wouldn't be here. I'd be dead."

She finds it difficult, however, being a single parent and also meeting her own needs as an adult. One of her journal entries said, "I need more than just being a mother. I love my children very much but I need to feel really independent or something, maybe useful in other ways than just being a parent."

**Recent history and concerns.** On the evening when Anne left Blair, she said that she knew she "wouldn't live the night" if she stayed. She had insulted him in front of his friends and "the look in his eye" made her think she had to remove herself and the children immediately. She had pre-
viously left him on a couple of occasions and stayed with relatives. They had also been apart when she had been in hospital after several of the beatings. She believed that she had finally remained separated from Blair for two reasons. First, and perhaps most important, was that she had moved into a transition house instead of staying with her mother or aunts. She felt no obligation as she had in the past to move back with Blair as she was not being "cared for" by her family. She felt neither guilty or angry as before. She also felt support from some of the other residents in the house. Secondly, she said that prior to her leaving for the final time, she had not been ready to acknowledge that Blair was "sick." She had previously rationalized his abuse by saying that he had a "bad temper."

In considering leaving, she said her lack of money was not a concern. She was also not concerned that she had three children: her own daughter from her relationship with Eric, Blair's daughter from his first wife, and the child she had had with Blair. She said that she felt "rich" during her first few weeks at the transition house because she "didn't have a cent" for the four years she was with Blair. It was also "strange" that she could buy clothes for the children and herself and "not feel sore or get beat up" for it. It was frightening, however, to suddenly be independent after being "locked away" for four years. At the
time of this study, she still felt a lack of confidence in her ability to handle money.

The most difficult aspects of separation for her had been her feelings of loneliness and isolation. She said, "it's almost like it was when I was with Blair except I've now got money and can go outside when I want." Her expectations of being single were more positive than what she had encountered. Having left "by chance," Anne said, "if I had known it was going to be this difficult, I wouldn't have left him." In retrospect, she saw herself having received the same thing from Blair as she had been getting at home in terms of "being taken care of." In looking back, she said, "I hate it now."

Her two major concerns at the time of this study were custody of Blair's daughter and her own loneliness without an intimate relationship with a man. She was anxious to keep her stepdaughter as Anne recognised she was "the only mother the child ever knew." She also had become aware that Blair was sexually abusing the child on a number of occasions. The social worker involved was pushing her to ask for "no access" for Blair but Anne said that she was tired of "living in terror." If he was unable to see his daughter, Anne believed that he would carry out his threat to kidnap the children off the street on their way home from school. She was asking for "supervised access" and
said that she would not feel threatened to supervise his visits in the house.

Anne often spoke of her desire to meet a man with whom she would be comfortable and towards whom she would feel a degree of trust. It would seem that, as she doubted her own worth, ability, and control, she also distrusted herself in finding a mate who would not abuse her. She believed her present living conditions and the location in which she lived to promote her isolation. While she had money for essentials, there were many entertainment needs she said she could not afford. She finds she can decrease the resulting tension by crying but "doesn't allow" herself to cry as she finds it difficult to stop. She dislikes "feeling sorry" for herself in this way and yet her response appears to be avoidance of both her feelings and what she is capable of doing in order to meet her own social and intimacy needs. She also expressed a desire to return to school to complete her Grade 12 but her future plans in this regard were unclear.

Lifestyle and attitudes. When asked as to her belief system, Anne responded that she believed in "nothing." She later changed her answer to "fate." She said she approaches living on a daily basis with a few long term goals that remain hazy, such goals as returning to school, involving herself in activities, and supporting her children and her-
self without welfare. It appeared that she also wanted to show Blair that she can succeed independently. Whenever he telephoned, she said she would reply that she was "just fine" whether or not that was the case. Being positive when talking with him appeared to help her in feeling more confident in her own limits of control.

Her first journal entry began, "Well, I woke this morn, as every morn since I left him, with the happy feeling I won't be beat today." Her thoughts of Blair often contribute to her belief in her own lack of control of her "emotions," this lack of control being frightening to her. She said, "Often I don't know how I feel. It's all mixed up in emotions." She commented, in regard to the session with the researcher, "when you're here it feels good to talk but every time you leave I feel down....It just takes me right back." She said she may wake up feeling "good," but she may feel "like throwing a chair, calling it quits, and walking out one hour later."

She believed she often felt angry for feeling sorry for herself. She appeared to have a great deal of difficulty linking her anger with changes she could make in her responses to those feelings. Concurrently, she perceived herself as vulnerable to "hurting people's feelings." She said, "I don't know how to say 'no' to people, I so rarely do." It would appear that she often is faced with her own anger as a
result of her not establishing her own controls, limits, and self-evaluative mechanisms. When she first left Blair, she gave her eldest daughter to her mother to take care of during the transition period. She is still unclear as to what responsibility she is willing to accept in answer to her guilt around this issue.

Anne described herself as consistently "frustrated" and "uptight." She said she was "drunk" for the first four days after moving into the present house as a result of her tension and loneliness. She is also afraid of being hurt, both physically and emotionally, within subsequent relationships with men. She feels a sense of helplessness to attract strong men who will not abuse her. She questioned, "What is it about me" that she attracts "weak" and often "violent" men. She said, "at least with Blair I know what I'm getting...He knows me. He knows what my body looks like."

Immediately following the final treatment session, Anne went into hospital and was operated on to correct the improper healing in her jaw. Blair had struck her over a period of time and had broken it in such a way that it was causing her much pain and not allowing her to open her mouth fully.

Influencing factors. After leaving Blair, Anne felt stronger as she accomplished what she previously believed
was beyond her capability. In strengthening her own sense of independence by setting goals and accepting her own decisions, she felt differently about her family's intervention in her daily affairs. She said, "they've probably been waiting for me to do this." Recognising and accepting her own loneliness and her ability to effect some gradual change had helped her to feel more positive about her own worth and less emotionally dependent on Blair. For example, she was not feeling as anxious to telephone him "just to hear his voice."

