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PARENT, CHILD, AND CONTEXT FACTORS
AND INTERACTIONS AS PRECIPITANTS TO CHILD BATTERING

By

TREVOR AUSTIN THOMAS
B.A. Waterloo Lutheran University, 1974

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1977

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Abstract

A random sample of the literature on child battering and interviews with parents who had battered their child was content analyzed. From paragraph themes which indicated causality for child battering, the presence of seven causal dynamics in child battering was noted. The causal dynamics included three factors (parent, child and context) and the interactions between and among the factors. All of the causal dynamics were found to exist in the interviews, literature and separately identified segments of the literature which delineated events immediately preceding an incident of battering. It was concluded that a strong possibility existed that all of the factors and interactions existed in reality. The parent-child and parent-context interactions were shown to be important causal dynamics in child battering. The possibility of the parent-child-context interaction being an important causal dynamic was suggested. A dichotomy between personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure for causal dynamics involving the context factor was found to be useful in conducting the content analysis. The dichotomy also yielded interesting results regard-

ing the two aspects of the context factor. Based on all of the results, two theoretical models of child battering were presented. The 'chain' model viewed the child and/or the context interacting only with the parent to cause battering. The 'triangular' model viewed all of the factors interacting with each other to cause battering. Both models represented an open system rather than a closed system. The need for addressing preventative assistance to all of the causal dynamics at the same time, rather than focusing on an individual factor or interaction, was advanced. Characteristics of the individual factors and interactions contained in the models were speculatively suggested.

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Personal Introduction

Prior to introducing the topic of this thesis in the typical manner, it is desirable that a personal statement be made regarding the interviews with the members of Parents Anonymous (PA).

This thesis evolved from my participation in the PA group so that my primary motive in working with PA was not for the purpose of obtaining a data base. Rather, I had become involved because of my desire to do something positive in helping parents who were engaged in abusive behaviour with their children. The importance and purpose of PA always took precedence over the needs of the research.

Although placing PA above the research was in some ways restrictive to the research, this approach was believed to have benefitted both PA and the investigation. By emphasizing PA and by having demonstrated my willingness to help these individuals, the quality of the interview material was believed to have been higher than would have been the case if my personal activities in PA were solely to obtain interview participants. Placing a secondary emphasis on the research did however result in the number of interviews being restricted due to the fact that new PA members were not approached about doing an interview. This was done in order to avoid placing unnecessary and undesirable pressure on these people and to prevent any interpretation that PA was merely a research group.

The fact that the interviewed PA members were very well known to myself was felt to have been a critical element of this investigation. These members knew that I valued, respected and cared for them as individuals. Further, they knew that I would not violate them nor the information they provided. The closeness of our relationship thereby allowed and facilitated a degree of honesty and sincerity which would have been difficult, if not impossible, to attain had the interviewer been a stranger. I am quite certain that the PA members would not have divulged their information in a truly open and unguarded fashion had a good relationship not first been established. It should be emphasized that I had worked with and known each participant for at least one year prior to asking for their assistance in this undertaking. The time spent in developing these relationships is felt to have been a major contributor to the high quality and honesty of interview material.

Introduction

The present exploratory investigation attempted to identify the important causal dynamics of child battering in the literature on child battering and child abuse. More specifically, the causal relationship of (a) the context immediately preceding an incident of battering, (b) the interaction between the parent and the child, and (c) the interaction among the parent, the child and the context, as they pertained to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering were investigated. To a lesser extent, this study also attempted to show that these dynamics were indeed relevant.

The investigation was accomplished by means of content analysis of two sources of information: (a) the literature and (b) interviews with parents who had battered their child. In this analysis, the importance of seven causal dynamics was identified and documented.

Methodologically combining the existing literature and personal experience is felt to be an important, albeit speculative, aspect of this study due to the fact that few studies in the past have attempted such a combination. The need for an approach such as this is reflected by Gil (1970), a leading authority on the topic of child battering,

... systematic information on the physical abuse of children continues to be scarce. The various claims concerning the nature and scope of this phenomenon are based on isolated observations and on several local, unrepresentative, clinical studies.

(p.vii)

It is hoped by grounding the present study in the literature that Gil's criticism regarding the isolated and unrepresentative method of studying the phenomenon of child battering may be partially alleviated.

Review of the Literature

Since the past, and to some extent the present literature has not clearly differentiated between child abuse and child battering, it is necessary that the review deal with both aspects. The relationship between child abuse and child battering is presented in Table 1. Generally, abuse is an umbrella term pertaining to undesirable actions committed by an adult to a child; whereas battering is undesirable physical actions committed by an adult to a child.

The historical existence of child abuse is perhaps best documented by the works of Bakan (1971) and DeMause (1975). These writings show that adults have committed acts of violence against children throughout time, and that at one time these acts were more violent and more widespread than the abuse of today.

Bakan (1971) outlines the historical documentation of child abuse, with the early literary works dealing particularly with the act of infanticide. Addressing the historical range of this act, Bakan indicates that in Chinese society it has been known to occur as early as 587 B.C. and as late as 1873 A.D. (p.30). He further cites the literature of Western society, particularly the Bible and the plays of Shakespeare as substantiating the reality of infanticide. Reflecting on his research of the literature, DeMause (1975) states, "The further back in history

TABLE 1

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CHILD ABUSE AND CHILD BATTERING

Abuse	Battering
<p>Child Abuse</p> <p>A term identifying the action or phenomenon in which children experience harmful interactions with adults.</p>	<p>Battering</p> <p>A term identifying the action or phenomenon in which children are physically assaulted or beaten by adults.</p>
<p>Abused Child</p> <p>The label attached to a child who has experienced one or more types of harmful interactions with an adult.</p>	<p>Battered Child</p> <p>The label attached to a child who has experienced physical assault(s) or beating(s) by an adult.</p>
<p>Abusing Parent</p> <p>The label attached to a parent who has committed an act which causes a child to experience harmful effects.</p>	<p>Battering Parent</p> <p>The label attached to a parent who has physically assaulted or beaten a child.</p>

we went, the lower the level of child care we found, and the more likely children were to have been killed, abandoned, whipped, sexually abused and terrorized by their caretakers" (p.85). DeMause also provides an indication of the extent of abuse historically, "In antiquity infanticide was so common that every river, dung-heap, and cesspool used to be littered with dead infants" (1975 p.87).

Bakan postulated that infanticide was a population-resources balance control mechanism. Here, children were killed when the demands they placed or would place on the family or the society threatened the available supply of resources required to maintain the family or society. DeMause indicated that infanticide was caused by: (a) the parent's need to "abuse...freeze and drown infants" (pp.85-86), (b) religious beliefs of the parents (i.e. sacrifice of the child), (c) a preference for male children resulting in the killing of female infants, and (d) the disposal of illegitimate children. This list of causes of infanticide is added to by Thomas (1972) who indicates that the killing of children was a method of birth control and a means of disposing of a weak or deformed child (p.294).

Around the turn of the 19th century, the child abuse literature underwent a transition in focus from that of infanticide to the battering or beating of children. Infanticide, insofar as the literature reflects, became an act which elicited social disapproval and as such, primarily became a thing of the past. In its place, the literature

shows that society, especially that of North America, began to struggle with the battering aspect of child abuse. The medical literature of this period began to question unusual bone anomalies in children. At first, these anomalies were attributed to medical causes, predominantly rickets (see West, 1888, P.856). The 'disease' argument continued for a number of years and it was not until the mid-1940's that a physician began to question the possibility that these afflictions in children might be the result of traumatic injury (Chaffey, 1946, pp.541-542). Discussion of this possibility continued to be debated in the medical literature until the 1960's.

From the turn of the 19th century to the early 1960's might be termed the second literary period of child abuse. While the first period dealt with the existence of infanticide, the second has been primarily concerned with the existence of bone anomalies in children, and the question of whether or not these anomalies were caused by unknown disease(s) or by traumatic injury.

The end of the historical period of child abuse literature and the beginning of the modern period can be pinpointed in 1962. It was during this year that the Journal of the American Medical Association, a prestigious and widely circulated periodical, published "The Battered Child Syndrome" by Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegenmuller and Silver. This paper, particularly due to its wide circulation and readership, definitively established the

reality of the physical abuse of children in contemporary society by reporting the results of a nationwide survey. From the seventy-one hospitals and seventy-seven district attorneys surveyed, a total of 749 children were identified as being victims of physical abuse. Although the paper placed battering and child abuse strictly within the purview of the medical profession, by designating it to be a syndrome, the reality of the act as a societal phenomenon was established.

This paper by Kempe et al (1962) is a landmark in the literature on child abuse for two major reasons in addition to establishing the existence of the act itself. The first is that a definition of battering, albeit medically couched, was delineated. This definition states,

The battered child syndrome, a clinical condition in young children who have received serious physical abuse, is a frequent cause of permanent injury or death. The syndrome should be considered in any child exhibiting evidence of fracture of the bone, subdural hematoma, failure to thrive, soft tissue swellings, or skin bruising, in any child who dies suddenly, or where the degree and type of injury is at variance with the history given regarding the occurrence of the trauma.

(Kempe et al, 1962, p.105)

The second reason for the importance of this paper is the impetus it gave to further evaluation of the problem as witnessed by the plethora of articles and books which immediately followed its publication. A recently issued comprehensive bibliography (Bakan, Eisner and Needham, 1976) indicates that a total of 746 works have

been published since the Kempe et al (1962) article. By summing the publications found in this book according to year, it was ascertained that the range of annual publications runs from a low of 5 in 1962 to a high of 137 in 1973 (Table 2).

The modern period of literature dealing with battering and child abuse can essentially be divided into three content areas: (a) existence and identification, (b) understanding, and (c) assistance. While these areas cannot be viewed as being totally separate and distinct from each other, since overlapping does exist, it is reasonable to suggest these distinctions are real, based on an investigation of the chronological development of the literature.

Similar to the literature on infanticide, the early writings of the contemporary period focused on the existence of battering and abuse. These works, perhaps best typified by Young's (1964) Wednesday's Children: a study of child neglect and abuse, describe cases of abuse, outline activities in the area, delineate the incidence of the act, and make pleas for public awareness and activity. In dealing with this existence and identification, it appeared that the literature tended to focus on the child. Case descriptions dealt with the injuries sustained by the child and requested that legal and public action be taken to provide for the safety of these children. Reports of the suspected incidence indicated the numbers of children and

TABLE 2

ANNUAL CHILD ABUSE PUBLICATIONS SINCE 1962
 DERIVED FROM CHILD ABUSE : A BIBLIOGRAPHY (BAKAN ET AL, 1976)

Year	Number of Publications
1962	5
1963	15
1964	25
1965	22
1966	26
1967	33
1968	63
1969	51
1970	56
1971	76
1972	103
1973	137
1974	107
1975	27

(Note: The decline for 1975 is not real, but reflects the publication lag.)

types of abuse involved. The identification of abused children in this early literature rested predominantly with medicine. This involved the delineation of the appropriate use of x-rays and other diagnostic techniques. This literary period in essence was directed to seeking an acceptance and awareness of child abuse as a reality among professionals, particularly physicians.

While the early period did not place an emphasis on determining the causes of abuse, several publications did attempt to address this aspect of the phenomenon. The abuse was seen as being caused by some characteristic of the parent; for example, immaturity, impulsiveness, self-centredness, hypersensitivity, sociopathic, psychopathic, abused as a child (Sheriff, 1964, p.191), mental illness, social isolation (Nurse, 1964, p.13), hostility and aggressiveness, rigidity and compulsiveness, or passivity and dependence (Bryant et al, 1963, pp.127-128). As suggested by Bryant et al, the child was not viewed as playing a causal role:

The behavior of these children seldom provoked or warranted the abuse they received; instead, they seemed like innocent victims of something far more complicated than their own behavior (p.129).

The second content area of the contemporary literature involved a broadening of the focus by attempting to better understand abuse and battering. While the child was previously a major concern, this area of the literature dealt with the parent as well as the child. The foci of

the initial period were still found in this literature, but important additions were made. Social and behavioural sciences became more involved and supplemented the work being done by physicians. The characteristics of abuse are expanded to include a greater emphasis on demographic, historical, behavioural and psychological factors of the parent as well as diagnostic factors of the child. This literature also began to reflect a change in attitude toward batterers. From the early works which requested that legal action be taken against the batterer, this literature suggested that abusing parents require counselling and support, and that punishment, per se, was an ineffective method of intervention.

This literary period also involved an expanded focus on the causal dynamics of child battering. While causal aspects of the parent, such as depression, paranoid ideation, mental retardation, abused as a child (Holter & Friedman, 1968, p.130) continued to be emphasized, they were viewed as being more complex than originally conceived. Gluckman (1968) indicated this complexity in stating, "...many mechanisms may be operant in the person responsible for the maltreatment of the child" (p.156). In addition, characteristics or attributes of the child were also viewed as being causally relevant. "We do not know nearly enough about the unique behavior of the baby and how it may set off negative reactions in otherwise mature and able parents" (Elmer, 1967, pp.337-338). Some

of the child attributes advanced were hyperactivity, depression, fearfulness, destructiveness (Zalba, 1966, p.7), illness, emotional disturbance (Isaacs, 1968, p.39), unwanted, or resemblance to someone who was hated (Gluckman, 1968, p.156).

For an example of this second stage of the modern literary period, Helfer and Kempe's (1968) The Battered Child is recommended.

The third, and current stage of modern child abuse literature developed to include a focus on the question of providing assistance to families in which battering occurs. While studies investigating the incidence and characteristics were still undertaken, more and more attention was devoted to investigating ways in which the child and the parent could be helped. These suggested approaches included the use of professional counselling, lay therapists (or parent aides), self-help groups and general supportive services (i.e. day care, homemakers); in addition to the more traditional method of removing the child from the home and seeking legal sanctions against the parent. This literature also reflected the development of advocacy in the area of children's rights.

In the 'assistance' literary period, the previously identified causal dynamics were re-examined and refinements were made. Attempts to identify characteristics which were typical of all battering parents were reduced due to the realization that these parents were found in all segments

of society (Special Committee on Child Health, 1972, p.552). It was, however, suggested that the parents battered because they lacked parenting skills. The appropriate skills had not been learned since these individuals had not experienced them in their own childhoods (Caskey & Richardson, 1975, p.200). The causal role of the child also underwent a shift in emphasis from psychopathological activities to normal, everyday activities. Here, crying, refusal to eat and failure to control excrement were suggested as being causally related to battering (Van Stolk, 1972, pp.26-27).

The Battered Child: Selected Readings by Leavitt (1974) is recommended for addressing the final literary period as well as the two preceding periods.

Investigative Rationale

This research has restricted its focus by addressing the latter two stages of the modern period of the battered child and child abuse literature; that is, those of understanding and assistance. My interest in this content area resulted from two years of active involvement in the field of child abuse via a self-help group called Parents Anonymous (PA). In this group, I worked closely with parents who batter their children, and through this on-going interaction have become sensitive to several key factors which appear to be causally related to battering. To facilitate my work in PA, I immersed myself in the abuse literature in order that my interventions and interactions with these parents be as effective and as helpful as possible.

When I initially became involved in PA, my understanding of the dynamics of battering and abuse, and my interaction with parents was based almost entirely on the available literature. As my group tenure and involvement grew, I was able to supplement my understanding of the causes and dynamics of battering with knowledge derived from the group experience. The development of this knowledge from personal involvement in essence afforded me a second perspective from which I could view the dynamics of child battering.

For the most part, these two perspectives have fit together well, in that what the modern literature said about the dynamics of battering was consistent with the knowledge derived from personal experience. However, with continued involvement, a widening gap developed between the literature and experience perspectives.

In addressing the dynamics of an incident of battering, including those of a causal nature, the literature focused on two factors: the parent and the child. While experience has supported the importance of these two factors, it had done so with a great deal more emphasis on the interactional relationship than was being demonstrated in the literature. This literature tended to deal with these factors of parent and child in isolation from one another.

Where the parent was a key factor, the content of the literature focused on demographic and etiological data. The demographic focus involved determination of characteristics such as age, gender, education, and socio-economic status of the parent. The etiological content addressed the issue of what in the parent's history caused him or her to be a battering parent. When the child was the primary focus of investigation, the literature emphasized demographic and diagnostic data. The demographic information was similar to this content area for the parent, with age, gender, birth-rank, etc. being tabulated. Diagnostic information fell into two categories: medical and behavioural data. In the medical sphere, fractures, subdural

hematomas, cigarette burns, malnutrition, etc. were discussed; while the behavioural component addressed information such as poor self-image, inappropriateness of dress, difficulty in relating to peers and/or adults, etc.

While personal experience indicated all of the above to be essential in developing a basic understanding of the causes of battering and abuse, I had learned that it was necessary to also consider the interaction between the child and the parent. This interaction involved matters such as the relationship between the parent and the child, the activities that they shared, and their evaluations of each other. Experience indicated that addressing the interactions was critical both to my understanding of abuse and to the parents' understanding of their abusing behaviour. This interactional component also demonstrated itself to be highly relevant to behavioural change within the parent. A number of PA members were able to significantly improve their parent-child relationship by examining and working on the ways in which they interacted with their child. Unfortunately, the modern literature did not, in my opinion, adequately address the interactional aspect.

My active involvement in attempts to understand the dynamics of child battering has also pointed out a second possible deficit in the literature. This deficit involved the context in which the battering occurs. While few authors have adequately addressed the situation or context of abuse, my experience indicated this factor to be of

critical importance in abusive situations. In PA meetings, parents frequently discussed specific incidents of battering and almost always described the context in which the incident occurred. In doing so, they might, for example, have discussed how they were feeling, what they were doing, or what the child had done just prior to an incident. In attempting to assist an individual, the group often addressed the context of the incident, examined this context, and helped the parent to develop different ways of dealing with the same or similar sets of circumstances. Given the attention and importance that these parents attached to the context, it was my feeling that this importance should be reflected in the literature.