At the third treatment session, Anne requested that she withdraw from the study. She said, in that it had been 10 months since she had separated from Blair, she felt as if she was "reliving" the violence and hurt once again. She found the feelings checklist (semantic differential) very difficult because she often was not able to assess how she felt. She appeared to feel threatened in trying. When asked by the researcher what she believed would help her to become more aware of her positive feelings of herself, she was uncertain. She said that she had hesitated to talk about her feelings earlier because she did not want to "hurt the researcher's feelings." The researcher reemphasized that Anne could direct the treatment sessions to answer her own concerns. She agreed to continue for the final sessions without completing the semantic differential.
She said that the treatment program was minimally helpful to her in that she could talk about her feelings but that she believed she would have appreciated it most when she was still living at the transition house during the first six months of independent living. The researcher suggests that one of the major reasons for Anne's difficulty in the program might have been her perceived lack of control over her own feelings and consequent actions alongside the absence of the anger that she once felt towards Blair. She said that she had recently tried to replace her feelings of loneliness in being on her own with feelings of anger for Blair's abuse but that she believed she had "gone past that stage."

It could prove valuable to recognise the existence of a point at which anger is no longer present as a device promoting psychological distance. It is suggested that a sense of personal control of both feelings and actions on the part of the woman would provide a positive replacement for decreased anger. The researcher proposes that the absence of both promotes a sense of helplessness and confusion such as that experienced by Anne.

Let it be understood that the researcher assumed that the treatment program only created a focus on feelings which Anne was already experiencing in a less intense form apart from the program. As Anne did not clarify her feelings
until the end of this study, it was not possible to restructure the intervention. The researcher emphasized Anne’s strengths by discussing with her the controls she had around the question of custody of Blair’s daughter and around daily living skills. Also emphasized was Anne’s ability to choose how she responds to her feelings of loneliness. While she cannot control what will happen, she can control her response to the point of not returning to Blair. Within the short duration of the posttreatment period, Anne was unable to assess the value of such input.

Anne said that, in briefly reading the book, "How to Break Your Addiction to a Person" (Halpern, 1982), she had obtained some help to refrain from telephoning Blair. Although she wanted to hear the compliments he would give her, she knew "it's not true" and that the violence would begin within a "week" if she were to "allow him back." She recognised that she is "not completely separated" in an emotional sense but that she believed she was "getting there."

During the past year, she had found a number of things to be of help towards this psychological separation. She felt "supported" by the other women at the transition house. In saying this, she appeared to be referring to their feedback as well as their action in leaving their homes which validated her own actions in this regard. At that time she
also became aware that the abuse was not her "fault." In addition, there was a period of time when she found value in placing a "before" and "after" picture of herself on the kitchen wall.

Anne finds a sense of humor to be valuable. She and her closest friend had given humorous names to their partners. She wrote "hate" letters to Blair which she never would mail but which helped her deal with the anger. She found the journal not effective in this regard, however, perhaps because she believed it would be read by others.

When asked what she would most appreciate at the present time, Anne replied "a man" so that she would not be as "lonely." She said she was not seeking to be "cared for" as in her previous relationships. In one of her journal entries, she had expressed her need when she wrote, "I wish I had a husband or boyfriend to hold on to, someone to put their arms around me and say 'it's alright!!'"

Her children provide her with much encouragement and strength but she says "there's something missing." It would appear that, in response to her unsatisfied intimacy needs, Anne was making a global self-esteem judgment when she followed a statement of her expressed needs with the comment, "Right now, I don't even like ME!!" The researcher suggests that Anne's relationship with Blair had become so much a way of life with extreme levels of fear, pain, guilt,
and lack of control that she finds if difficult to make the major changes in attitude that would appear necessary for her to affect her self-esteem in a number of areas.

Continued input was indicated as a means towards helping her to explore the possible relationship between her "drained" feelings and her fear of risking control on a cognitive level and, thereby, on an emotional level. She recognised that she was not attempting a number of social risks in terms of meeting people. In point, she felt uncomfortable riding the public bus into town.

Taking into consideration what Anne endured throughout her relationship with Blair, the researcher would suggest that it is surprising that she has accomplished what she has. She supports her children, maintains a home, and serves as a friend and support to other women. It would seem that her external capabilities might possibly betray and lead to the overlooking of her psychological needs in separation.
Quantitative Graph Data

Figure 1. Semantic differential scores obtained over 13 week period of the study: positive adjectives receiving high score evaluation.

Figure 2. Semantic differential scores obtained over 13 week period of the study: positive adjectives receiving high score evaluation.
Figure 3. Semantic differential scores obtained over 13 week period of the study: positive adjectives receiving high score evaluation.

Figure 4. Semantic differential scores obtained over 13 week period of the study: positive adjectives receiving high score evaluation.
Figure 5. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during baseline period.

Figure 6. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during baseline period.
Figure 7. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during baseline period.

Figure 8. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during baseline period.
Figure 9. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during posttreatment phase.

Figure 10. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during posttreatment phase.
Figure 11. Relationship between active(7)/passive(1) and relaxed(7)/tense(1) during posttreatment phase.

Figure 12. Relationship between accumulated scores for the 12 adjective pairs in the baseline and posttreatment phases.
Figure 13. Relationship between accumulated scores for the 12 adjective pairs in the baseline and posttreatment phases.

Figure 14. Relationship between accumulated scores for the 12 adjective pairs in the baseline and posttreatment phases.
Figure 15. Relationship between combined data of adjective #5 for baseline and posttreatment phases.

Figure 16. Relationship between combined data of adjective #8 for baseline and posttreatment phases.
CHAPTER 5

Descriptive Analysis of Results

Descriptive Analysis of Qualitative Data

The case study data of the four subjects provides information from which it is possible to explore areas of similarity between the women studied. These similarities seem to be within four major areas—development years, patterns in marriage, physical separation from a spouse, and psychological separation from a spouse.