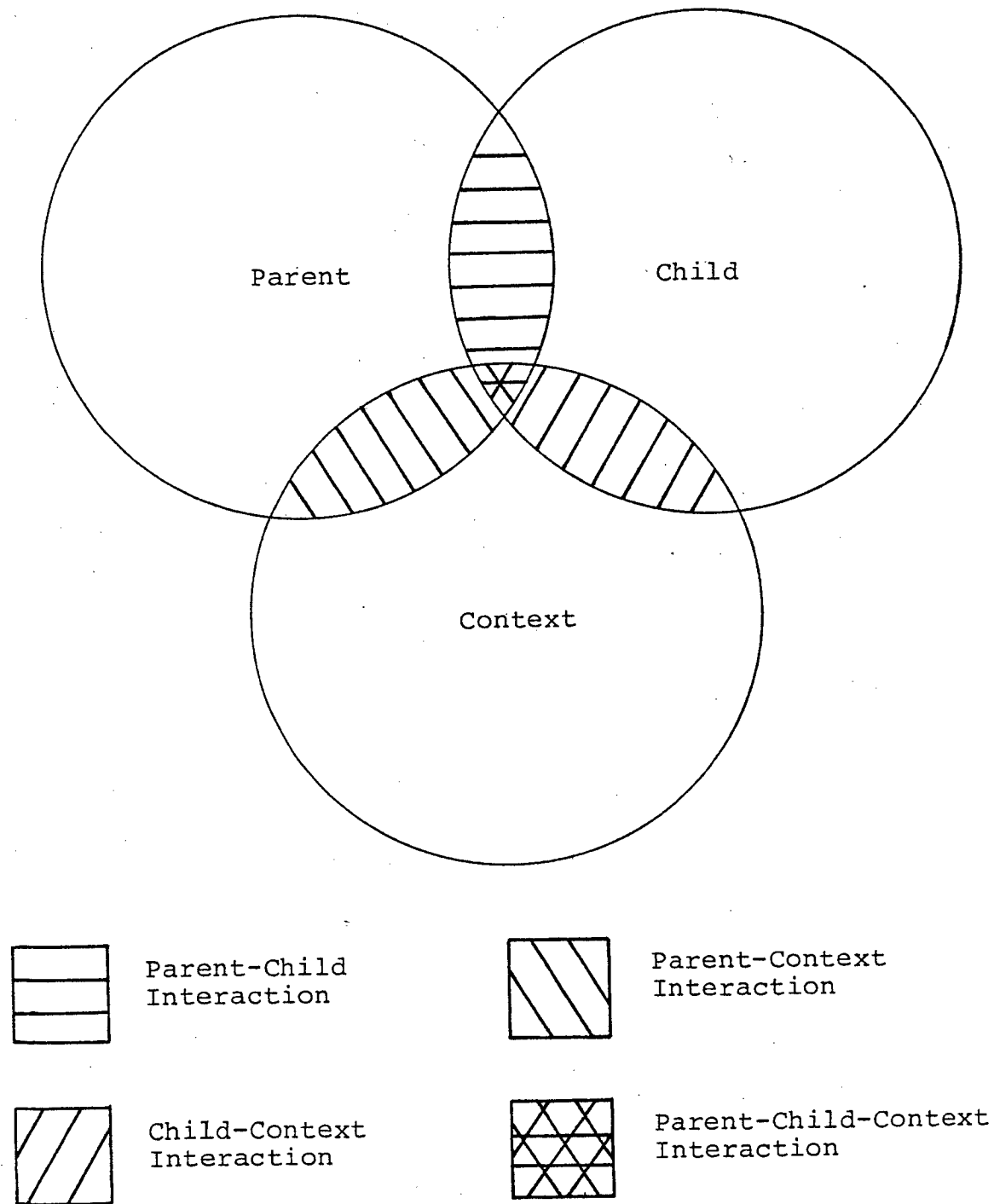
Personal experience not only revealed the relevance of the context and the parent-child interaction, but it also gave rise to the opinion that the context should be viewed as being in interaction with both the parent and the child. On a number of occasions, PA members related instances in which a battering incident was caused by their feelings toward the child (i.e. the interaction) plus the situation (i.e. the context) in which they found themselves. Since the literature does not appear to address the contextual aspect of battering, by definition it does not consider or speak of the interaction between the context, and the parent and the child. This, in my opinion, given what I have learned in working with parents who batter their children, was another shortcoming of the contemporary literature.

To this point, three factors have been identified which I believe to be highly relevant and causally related to an incident of child battering. These are: the parent, the child, and the context. I have also suggested that the current literature which is concerned with the areas of understanding and assistance in child battering does not adequately deal with these factors and their interaction. The gaps that indicate the inadequacy include: failure to address the parent-child interaction, exclusion of the context and, by definition, failure to address the parent-child-context interaction.

The preceding paragraph in essence outlines the primary components of this thesis. More formally stated, the crux of this thesis was: The contemporary battered child literature concerned with understanding and assistance does not adequately deal with the topic insofar as it fails to reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction, the context, and the parent-child-context interaction, as causal dynamics in child battering.

The above statement, which was derived from a review of the literature combined with the knowledge gained from personal experience, states that a specific incident of battering is affected by three factors: the parent, child and context and by interaction of these factors. Diagrammatically, this could be represented by three overlapping circles, each representing a factor, and with the overlap representing the interaction (Figure 1).

Figure 1 : The three factors and their interactions as precipitants to child battering.



Research Design

The analyzed literature consisted of works dealing with understanding or assistance of child battering published between 1962 and 1975 inclusive. All publications on this topic were accepted for the purpose of content analysis unless deemed unacceptable by reason of a priori restrictions of the publication addressing a type of abuse other than battering.

The unit of analysis for this study was the paragraph theme. The acceptability of analyzing themes contained in communication has been shown by a number of studies to maximize the available information. In the present study, one or more of seven categories were identified for those paragraph themes previously judged to have been applicable to the study. The categories, all of which were causal dynamics to child battering, included:

1. the parent
2. the child
3. the context
4. the parent-child interaction
5. the parent-context interaction
6. the child-context interaction
7. the parent-child-context interaction

Category Parameters

In this section, the parameters of the categories are presented and their composition is discussed.

Parent: The behaviour and/or characteristics (i.e. feelings, personal history, demographic information) of the batterer which were causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

The parameters for this category were derived from the literature and personal experience. From these sources a number of characteristics pertaining to the parent have been shown to be causally relevant to child battering; for example, (a) behaviour - aggressiveness, lack of control, or poor interpersonal interactions; (b) personal history - the parent was battered as a child; (c) feelings - frustration, guilt, low self-esteem; or (d) demographic data - age, gender, physical make-up.

Child: The behaviour and/or characteristics (i.e. feelings, personal history, demographic information) of the child which were causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

While the parameters for this category were primarily suggested by the literature, they were also supported by the PA experience. Some aspects of the child which have been shown to be causal to battering include: (a) behaviour - hyperactivity, disobedience or stealing; (b) feelings - low self-worth, or depression; (c) personal history - enuresis, mental retardation or previously battered; or (d) demographic information - age, gender or birth-rank.

Context: The situation or circumstances, as indicated by personal troubles of milieu or public issues of social structure, which was causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

Unlike the factors of the parent and the child, the

parameters of the context could not be derived from the literature on battering since, in my opinion, the literature failed to address this factor. It was necessary, therefore, to obtain guidelines for the parameters from personal experience with parents who batter, and from the literature of other areas (Mills, 1959/1967). The parents, in seeking assistance and in attempting to understand their behaviour, would almost without exception specifically describe the situation or circumstances in which an incident of battering had taken place. The loss of a prized possession or the separation from their spouse have, for example, been indicated by the parents as being causally connected with an incident.

Although the descriptions of the specific context of abuse show the relevance of the factor, these isolated examples do not provide a sufficiently sound conceptual framework for the development of the parameters. To provide a basic groundwork for the delineation of the parameters, the work of C. Wright Mills (1958/1967) was chosen. Mills establishes a contextual distinction between 'the personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of social structure'. Mills writes,

Troubles occur within the character of the individual and within the range of his immediate relations with others; they have to do with his self and with those limited areas of social life of which he is directly and personally aware. Accordingly, the statement [i.e. understanding] and the resolution [i.e. assistance] of troubles properly lie within the individual as a

biographical entity and within the scope of his immediate milieu - the social setting that is directly open to his personal experience and to some extent his willful activity. A trouble is a private matter: values cherished by an individual are felt by him to be threatened.

Issues have to do with matters that transcend these local environments of the individual and the range of his inner life. They have to do with the organization of many such milieux into the institutions of an historical society as a whole, with the ways in which various milieux overlap and interpenetrate to form the larger structure of social and historical life. An issue is a public matter: some value cherished by publics is felt to be threatened.

(Mills, 1959/1967, p.8-9).

Utilizing this dichotomy, the parameters of the context were viewed as situations having causal relevance to an incident of battering that might be viewed as having their basis in personal troubles of milieu or public issues of social structure. The loss of a prized possession would be an example of a personal trouble; and living in poverty would be an example of a public issue.

Parent-Child Interaction: A relationship or interchange between the parent and child factors which was causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

The importance of addressing the interaction between the parent and the child was suggested by PA involvement. This interaction has assumed a variety of types, but has predominantly shown its relevance through emotional and behavioural exchanges - or some combination of the two. As an example of an emotional interaction, one

parent stated that she did not value her child because he was 'willful and bad'. She indicated that the child was a discipline problem and purposefully disobeyed her. After a period of participation in PA, this mother stated that one of the major reasons for her abuse of this child, and not the other children, was her perception of his 'badness'.

The behavioural aspect of the parent-child interaction was shown by an incident where the mother scolded her son, and when he began to whimper and cower, she became angry, lost her control and battered him.

Parent-Context Interaction: A relationship or interchange between the parent and context factors which was causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

The causality of the parent-context interaction to battering has been suggested by the statements of a number of PA members. In one instance, a mother vented her anger, which was due to her husband arriving several hours late for dinner in an intoxicated condition thereby ruining the food, by battering her daughter. As a second example of the importance of the interaction of these factors, one single mother indicated that she did not physically abuse her daughter while living with her mother but began abuse shortly after establishing a residence of her own. In both examples, the relevance of the parent-context interaction to the incident of physical abuse is indicated. In the first, the interaction, by the mother's own admission, was directly responsible for the abusing; and, in the second,

the interaction of parent and context may well have had a direct relationship with the battering activity.

Child-Context Interaction: A relationship or interchange between the child and context factors which was causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

Although the child-context interaction being causally related to battering has not been suggested by my experience to the same extent as have the previous two interactions, it has nonetheless arisen in the discussion at PA meetings. The causal importance of this interaction was indicated by the son of a PA member who received abuse because he broke into a neighbour's house and stole some money. The mother indicated that if the burglary had not occurred, then the abusive incident would not have taken place. Here, the burglary by the son was instrumental in the battering incident.

Addressing physical abuse at the phenomenological level, a statement to the effect that children who live in large, socio-economically deprived families are more likely to be battered would also show the importance of the child-context interaction.

Parent-Child-Context Interaction: A relationship or interchange among the parent, child and context factors which was causally relevant to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering.

This interaction is the most important since it involves all three factors that are believed to be pertinent to child battering. It can further be suggested that

all three factors, in interaction, are essential to child battering, and as such, the interactions previously outlined are mere components of this particular interaction.

The causal relationship of the parent-child-context interaction to child battering was suggested by several members of PA in discussing their relationship with their children. In one instance, a boy broke a prized possession of his mother's and the act was discovered later in the day. When the mother found out about the breakage, she became angry and after sending the boy to his room, she went outside in order to gain control of her feelings. When the mother came back into the house, she unexpectedly met her son in the hall, lost her temper and an incident of battering took place in which the boy was punched and flung against the wall. In this example, all three factors were interacting to precipitate the incident. The parent was interacting with her child through her anger, she was interacting with the context through the loss of the possession, and the child was interacting with the context by being in the hall. It can also be pointed out that the mother was aware that the situation (i.e. the context) carried a potential for abuse since she originally took two action steps to physically separate herself from her son: (i) sent the boy to his room; and (ii) went outside herself.

From the case examples, it can be seen that the factors and the interaction of factors previously outlined played an important role in causing incidents of child bat-

tering. Since the literature did not appear to reflect the importance of these causal dynamics, it was decided that this literature be systematically searched and analyzed to determine whether or not their relevance was indeed reflected. In this analysis, it was assumed that the parent, child and context, and the interactions of these factors were important causal dynamics. More specifically, assumptions regarding the importance of the context, parent-child interaction and the parent-child-context interaction were investigated.

Statement of Assumptions

The following assumptions were investigated:

1. a) The literature would not reflect the importance of the context factor as a causal dynamic in child battering.
- b) The literature would not reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.
- c) The literature would not reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.
2. a) The separated literature, in which events immediately preceding an incident of battering were described, would reflect the importance of the context factor as a causal dynamic in child battering.
- b) The separated literature, in which events immediately preceding an incident of battering were described, would reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.
- c) The separated literature, in which events immediately preceding an incident of battering were described, would reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.
3. a) The interviews would reflect the importance of the context factor as a causal dynamic in child

battering.

- b) The interviews would reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.
- c) The interviews would reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

Method

This section initially outlines the method pertaining to the literature material, and then describes the methodology pertaining to the interview material. Although some procedural steps for the literature and the interviews were identical, they are presented separately in order to avoid confusion when stating comparable measures and reliability scores.

I Literature

The publications used in the research were obtained from a comprehensive search of current bibliographies and references on child abuse. The acceptability of a particular piece of literature was ascertained from the abstract, or where an abstract was not available from the title of the publication. The majority of publications were selected by means of their abstract. All publications dealing with the understanding of or assisting in child abuse were accepted unless restricted by the a priori decision of not accepting publications which dealt strictly with neglect, infanticide, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, pre-natal abuse, incidence of abuse, medical aspects of abuse, or legal aspects of abuse. A total of 667 publications fulfilling the criteria were identified. Any piece of literature which was originally found to be acceptable but was later found to be inappropriate was replaced. From the identified literature, a random sample, stratified by year, of 15% of the annual publications produced 98 journal

articles or books. These ranged from a low of 2 in 1962 and 1965 to a high of 20 in 1973, and the mode was 4 (Table 3). Four inappropriate articles were replaced. Arranged according to year, the publications used are presented in Appendix A.

The theme of all paragraphs from journal articles and from sections of books not covered by the a priori restrictions were identified, dictated and typed on worksheets. The paragraph theme consisted of a statement encompassing the central point of the paragraph where special attention was given to the inclusion of the factors and/or interactions which were relevant to the research.

For example, the paragraph:

As indicated above, due to their own past experiences, most, if not all, parents who maltreat a child have very low feelings of self worth. I believe this low self-esteem gives us an important lead in regard to the help needed, i.e. anything and everything that can be devised to meet the parent's unmet need for love and acceptance, or which can contribute realistically to building up self-esteem can be of help. Self-esteem depends not only on being treated with respect, and having achievements recognized and appreciated, but also on the individual's feeling of desiring such respect and recognition. Although I believe social work has a major contribution to make, I do not think that counselling or casework is likely to be the main, or even a major source of help for most of these parents.

(Dawe, 1975, pp.22-23)

had the theme identified as follows, " Since the majority of abusing parents have a very low feeling of self-worth, an important aspect of treatment can be the involvement of any service or program that can build self-esteem, and can

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS PER YEAR SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS

Year	Number of Publications
1962	2
1963	4
1964	4
1965	2
1966	4
1967	3
1968	7
1969	4
1970	5
1971	7
1972	11
1973	20
1974	13
1975	12
Total	98

meet the needs of love and assistance that these parents experience; and it is thought that counselling and casework will not likely be the major source of help for abusing parents.'

A total of 4,309 paragraph themes were identified. Since the identification of paragraph themes was performed by two coders, an inter-coder reliability check was calculated for 200 randomly selected paragraphs. It was determined that the coders had identified the same paragraph theme in 176 cases, for an agreement rating of 88%.

In order to determine if the identification of themes changed over time, upon completion of all theme identification a reliability agreement was calculated on 100 randomly selected paragraphs from the first 15 publications coded. The re-identification of these themes provided an agreement rating of 98%.

Following the typing of all themes on worksheets, these worksheets were searched for themes which were not applicable to the research. The criteria for deciding whether or not a theme was applicable were the same as those used in judging the acceptability of a publication. A theme was judged not applicable and was removed from the study if it dealt strictly with neglect, infanticide, incidence, medical or legal aspects of abuse, or verbal, emotional, sexual or pre-natal abuse. Two additional criteria were also used: (a) an historical criterion where an act of abuse prior to 1962 was described, and (b) a general

criterion where the theme had no relevance to any aspect of child battering.

Of the total number of themes, 38.3% or 1,651 themes were removed. A reliability check was performed on 100 randomly selected themes which had been judged not to be applicable. An agreement rating of 99% was attained. The breakdown by criteria of inapplicable themes is presented at the bottom of the data sheets (Appendix B).

After deleting all themes which were not applicable, 909 themes which indicated that a factor(s) or interaction(s) was a causal dynamic to an incident or the phenomenon of child battering were identified. The identified themes were then divided into two classifications:

(a) explicit causality and (b) implicit causality. In order to be explicitly classified, it was necessary that the causal relationship between the factor or interaction be clearly stated; for example, 'A number of battering cases result from the parents' mental illness'. With implicitly classified themes, the causal relationship was merely suggested and as such had to be inferred, as indicated by the theme, 'A large number of battering parents suffer from mental health problems'.

The causally classified themes represented 21.1% of the total themes, and of these 177 were solely explicit (19.5%) and 588 were solely implicit (64.7%) and 144 had both explicit and implicit aspects (15.8%). A reliability of classification check on a random sample of 50 explicit

and 100 implicit themes resulted in an agreement rating of 96% and 97% for the explicit and implicit classifications respectively.

All themes, which were not removed by a priori restrictions and were not causally classified were automatically placed in a designation entitled 'non-categorized'. This designation totalled 1,749 themes or 40.6% of all themes.

In the content analysis and categorization of themes, only the headings of Explicit Causality and Implicit Causality were used. The themes which made both types of causal statements were placed under these two headings, resulting in 321 themes of explicit causality and 732 themes of implicit causality. The content analysis of the 1,053 themes was conducted in accordance with seven categories: one for each of the three factors, one for each of the 2-level interactions, and one for the 3-level interaction.

In the content analysis, it was not sufficient that a factor or interaction merely be stated or implied, but rather the causal relationship to an incident or the phenomenon had to be present. A theme which stated some aspect of the child which was not causally related to battering and some aspect of the parent which was causally related was categorized as only having addressed the parent factor. In order for a theme to be identified as containing more than one categorization, it was necessary that two or more

causal factors and/or interactions be separately stated. For example, a theme which indicated that 'parents of low intelligence are more likely to abuse', plus 'children who are perceived by their parents as being different are more likely to be abused' was categorized as addressing the parent factor and the parent-child interaction. An interaction of two or more factors was categorized solely as the interaction, and the individual factors were not separately identified.

A reliability check of the categorizations on 100 randomly selected themes denoting causality revealed 84% total agreement for the categories which had been identified. For those themes on which total agreement was not attained, a partial agreement rating of 87.5% was achieved.

The process of content analysis also involved the identification of sub-classifications for all seven categories and sub-categories for the context factor and any interaction involving this factor.

The sub-classifications, under each heading of Explicit and Implicit Causality, involved noting whether the causal role of the factor or interaction was stated unconditionally or conditionally. For Explicit Causality, a theme which stated, 'Child battering is caused by...' was placed in the unconditional sub-classification; whereas, one which stated, 'Child battering may be caused by...' was noted in the conditional sub-classification. Under Implicit Causality, a theme stating, 'Battering parents

have poor self-control' was placed in the unconditional sub-classification; and one stating, 'Battering parents may be found to have poor self-control' was noted in the conditional sub-classification.

The sub-categories involving the context factor and related interactions were based on whether the context aspect addressed individual troubles of milieu (I) or public issues of social structure (S).

After all themes had been content analyzed and categorized, the data was transferred from the worksheets to data sheets. A data sheet was constructed for each publication. In addition, summary data sheets were constructed for each publication year (Tables 18 to 31, Appendix B) and for combined publication years (Table 15, Appendix B).

II Separated Literature

Upon completion of categorizations, themes which delineated circumstances and/or behaviours immediately prior to an incident of battering were identified. An identification reliability agreement of 97.8% was attained. The categorizations for these themes were tabulated on a separate data sheet (Table 17, Appendix B).

III Interviews

Four transcripts which documented incidents of child battering were obtained from tape-recorded interviews with members of PA who had volunteered to be participants in this investigation. These individuals had been known to

myself for a period of at least one year, and had on many previous occasions discussed their problem of child battering in my presence.

The participants, all of whom were mothers, were judged to be reasonably typical of the battering parents described by the literature, insofar as they were abused themselves as children, had poor self-images, lacked control of their behaviour and had a distrust of authorities. The major difference between these parents and the majority of those described by the literature was that these individuals were self-motivated to change their abusing behaviour as demonstrated by the fact that they had voluntarily attended weekly PA meetings for at least the preceding year.

In the interviews, which on the average lasted for 45 minutes, the individual was asked to select the incident of battering which was most prominent in their memory, and to begin describing this incident wherever it was most comfortable or salient in their mind. The tape-recorder was started when the individual indicated that the incident had been identified and that she was ready to begin talking.

As the interviewer, I attempted to use a semi-structured client-centered approach to the interview. This approach was chosen because I had had training and counselling experience with the client-centered technique. The client-centered approach for the most part involved reiterating, in different terms, what the interviewee had said, or reflecting emotions that the individual had expressed.

The structured aspect of the interview often involved my asking specific questions about the incident in order to:

- (a) elicit more detail,
- (b) focus on a different aspect, or
- (c) return the discussion to the incident when it digressed to other topics.

No attempt was made on my part to avoid discussing the factors or interactions which I believed to be causally relevant to child battering. In many instances, I would request additional information when a relevant factor or interaction was mentioned. A sample interview is presented in Appendix C.

The four interview tapes were transcribed, and the theme for each of the 449 paragraphs was identified, dictated and typed on worksheets. A paragraph consisted of a non-interrupted unit of speech by the interviewee, or an identifiable change in topic within an interviewee speech unit. For the paragraph:

And I can remember the whole thing. It was just at the time that I was trying to train him and he was fairly well trained, and the only time he used to wet was if he wasn't getting his own way. And I'd gotten up this one morning and he had wet the bed to start with; and it was, sort of, a little bit acceptable. Really crazy, huh! And I got that mess all cleaned up. He had just finished eating breakfast and he wet his pants. He would used to walk into his bedroom and stand around the corner so I couldn't see him and wet. Just stand there and watch it run down his legs, and then he would start crying. And I would say, you know, "What's the matter?" "Nothing, nothing!" That's all he would say. And I'd peek around the corner and he'd be dead. Right! If my ... I could hear him crying, that's what he did. So I scold him for lying, I didn't hit him for lying. I got the mess cleaned up, and

washed the floor, the whole bit. He went back into his bedroom - not 20 minutes later he shit his pants. That did it! I really hit him then. (A__ [mother])

the theme of 'M__ [son] would wet his pants if he didn't get his own way, and that morning he wet his bed which A__ cleaned up and then he wet his pants, which A__ also cleaned up; then twenty minutes later M__ defecated in his pants and A__ lost control and abused M__' was delineated. An inter-rater reliability check of the theme identification of 92% was attained on 100 randomly selected paragraphs.

Since the interview content analysis method duplicated that delineated for the literature themes, the procedure for the interview themes is not described in full detail. The procedure outlined, and classification and reliability scores are presented. For a detailed account of the procedural steps, the reader is directed to the appropriate segments of the literature section of the method.

Sixty-one themes, or 13.6% of all themes, were found to be non-applicable. A reliability rating of 100% was achieved for all non-applicable themes.

In the causal classification of themes, 205 themes, or 45.7% of the total number of themes, were identified. Of these, 55 were explicit (26.8%), and 150 were implicit (73.2%). No themes made combined explicit and implicit statements of causality. For 25 explicit and 50 implicit randomly selected themes, reliability ratings of 96% and

94% respectively were attained.

One hundred and eighty-three themes were designated as being non-categorized, representing 40.8% of the total number of themes.

For causally classified themes, a reliability rating on 50 randomly selected themes, produced 88% total categorization agreement. For those themes on which perfect agreement was not attained, a partial agreement of 83.3% was achieved.

The categorization information was transferred from the worksheets for each interview to separate data sheets. A summary data sheet was also constructed in which the individual data sheets were combined (Table 16, Appendix B).

Results

In keeping with the format of the Method section, the results from the analysis of the literature, the separated literature and the interviews are reported separately.

Due to the fact that this investigation was exploratory in nature and pre-experimental in design, no inferential statistical analysis was performed with the data. Rather, descriptive statistics only were used. In addition to reporting raw frequency scores, some results were also presented as percentages.

Of special interest were the consistently low frequencies obtained for the context category and the consistently high frequencies for the parent-child and parent-context categories from all three data sources. This uniformity of results across the literature, separated literature and interview data sources was in contrast to the results from the parent and the parent-child-context categories. For the parent category, a large number of categorizations were obtained from the literature whereas a small number were located in the separated literature and the interviews. The opposite results were obtained for the parent-child-context category, in that the interviews and separated literature yielded a high percentage of categorizations but the literature did not.

I Literature

The content analysis resulted in the identification

of 1,412 categorizations. The number of categorizations and the percentage of total categorizations are presented in Table 4. It is noted that the parent, the parent-child and the parent-child-context categories accounted for over 70% of the categorizations with frequencies of 428, 318 and 288 respectively.

Categorization Sub-classifications. The unconditional and conditional categorization sub-classification frequencies in relation to the explicit and implicit classifications are presented in Table 5. The approximate equality of frequencies for the unconditional and conditional statements from the explicit themes in comparison with the very large difference from the implicit themes was felt to be particularly striking. This large difference was primarily responsible for the 4:1 ratio of conditional to unconditional statements overall. The specific frequency of each categorization for both theme classifications and categorization sub-classifications are presented in Table 15 (Appendix B).

Context Sub-categories. For the context-related sub-categories of personal troubles of milieu (I) and public issues of social structure (S), 377 categorizations were in the 'personal troubles' sub-category and 141 were in the 'public issues' sub-category. This represented a ratio of approximately 5:2 in favour of personal troubles. For all context-related categories, the personal troubles categorizations exceeded the public issues categorizations.

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF CATEGORIZATIONS
PER CONTENT ANALYSIS CATEGORY
Literature Themes

Content Analysis Categories	Frequency of Categorizations	Percentage of Total Categorizations
Parent	428	30.3
Child	148	10.5
Context	78	5.5
Parent-Child	318	22.5
Parent-Context	288	20.4
Child-Context	37	2.6
Parent-Child-Context	115	8.2
Total	1,412	100.0

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIZATION SUB-CLASSIFICATIONS
RELATED TO THEME CLASSIFICATIONS

Literature

Classification Sub- Classification	Explicit Causality	Implicit Causality	Total
Unconditional Statements	241	39	280
Conditional Statements	250	882	1132
Total	491	921	1412

A breakdown of context-related categories is presented in Table 6, and a more detailed delineation is located in Table 15 (Appendix B).

II Separated Literature.

Forty-six themes which delineated the circumstances and/or behaviours immediately preceding an incident of battering were identified. Of these, 36 were solely explicit statements of causality, 3 were solely implicit statements and 7 contained explicit and implicit aspects of causality.

A total of 89 categorizations were obtained. The highest frequency of categorizations was obtained by the parent-child-context category, followed by the parent-child and the parent-context categories. These three categories combined were responsible for slightly more than 70% of the total categorizations. The frequency and percentage of categorizations for each category are presented in Table 7, and more detailed information is available in Table 17 (Appendix B).

III Interviews.

The content analysis resulted in 213 categorizations. The frequency and percentage of categorizations for each content analysis category are presented in Table 8. Of particular interest were the high frequency of categorizations obtained for the parent-child and the parent-child-context categories. These two categories alone accounted for over 70% of the total categorizations, and each obtained

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIZATIONS
FOR CONTEXT-RELATED SUB-CATEGORIES

Literature

Context-Related Categories	Context Sub-Categories	Personal Troubles	Public Issues	Total
Context		42	36	78
Parent-Context		204	84	288
Child-Context		32	5	37
Parent-Child-Context		99	16	115
Total		377	141	518

TABLE 7

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF CATEGORIZATIONS
PER CONTENT ANALYSIS CATEGORY

Separated Literature

Content Analysis Categories	Frequency of Categorizations	Percentage of Total Categorizations
Parent	9	10.1
Child	7	7.9
Context	2	2.3
Parent-Child	20	22.5
Parent-Context	17	19.1
Child-Context	8	9.0
Parent-Child-Context	26	29.2
Total	89	100.1

TABLE 8

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF CATEGORIZATIONS
PER CONTENT ANALYSIS CATEGORY
Interview Themes

Content Analysis Categories	Frequency of Categorizations	Percentage of Total Categorizations
Parent	12	5.6
Child	7	3.3
Context	4	1.9
Parent-Child	82	38.5
Parent-Context	38	17.8
Child-Context	1	0.5
Parent-Child-Context	69	32.4
Total	213	100.0

at least three times the categorizations of the parent, the child and the context categories combined. More detailed frequency information is located in Table 16 (Appendix B).

Categorization Sub-classification. The unconditional and conditional categorization sub-classifications totalled 50 and 163 respectively. All of the unconditional statements of causality were located in the explicit themes and by far the majority of the conditional statements were found in the implicit themes. The sub-categorization results as related to the explicit and implicit classifications are presented in Table 9, and more detailed information can be derived from Table 16 (Appendix B).

Context Sub-categories. For the context-related sub-categories of personal troubles of milieu (I) and public issues of social structure (S), 112 categorizations were identified. The fact that all of the categorizations for the public issues sub-category were for the parent-context interaction was felt to be particularly noteworthy. Also of special interest were the 69 personal troubles categorizations for the parent-child-context interaction which represented 65.8% of the total number of personal troubles categorizations. A breakdown of the categorizations by context-related categories is presented in Table 10, and more detailed information is located in Table 16 (Appendix B).

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIZATION SUB-CLASSIFICATIONS
RELATED TO THEME CLASSIFICATIONS

Interviews

Classification Sub- Classification	Explicit Causality	Implicit Causality	Total
Unconditional Statements	50	0	50
Conditional Statements	6	157	163
Total	56	157	213

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIZATIONS
FOR CONTEXT-RELATED SUB-CATEGORIES

Interviews

Context-Related Categories	Context Sub-Categories	Personal Troubles	Public Issues	Total
Context		4	0	4
Parent-Context		31	7	38
Child-Context		1	0	1
Parent-Child-Context		69	0	69
Total		105	7	112

Discussion

The discussion of the results was based on the premise that in content analysis, "... frequency of occurrence of units [categorizations] in a category is highly correlated with the intensity of that category in the communication" (Marsden, 1965, p.299). Further, the assumption was made that the intensity of a category was reflective of the importance that the communicator attached to that category. In discussing the results, the limitations imposed by the premise and assumption must be kept in mind. That is, it must be remembered that the frequency merely provided an indication of the intensity, and that the intensity was indicative of the importance.

This section follows the same format as the previous two, in that the results from the content analysis of the literature, separated literature and interviews are discussed separately. In the last segment, the results from the three data sources are combined, and comparisons among the results are discussed. For all segments, a general discussion of the results is initially presented followed by a discussion of the results as they pertain to the assumptions.

I Literature

Based on the 428 categorizations for the parent category, representing 30.3% of the total categorizations, it was concluded that the literature attached the greatest importance to the parent factor as a causal dynamic in child

battering. This finding was consistent with the expectation derived from the pre-investigative reading of the literature and from the literature reviewed for the purpose of the investigation. The conclusion was also supported by the finding that the heaviest emphasis was placed on the parent factor in both the single-factor categories and the factor-related categories where the categorizations pertaining to each factor were summed (Table 11).

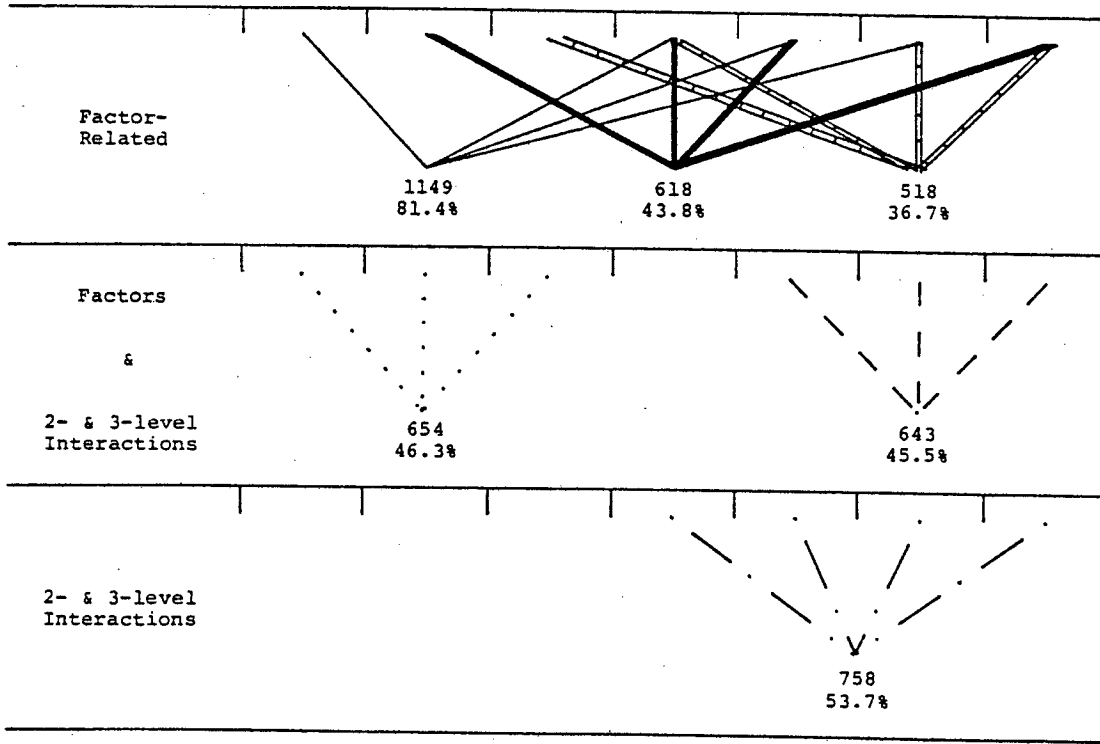
In a comparison of the combined single-factor categories and the combined interaction categories, it was concluded that the literature reflected equal emphasis on the single-factors and the 2-factor interactions, but overall, slightly more emphasis was shown for all of the interactions in combination. Here, the combined single-factors accounted for 46.3% of the total categorizations and the 2-factor interactions for 45.5%, while the combined 2- and 3-factor interactions were responsible for 53.7% of the total categorizations (Table 11). The difference of 7.4 percentage points between the combined single-factor categories and the combined interaction categories was not deemed to be large, and it was concluded that equal importance was attached to the factors and the interactions by the literature. Given the opinion that the literature tended to view the factors in isolation, the equality of importance for the factors and interactions was not an expected result. Rather, it would have been expected that greater importance be attached to the factors than to the interactions. It was interpreted

TABLE 11

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE CATEGORIZATION COMPARISONS FOR CATEGORIES

Literature Themes

Categories Comparisons	Parent	Child	Context	Parent-Child-Context	Parent-Child	Parent-Context	Child-Context
Categorizations	428 30.3%*	148 10.5%	78 5.5%	115 8.2%	318 22.5%	288 20.4%	37 2.6%



* % of Total Categorizations
 Total Categorizations = 1412

Combined Factors + 2-level + Parent-Child-Context = 100%

Combined Factors + 2- & 3-level = 100%

Legend:
 ——— Parent-related Combined Factors
 ——— Child-related - - - 2-level
 ——— Context-related . — . 2- & 3-level

from this observation that the literature does, in fact, show the factors as being in interaction as well as reflecting their separate importance.

Assumption 1a. The literature would not reflect the importance of the context factor as a causal dynamic in child battering.

This assumption was supported by the results. Although it was noted that the literature did address the context factor, it was judged that the 78 categorizations, which constituted only 5.5% of the total categorizations, were not sufficient to reflect the importance of the context factor (Table 11). Support for the assumption was also indicated by the emphasis shown for the context factor in comparisons that were made among the single-factor categories and the combined factor-related categories. In both instances the context factor received less emphasis than did the child factor, and the parent factor was given the heaviest emphasis. With specific reference to the single-factor categories, the context received approximately 50% less categorizations than did the child, and 80% fewer categorizations than parent (Table 11).

Assumption 1b. The literature would not reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

The results did not support this assumption, but rather the opposite was found to be true. The number of categorizations obtained by the parent-child interaction was the second highest of all the categories. From this observation, it was therefore felt that the literature emphasized

the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering. Further to the point, this emphasis was also indicated by the fact that the parent-child interaction accounted for the highest percentage of categorizations of all of the 2-factor interactions (Table 11).