1. **Development years.** All of the women consistently referred to what they perceived to be the absence of opportunity to express anger throughout their childhood. Feelings in general—including love, fear, and hurt—were often not expressed by any family member within the household. For example, Maureen said "there was something wrong with you if you expressed your feelings." Anger was a particular area of concern for these women. Rita believed she was "the only one who couldn't show her anger" in the family and that, if she did, her mother would "blame" her and call her "stupid." Catherine would "bury" her anger for fear her father would punish her if she expressed it. Anne commented on her "temper tantrums" when she was an adolescent but during her childhood, she described her behavior as "responsible." She felt limited in the degree to which she could convey negative feelings, partly as a result of feeling a great deal of
pressure as a child to prevent her father's abuse of her mother. Anne perceived her mother as "supportive" of her in many ways but she did not want to trouble her with what she believed to be additional concerns. The four women expressed anger towards their mother and/or father for not allowing them the opportunity to express these feelings. This point introduces the subject of parental control.

Three of the women expressed some resentment as a result of having lived with a dominating father. The fourth described her mother as the dominating parent, a highly controlling woman whom she thought of as "the worst thing on earth." These dominating parents had generated a degree of confusion in response to unpredictable efforts of love alternated with extreme and often violent discipline. Catherine described herself as an "abused" child, partly because of her father's frequent blows to her head and her mother's throwing her against the wall when the latter was angry. One of Anne's recollections of her father was when he burned all her fingers as a disciplinary measure against her playing with matches. Both Maureen and Rita remembered being repeatedly called "stupid" which they linked with their own doubts of self-worth and ability. Catherine, Maureen, and Anne all said they "ran too fast," a description of their avoidance of what they believed would be extreme abuse of them by their father. They viewed their discipline as
unwarranted and often not based in any of their actions.

Catherine did not recall whether her father had abused her mother but she remembered violent incidences such as when her father threw the couch through the living room wall when he and her mother disagreed on a point. Anne, Maureen, and Rita were raised within families in which the father constantly physically abused the mother.

Certainly in three and possibly in four of the homes, the women experienced severe behavior demands from their parents during their childhood. Catherine and Maureen described their concern that their decisions and actions be "right" according to the father. For Rita, her mother appeared to fulfill an identical role. There was often confusion when, no matter what their action, parental scolding and/or abuse would follow. Three of the four women expressed discouragement around competing with a "good" sibling, a sister in all cases.

The subjects consistently spoke of their father as distant from them and rarely in physical or emotional contact with his children or spouse. Three of the women made similar comments in regard to their mother. Both Rita and Catherine added that their mother's affections were often "unpredictable" to them.

Each of the women had lost one of her parents by the time she had reached her middle teens: Rita's father died of
cancer when she was 10 years old, Catherine was 16 years old when her mother died of a heart attack, Anne's father was no longer having regular contact with his children following the parents' divorce, and Maureen's father died suddenly when she was 16 years old. Maureen, Catherine, and Rita spoke of feeling "rejected" by their fathers. Rita said she also felt a great deal of anger in response to what she believed to be her mother's "rejection" alongside her father's rejection and "abandonment." She had a number of things she wanted to discuss with him and had not "forgiven" him for dying. She had spoken only a few times with her mother after the latter had "walked out on" Rita and her sister.

It appeared as if the nature of the relationship between each of the women and one or both of their parents was characterized by incomplete separation or unfulfilled closeness. For example, Catherine spoke of a "wall" she had built between her father and herself and yet she said if anything negative should happen to him, she would "feel." Maureen cried when she recalled her "sense of loss" when her father died at a point at which she was beginning to feel close to him. She said it was as if she "never knew him."

A final consistency between the childhood experiences of the subjects was their lack of experience in defining and testing what might be termed their own limits. This simi-
larity would seem to emerge from the women's perceptions of the level of control maintained by their parents. They spoke of being concerned about their behavior because of their parents' reaction to it rather than their own assessment of it. In this regard, they appeared to have an external as opposed to an internal locus of control and self-worth.

The childhood experiences of the women would appear, in part, to support a social learning understanding of the pattern of violence. The women were either abused directly by a parent or both parents, or observed violence and battering within the home. This suggests an agreement with Gelles' (1972) theories on "identification with the aggressor." The child learns by being abused and taking part in the violence as well as by watching the abuse (Seligman, 1975; Walker, 1979).

The stress theory suggests that, in part, external pressure promotes a final struggle for power within the family (Straus et al., 1980). Rounsaville's (1978) findings in regard to a family disruption would seem to be supported by the indications of this case study data. The women had lost a parent by the time they were 16 years old, thereby placing them within a higher risk category to be abused as an adult.

2. Patterns in marriage. All four women stated that they had not been ready for their first marriage or relationship.
Catherine spoke of her first marriage as an attempt to please her father. She also described it as a reaction to her own surprise and feelings of being "flattered" at being proposed to. She described herself as "anxious to get away from the family." Rita said that she had "grown up" with Frank. She said she recognised her own immaturity when they began living together but that she saw in him an acceptance when "everybody else" whom she had cared about had "walked out" on her. Maureen's first reaction to Roy was that he was "too good" for her. She thought of herself as inadequate as well as naive. Anne saw herself as a "dumb farm kid" when she began living with Eric, her first husband.

All of the women described their specific desire for "security" within their intimate relationships with men and their wish "to be cared for." Maureen was the only woman who placed any financial connotation on the word "security." They all linked it with an emotional need to be intimate and appreciated. They maintained identical views that the greatest fears which held them in their relationships were related to their low self-esteem in areas of daily skills and their questioning of their own social worth which caused them to fear the loneliness of separation. They believed that they had "babied" their husbands by often answering their needs before their own. They stated that they had based their self-esteem on the reactions of their husbands.
In point, Catherine said she believed in her own "ugliness" when she was with an unattractive man. Anne, when asked what would help her feel better about herself, responded by saying "a man."

Both Anne and Maureen said that they felt "angry" that they did not have their "own way" in their relationships with men. All the women spoke of not knowing how to deal with the anger they felt in response to the unpredictability of the physical and psychological abuse from their husbands. They said they either "bottled up" or "buried" their anger as they felt incapable of releasing it. Extreme jealousy on the part of the man was mentioned by the women. They were prevented by threat or actual physical abuse from maintaining a group of friends or, in Anne's case, from seeing her mother or sisters.

In reference to the literature, Thorman (1980) and Gayford (Note 12) suggest that the woman can affect her husband's behavior. Although the woman may seek to change her husband, individual choice and responsibility supports the view that she may attempt to do so but cannot directly control his response. The most she can do is influence. This view is supported by indications within this case study research as all the women stated that they were remaining in the marriage in hopes of their husband's "change." Towards this end, all the women had left an abusive relationship on
several occasions, only to return within the week. Dobash and Dobash (1979) also found frequent separations to be the rule prior to the women leaving permanently.

The fusion, dependence, and degree of symbiotic bonds discussed by Rounsaville (1978) and Davidson (1978) were also indicated within this study. Anne described her feelings of being "locked up" during the four years she was with Blair and yet she also felt afraid to leave him. It is suggested that her tenacity might be due, in part, to the clearly defined power difference between the spouses and the intermittent nature of the abuse. These qualities characterized the most recent violent relationships for all four women and appear to support the traumatic bonding model of violent relationships (Dutton & Painter, 1981).

3. Physical separation from husband. Three of the women believed that, if they remained with their husband, they would be "dead." The women seemed to be referring to their leaving as their carrying out of what they "had" to do rather than what they 'wanted' to do. For example, Rita said "I had to leave, I had nothing left to give." It was not until they had separated that they were able to recognize their condition within the relationship. Three of the women believed it was easier to remain separated when they recognized that their spouse was "sick" and that they were not at fault for his abuse. This seems to support a view
put forth by Hilberman (Note 14), particularly in reference to the length of time it took before they recognised that they were being battered. Hilberman links the woman's recognition of her husband's illness with her realization that she had to leave.

Maureen and Anne said they would probably not have remained separated had they not been living in a transition house. Two of the women said they had been unaware of this resource for a majority of the time they were being abused. The source of support for all subjects had been female friends, female social workers, and female counsellors. Three recalled single visits to a male doctor, a male psychiatrist, or a priest as beneficial to their sense of worth and their clarity in making the "right" decision.

Each subject rationalized her current behavior as strongly linked with childhood experience in some way. For example, all but one described herself as a "victim" as a child and suggested that adult feelings of "victimization" or "rejection" were formed partly in response to earlier patterning. The importance of an understanding of learned behavior modeled at both an intergenerational (Straus et al., 1980) and sociocultural level (Dobash & Dobash, 1979) would appear evident.

All the women referred to consistent alcohol or drug use on the part of the man and their own participation to a
lesser degree. Carlson's (1977) suggestion that battering husbands form a more "deviant" group would appear to be corroborated. In point, Anne said she would drink in order to ease the pain of the abuse but rarely for any other reason.

4. Psychological separation from husband. Anger and loneliness were major concerns for the women during their first year of independent living after they separated. They feared what they perceived as their total inability to control their feelings in general and, specifically, anger. They all linked this to their lack of experience in controlling it during childhood and also to their not being able to express it in their past relationships for fear of physical retaliation.

It is proposed that the anger was, in part, in answer to each women's otherwise extreme demands of self-control. The anger seemed to give permission to relax these demands. As an example, Rita said she could not control herself in any way when she became angry. She would often feel aggravated that she had not been able to affect such events as the bus being early or late. In response, the women would consistently direct a great deal of anger towards themselves, partly because of their guilt for the anger they were already experiencing. Hilberman (Note 14) referred to the frequency of this response: "Like rape victims, battered
women rarely experience their anger directly...Aggression was most consistently directed against themselves" (p. 159).

Loneliness appeared to result from the absence of an intimate relationship with a man. The women described their unmet needs of physical closeness and sharing. Anne said she would not have left her husband if she had known of the loneliness she would feel in separating. Walker (1979) has discussed this aspect of separation and stated that fear of loneliness promotes many women to stay. She also said that those who believe in an external source of control, as did all the subjects, would be more likely to become victims of learned helplessness, feeling unable to alter their circumstances or emotions. The indications in this study support this. All the subjects felt either "victimized" by, "unable to get rid of," "helpless to deal with," or in possession of "no control" to respond to others' expectations of them, their own childhood experience, or their feelings of guilt, anger, and loneliness.

Finally, three of the women requested skills to control their emotions and, specifically, anger. This seems to indicate a need on the part of these battered women which has been downplayed in some of the literature, that need being self-understanding (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Segovia-Ashley, Note 16). Maureen said that she felt a greater degree of control and ability to change as a result of the
understanding she obtained in the treatment program about her motivations and patterns. It is important to recognise that self-understanding is not being suggested as an end in itself but as a potentially effective adjunct to skills training and behavior change.

Along with the other women, Anne did not believe that she had that capacity to control any aspect of her life, including her own feelings. Unique from the others, she said she no longer felt anger towards her husband. She said she felt unable to avoid thinking of returning to him at times when she felt lonely. She wished to avoid focusing on personal growth because of her negative evaluation of herself in response. It is suggested that there may be at least two stages to the psychological separation a battered woman undergoes from her husband which may effect her growth towards independent living. In the first stage, the woman is angry at her husband and this emotion promotes her distance from him. When the anger is no longer present, there appears to exist a stage of 'free choice' at which time the option to return can be placed opposite the choice of independence. If she does not believe in her own ability to control any aspect of her environment, she will possibly perceive returning to the relationship to be less threatening than independence. In effect, it would appear that anger needs to be replaced by a sense of internal control
at some point. If this is not achieved, it is possible that the attainment of such recognition will not occur as easily after the anger is no longer as strong as a device of emotional distance.