Based on the results, it was concluded that the interaction between the parent and the child was of importance in causing incidents of child battering to occur. Insofar as the analyzed literature discussed child battering as an act and a phenomenon, it was further concluded that the parent-child interaction was important as a cause of child battering at the phenomenological level.

Assumption 1c. The literature would not reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

The results of the content analysis supported this assumption. Despite 115 categorizations being obtained for this category, it was felt that these were insufficient in number, when compared with the 1,412 total categorizations, to have permitted the interpretation that the literature reflected the importance of the 3-factor interaction. Rather, it could only be interpreted that the parent-child-context interaction was shown to be present in the literature.

Locating the parent-child-context interaction in the literature was often a difficult and somewhat more speculative task than would have been desirable. In many instances

an interaction between two factors was clearly delineated, but the relationship of these to a third factor which had been stated was often uncertain due to limited or poorly stated information. When situations of uncertainty such as this arose, a judgment was of necessity made. If it was possible to view the three factors in some reasonable manner which would reveal an interrelationship, then they were categorized as being in interaction. If, however, no reasonable connection could be found, a single factor and a 2-factor interaction were categorized. On a number of occasions, a judgment in favour of the 3-factor interaction was made. Although this was done somewhat tenuously, it was felt preferable that errors in judgment be made in the direction of not yielding support to the assumption rather than attempting to knowingly affect the data in a positive direction. The number of categorizations obtained for the parent-child-context interaction may therefore be slightly inflated, but the degree of inflation is felt to be minimal.

Although the literature did not reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering, locating the interaction in the literature was, in itself, felt to be an important finding. This interaction was originally suggested solely on the basis of 2 years personal experience with parents who had battered their children; and as such, a limited and select data base was used for its conception. Since the parent-child-context interaction was also located in the literature,

the data base indicating the reality of this interaction was correspondingly expanded, and its existence as a causal dynamic in child battering may now be stated with greater certainty.

Sub-classifications. The categorization dichotomy between conditional and unconditional statements of causality yielded interesting data. However, this dichotomy was of minimal pragmatic benefit in conducting the content analysis. That is, the dichotomy did not provide any assistance in locating themes which were applicable to the investigation, nor did it help in the categorization process.

The results of the conditional-unconditional dichotomy produced a ratio of approximately 4:1 in favour of conditional statements of causality (Table 5). It was thought that this ratio may have been indicative of the state of knowledge on child battering. To the extent that child abuse was a relatively new field of systematic investigation, it was possible that insufficient data and knowledge on the causal dynamics of the phenomenon existed to allow the formulation of definite statements on the subject, and consequently, any statements or conclusions which were formulated had to be made conditionally.

Context sub-categories. In contrast to the sub-classifications, the dichotomy between personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure was found to be of practical benefit in conducting the content analysis. In many instances the personal troubles or public issues

aspect of the context was more readily observable in a theme than was the broader concept of the context as a whole. If these sub-categories had not been used in conducting the investigation, it was felt that several categorizations involving the context factor or related interaction might have been overlooked. Naturally, this would have had a concomitant effect of reducing the number of categorizations for context-related categories. Given the relatively high percentage of categorizations for the parent-context interaction (Table 11), it was felt that this potential shortcoming in the investigation did not occur to any large extent.

The results also revealed that the sub-categories for the context had meaning in addition to their utilitarian value in conducting the content analysis. From Table 6, it should be noted that the ratio between personal troubles and public issues ranged from approximately 1:1 for the context category to a high of approximately 6:1 in favour of personal troubles for the child-context and parent-child-context interaction categories. For all of the context-related categories, the ratio was 5:2 in favour of personal troubles. The literature appeared to suggest that when the context alone was a causal dynamic in child battering, the probability of it relating to personal troubles or public issues was approximately equal. However, when the context interacted with parent, the probability of it relating to personal troubles was approximately 2.5 times greater than to public

issues; and when the interaction was with the child factor or the parent-child interaction, then the probability was 6:1 in favour of personal troubles. Whether or not these ratios are valid requires further investigation. Given the high ratios obtained for personal troubles of milieu from interactions which involved the child factor, it may be worthwhile to specifically investigate the extent to which the child contributes to the context being a causal dynamic.

Based on the emphasis on personal troubles of milieu in the literature and with reference to the definition provided by Mills (1959/1967, P.8), it appeared that causal effect of the context operated through circumstances over which the parent was directly and personally aware. Further, it could be suggested that the resolution of contextual causes of battering lay within the control and activity of the parent, and as suggested by Mills, these causes were not of a type over which the parent had little influence or control.

II Separated Literature

The results of literature themes delineating circumstances and/or behaviours immediately preceding an incident of battering were separately compiled in order to determine the extent to which they would reflect the importance of factors and interactions as causal dynamics. It was thought that a difference in emphasis might be shown to exist when compared with the results of all of the analyzed themes from the literature. This aspect of the investigation was there-

fore primarily conducted as a pilot study.

It should be noted that the discussion of these results was to some extent constrained by the small number of themes and categorizations obtained. Only 46 causal themes and 89 categorizations were received for this segment of the investigation, and the restrictions imposed by the limited quantity of data must be kept in mind.

The major finding which did not involve a specific assumption pertained to the difference in the number of categorizations between the combined categories of single factors and the combined categories of interactions. It was noted that 18 categorizations representing 20.2% of the total categorizations were obtained for the single-factor categories in combination, and 71 categorizations or 79.8% were received for the combined interaction categories (Table 12). Since interactions were four times more prevalent than single factors, it was suggested that the interaction of factors may be a more relevant causal dynamic in child battering than the factors alone.

Assumption 2a. The separated literature, in which events immediately preceding an incident of battering were described, would reflect the importance of the context factor as a causal dynamic in child battering.

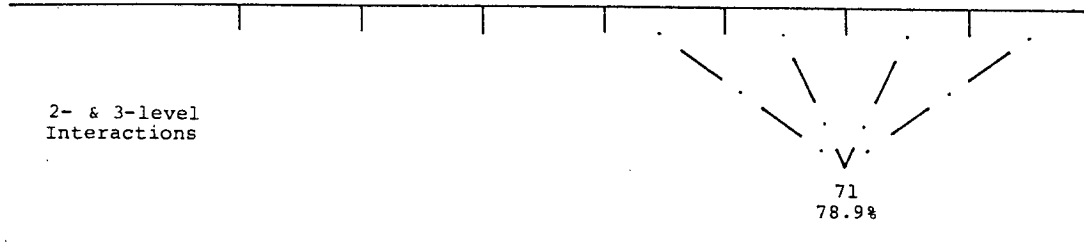
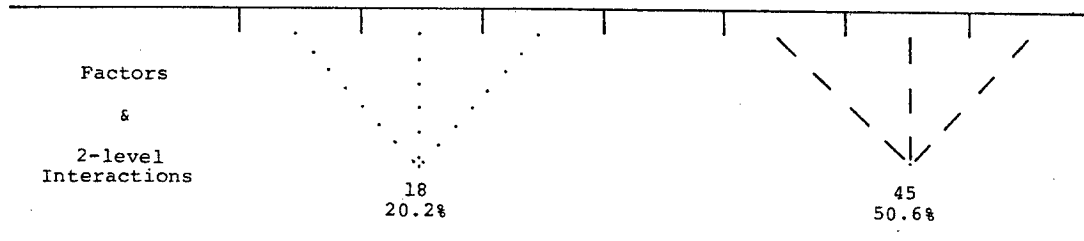
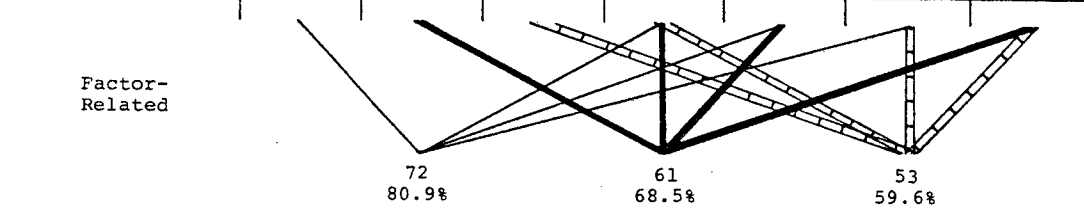
This assumption was not supported by the results due to the fact that only 2 categorizations, representing 2.3% of the total categorizations, were obtained for the context category (Table 12). The separated literature themes did not, therefore, indicate the importance of the

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE CATEGORIZATION COMPARISONS FOR CATEGORIES

Separated Literature Themes

Categories Comparisons	Parent	Child	Context	Parent- Child- Context	Parent- Child	Parent- Context	Child- Context
Categorizations	9 10.1%*	7 7.9%	2 2.3%	26 29.2%	20 22.5%	17 19.1%	8 9.0%



* % of Total Categorizations
Total Categorizations = 89

Combined Factors + 2-level +
Parent-Child-Context = 100%

Combined Factors + 2- + 3-level = 100%

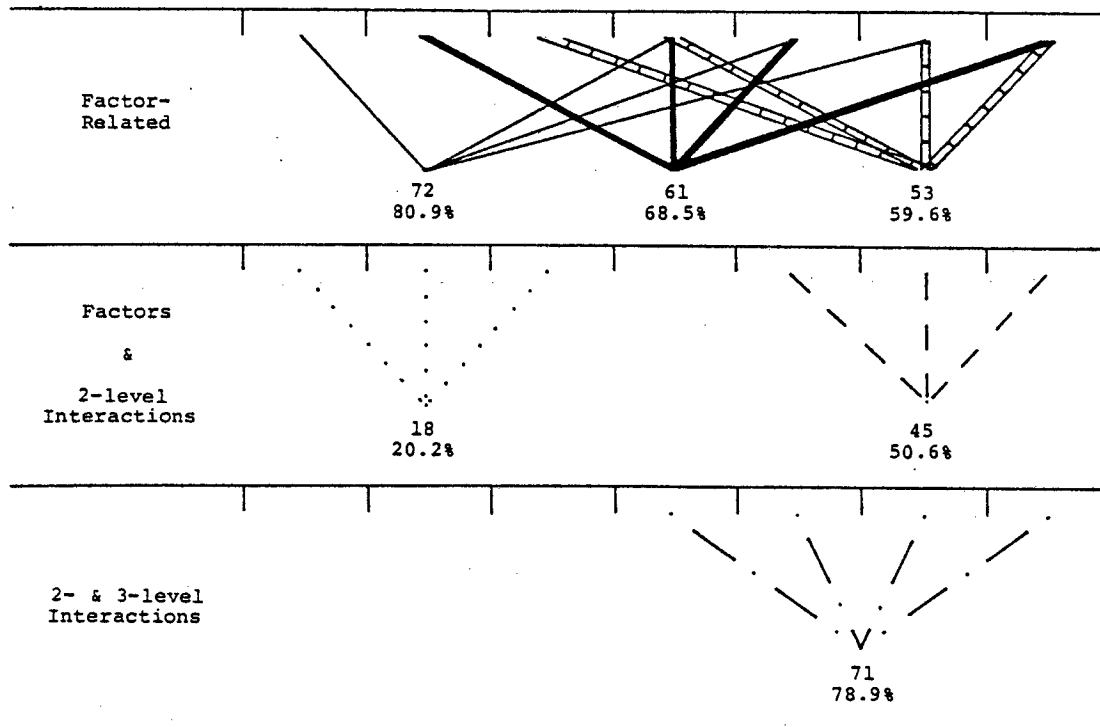
Parent-related Combined factors
 Child-related 2-level
 Context-related 2- & 3-level

TABLE 12

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE CATEGORIZATION COMPARISONS FOR CATEGORIES

Separated Literature Themes

Categories Comparisons	Parent	Child	Context	Parent- Child- Context	Parent- Child	Parent- Context	Child- Context
Categorizations	9 10.1%*	7 7.9%	2 2.3%	26 29.2%	20 22.5%	17 19.1%	8 9.0%



* % of Total Categorizations
Total Categorizations = 89

Combined Factors + 2-level + Parent-Child-Context = 100%

Combined Factors + 2- + 3-level = 100%

——— Parent-related ····· Combined factors
 ——— Child-related - - - 2-level
 ——— Context-related · - · 2- & 3-level

context as an isolated factor.

The results of the summed context-related categories did, nonetheless, reveal that the context as a causal dynamic was contained in the separated literature. Here, 53 categorizations were obtained (Table 12). A comparison with the other factor-related categories in combination did not, however, show the context to be emphasized since the lowest number of categorizations were obtained by the context-related categories. This finding was judged to be in the direction of not yielding support to the assumption.

Assumption 2b. The separated literature, in which events immediately preceding an incident of battering were described, would reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

The content-analysis results supported this assumption. It was therefore concluded that the interaction between the parent and the child was of importance in causing incidents of child battering to occur. However, since these separated themes for the most part dealt with case descriptions, no comment regarding the importance of this interaction to the phenomenon of child battering could be offered.

Assumption 2c. The separated literature, in which events immediately preceding an incident of battering were described, would reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

This assumption was supported by the results, thereby indicating that the interaction among the factors of the parent, child and context was important in causing some incidents of battering to occur.

It was also noted that the parent-child-context cate-

gory received 26 categorizations, the highest of all categories (Table 12). This would suggest that the separated literature placed an emphasis on this 3-factor interaction, and that it may have been a very relevant aspect in cases of battering. Further to this point, with a score of 29.2% the parent-child-context category received a higher percentage of categorizations than did the combined single-factor categories (20.2%). This suggested that the separated literature viewed the interaction of the three factors as being a more relevant cause of child battering than the mere combination of the individual factors. The same comment cannot be made about the combined 2-factor interactions since these categories accounted for 50.6% of the total categorizations (Table 12).

III Interviews

The limitation placed on the discussion of the separated literature by virtue of the limited amount of data was also applicable to the interview results. Although 205 causal themes were identified and 213 categorizations were obtained, it must be remembered that the results were derived from only four interviews. This was not believed to be a sufficiently broad data base from which definitive conclusions could be made, and speculative conclusions only were permissible.

The interview data was also constrained to some extent by the method of data collection. These interviews were conducted by myself, and it was my belief at the time

of the interviews that the context factor, the parent-child interaction, and the parent-child-context interaction were all relevant causal dynamics in child battering. The results from the interviews were therefore subject to the possibility of having been obtained by reason of demand characteristics from myself as the interviewer.

Similar to the separated literature, the major, non-assumption related result from the content analysis of the interviews involved the emphasis shown for the combined single-factor and combined interaction categories. Here, the summed individual factors accounted for only 10.8% of the total categorizations, whereas the interactions accounted for 89.2% of the categorizations (Table 13). The difference of 78.4 percentage points between the factors and interactions was judged to reflect a substantial focus by the interviews on the interactions. Since the combined interaction categories received eight times more categorizations than the single-factor categories in combination, it was concluded that the interview results revealed the interactions to be more important causal dynamics than individual factors in child battering. This observation was to a large extent consistent with the opinions held prior to conducting this investigation.

Assumption 3a. The interviews would reflect the importance of the context factor as a causal dynamic in child battering.

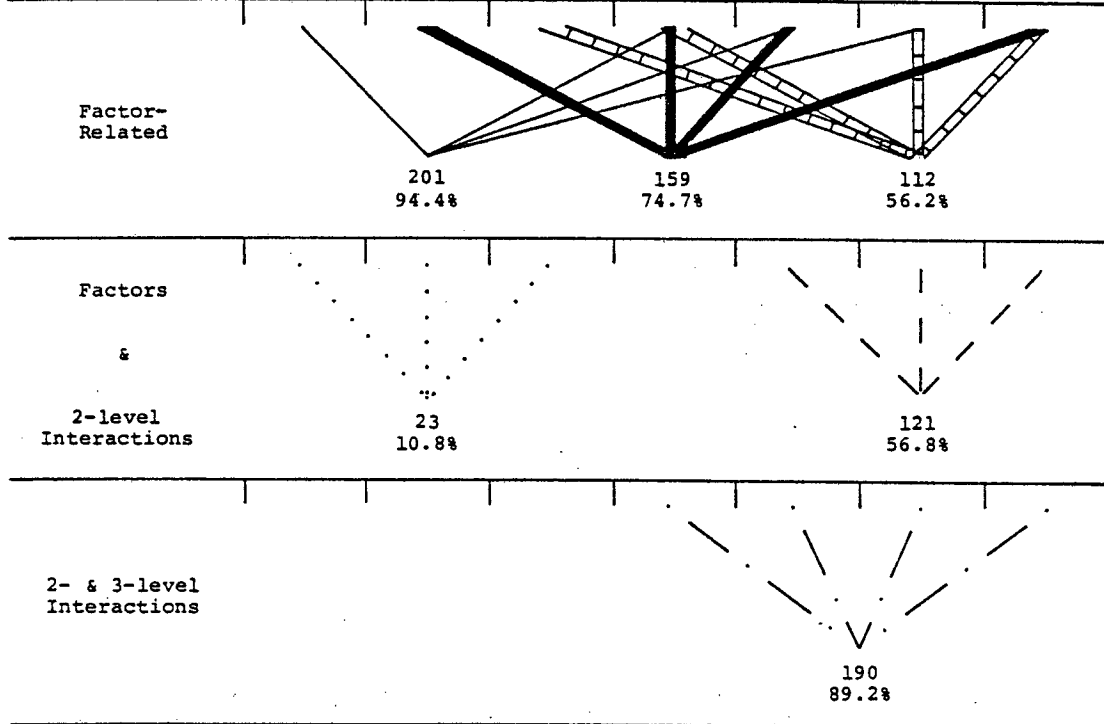
The results of the content analysis for the interviews did not support this assumption. It was consequently

TABLE 13

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE CATEGORIZATION COMPARISONS FOR CATEGORIES

Interview Themes

Categories Comparisons	Parent	Child	Context	Parent- Child- Context	Parent- Child	Parent- Context	Child- Context
Categorizations	12 5.6%*	7 3.3%	4 1.9%	69 32.4%	82 38.5%	38 38.5%	1 0.5%



* % of Total Categorizations
Total Categorizations = 213

Combined Factors + 2-level +
Parent-Child-Context = 100%

Combined Factors + 2- & 3-level = 100%

— Parent-related Combined Factors-
 — Child-related — — 2-level
 — Context-related . — . 2- & 3-level

concluded that the context by itself was not an important cause of child battering. Due to the very low percentage of categorizations obtained for the context category, it was questioned whether the context alone had any real causal significance at all in the described incidents. With the previously mentioned limitations in mind, it was possible that the four categorizations obtained for this category resulted strictly from demand characteristics of the interviewer.