In summary, there was some degree of violence or abuse on the part of the parents of all the women studied. They also linked childhood experience to adult patterns of inability to cope with anger. They had all lost their father, through death or separation, by 16 years of age. As adults, they appeared to possess an external locus of control and perceived their own identities and sense of worth in the past to have emerged from their relationship with their husband.

**Descriptive Analysis of Quantitative Graph Data**

This section will provide a descriptive analysis of the semantic differential (SD) time series data. The purpose of this quantitative data was to provide the subjects' self-assessments, over time, in the given areas (see Appendix C). Statistical evaluation of the data was considered inappropriate, given the small number of subjects. In addition, because this was an exploratory study, quantitative analysis of the time series data was viewed as beyond the scope of this design. The results must be regarded as tentative, based upon the exploratory nature of this research.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify that complete
quantitative data is not available for one of the four subjects. Three weeks following the commencement of the treatment period, Anne said she no longer wished to continue this aspect of the study. She felt unable to assess her own feelings and also unable to separate her assessment of herself from her reexperiencing feelings from the four years in which she was abused. She continued to meet for sessions with the researcher.

There would appear to be three consistencies within the data obtained.

1. **A brief decrease in SD score.** The most evident trend would seem to be a decrease in the semantic differential score (positive evaluation) within a short period after treatment began. As shown in Figures 1-4, the lowest point, corresponding to the least positive self-evaluation, occurs within a maximum of seven measurement points from the beginning of the treatment period. It is suggested that this response might be partly due to the discussion in the first session of family of origin and development years. It could also be a reaction to the intensity of the treatment program in general. There is a sudden increase which follows almost immediately with the three subjects on which this data was available. If the decrease in score reflected a reaction to the intensity of the treatment program in general, it is assumed that recovery would not have occurred as dramati-
cally. Therefore, it would seem more likely that the decrease in positive self-evaluation was perhaps in response to the focus on early years.

It is possible that this information might provide implications for future program design and implementation. An awareness of such treatment effects would not only eliminate the surprise element to the woman of such trends in feeling but will also heighten the counsellor's sensitivity to a specific need of battered women. Sensitivity to and skill in dealing with the pain involved in discussions of early years is indicated as a means through which the counsellor can encourage the woman to become psychologically independent, in part, because she has been able to grow from an understanding of past experience.

2. Relationship between "active" and "relaxed." A second trend seems to lie in the relationship between the adjective scales of relaxed/tense and active/passive. Figures 5-8 indicate the baseline patterns for all four subjects. There would appear to be an apparent negative relationship between the positive coordinates of these two scales; a higher level of relaxation appears with a lower level of activity. In short, the women felt active, frequently in the presence of tension and assessed themselves as passive when they were feeling relaxed.

In Figures 9-11, the same two scales within the
posttreatment period appear to have a slightly altered relationship, particularly when intrasubject levels are compared. As the fourth subject did not complete the SD beyond the first three weeks of the treatment period, posttreatment data is only available on the remaining three subjects.

The relationship between these two scales might suggest that there is an increased positive relationship between self-assessed feelings of relaxation and activity as the battered woman grows towards independence. The subjects appeared to link the state of feeling relaxed with being passive somewhat less in the posttreatment period than they did in the baseline period. These findings have clear implications for treatment, both in the choice of goals, (learning to feel comfortable when active), and appropriate means to achieve these. The possible improvement in self-described, coinciding feelings of relaxation and activity gives hope that counselling may be an appropriate method to bring about the desired change.

3. Trends in "happiness" and "kindness." There is no apparent increase in the totaled scores of the combined 12 adjective scales between the baseline and the posttreatment phase. All three subjects on which these measurements were available had increased their total scores from between 1.4%-3.9%. This level of change has not been considered clinically significant due to the sample size and because
there have been no inferential statistical tests done to ascertain whether these results are merely due to random variation.

By providing total scores for each scale in both the first and third phases, possible change will become apparent on any specific scale. Figures 12-14 depict the relationship between the accumulated self-evaluation scores for the 12 adjective pairs in the baseline and posttreatment phases. The point representing the scores in the fifth scale of happy/sad seems to be consistently higher in the posttreatment phase, particularly for two of the three subjects. These data would perhaps indicate that the self-assessed happiness of these women had increased. In that an extensive history was obtained which supported the baseline assessment, it might be possible to link this increase with their participation in the treatment program. It is impossible to know, however, whether this reflects specific aspects of the treatment or a placebo effect of the attention, support, and hope provided by almost any form of treatment of this nature.

There is a small increase in the eighth scale point for two of the three women (see Figures 13 & 14). These posttreatment increases would appear to provide some support for the suggested indications within the first of the three graphs of this group. The increases are so small that they
should be regarded as suggestive only. The eighth scale point in Figure 12, representing a self-assessment of kind versus cruel, reflects the highest increase of any one adjective of the comparative data of the first and third phases. Additional information can be obtained through combining the individual subject's data.

Figures 15 and 16 represent combined data of adjectives #5 (happy/sad) and #8 (kind/cruel). In Figure 15, the dotted line, representing the posttreatment period, would appear to be almost consistently higher than the solid or baseline data. In fact, there is a combined increase of 25 points or 14% of the original levels. For adjective #8, Figure 16 graphs the difference as an almost identical 26 points or 14% of the baseline levels. Figure 16, in presenting this increase in adjective #8 in the form of combined data, displays a trend which was not indicated to such a degree in two of the three individual data graphs of the same adjective pair.

In summary, there was an apparent decrease in the semantic differential score (positive evaluation) following the commencement of the treatment phase. It is suggested that this might be due to the focus on family of origin and development years. It was also indicated that self-assessed feelings of "active" and "relaxed" might be more closely linked in the posttreatment phase than in the baseline
phase. The baseline seemed to indicate a closer relationship between active and tense versus relaxed and passive. The combined data suggest that there has been some qualitatively discernable increase in sense of worth or well-being in the posttreatment phase. The same limitations on interpretation of the data (mentioned earlier) apply here. It is also not possible to assess the stability of these changes over time. Nevertheless, these findings provide some hope, however slim, for the efficacy of counselling in assisting battered women to rebuild self-worth and structure successful independent lives.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

The indepth nature of the qualitative data on the four subjects is complemented by a descriptive analysis of the quantitative data. There are consistencies and similarities which allow for the following apparent conclusions and provide an understanding of areas of present need.