While the interviews failed to reflect any importance for the context factor, it was noted that the context was contained in the interview material. As shown in Table 13, those categories which contained the context received 112 categorizations or 56.2% of the total categorizations. This suggested that the context may only be a relevant causal dynamic in child battering when it was interacting with another factor(s). This appeared to be particularly true if the interaction was with the parent factor or the parent-child factor.

The lack of emphasis on the context was also revealed by the fact that, of the single-factor categories, the context received the fewest categorizations. This was also found to be true for the combined factor-related categories (Table 13). It was therefore interpreted that even though the context was addressed by the interviews it was less relevant as a causal dynamic, either alone or in interaction, than were the parent or the child.

Assumption 3b. The interviews would reflect the importance of the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

The results showed strong support for this assumption. The parent-child category received the highest number of categorizations, and accounted for 38.5% of the total categorizations (Table 13). It was therefore concluded that the interaction between the parent and the child, either behaviourally or emotionally, was an important cause of the battering incidents described by the parents. At the broader phenomenological level, it was also possible that these results indicated the parent-child interaction to be an important causal dynamic of battering.

Assumption 3c. The interviews would reflect the importance of the parent-child-context interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering.

Since 32.4% of the total categorizations were obtained for this 3-factor interaction, it was concluded that the results supported the assumption. This assumption was also supported by the observation that the parent-child-context interaction received three times more categorizations than the combined single-factor categories.

These results were interpreted to indicate that the interaction of the three factors have a marked causal effect on the battering incidents which had been described. Further, keeping the limitations on the data in mind, it was tentatively suggested that the parent-child-context interaction was an important causal dynamic in child battering.

Sub-classifications. The results for the condi-

tional-unconditional dichotomy produced a ratio of 3:1 in favour of conditional statements of causality (Table 9). Of greater interest however, was the marked contrast in results under the headings of explicit and implicit causality. For all of the themes in which the causality was implicitly stated, the statement was conditional in nature; whereas, for the explicit themes, almost all of the statements were unconditional. While no definitive conclusions were derived from these results, a possible interpretation was that when an interviewee made a direct statement of causality of battering, this was done without qualification, but when causality was merely implied, it was also qualified.

A final observation of interest was that a 3:1 ratio was obtained for conditional-unconditional statements and a 3:1 ratio was obtained for implicit-explicit themes. No interpretation was made for these results.

Context sub-classifications. In Table 10, it was noted that an overall ratio of 15:1 in favour of personal troubles of milieu was obtained in the context sub-categories. This suggested that when the context was a causal aspect of the described incidents of battering, there was a very high likelihood that the problem would be of a personal or individual nature. It was generally a difficulty within the parents' personal experiences and could to some extent be controlled by their actions. Seldom was a public issue, such as poverty, causally related to the abuse incident.

Literature, Separated Literature and Interviews

Although the above discussion has dealt with all of the results to the extent required to show support or non-support for each assumption, additional insight into the importance attached to the context factor, the parent-child interaction and the parent-child-context interaction may be derived by comparing the results obtained from all three data sources.

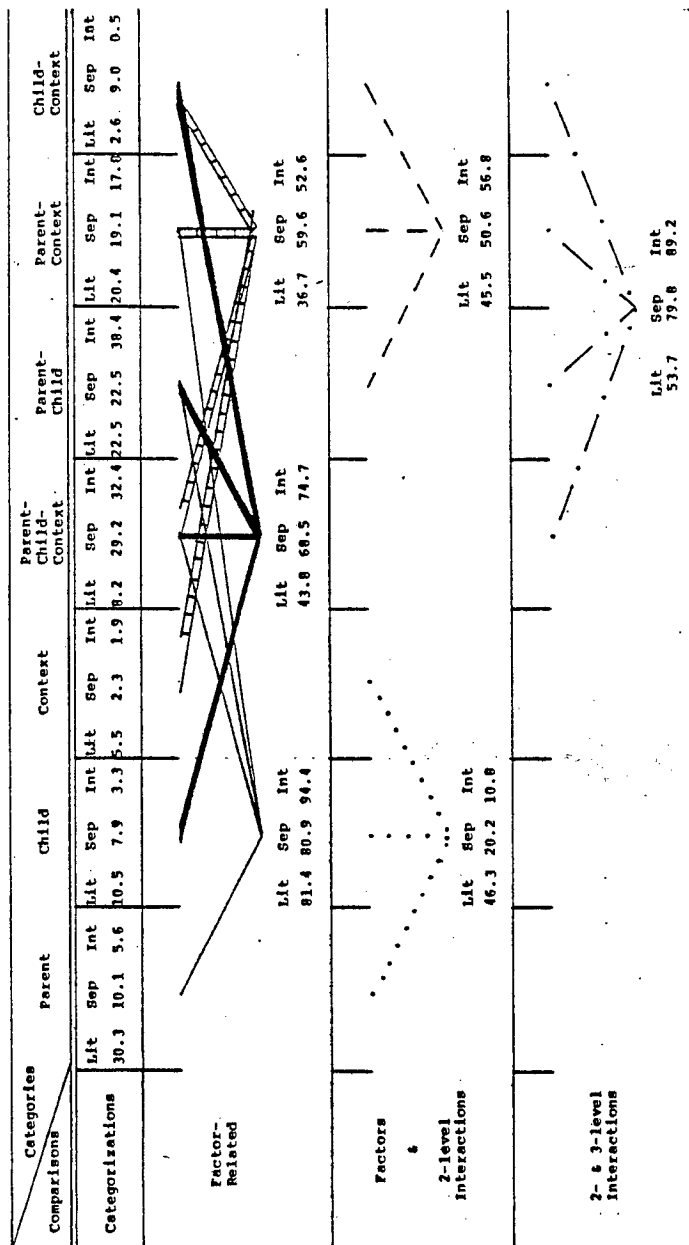
At the outset, it must be noted that comparisons were being made solely for the purpose of speculation. Due to the limitations created by the small data base for the separated literature and interview themes, plus the possibility of interviewer demand characteristics having influenced the content of the interviews, any implications derived from these comparisons should be viewed with caution. Obviously, no definitive conclusions are permitted.

Due to the widely differing number of categorizations obtained for the three data sources, and the difficulty entailed in conceptualizing any comparisons given the unequal data bases, percentage information only is used in this discussion. The percentages for each category and the comparisons are presented in Table 14.

The assumptions for the context factor suggested that the literature would not reflect the importance of this factor while the separated literature and the interviews would reflect its importance. It is noted that the separated literature and interviews addressed the context factor to approximately the same extent (2.3% and 1.9% respectively), and that the literature

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE CATEGORIZATION COMPARISONS FOR CATEGORIES
Literature, Separated Literature and Interviews



Lit - Literature (1412) *
 Sep - Separated Literature (89)
 Int - Interview (213)
 * % of Total Categorizations

Categorizations = 1000
 Factors + 2-level + parent-child context = 1000
 Factor + 2- & 3-level = 1000

Legend:
 Parent-related (dotted line)
 Child-related (solid line)
 Context-related (dashed line)
 Combined factors (dotted line)

addressed the context to a greater degree (5.5%). While none of the data sources reflected the importance of the context, this observation appeared to run contrary to the assumptions regarding the context factor. Comparatively, it appeared that the literature did address the context factor while some uncertainty existed for the separated literature and the interviews.

Comparative information for the summed context-related categories did not, however, appear to run contrary to the assumptions involving the context factor. For these combined categories, the separated literature and interviews contained the highest percentage of categorizations and the literature showed the lowest percentage. A difference of 22.9 percentage points existed between the separated literature and the literature, and a difference of 15.9 percentage points separated the interviews and the literature.

From these two comparisons, it would appear that when the context factor alone was a causal dynamic in child battering, the literature reflected this role to a greater extent than the separated literature or interviews; but when the context factor was in interaction with another factor, then the separated literature and interviews reflected the causal role to a greater extent than the literature. When viewed from both perspectives, it would appear that conflicting results were obtained for the context factor, and no general interpretations could be made due to the conflicting results.

By combining the assumptions about the parent-child interaction, it would be suggested that the separated literature and the interviews would reflect the importance of this category, and the literature would not. While it was noted that all three data sources reflected the importance of this interaction, it is of interest to note that the interviews attained a higher percentage of categorizations (38.5%) than did the literature (22.5%) and the separated literature (22.5%). From this observation, it can perhaps be suggested that the interviews attached a higher degree of importance to the parent-child interaction as a causal dynamic in child battering than did the literature or the separated literature.

With respect to the parent-child-context interaction, a combined assumption would state that the interviews and separated literature would reflect the importance of this interaction while the literature would not. Had this combined assumption been stated it would have been supported. The interviews attained the highest percentage of categorizations (32.4%), followed by the separated literature (29.2%), and the literature attained the lowest percentage (8.2%). The percentage spread of 24.2 points between the interviews and the literature was substantial, as was the differential of 21 percentage points between the separated literature and the literature. It was believed that these combined observations were consistent with the assumptions concerning the parent-child-context interaction.

An interesting comparison also existed between the combined single-factors and the combined interactions from the three data sources. For the literature it can be seen that 46.3% of the categorizations were for the combined single-factor categories; and for the separated literature and interviews, the same percentages were 20.2% and 10.8% respectively. The percentage of combined single-factor categories for the literature was 35.5 percentage points higher than those of the interviews, and 26.1 percentage points higher than those of the separated literature. The reverse results were obtained for the combined interaction categories. Here, the percentage of categorizations for the literature 35.5 percentage points lower than the interviews and 26.1 percentage points lower than the separated literature. From these observations, it would appear that the literature tended to emphasize isolated factors as causal dynamics in child battering, whereas the interviews and separated literature tended to emphasize the interaction of factors.

As a final point of discussion, it was noted that similar sub-classification and context sub-categories results were obtained from the literature and the interviews. Although the ratios differed in size, it was noted that they were all in the same direction for both data sources. More specifically, explicit causality was greater than implicit causality, conditional statements were greater than unconditional statements, and personal troubles of milieu were

greater than public issues of social structure. The larger ratios found in the interview results and the lack of public issues categorizations for some context-related categories were felt to be reflective of the more personal, less diverse communication sources from which the interview data was obtained.

In summary, the majority of the assumptions were supported by the investigation. Three assumptions were not supported by reason of the literature reflecting the importance of the parent-child interaction, and the interviews and separated literature failing to show the context as being important.

Since the importance of the parent-child interaction was shown by all three sources of information, it was concluded that this interaction played a real and relevant role in causing incidents, and perhaps the phenomenon of child battering. It was also concluded that the parent-child-context interaction existed as a causal dynamic in child battering since it was present in all information sources. However, the relevance of this interaction could not be stated since its importance was not reflected in the literature.

The dichotomy between personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure was found to be useful in conducting the content analysis and in yielding interesting data. It appeared that problems of an individual nature

were more often causally related to battering than were those which affect the larger society.

Despite the inherent limitations in interpreting content analysis results (i.e. quantity indicates emphasis which indicates importance) and the large amount of time involved when using this technique, content analysis of the themes of paragraphs was found to be a desirable method of conducting an investigation of this nature. The results showed that content analysis was sensitive to the various causal aspects of child battering and that the results produced were sufficiently different to have meaning.

Implications

Implications in two major areas were derived from the results of the investigation. The first dealt with the context sub-categories of personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure, and the second with the factors and interactions themselves.

The results indicated that the dichotomy between personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure for the contextual aspect of child battering was one which had a true basis in reality. That is, an incident could be caused by difficulties primarily within the individual's intimate environment, or by difficulties which affected the broader society and in turn the environment of the individual. This finding therefore suggested that in providing assistance, attention should be given to that aspect of the context which was relevant to a particular battering incident. By providing the most relevant type of assistance, a greater likelihood exists of successfully preventing future incidents of battering.

The necessity of providing the most appropriate context-related assistance can perhaps best be shown by the following example:

A mother battered her child due to her frustration of having to be with the children constantly, plus insufficient recreational activity outside the home. It was decided by the professional, due to the apparent poverty of the family, that a lack of money prevented this mother from engaging in activities away from the house and her children, and financial

assistance was consequently provided. However, the real reason for the mother being constantly with the children was the fact that her husband forbade her to engage in outside activities since he believed that a woman should stay in the home and take care of the children.

In this hypothetical case description both contextual sub-categories are present. However, addressing the 'public issue' of poverty by providing financial assistance was clearly not appropriate since it would not relieve the mother's frustration. Rather, the 'personal troubles' aspect of the context involving the husband's beliefs and rules should have been addressed, perhaps by initiating strategies which would facilitate a change in his attitude.

In addition to revealing the reality of the context sub-categories, the results also showed that the personal troubles of milieu were more prevalent than the public issues of social structure. This would appear to imply that when attempting to determine the cause of battering, professionals should be most sensitive to personal troubles, and that the majority of interventions should address problems of a personal nature.

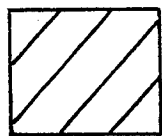
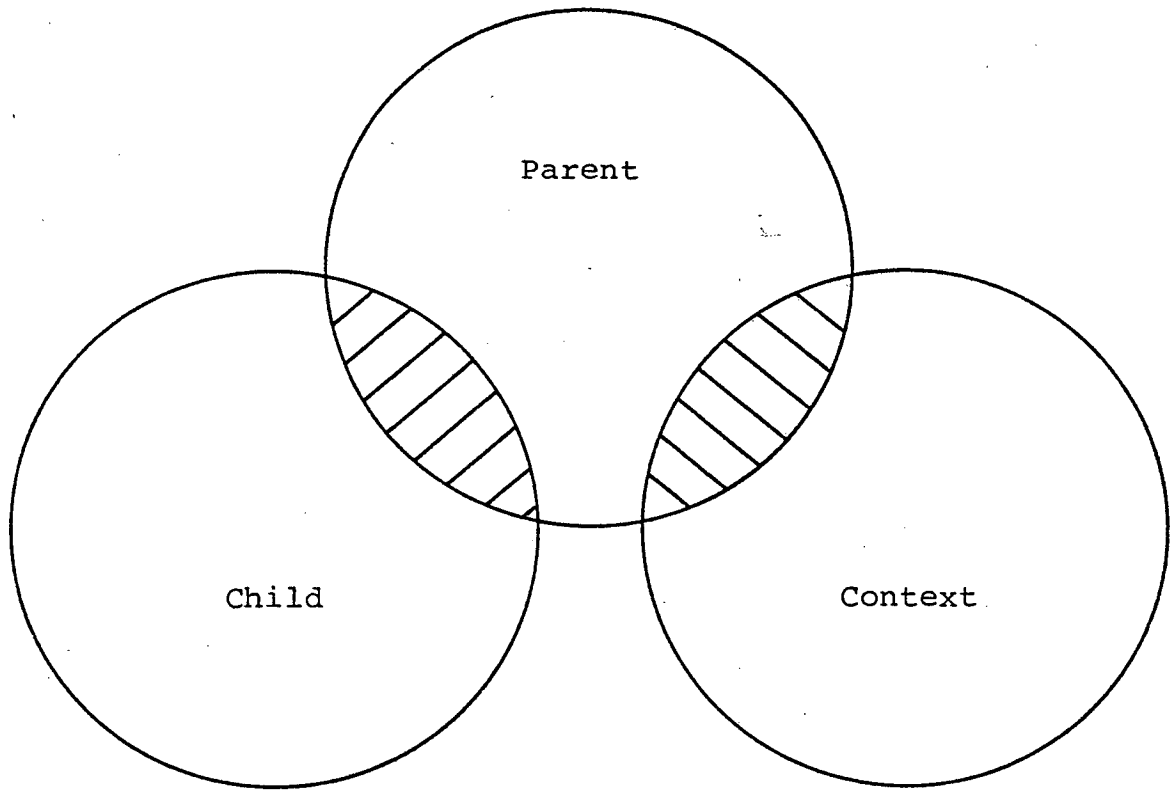
This emphasis on personal troubles should however be treated with caution. Although the results showed an emphasis on personal troubles, no data was collected regarding (a) the extent to which public issues difficulties became personalized when highly relevant to an individual, thereby changing the focus to one of personal troubles, or (b) the extent to which personal troubles have their basis in public

issues. Since both possibilities appear to be viable, it is suggested that additional investigation be undertaken to more specifically determine the roles of personal troubles of milieu and public issues of social structure.

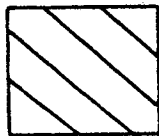
With respect to the primary focus of this investigation, that of categorizing the factors and interactions of child battering, three major findings were obtained: (a) the reality of all three factors and all four interactions as causal dynamics in child battering was demonstrated insofar as they were found to exist in all three communication sources (the context was shown to exist via the interactions); (b) the parent-child interaction and the parent-context interaction were indicated as being important as causal dynamics since this importance was reflected by all three data sources (Tables 11, 12 & 13); and (c) the reality of the parent-child-context interaction was reflected by the results from the separated literature and the interviews. Given these findings, two models related to the causes of child battering may be advanced.

The first model was derived from findings 'a' and 'b' listed above, which indicated the existence of the factors and the 2-factor interactions, plus the importance of the parent-child and parent-context interactions. This model involved connecting the three factors in a chain to indicate their interaction (Figure 2). With the parent as the central factor, child battering could be caused by an exchange between the parent and the child, or between the parent and the

Figure 2: Chain Model of Child Battering



Parent-Child Interaction



Parent-Context Interaction

context. It would also be possible for an incident to be caused by both the child and the context interacting with the parent; however, an incident could not be caused by a child-context interaction alone, or in interaction with the parent.

This theoretical model would suggest that child battering is caused by a minimum of one interaction between the parent and the child and/or the parent and the context. Given the necessity of the interaction, it would therefore be important that attempts to rectify battering behaviour address themselves to one or both interactions between factors. The major implication of this model is that the intervention should not focus on one particular factor, as was shown to be the case for the parent in the content analysis of the literature. Rather, the causal dynamics of the factors and the interactions must first be identified and attempts at preventing further abuse should appropriately address the dynamic process as opposed to the isolated factors.

The second model of child battering, called the triangular model, is the one which was advanced at the beginning of this paper (Figure 1). Although the reality of this model cannot be stated with the same degree of certainty as the first model, since its importance was not reflected by the literature, it is nonetheless a viable possibility. This triangular model of child battering was derived from the investigative findings which indicated that all factors and interactions existed and that the parent-child-context inter-

action may be an important causal dynamic in child battering.

Since all of the factors and the interaction among factors were causally relevant to battering, this model would suggest that any attempts at providing assistance to families in which child battering occurs must be directed to all facets of the behaviour. The model further suggests that a systems approach to child battering, in which the individual factors are the components of the system and the interactions of factors constitute the dynamic aspect of the system, may be most desirable.

Given the systems approach, it should theoretically be possible to eliminate child battering by removing or substantially altering one component of the system. For example, by removing the child from the system, the causal interactions between the child and the parent, and the child and the context would break down and future battering should be prevented. While in theory, removal or alteration of a component will prevent future battering, often this does not occur in reality. Due perhaps to the powerful forces within the system to maintain itself, the removal of the battered child will often result in another child being battered (Zalba, 1966, pp.9-10). This observation would therefore indicate that the system of child battering is open rather than closed. In a closed system, removing or changing a component will cause the system to cease operation; whereas in an open system the potential exists for the replacement of

the component, or the system adapting to the change.

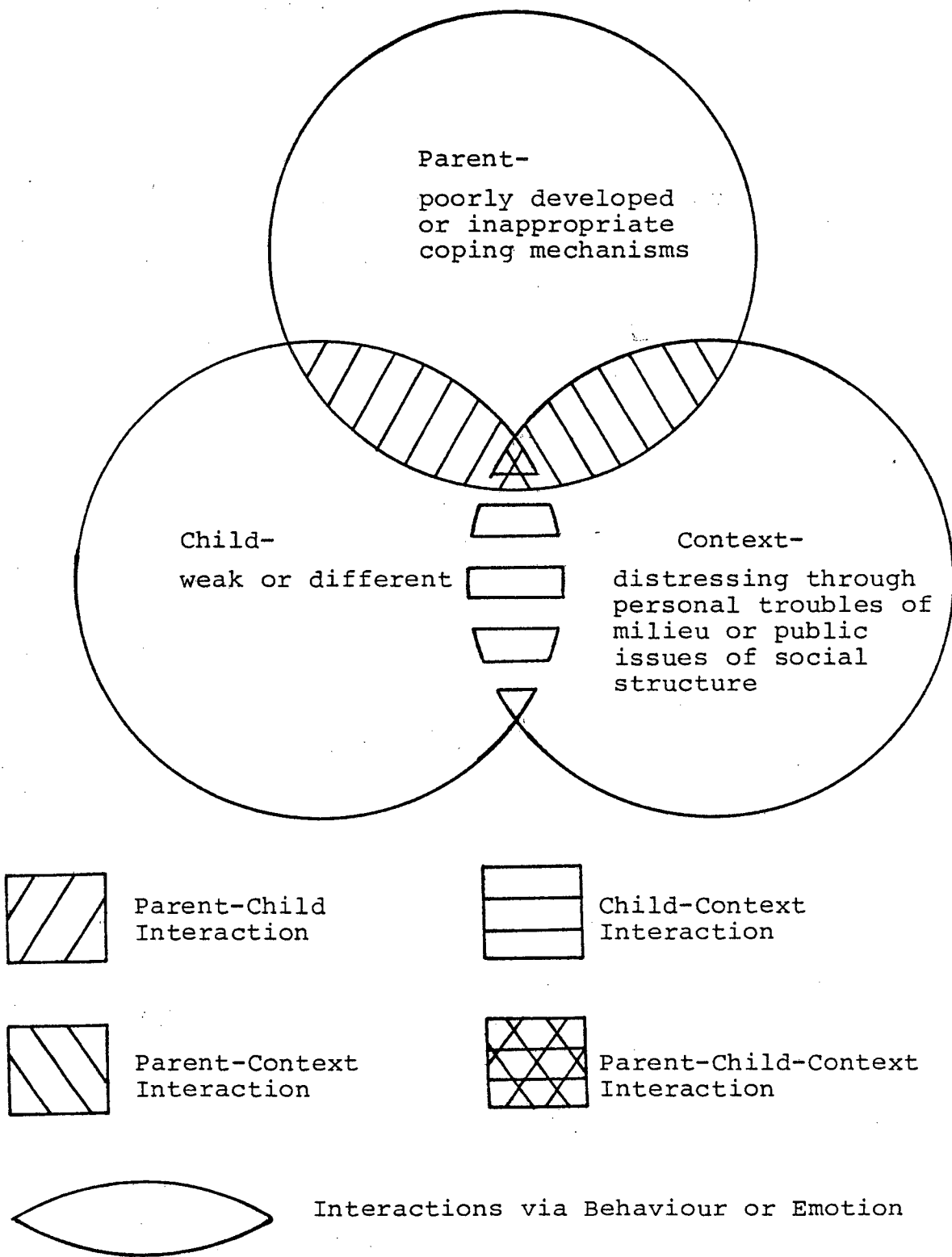
The existence of an open versus a closed system has ramifications with regard to the provision of assistance in child battering occurrences. Given this closed model, an intervention which changed any aspect of the system would be successful in preventing battering in the future. However, in an open system an intervention which was focused on one particular aspect would have little chance of success. Rather, it would be likely that the intervention would fail to prevent future battering given the tendency of the system to maintain itself. Consequently, it would appear to be necessary for the intervention to address all relevant aspects of the system. If the chain model most realistically represents child battering, then the intervention must in a combined thrust work with those factors and the interaction(s) which are most causally relevant to the battering activity. If however, the triangular model is most representative, then all three factors and all four interactions must be addressed at the same time in order to maximize the likelihood of preventing additional battering. Since the parent-child, parent-context and child-context interactions are to a large extent sub-summed by the parent-child-context interaction, it would perhaps be most effective to concentrate intervention and assistance activities on this interaction and the factors contained therein.

In conducting this investigation, informal attention was given to the characteristics of the causal factors

and interactions which were described by the data sources. It appeared that the parent was most often cited as a causal dynamic because he or she had been battered as a child, and this battering had left the parent with underdeveloped or inappropriate coping mechanisms. For the child, the most frequently cited causal dynamic was that the child was different (i.e. bad, lazy, stupid, hostile). The context was shown to be distressing, either through personal troubles or public issues. The interaction between the factors was through behavioural exchanges, emotional exchanges, or both.

Given these informal observations, greater specificity may be attached to the previously cited systems models of the causal dynamics of child battering. By combining the chain and triangular models; the causal dynamics of the factors and interactions which comprise the system could be viewed as demonstrated in Figure 3. Obviously, further investigation would be required before any definitive statements could be made regarding the reality and importance of the factor and interaction characteristics stated in the combined model. Additional research is a necessity to determine which systems model, if either, is most applicable to child battering.

Figure 3: Chain & Triangular Models of Child Battering



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APPENDIX A
PUBLICATIONS ARRANGED BY YEAR

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APPENDIX B
DATA SHEETS

Table 15: Literature Summary (1962-1975)

	Explicit Causality 321		Total	Implicit Causality 732		Total	Combined 1053		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
	Parent	53		52	105		12	311	
Child	9	39	48	1	99	100	10	138	148
Context (I)	8	10	18	-	24	24	8	34	42
Context (S)	2	11	13	-	23	23	2	34	36
Context	10	21	31	-	47	47	10	68	78
Parent-Child	79	53	132	15	171	186	94	224	318
Parent-Context (I)	26	40	66	4	134	138	30	174	204
Parent-Context (S)	9	12	21	-	63	63	9	75	84
Parent-Context	35	52	87	4	197	201	39	249	288
Child-Context (I)	9	4	13	1	18	19	10	22	32
Child-Context (S)	1	2	3	-	2	2	1	4	5
Child-Context	10	6	16	1	20	21	11	26	37
Parent-Child-Context (I)	40	22	62	5	32	37	45	54	99
Parent-Child-Context (S)	5	5	10	1	5	6	6	10	16
Parent-Child-Context	45	27	72	6	37	43	51	64	115
						Total	280	1132	1412

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized 1749

General 707

Pre-natal

Infanticide 20

Legal

Neglect

Historical

22

Medical

Emotional

Incidence

75

Sexual

Verbal

Total NA

1651

Total paragraphs 4309

0

Table 17: Separated Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 43		Total	Implicit Causality 10		Total	Combined 53		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	2	5	7	-	2	2	7	9	
Child	3	2	5	-	2	3	4	7	
Context (I)	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	2	
Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Context	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	2	
Parent-Child	11	6	17	-	3	11	9	20	
Parent-Context (I)	3	3	6	-	4	3	7	10	
Parent-Context (S)	2	3	5	1	1	3	4	7	
Parent-Context	5	6	11	1	5	6	11	17	
Child-Context (I)	7	1	8	-	-	7	1	8	
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Child-Context	7	1	8	-	-	7	1	8	
Parent-Child-Context (I)	18	5	13	-	-	18	5	13	
Parent-Child-Context (S)	2	1	3	-	-	2	1	3	
Parent-Child-Context	20	6	26	-	-	20	6	26	
						50	39	89	

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized _____ General _____ Pre-natal _____ Infanticide _____
 _____ Legal _____ Neglect _____ Historical _____
 Total paragraphs 46 _____ Medical _____ Emotional _____ Incidence _____
 _____ Sexual _____ Verbal _____ Total NA _____

Total

Table 19: 1963 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 22		Implicit Causality 34		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	3	4	-	17	24
Child	-	1	-	7	8
Context (I)	-	-	-	1	1
Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-
Context	-	-	-	1	1
Parent-Child	2	3	-	5	10
Parent-Context (I)	1	2	1	11	15
Parent-Context (S)	1	-	-	4	5
Parent-Context	2	2	1	15	20
Child-Context (I)	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child-Context (I)	3	1	-	2	6
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	1	1	1	2
Parent-Child-Context	3	2	1	2	8
Total					71

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	94	General	29	Pre-natal	Infanticide
		Legal	15	Neglect	Historical
Total paragraphs	212	Medical	10	Emotional	Incidence
		Sexual		Verbal	Total NA

Table 20: 1964 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 14		Total	Implicit Causality 26		Total	Combined 40		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	4	2	6	-	10	10	4	12	16
Child	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	6	6
Context (I)	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Context	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Parent-Child	2	3	5	-	10	10	2	13	15
Parent-Context (I)	1	1	2	-	2	2	1	3	4
Parent-Context (S)	-	1	1	-	7	7	-	8	8
Parent-Context	1	2	3	-	9	9	1	11	12
Child-Context (I)	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	2
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	2
Parent-Child-Context (I)	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	2	3
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child-Context	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	2	3
Total	10	45	55	10	45	55	10	45	55

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	35	General	30	Pre-natal		Infanticide	
		Legal	5	Neglect		Historical	
Total paragraphs	118	Medical	13	Emotional		Incidence	
		Sexual		Verbal		Total NA	48

Table 21: 1965 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 7		Total	Implicit Causality 21		Total	Combined 28		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	-	1	1	-	6	6	-	7	7
Child	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	2
Context (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Context	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child	3	-	3	2	6	8	5	6	11
Parent-Context (I)	-	1	1	-	3	3	-	4	4
Parent-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	5	5
Parent-Context	-	1	1	-	8	8	-	9	9
Child-Context (I)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Parent-Child-Context (I)	-	2	2	-	1	1	-	3	3
Parent-Child-Context (S)	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Parent-Child-Context	1	2	3	-	1	1	1	3	4
Total						6	28	34	

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	25	General	3	Pre-natal	Infanticide
		Legal		Neglect	Historical
Total paragraphs	59	Medical	4	Emotional	Incidence
		Sexual		Verbal	Total NA
					7

Table 24: 1968 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality		Total	Implicit Causality		Total	Combined		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	4	6	10	1	38	39	5	44	49
Child	3	8	11	-	15	15	3	23	26
Context (I)	1	1	2	-	2	2	1	3	4
Context (S)	-	1	1	-	3	3	-	4	4
Context	1	2	3	-	5	5	1	7	8
Parent-Child	12	2	14	1	25	26	13	27	40
Parent-Context (I)	3	3	6	-	15	15	3	18	21
Parent-Context (S)	2	1	3	-	7	7	2	8	10
Parent-Context	5	4	9	-	22	22	5	26	31
Child-Context (I)	2	-	2	-	3	3	2	3	5
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	2	-	2	-	3	3	2	3	5
Parent-Child-Context (I)	1	4	5	-	5	5	1	9	10
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child-Context	1	4	5	-	5	5	1	9	10
						Total	30	139	169

HCT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	122	General	29	Pre-natal		Infanticide	
		Legal	3	Neglect	15	Historical	
Total paragraphs	299	Medical	21	Emotional		Incidence	8
		Sexual	2	Verbal		Total NA	71

Table 25: 1969 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 6		Total	Implicit Causality 19		Total	Combined 25		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	-	-	-	1	7	8	1	7	8
Child	-	2	2	-	1	1	-	3	3
Context (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Context (S)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Context	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Parent-Child	1	4	5	-	5	5	1	9	10
Parent-Context (I)	-	1	1	-	3	3	-	4	4
Parent-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Parent-Context	-	1	1	-	4	4	-	5	5
Child-Context (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child-Context (I)	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	2	3
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Parent-Child-Context	1	1	2	-	2	2	1	3	4
						Total	3	28	31

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	84	General	16	Pre-natal	Infanticide
Total paragraphs	142	Legal	12	Neglect	Historical
		Medical		Emotional	Incidence
		Sexual		Verbal	Total NA
					34

Table 26: 1970 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality		Total	Implicit Causality		Total	Combined		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	3	1	4	-	20	20	3	21	24
Child	1	1	2	-	11	11	1	12	13
Context (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Context	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child	1	2	3	-	8	8	1	10	11
Parent-Context (I)	-	-	-	-	8	8	-	8	8
Parent-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	3	3
Parent-Context	-	-	-	-	11	11	-	11	11
Child-Context (I)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Parent-Child-Context (I)	1	-	1	-	3	3	1	3	4
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parent-Child-Context	1	-	1	-	3	3	1	3	4
TOTAL	6	58	64	32	14	46	6	58	64

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	115	General	32	Pre-natal	Infanticide
Total paragraphs	228	Legal	13	Neglect	Historical
		Medical	9	Emotional	Incidence
		Sexual		Verbal	Total NA
					70

Table 27: 1971 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 26		Implicit Causality 64		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	4	1	-	22	27
Child	-	1	1	12	13
Context (I)	-	-	-	3	3
Context (S)	1	1	-	5	7
Context	1	1	-	8	10
Parent-Child	11	2	1	19	32
Parent-Context (I)	2	-	-	10	12
Parent-Context (S)	2	2	-	11	15
Parent-Context	4	2	-	21	27
Child-Context (I)	-	1	-	1	2
Child-Context (S)	1	-	-	1	2
Child-Context	1	1	-	2	4
Parent-Child-Context (I)	3	-	1	5	8
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	1	-	1	2
Parent-Child-Context	3	1	1	6	10
Total	27	96	27	96	123

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	101	General	55	Pre-natal	Infanticide	7
		Legal	14	Neglect	Historical	4
Total paragraphs	346	Medical	17	Emotional	Incidence	12
		Sexual	53	Verbal	Total NA	164

Table 28: 1972 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 30		Implicit Causality 90		Combined 120		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	7	6	5	21	12	27	39
Child	-	7	-	1	-	8	8
Context (I)	-	3	-	1	-	4	4
Context (S)	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Context	-	4	-	1	-	5	5
Parent-Child	9	5	3	6	12	11	23
Parent-Context (I)	2	3	-	5	2	8	10
Parent-Context (S)	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
Parent-Context	3	4	-	5	3	9	12
Child-Context (I)	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Child-Context	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Parent-Child-Context (I)	1	3	1	1	2	4	6
Parent-Child-Context (S)	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Parent-Child-Context	1	4	1	1	2	5	7

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)		Total	
General	Pre-natal	Infanticide	
210	67	1	1
Legal	Neglect	Historical	
95	9	9	9
Medical	Emotional	Incidence	
20	9	14	14
Sexual	Verbal	Total NA	
34	7	264	264

Table 29: 1973 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 58		Total	Implicit Causality 98		Total	Combined 156		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.		Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	13	8	21	-	53	53	13	61	74
Child	2	2	4	-	9	9	2	11	13
Context (I)	2	-	2	-	2	2	2	2	4
Context (S)	1	3	4	-	7	7	1	10	11
Context	3	3	6	-	9	9	3	12	15
Parent-Child	20	7	27	2	23	25	22	30	52
Parent-Context (I)	10	4	14	-	13	13	10	17	27
Parent-Context (S)	-	2	2	-	7	7	-	9	9
Parent-Context	10	6	16	-	20	20	10	26	36
Child-Context (I)	2	-	2	-	1	1	2	1	3
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	2	-	2	-	1	1	2	1	3
Parent-Child-Context (I)	15	2	17	-	8	8	15	10	25
Parent-Child-Context (S)	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	2
Parent-Child-Context	16	2	18	-	9	9	16	11	27
						Total	68	152	220

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	454	General	296	Pre-natal		Infanticide	
		Legal	145	Neglect	54	Historical	
Total paragraphs	1144	Medical	9	Emotional	11	Incidence	4
		Sexual	55	Verbal		Total NA	574

Table 30: 1974 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 66		Implicit Causality 81		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	6	12	3	42	63
Child	2	4	-	10	16
Context (I)	4	3	-	3	10
Context (S)	-	3	-	3	6
Context	4	6	-	6	16
Parent-Child	6	9	1	19	35
Parent-Context (I)	4	17	1	14	37
Parent-Context (S)	3	3	-	6	12
Parent-Context	7	20	2	20	49
Child-Context (I)	1	-	1	3	5
Child-Context (S)	-	2	-	-	2
Child-Context	1	2	1	3	7
Parent-Child-Context (I)	6	4	1	1	12
Parent-Child-Context (S)	2	2	-	-	4
Parent-Child-Context	8	6	1	1	16
Total					202

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	239	General	79	Pre-natal	Infanticide
Total paragraphs	545	Legal	46	Neglect	Historical
		Medical	12	Emotional	Incidence
		Sexual	1	Verbal	Total NA
					170

Table 31: 1975 Literature Summary

	Explicit Causality 43		Implicit Causality 111		Combined 154		Grand Total
	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	Uncond.	Cond.	
Parent	4	10	-	55	4	65	69
Child	-	12	-	9	-	21	21
Context (I)	-	3	-	6	-	9	9
Context (S)	-	2	-	2	-	4	4
Context	-	5	-	8	-	13	13
Parent-Child	7	15	3	34	10	25	35
Parent-Context (I)	2	8	-	34	2	42	44
Parent-Context (S)	-	1	-	7	-	8	8
Parent-Context	2	9	-	41	2	50	52
Child-Context (I)	3	1	-	5	3	4	7
Child-Context (S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Child-Context	3	1	-	5	3	4	7
Parent-Child-Context (I)	4	3	-	4	4	7	11
Parent-Child-Context (S)	1	-	-	2	1	2	3
Parent-Child-Context	5	3	-	6	5	9	14
				Total	24	187	211

NOT APPLICABLE (NA)

Non-categorized	110	General	30	Pre-natal	21	Infant/colde
		Legal	7	Neglect		Historical
Total paragraphs	314	Medical		Emotional		Incidence
		Sexual		Verbal		Total NA
						62

APPENDIX C
SAMPLE INTERVIEW

- T: The last time we focused on one particular incident and that was the first one. The time that C. [son] was out at that construction site and you had gone to see him and saw him out there. What I'd like to do is leave that one and look at another one - another incident that took place. And I'd like you to take a couple of seconds to pick one, there may be a couple there that are possibilities. If you just want to think about that and let me know when you're ready.
- B: I'm trying to think. I was telling B. about that this morning, I says I hope my memory doesn't fail me tonight (laugh), 'cause I was telling him I was coming up here.
- T: I'll help you.
- B: They just all sort of blur in, you know.
- T: Just tell me one - just off the top of your head that you can remember a little bit about that sticks out in your mind.
- B: I can't even think of one right now that sticks out, I'll have to do some thinking. If I wasn't so preoccupied today with everything else. I would have spent some time trying to think of some. Gee, I can remember the actual yelling and that, but I'm trying to think.
- T: Why don't we start there, what was going on in one of those cases?
- B: I think that the most serious one that sticks out in my mind is where I almost pushed him down the basement stairs. But I don't really remember off-hand what provoked me to that.
- T: What does stick out in your mind? Is it you standing behind him [son] at the stairs?
- B: No, I was standing in front of him and I was telling him that I felt like throwing him down the basement stairs. I - I'm sure I remember saying that to him and I remember the urge was very strong and - but I don't remember what started that one because I think that was actually the most serious one.
- T: Had there been things going on before that?
- B: Yeh, it had sort of built up.
- T: Had you been pulling his hair?
- B: Yeh, and I shoved him against the back closet door like which is right where the stairs are on the little landing.