1. All four battered women felt "victimized" to some degree by their childhood experience. They stated their needs for specific skills in order for them to avoid viewing themselves as the victims of their adult experience. They acknowledged the links between the two in that attitudes during childhood had remained to become adult rationale and patterned behavior.
2. The researcher agreed with the subjects' assessments that each woman's psychological separation from a battering husband was taking place over time after physical separation had occurred. They had all left out of fear. Three were afraid on a physical level while the fourth was afraid that the psychological abuse alone would push her to a point of committing suicide.

3. Lack of apparent ability to control anger was a determinant of low self-esteem for all subjects. A consistent response was to feel angry at themselves for this perceived lack of control. Other contributing factors to feelings of low worth were loneliness following separation, lack of education or job skills, and, to a lesser degree, lack of money.

4. The women all appeared to possess an external locus of control and stated that, based in the manner in which they were raised, they were unable to set their own expectations or assess their own limits of accomplishment.

5. Based on the experience of one of the subjects, it is suggested that there might be an indicated point at which the battered woman relinquishes her anger toward her husband. The expressed concerns of this woman during the treatment program would appear to suggest the need for specific input at the apparent point of change in the growth process. It is proposed that, at this specific point, a
particularly important focus might be the development of an internal locus of control.

6. A request was made by three subjects for skills to control anger and hurt and to assess personal actions. The fourth expressed her weakness in these areas but also her inability to control much of her environment despite the skills she possesses. The women assessed the treatment program and it would appear to have been clinically valuable in providing some of these skills.

Recommendations

This study is exploratory. Further research is needed to investigate, validate, and/or fully understand the trends apparent in the present data. The indications from these findings appear to suggest research in the following areas:

1. This study was exploratory. Towards this end, a semi-structured treatment program as opposed to a more directive form of intervention was used to investigate the women's growth towards independence and their needs in this process. Based on the conclusions of this study, a more directive, educational program might be assessed for its treatment value in fulfilling some of these needs.

2. The sampled women were all living independently of their husbands. Women who are still with their spouses could be sampled for subsequent research of a similar semi-structured nature. The result might prove valuable towards
designing an intervention program to interrupt the battering cycle at an earlier point in time.  
3. Since the semantic differential quantitative data was entirely self-evaluative, the internal validity of subsequent research findings would be enhanced through the use of a standardized self-esteem measure which could be administered on a pretreatment and posttreatment basis.  
4. The present study used a small sample. Generalizability would be expanded through the use of a large group design and more statistically proper sampling procedures if the latter is possible.  
5. The use of an external evaluating source other than the researcher would improve the internal validity.  
6. It would appear to be valuable to further understand the indicated point at which the anger felt by battered women for their husbands seems to diminish. Towards this end, the input of an additional control or assertiveness training program at one year after separating might prove valuable. Long term assessment would need to follow.  
7. Comparative research would help to clarify the clinical benefits of group versus individual counselling of battered women.  

Implications

The implications for change emerging from this study appear to be within three major areas of education: battered
women, counsellors, and society as a whole.

1. Based on the subjects' self-assessments, the researcher suggests that the battered woman would appear to benefit from an understanding of her own attitudes and patterns. Through an investigation into childhood experience and beliefs alongside adult patterns and assumptions, the woman can possibly recognise her own limits of responsibility. In short, she can hopefully cease viewing herself as a victim and begin seeing herself as an individual who sets her own expectations and acknowledges an internal locus of control, particularly in response to her own anger. Towards this end, individual as opposed to group counselling was assessed by the subjects as being a unique and beneficial experience. It was viewed as a means of meeting individual needs unique to each woman. It was not intended as a replacement for but an addition to the validation provided by a group experience.

2. It is suggested that the counsellor can most effectively respond to the needs of the battered woman if the former is aware of the individual patterns and family and social structures which contribute to such a condition. Wife battering is not caused by any one factor but reflects a number of contributing variables (Straus et al., 1980). It is proposed that an understanding of the apparent trends and consistencies within this study will perhaps assist the
counsellor in intervening within the battering cycle itself, interpreting and conveying this information to the abused woman, and providing skills training to deal with such concerns as anger, loneliness, control, and communication of feelings. As Walker (1979) states, the battered woman needs to recognise that her behavior can affect what happens to her. The role of the counsellor in this regard would appear crucial.

3. Finally, the apparent consistencies and trends within this study, along with the review of the literature, place the battering of women within the social context. It is a condition of both men and women that they take part in such a cycle as well as a characteristic of the social structure which condones it through inaction. If such destruction of the human body, mind, and initiative is to be ended, widespread social education and change is necessary. The belief system and role values with which we have been raised, the social definition of "masculine" and "feminine," the availability of jobs and skills programs to both sexes, and the nature of social and intrafamily control and power are all contributing factors toward wife abuse. It is proposed that wife battering will be decreased most effectively through education on a social as well as individual level. It is implied that the present 'vertical' system of social and familial control and inequality will have to be removed in
favor of a structure based on equality as opposed to authority. The role of the counsellor in such social change incorporates a personal as well as professional level of action.

**Personal Insights On Theory And Practise**

There are two general areas in which this researcher, based on personal experience and awareness, would change future programs for battered women towards expanding both research and clinical validity.

Firstly, in the area of experimental design, it is suggested that more information is required on the relationship between the feelings experienced by the women. This writer would, in subsequent research, include adjectives which would represent dimensions of control, guilt, fear, and loneliness. The adjective "angry" would also be included rather than having a similar word used that either misrepresents or downplays the meaning of the emotion itself. In the semantic differential, the use of the term "ferocious" appeared to involve some other dimensions of meaning with which these women were not comfortable. By assessing change in these new areas of focus, it might be possible to link specific counselling techniques with certain changes and, thereby, increase clinical effectiveness.
Also, three of the four subjects said they, at times, found it difficult to assess their own feelings. In order to provide assessments of their possible behavior and affect change, the use of standardized tests and external, informed viewers are suggested. The greater the degree to which change can be defined, measured, evaluated, and finally expanded, the greater the potential value of both the research and the programs emerging from it.

A second clinical area of change would involve a number of additions to the treatment program. These changes would be implemented on two levels—experiential techniques within the counselling sessions and behavioral contracting for concrete change commitment. Issues such as the need to please, the need for intensity in one's daily life, fear of loneliness in living alone, and non-sexual relationships with men would be explored in greater depth, partly through the use of such techniques as psychodrama, two-chair, and role-play. Concurrently, there would be an agreed upon level of behavioral expectation. The women would be requested to practise certain skills and to change specific behaviors at home. This researcher believes that the pain and fear experienced by these women often becomes such a way of life for them that a 'normalization' process must occur before many battered women will be ready to acknowledge their sense of worth and limits of control.
A treatment program like the one in this study could assist them through such a period and ideally should provide a certain intensity of involvement and perhaps even social contact with other women to answer these women's apparently very strong fear of loneliness. They would be assisted in viewing aloneness as a natural part of life to be used for self-growth and not as an indication of low worth. Long term follow-up (up to two years) is considered valuable in supporting changes already made and guiding the women through indicated periods of stress.

Throughout the treatment period of this study, this writer felt a consistent drain of energy after many of the counselling sessions. To counteract stress on the counsellor, these women's needs might be also answered through a group experience with other women. However, these groups need not only be formed of those women who have been battered. It is suggested that abused women could benefit from both the strength and the perspective of women who have undergone a range of experiences and wish to share their feelings. Women do not have to be abused in order to provide strength and validation for each other and to understand feelings of fear of loneliness, success, social risk, and change experienced by other women.

In summary, individual and group-based counselling are considered by this researcher as two means through which to
support, confront, challenge, inform, and encourage the battered woman. The 'normalization' process would involve obtaining skills and awarenesses within an intense, positive, and semi-directive experience in order to grow beyond a consistent fear of loneliness, change, independence, and inability to control one's own environment. It would also involve practising new behaviors which would serve to confirm changes on a cognitive level and affirm the woman's new identity focused on strength, not victimization.
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APPENDIX A

Letter of Introduction

5780 Toronto Road,
Vancouver, B.C.,
October, 1982.

Dear,

As a graduate student in the M.A. Program in counselling in the faculty of education at the University of British Columbia, I am presently researching the area of battered wives. I am interested in understanding more about the woman’s growth toward independence and her development of personal living skills.

There are a number of questions which have arisen for me. Are there perhaps steps involved in order for you as well as other women to feel more positive about themselves and more awarenesses which occur during this period psychological separation which assist a woman in becoming more aware of the feelings she has in regard to her husband and how she might change her choices for the future as a result of understanding these feelings? The research I am planning will, I hope, provide some answers to these questions as well as perhaps bring up new questions and ideas in this area.

Should you choose to volunteer for this in depth study, it will be necessary for you to be involved in three activities; keep a daily journal, assess yourself three times weekly on a brief list of opposite adjectives, and thirdly, meet with me for a one hour counselling session per week.

The journal is to be simply a diary of feelings, activities, experiences, realisations, etc., which you believe valuable in your acquiring of independent living skills. The counselling sessions will total nine in all, with one each week for a period of eight weeks, and a final session four weeks following the latter session. They will provide us with the opportunity, on a one-to-one basis, to discuss your journal writings but, alongside, these journal entries will also serve as a guide in introducing further discussion topics which will hopefully assist you in achieving a greater understanding of your own feelings and the options open to you in the future.
I would like to reassure you that all information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential. It will be used only as anonymous case study data and not for publication in any journal or as information presented in any written or media form. In addition, should you wish to continue counselling for an additional period of up to six months, I would be most willing to do so without cost to you.

As the sessions will be semi-structured, it will be possible for you to terminate discussion of any topic within these sessions should you feel the need. You are also free to withdraw completely from this study at any point without jeopardizing further treatment in any way, either by the referral agency or by myself. This study is in no way connected with the referral agency nor will your participation or nonparticipation in this study affect your standing with any other agency.

Yours sincerely,

Sheollagh Fitzgerald
Graduate Student
Department of Counselling Psychology
University of British Columbia
APPENDIX B

Consent Form

Department of Counselling Psychology
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia

I, __________________________, agree to volunteer to participate in the research, as outlined in the accompanying letter, as undertaken by Sheollagh Fitzgerald, a student in the Master of Arts Program in the above-named Department. I understand that any information I provide will be kept strictly confidential and that I may freely withdraw as a subject of this research study at any time without jeopardizing further treatment. During the thirteen weeks of this study I am willing to keep a journal, assess myself on a short adjective checklist, and meet with the researcher as outlined in the initial letter. I agree to the sessions being audiotaped, understanding the confidentiality of these tapes and the measures being taken to ensure same.

Signed,

__________________________

Date
APPENDIX C

Feelings Checklist

Please circle the point which best describes your feelings at this moment.

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APPENDIX D

Brief Outline of Treatment Sessions

Session 1

Theme: family of origin, development years, and specific early recollections.

Areas of Exploration and Sample Questions:

: I would like to know a little about your family background. Can you tell me about your grandparents as a beginning.

: What was it like for you growing up in your family? What kind of child were you?

: Perhaps you can recall changes over your childhood—different people you were close to, how you see yourself having changed in your actions and feelings, and maybe even what happened alongside.