We must have been coming in the house or going out for us to be right there, and I can't remember what started it. I just know I was getting more and more wound up 'cause I wasn't getting the right response from him or whatever.

T: That's been kind of a general pattern.

B: Yeh, yeh.

T: Not getting the right response to what you're looking for.

B: But - right now I just can't think of what started that particular incident. I guess everythings sort of blurred in. - So many incidents have happened where the general pattern was the same but not necessarily the same thing started it.

T: What about the last one that happened?

B: Well, let's see the last - what - 8 months that we were together. I had really been under control - like when I moved back home - eh. Then the incidences were very few and far between as far as physical abuse was concerned.

T: There was still some kind of emotional ...?

B: Yah, that was still there. So I did a lot more yelling and swearing than I did hitting, you know I really held off on that. So it's kind of hard to remember. I'd have to think back to the time before I moved out a year and a half ago. I remember incidences in his room where I really bounced him around on the walls - with the hair, hanging him by the hair - (whew).

T: Just swinging him...

B: Yeh, like I can remember incidences before he moved out, but you know as far as anything physical - I can't - I don't think I was...

T: Why don't we try maybe talking about - you know, how you say they're blurring together - why don't we talk in those generalities for a little while, and if a certain aspect of one comes more clearly into your head we can go along with that.

B: Yeh, sure - OK.

T: You were saying that generally after the build up had come along you would grab him by the hair and swing him off the walls.

B: Yeh, and there'd be a lot of swearing going on and

usually that's where it would end - but he'd end up losing an awful lot of hair and maybe he'd have a few marks on him - I guess. Like on his arms or most - I seemed to go for the face - really get him in the face.

T: Weren't you saying one time that you used to get your hair pulled?

B: Yeh, all the time. I had a - I developed a very insensitive skull - now it's sensitive again. I haven't had my hair pulled in a long time. For a while there they could yank it and I just wouldn't feel it - I got so used to it - 'cause it was on a fairly regular basis.

T: Generally in those situations in the bedroom what would happen - you'd go in there and he'd be there or you'd sent him to his room ...?

B: And then I'd follow him in - one or the other. Most of the time I'd send him to his room and then I'd be so wound up that I'd end up following him and pursuing the matter - you know- and not leaving him alone until I'd be just shrieking at him and ..

T: Really worked up, enraged ...

B: Yeh, yeh - and then, of course, I'd yell at him to stop crying and of course he'd be shaking and scared out of his wits and I'd get more mad. And then it would just get worse and worse until I really hurt him physically.

And then I'd end up leaving him in his room or - the odd time - it would happen in the morning before he went to school, so I'd make him quick wash his face and comb his hair and send him on his way. And then I'd feel lousy after he'd leave, or if I left him in his room, I'd be really down then.

T: Guilty and ...

B: Sorry - yeh, once I'd calm down I'd be extremely sorry and then if He'd gone to school I'd be on pins and needles waiting for him to come home so I could apologize. I couldn't wait, but if he was still at home if it was a situation on a weekend or after school or something then Once I'd calmed down, or had a good cry, or whatever, then I'd go back to his room and try to apologize.

T: Let your emotions out ...

B: Yeh, yeh. Gee, it just bugs me I can't remember any particular incident.

T: Well, you've talked about the situation where you'd be in

in the room with him, and you'd be enraged and see him cowering and crying and that would get you more and more upset. Were there other kinds of things that would set you off?

B: They would just make me even angrier - or if I was convinced I had got him in a lie.

T: The lying really really got to you - did it?

B: Yeh - or hiding things on me that really upset me.

T: Like what for example.

B: Well, wetting his bed. I never gave him heck for wetting his bed as long as he let me know first thing in the morning so we could do something about it. And all he'd have to do was bring everything down into the basement and I'd get him to put them right into the washing machine and then I'd take care of it from that point on. And then if it was summer, I'd drag the mattress outside to try and dry it up. But it was when he hid it on me, that would upset me.

T: Hid?

B: Hid the fact that he had wet his bed. Because I had tried to prove to him over and over again that it was no big deal, I was not going to get upset about it, if he told me about it. It was when he hid it on me. It hurt me. It made me feel like - like here I am working so hard at trying to show him that I want to help him, in that particular aspect anyway. And I knew it would be wrong to scold him for wetting his bed, I knew that. I guess I'd read it or whatever, and it just made sense to me. I just didn't think that that was going to accomplish anything and I really calmly tried to explain to him and a lot of times he would come to me and say well I wet my bed again and well that's fine let's do this, that and the other thing and get washed up and boom that's the end of it you know, no more said about it. But a lot would get said if he you know. I tried, I think maybe at first when he hid it on me I got more violent or upset, but after a while I decided that if I did contain myself after I discovered he'd hid it on me, he'd be more willing to let me know the next time. But on that aspect of it, it just didn't upset me that much except for the hiding.

T: What would be the kind of thing that would happen when You found out he'd hidden it?

B: Well, I guess I would let him know that - well - first of all I'd ask why? "Why did you hide it on me?"

Because I've tried to show you before that I'm not going to get upset with you if you tell me right away." I guess I'd say something like, "I'm not asking you to be perfect but just come and tell me and then we can take care of it right away." Then he'd just sort of shrug his shoulders and say, "Well I don't know" and usually that's what would get me mad this sort of shrugging his shoulders and going I don't know. And so I'd pester him and pester him until he'd come up with words like 'I guess I was afraid or something,' but I'd really have to be after him for 10-15 minutes, well then I got angrier and angrier because I figured I knew what the answer was, but he wasn't telling me.

So - that was sort of the thing in a lot of other cases where if he'd hidden something or lied to me or stolen or whatever and I found out about it afterwards and when I'd ask him a question 'well why didn't you come and tell me' I would have accepted an immediate answer of 'well I was afraid to tell you' but if he didn't come up with that kind of answer that's what would get me riled up. It just made me so mad that he couldn't at least be honest enough with me to at least say 'Yah, I was scared to tell you' or whatever.

T: So you felt he was hiding something, either by lying or literally doing it, not being totally open with you.

B: Yeh.

T: And that made you feel how?

B: It made me feel very inadequate. Well I thought well, what do I have to do to prove to him that he can come and tell me because when he would come and tell me.

Well I can remember the case when he lost his glasses, they eventually got found about 4 months later at some kid's house but right at that time he came home and he was just shaking and I could see he was that he was really scared. And I sensed that right away that he wanted to say something to me because the way he was standing or looking at me or something, it wasn't as though he was trying to look nonchalant and try to go to his room and act like nothing was happening 'cause then I would have gotten really furious if I'd found out later but I could just sense it and I felt such pity for him. I felt oh, no he's got something to tell me. And I don't know why, I suspected it was probably his glasses, so sort of was already prepared for it and when he did finally get it out of him, I felt very compassionate, like I really appreciated that. It's when he'd come in and act very cool and casual like nothing was wrong and then ...

T: Almost like trying to pull a fast one.

B: Yeh, that's what would set me off, really mad like, I don't know, when he would come right away and tell me something like that I found myself more accepting, I could accept it. Maybe I'd get a little angry but we'd still be able to talk about it. And I certainly didn't go overboard and I don't think I scared him or anything. But I think it was mainly the fact that he was just doing a lot of sneaking around behind my back.

And I know with the food business he'd end up throwing food away, food that at least could have been given to the dogs if he didn't want to eat it. I'd find every spring a bunch of rolled up kleenexs in the back yard with food in them, which just made me so furious - like this food could at least have gone to the dogs or something. I know, I have to admit that when we first got together I was pretty heavy on the food end of it, which comes from my past too.

T: How's that?

B: Well, I mean just ... I decided how much he was going to eat and he was going to eat the whole thing, regardless; and that's how it was at home with me too. But I think after about 2 years of struggling with that I decided, well let's try something a little different - he decides how much goes on his plate, but once it's on his plate he has to eat it. And I always encouraged him to put small amounts on his plate so that at least it would get eaten. I guess it was just a real hang-up for me. I just can't stand seeing food thrown away. I mean if I threw it away or G. [husband], who cares you know, I thought well we earn the money but I just couldn't see ...

T: When he would do things like not finish off his plate, would you get upset about that or was it just when you found out he was throwing it into the back yard?

B: It's hard to remember 5 years ago but - 'cause I believe it was the first year or so that I was really insistent on him cleaning up his plate. But, and it didn't help matters any when G. [husband] would get angry at me because then I was on the defensive and more convinced that my way was right and I guess it was G. [husband]'s attitude, the way he reacted to me, like he won't call me aside and try to sit and just have a discussion with me about it, he'd just sort of say - boom, that's wrong, you shouldn't do that and he'd always say it in front of C. [son] and I'd ...

T: So G. [husband] would put you down in front of C. [son].

B: Yeh, and so that would put me on the defensive and I'd just

get that much nastier with C. [son].

T: Did that ever lead to any instances where you lost control with C. [son] ?

B: Yeh, where I would not immediately because G. [husband] was there, but I would start feeling, starting feeling very strong hate and resentful feelings towards C. [son] because I was being put down by G. [husband] and it would stay in my system until I got it out on C. [son], whether it be the next day or later on in the day or right after - sometime G. [husband] would barely be out of the driveway and I'd be at C. [son].

T: So it would kind of hold inside of you, the stuff you felt for him from G. [husband] - the rejection and put down and then you'd turn around and take it out on C. [son].

B: Yeh, as a matter of fact G. [husband] and I had a discussion about that at 3:30 one morning during these last two weeks. I got up when I heard him come home went in to say hi to him. Before I knew it 1½ hours later, you know, crawling back into bed and we talked about that and I told him that was one big thing that really got to me, was the way G. husband approached me. I said to him, "I know you meant well but was just the way you came on to me and usually in front of C. [son]. I say, "Maybe you wouldn't react the same way if I did the same to you, but this is me and this is the way it comes out."

I say, it's like we had a discussion about clothes and spending money on C. [son] which I used to be resentful of if I wasn't in the mood to spend the money, yet G. [husband] would say we should be this, that and the other, and I would get resentful. But if I was doing it of my own free will, the sky's the limit. If I was in a good mood, eh and well G. [husband] related his past experiences, like he didn't have too good of a time as a kid either and he was really - he was told what to wear - and whatnot - he can't see the sense of why he always had to have black shoes and can't have brown shoes - you know, things like that. And I went through the same thing and so this is why he's very strong on letting C. [son] have his choice on what he wants and he's going to be happy wearing and I basically agreed - it was only when G. [husband] would come on strong in front of C. [son] or it didn't even have to necessarily be in front of C. [son] then I would get resentful ...

T: Come on strong to you about C. [son] ?

B: Yeh, like he'd come on strong, like why don't you let him wear that or something, like his tone of voice has always affected me when he's abrupt. And I know in my head that

he doesn't mean it that way, but that's the way it comes out - we've had discussions with Mr. P. about that too.

T: That makes you feel a certain way?

B: Yeh, it makes me feel like putdown and yet we've had these discussions you know at Counselling and G. [husband] 's said, no that's not the way its meant to be, but I've always been interpreting it that way. So G. [husband] realizes he can do something to make that better by not coming on that strong or that abrupt - like pick a good time to sit down just sort of conversation about it because I'm very receptive to his suggestions if we can sit down and have a nice talk like we did that one morning. And after I explained my position to G. [husband] and told him if we could just sit down and have a talk like this, like you can explain your reasons that you want this, that, or the other thing for C. [son]. I can relate to it in most cases since I had a similar type of a background and I basically do agree with G. [husband] and we can have that type of a discussion, spend a $\frac{1}{2}$ hour talking about it and I'm more than willing to change my point of view or be more receptive to changing my attitude because he's not - I don't feel like it's a putdown. We can have a discussion and he - you know, I said to him that would really make a big difference - he says good, we'll work on that. And that really made me feel good because that was one of the big things in the past with C. [son]. It was just a lot of it was G's [husband] attitude and I'd end up feeling all the more resentful of C. [son].

T: Then you'd carry that out sometimes.

B: Yeh, so there was always that thinking in the back of my mind, "Well if C. [son] wasn't here we wouldn't be having this hassle and I wouldn't be feeling this way" and then I'd want nothing to do with C. [son] and then I'd come up and say a lot of nasty things even to G. [husband] you know, "Well I hate C. [son] and this, that and the other thing", and of course, that didn't help the situation any either. But I could see the difference if we had a nice discussion or just an abrupt, "well, you shouldn't do this, or she shouldn't do this and why can't he do that", that right away put me on the defensive. I mean I basically knew inside of me that I was wrong and G. [husband] was right, but there was just something inside of me that wasn't going to give, not with that kind of approach anyway. I don't know why it's like that but ...

T: You just reacted in a certain way to that and carried out those actions against C. [son].

B: So ... I don't even know what we were talking about.

- T: Well, there are two things we've talked about right now, as far as you said you weren't going to be able to think of anything, one was that when C. [son] would start to cower and shake that that would get you even more worked up and more angry, and that you'd start to take that out on him and that was often a result of his lying and stealing and hiding things and that way would make you feel, you'd come on to him about that, so that's two things there. And the other would be when G. [husband] put you down or you feel that you're being put down and that may be in front of C. [son] or not, that you would hold that put down feeling inside of you and then take those feelings out on C. [son].
- B: Yeh, right.
- T: So that's 3 areas.
- B: I still can't think of any particular detailed incidence though but I guess the main ones I remember now are from just before he moved out and there was really no ... I just held back and didn't do too much of anything. In fact, by that point I just knew something had to be done, either I was moving out or he was.
- T: Was it in that time period mostly the verbal put downs?
- B: Yeh, but I even worked hard on that end of it. Not to like - I really kept a lot inside of me 'cause I was more aware of how bad I would feel after the thing was over with and I just wasn't prepared to face depression after depression after being nasty with C. [son] because I'd always end up with some kind of depression. And I was just - I had such a great fear of getting back into that I really, really held back an awful lot at the end.
- T: It would be very risky for you personally to take things out on C. [son], to abuse him.
- B: But I also knew that I was reaching the breaking point and that if something didn't get done I'd be - something was going to snap.
- T: You or the situation, or you against C. [son]. Were there any instances of battering that last 8 months or so?
- B: Well, I remember one where I actually used the strap on him and on his rear end. It was a controlled sort of a thing.
- T: So it was more of a disciplinary spanking.
- B: Yeh, that was the only time I'd really done that with him except for the first one that we talked about - the

construction site one - where I used my hand. But like I knew I went overboard there because my hands were black and blue and his rear end was - that was going a little too far. But after that I really, never really considered doing anything like that until that particular time ... and again. I can't remember what set that off but I do remember going and getting the strap and making him take his pants down and you know ...

T: It sounds as though that was a situation of control.

B: It was control, I still didn't feel that good about it, but at least I did control it. And I was scared as I was doing it. I was scared that "oh, what happens if I'm in the middle of this thing or ready to put things away and I go bananas again..."

T: Lose control.

B: Yeh, lose control, but don't recall that I did. There might have been the off incident where I grabbed him by the hair but as soon as I grabbed him, I'd back off again because I'd be immediately aware of what I was doing and much as the urge was there, I had told him when I moved home that I was really going to work hard at that end of it, not to hurt him physically. And I really think I stuck to it pretty good, but I really had to work on it in a few cases. And like I said I might have grabbed him by the hair a few times and once I think I may have slapped him with an open hand across the face, but that was basically as far as it went. There might have been one incident where I did lose control but it still wasn't as heavy, as bad.

T: It wasn't so severe.

B: It wasn't so severe as before but I think that there might have been one in that 8 month period where I lost control, but again I think it would have only been just to the hair pulling. I guess in my mind it doesn't leave any marks or whatever, but then the rest of the time, I know a lot of the times at the end I know I got G. husband involved a little more, "you deal with it, I can't" or something but I wasn't all that pleased with G's husband way of dealing with it either because I'd end up feeling very frustrated.