: We have been talking about your childhood in general. I wonder if you can recall any specific occurrences during your early childhood—events that particularly stand out for you. These are events that you remember and not those about which you were told at a later point. Perhaps you can tell me what you recall happened, how you felt, and what aspect of that event is most vivid for you at this time.

Session 2

Theme: relationships with men; relationships with women.

Areas of Exploration:

: I would like to discuss your feelings and experiences with the men who have been close to you in particular. You have said it could be painful for you to recall the violence in any of these relationships and I want to suggest to you that you might share these feelings with me.

: Perhaps you can briefly tell me about how and
when you separated from your husband.

: You have already linked your childhood learning to your adult behavior. Can you see any patterns within these relationships you have just discussed. Were you feeling similarly with different men at different points in time? Can you link these feelings with characteristics of physical strength, masculinity, femininity, or how you think of yourself as a woman?

: Do you react differently with women? As a woman in society, what thoughts do you have of your own degree of power?

**Session 3**

**Theme:** recent history and concerns.

**Areas of Exploration:**

: Maybe you could tell me about what you perceive to be the significant events in the past few months since you left your husband? the difficulties? the pleasures and successes?

: How do you see yourself acting and thinking differently now than in the past, either with your husband or prior to that time? How does it feel when you acknowledge the positive effects of your own actions and changes?

: You say you are feeling afraid, lonely, and angry in particular. I want to explore these feelings with you in order that you might have a wider understanding of their source and how you might effect them.

: Who has been a support to you as you separated from your husband and began independent living? Who is a support to you now? in what ways? Do you see your role as a parent affecting your thoughts and behaviors?

**Session 4**

**Theme:** anger—separating the feeling from the action.

**Areas of Exploration:**

: Can you think of a few recent situations in which
you have been angry? I would like to discuss them with you to see if there might be some patterns happening.

: You say you respond with certain actions when you feel angry. I'm wondering if you can think of any other ways in which you could respond to this anger.

: How do you feel when you acknowledge to yourself or to others that you are angry? How do you feel when you fight back, either physically or verbally?

: If you were to change your actions in response to your own anger, what is the risk? You say you feel afraid and vulnerable. Can you talk further about these feelings.

Session 5

Theme: anger that is rooted in feelings of helplessness; limits of personal control.

Areas of Exploration:

: Last week we discussed how you believe there are patterns in your expression of anger and the situations which promote it for you. Perhaps we can further discuss the feelings of helplessness you mentioned. What do you think and feel when you perceive yourself to be out of control of a situation?

: I would like to have you expand on what you perceive to be the patterns between your responses to anger as a child and as an adult. How would you like to change these responses?

: You say you accept that you are not in control of many (or any) aspects of your life and yet you say you feel angry when you don't feel in control. Let's look at what you are hoping to control and whether, in fact, they are within the range of your control.

: In recognising that you might be attempting to control other individuals or external circumstances, how can you make use of this awareness in changing your own thoughts and behaviors? If you did, would you feel differently? What would you be giving up? Is it possible that you are using your anger to allow yourself to give up a degree of your otherwise strict expectations of control of yourself and others?
Session 6

Theme: external versus internal control.

Areas of Exploration:

: We have discussed some links that you made between your childhood experience and your confusion in regard to what is expected of you as an adult. I would like you to ask yourself whose expectations you believe you are responding to. How does it feel to be continually feeling pressed to adhere to others' expectations?

: Perhaps we can discuss ways in which you might develop your own limits and goals. How would you feel if you did? Is there a risk involved and, if so, what would you be giving up?

: How do you feel when you attempt but fail to accomplish certain tasks? How do you feel and think about yourself in response? How do you believe your thought patterns either support you or pull you down as you attempt these tasks?

: You have spoken of feeling a degree of hurt around certain members of your family. If you allow these persons to own their own half of the relationship as we have discussed, how will you be thinking and feeling differently.

Session 7

Theme: limits of responsibility.

Areas of Exploration:

: You said that it is very difficult for you to allow another person to "own their half" of a discussion or disagreement. Perhaps we can talk further about some alternate ways you could handle these situations.

: I would like to link some of your comments about anger, helplessness, lack of control, and particularly your feelings of being victimized or used. What are you doing differently when you feel less victimized and more in control? What are some other choices you have in these situations?

: You spoke of recently feeling differently about certain close family members. What are you doing
differently? What are the risks involved? How do you feel differently about yourself?

: You have said you are in the process of becoming more aware of your own limits. Perhaps you can define what this means to you and how you are going about it, and your feelings as you do so. How are you accepting recognition from others and also maintaining your own goals?

Session 8

Theme: concrete planning for the future.

Areas of Exploration:

: What are you doing differently now as compared to your patterns either in childhood or when you were with your husband? Do you feel differently about yourself as a result? How do you 'pat yourself on the back' for the gains you have made?

: What are your priorities for the next six months? What are your limits of control?

: If you are undecided or confused about your interests, how can you go about getting more information in this area? If there is a risk of failure involved, let's discuss how you might handle it.

: How will you be thinking and responding in order to further your own growth? Let's look at a range of feelings and behaviors that are options for you. How could you sabotage your own growth? Maybe you can focus on the feelings behind those actions and alternate responses available to you.

Session 9

Theme: follow-up and intervention evaluation.

Areas of Exploration:

: Could you briefly tell me what you have been doing over the past four weeks. Can you link certain events with specific feelings you have had?

: We have discussed several of your patterns of behavior and feeling. How are you continuing these patterns?
How are you breaking away from them? Are you newly aware of anything to which you would like to be responding differently?

: We have discussed the events and awarenesses which you believe were of help in assisting you to become independent from your husband. At this time, I would like to ask you what you feel and think about the past eight counselling sessions. Are there any areas we have discussed that particularly stand out for you? Do you think these sessions have perhaps affected your thoughts, actions, or feelings in some way? towards others? towards yourself?

: Are there any particular areas you have appreciated discussing with me? How would you change the format or stress of our discussions if you were providing it for other women who had left abusive husbands?