T: Are you saying that you'd be in a situation or a feeling with C. [son] where you'd say, "hey, this could get out of control, I could end up getting out of control, I could end up taking it out on C. [son] and you'd say wait a minute I'm not going to even get involved."

B: Yeh, exactly.

T: Then you'd have G. [husband] deal with C. [son].

B: Because like, that was near the end there, especially when he came back from camp. Well first day back started bad, and just kept on that way but at point the fear was very strong within me that I was really going to crack up and do something serious. And I just really stayed away from getting involved as much as possible. I'd still spend 2-3 days being very cool toward C [son] but at least I wasn't abusing him like physically anyway. But at least I kept my hands off him because I knew that that's where I really had to be careful because once I started it was really hard to stop.

T: That was the danger point - the physical contact with him.

B: And I had to watch what I said to him because I know a lot of times it started out verbally, good intentions and then I got more worked up verbally and then I'd grab him by the hair and think well I'll just give him one good yank or something and then it just continued on to the point of no return so to speak. So I was really careful even with my language and talking to him.

T: I just get the sense that you had a lot of controls around you, so that you wouldn't get into those areas.

B: Yeh, because again for my own sake so I wouldn't end up feeling - like I felt bad enough with even that - but I just had too vivid a memory of how extremely depressed I got after I hit him or hurt him and I didn't want to do that and so that's really what kept me from doing it. It was a matter of between September and end of October so it was only a matter of 2 months because it was the first week of November that he went to his aunt and uncles - so it was just a matter of two months but I knew that before that two months was over something was going to happen, I can't control it much longer.

T: You were just about reaching your breaking point.

B: I was reaching my breaking point.

T: What do you think might have happened at that breaking point?

B: Well, either I would have moved out, left and then I would have gone far away, but I didn't really want that and I know that I would have had a lot of resentful feelings for C. [son] because I had to leave G. [husband] so to speak and somewhat I didn't feel I was ready to give up G. [husband]. I just figured there had to be another answer but I know if C. [son] hadn't have left I feel I might have started gradually with the physical end of it and then I don't even like to think where it would have ended up. I just don't even like to think about it, it

just scares me because I think I could of done a lot of serious damage, like really serious.

T: But you were sufficiently aware to say heh, this is not going in a good direction and it's important that I stop it before it gets out of hand.

B: Yeh, one way or another it just had to and fortunately at that point G. [husband] had changed enough that I could talk to him about it and he was aware and he realized something had to be done. And it was as a result of that that we finally made a decision to have C. [son] move out 'cause G. [husband] kept telling me if you move it isn't going to do any good, I can't take care of C. [son] the way I'm supposed to and I can't afford it financially and he just isn't ready to take on that responsibility himself, like he was aware he can't do it so the only decision that was left was that he go somewhere and that kind of bothered me 'cause I just figured is that going to scar C. [son] for life or hurt him in his ...

T: We talked about the first time, that was the last session, and we just talked now about some generalities. I guess I'd like to poke your head and see if we can bring out any specifics.

B: Yeh, you know, it just bugs me that I can't remember that clearly. B. was saying this morning that you've got a pretty good memory about some things and I says 'yah, the bad ones' and yet these are basically bad things I'm trying to remember and yet I guess so many things have happened over the years that it's all blurring in plus you know I haven't had any contact with C. [son] or that type of situation for quite awhile, like I could almost go back to when I moved back home if you really think about it and that's a year ago January so any specific incidences would have happened before that period of time and that would have been another 4 months before that.

T: So we're talking almost a year and a half.

B: At least a year and a half, you know, it would be 2 years this June because he was gone that summer and I moved out in September and don't really remember what happened in that short, brief period before I moved out.

T: Do you remember at all that second time that you abused him?

B: Well, I remember minor abuses that weren't necessarily physical like making him play in his room for hours on end with the door shut and not allowing him to watch TV and that type of thing. I think after the first time I abused him I stayed reasonably well under control but realized at that point I realized something was wrong.

Because I had kept things under control up to that point too but somehow I just wasn't aware of the seriousness of it and I just figured it was something that would pass. And I don't really think that anything bad really happened until Christmas time of that year, the first Christmas he lived with us, because I tried to commit suicide that Christmas because of C. [son] or yeh...

T: Or the situation.

B: Yeh, the situation with C. [son] 'cause I remember writing a long letter.

T: Well had that suicide attempt been initiated because you had abused C. [son].

B: Yeh, but I don't remember what I'd really done or what had caused it. I just know that it had to do with thinking that I can't stand looking at him another minute and I just can't stand the whole situation and I was really feeling guilty about the way I was treating him.

T: So you were treating him generally in a crummy kind of a way.

B: Yeh, it was G. [husband] says like, army camp, very strict rules and regulations and I'd get extremely upset if he got dirty. That I got over pretty quick. It finally sunk in he was a boy, always combing his hair - it seems strange now even talking about it 'cause I never think of it now, I got over it pretty quick.

T: But back when...

B: It was fairly serious, those things really bothered me, or his table manners, you know this type of thing, those are basically the types of things that bugged me then. We had a creek out close to the house where we lived on H street and he'd get into that and I'd get upset.

T: You don't remember any specific time when you lost control or anything like that.

B: No, not really. I do remember yelling at him during that period of time because I was always afraid someone downstairs would hear - I had always this fear of CAS coming back after the first incident. I know I used to make him stand in the corner but I don't really think I pursued that end of it once we moved into the house which was 4 years ago.

T: Remember the first time in the house.

B: Gee, that bugs me, why can't I remember?

T: I think it's pretty understandable that you really not want to.

B: Yeh, but I can remember things from my past, from my childhood that I can remember vividly, I mean right from when I was 5 years old or whatever.

T: Yeh, things that were done to you?

B: Yeh, like I remember those like you wouldn't believe - god - and yet because it was such a constant battle, like when you think about it the whole 5 years was just, well 4 years was such a constant continuous thing.

T: You and C. [son].

B: Yeh, that...I remember different things I've done to him but I really can't remember - like one incident I remember - tying his shoelaces - that was at the house - I know that - he either didn't tie them right or I guess he can't tie them quick enough 'cause I was rushing - we were going out and I got mad at him about that and yet all along I knew the only reason he couldn't get them tied was that he was nervous and I was pushing him.

T: So was that a time he was not meeting your expectations, not getting them done quickly enough or properly and you know what happened there.

B: Well, I'd just lose my patience with him. Or there were times that I would get mildly angry with him nothing serious and I'd say go to your room or do this and if he didn't move fast enough that would set me off, just like that.

T: What would you do?

B: I'd start pushing him, I'd shove him and I'd be yelling at him and shove "move, quic, fast." And of course, I'm amazed he didn't wet his pants from fear really, because you know, I could almost relate to the feeling he must of been having at those moments when I'd say go to your room because I was upset with him but I just didn't want to look at him and I figured get out of my sight and I'll be OK. And if he just started walking slowly, I'd push him from behind and yell "move" and of course, he'd start crying or lose his balance, and I'd just get so frustrated and then it would lead one thing to another and lots of time I'd end up abusing him because of that. And then I'd get so mad at myself afterwards cause I'd think to myself if only I'd left him alone to go to his room then all this wouldn't have happened, because the incident that I was angry about to begin with wasn't all that serious.

- T: But as things got going, they got more complicated.
- B: Yeh, even a simple thing like asking him to go to his room, if he didn't move fast enough that would just set me right off and it would be really bad. And that's what would make me really sick afterwards, I would think why, why did I have to make the situation worse than it already was.
- T: Really start to come down on yourself.
- B: Yeh, you know I'd really be sorry about it after, I'd really feel bad. And then after the first year I was convinced that he didn't like me any more anyway and you can't blame him and that for some reason seemed to instigate a lot of incidences.
- T: How do you mean?
- B: Well, I guess it's like a chain reaction. I treated him rough so of course he probably lost trust in me or whatever and that probably set him in hiding things or not telling me things or lying out of fear and then I'd get mad at him because he didn't trust me to tell me.
- T: You felt he didn't care for you.
- B: Oh yeh, most definitely. A lot of times I felt he did those things on purpose just to get at me and then I ended up putting myself down. And one I sort of got my head on straight after any particular incident I'd sort of be able to think it through, to sort of understand why it was happening. I felt when I emotionally settled myself down then I could see why. And then I'd feel bad all over again, 'cause if I wasn't the way I was and he wouldn't be the way he was, then all this stuff wouldn't be happening.
- T: So you'd bring it all on yourself, all your fault sort of thing.
- B: Yeh exactly. Like I could see that if I could have been the way I wanted to be things still wouldn't be perfect, but then again if I could be the way I wanted to be I could handle the situation better and he wouldn't be scared of me and he wouldn't be afraid to tell me stuff and be able to cope with the different situations that come up because naturally I never had any expectations that he'd be perfect. Maybe right from the beginning I might of, but I don't really think that I was thinking quite unreasonably but yet at the same time I figured that that was his proof that he cared about me, if he did do things right all the time and when he didn't I just figured he didn't care.

T: Then would you say to yourself, well then I don't care either.

B: That's about it and I'd even tell him, I'd even tell him. Usually once I got going verbally, I just didn't shut up. I'd lay it all on him, how I felt and how I figured he felt and prejudged him all the way down the line and didn't even give him a chance to say anything in defense and even if I did, he was too scared to say anything, for which I can't blame him. And of course that would upset me. It was just a chain reaction. In most of the cases I would end up blaming myself, in pretty well every case, once it was over with, once I was by myself after the blow-up or whatever and then I'd really get heavy myself, you know, if I wasn't the way I was then this wouldn't have happened, our relationship would be a lot better and I'd be able to cope with things a lot better. And I know those are expectations that I had when I first got him because I was going to be open-minded and understanding and concerned about him and help him in every way I could, like all the things that I never got when I was a kid. I guess you could say I set myself up or whatever but those were the ideal things that I wanted out of our relationship.

T: You didn't want C. [son] to go through the things that you had gone through.

B: Yeh, exactly. And I ended up putting him through worse things, because when I look back on myself I would say it was almost as bad but I don't think it was quite as bad.

T: How do you mean almost as bad?

B: Well, like as far as being never able to live up to my mother's expectations. I think I put C. [son] through the same things.

T: Would your mother do the same things to you, like pull your hair and throwing you across the room.

B: Yeh, most definitely.

T: So she did almost the same things that you did to C. son .

B: Yeh, and that's about it. She never believed me, never gave me credit for anything, never valued my opinions or anythings, was never considerate about how I felt about things that - like little things like my hair, how I wanted to wear my hair or if we went to buy shoes why did I have to have this kind, why can't I have that kind, things like that. I think in those aspects I was more considerate to C. [son], but then I think I made up for it in other ways by being more...

- T: When your mother came down on you, would you start trembling in fear.
- B: Oh yeh, I'd cry. I was such a cry baby and my mother hated that of course, would make me stop crying or try to make me stop crying, just like I did with C. [son].
- T: What would she do when that happened?
- B: She'd just start yelling more at me and pulling my hair more or whatever until I shut up and it was the same kind of thing with C. [son].

It's strange when I think about it, when it came to C's son personal appearance I was very considerate of what he wanted, like if I only felt comfortable with spending so much money on him I'd tell him, well maybe not that way. I'd say this is the limit on what we're going to spend on him that day, so in that price range you can choose what you want. I was very concerned that at least he get some say. Oh, there were times when I'd be in a good mood and I'd buy a bunch of stuff to surprise him. I always enjoyed doing that and he always liked everything I bought. Still when I was in a good mood, when I could tolerate having him with me when we went shopping, that was when he got to pick what he wanted, but there were times when I knew he needed things, but I just can't stand having him with me.

I was never that much of a penny pincher when it came to buying him stuff, it was only when G. [husband] got down my back about things, that's when I'd get really upset. As far as his hair was concerned, I told him you can wear it any way that you want as long as you keep it clean and reasonably neat at least once a day. It wasn't like it was back 5 years ago where I would comb it every 5 minutes. But, you know, I just had a really strong concern on that because that was something that I was haunted with at school, wearing old lady hand-me-downs and wearing a bowl cut for my hair. The torture I went through emotionally was just horrible.

- T: So that was something that you were able to overcome.
- B: I was able to overcome certain areas, but when it came to discipline... Like when I think back to my relationship with my mother. I know at least the way I see it, that the main reasons that I did lie, steal when I was a kid was because my mother just set down rules and there was no discussing it and there was no varying from them at all. And we had absolutely no money then. I never stole on any large ... big basis just maybe candy or something. I still have urges to shoplift even now. I do, like stronger than the stronger person because even when I had

D. [daughter] with me I did shoplift, not on any grand scale but I did do it. It frightened the living daylight out of me. I think that the only reason I don't do it now is the fear is so much stronger of being caught and somehow the idea of getting caught shoplifting is too frightening.

T: Got a lot to lose.

B: Yeh, too much to lose so I just stay away from that now completely, but right up until just 4-5 years ago, maybe once a year or once every 6 months a little thing or something but the situation sort of had to be right so I felt confident I could get away with it - or - I never planned it, it was always a spur of the moment thing.

But still when I look back again I know a lot of times I lied to my mother or snuck around behind her back was just because I just didn't feel comfortable to go to her to talk to her about some of these things or we never had an open kind of a relationship at all, we never had any kind. She was boss and I was a slave type thing, you know, and that was all - I just had no mind of my own period. Like it was just nothing.

T: You weren't allowed to.

B: No, I just wasn't allowed to and that was it. Whatever she said was law and so when I entered the relationship with C. [son] I thought fine, if I can change my attitude toward C. [son] from what my mother's was toward me then he won't have the tendencies to lie and steal like I did. Like I figured I had a good reason to do it back then, whether or not I did I don't know, that's how I think, eh. And I thought if I can eliminate those reasons, he has no reason to do it, maybe the odd time to try it out, I sort of had in the back of my mind that that's something every kid will go through on a minor scale and then they get cured of it or whatever and it's just something they've got to try out, eh. Like I sort of was aware of that, so what I was expecting in my mind was that if I tried to encourage C. [son] to be open with me and not to hide things from me and not to steal or lie or whatever and encourage him to come to me and talk to me and let me know what he wanted and needed and we would sit down and discuss it and figure out whether we could afford it or not or whether we could wait a few more weeks or whatever, look at the situation and see. That was the sort of thing I was trying to work on and it always seemed to backfire on me because he'd go and pull one of his little stunts and I'd get really upset and yet I never really backed off from that, I always tried to encourage him and yet he kept on doing these things.

And that's why I think that I've got really upset with

him on many occasions because I can't see the reason behind him, couldn't understand why because I was trying the best I knew how to eliminate the reasons for the lying and the stealing and the hiding and I know I was trying and he didn't respond to it in a positive way.

T: The way you would have if you...

B: Or the way I think I would have, I don't know because I never had the chance. But there were a lot of different things from my past that I can remember I did that I'm sure I wouldn't have if my relationship with my mother would have been different. 'Cause I didn't want to be in trouble with her. I always wanted to please her and do things right and situations would come up and here I am back in trouble again and then I'd get grounded for unreasonable amounts of time. And I know even on that aspect I tried to be reasonable with C. [son] as far as any punishment was concerned, it almost got to the point where really there was no punishment involved except the abuse, because once that was over with I felt - guilt was there so strong - that I felt any punishment would have been...

T: Going way too far.

B: And the odd time that I did punish him I never felt too unreasonable about what I was doing and I'd usually end up being a little more lenient after a few days. I say, "OK you've really done well with your restrictions or whatever so we'll just ease off." I really think I really tried, maybe I was just treating him like an adult and expecting him to respond like one, I don't know. But I know I was trying to get away from what happened to me and trying to change that, and of course all I knew was what I went through and what I can remember as a kid. I just figured if I eliminated some of the things that made me do that, then he won't want to do that. Of course, since all this I realize probably a lot of it was attention getting too. I can't see where that was my reason when I was a kid. I really can't. I didn't want attention because the only kind I got was bad and anything I could do to get out of it. You know, lots of times I worked hard at trying to please my mother and of course she wouldn't respond to me the way I thought I was expecting and of course that discouraged me from making that kind of an effort the next time around.

T: Kind of let you down.

B: So, actually when I think about it, all the areas from my past that I was very unhappy with, I did try to work with C. [son], the only ones that worked were his appearance, clothes-wise, that area of that worked, as far as eating habits we pretty well eliminated all of it. But even

after I worked really hard at discouraging him from say throwing food away - first of all I started out making him eat everything, finally I got out of that and let him choose the amount of food on his plate but once it was on his plate he should eat it and I think near the end, the last year or so, I was even comfortable with the idea of him not finishing what was on his plate. Like I was changing on that aspect of it. It was very difficult but I really worked hard on that end of it and yet even near the end discovering one day that he'd thrown his spaghetti out our bedroom window because he can't finish it. And he didn't even have enough on the ball to feed it to the dogs so there would be no evidence left. Like that really threw me, like I thought boy I'm sure I would have thought of that and this is where we drew the conclusion that was attention getting so he would get caught so...

T: That really set you off when you found out he'd thrown...

B: Yeh, I think I got G. [husband] involved in that one, that was right near the end where I ended up backing off and saying, "Here G. [husband] you handle it I can't" But even right away I was pretty well aware that if he really wanted to hide the evidence he could of done it. But he left the curtain open, the window wide open, how much more evidence can you leave. I knew from me that I certainly never left evidence, I got away with a lot of things when I was a kid, I mean I was very meticulous in getting away with things, I mean I planned out everything so that there would be no evidence. It would only be freaky times that I would get caught. When my mother would show up in the room unexpectedly and this is another thing why when C. [son] was hiding things on me he just left evidence left and right.

T: Yeh, you can't hide bed clothes that are wet for too long 'til they start to smell.

B: Yeh, this is it or I'd tuck him into bed that night and ugh. Or even lean over and touch the bed, where he's crawling into that wet soggy bed.

So that's another thing I can't relate to him because I was comparing to the past, I mean I used every method I could. That I knew if I was going to do something that my mother didn't approve that I wasn't going to get caught. Plan it down to the last detail, but with C. [son] it seemed to be different. And that would confuse me, it would throw me, I just can't understand.

I mean, I think I do now but even when G. [husband] and I understood what could be some of the reasons behind some of the things he would be doing, that it was attention getting, that it was calling for help that he wanted attention because we knew we weren't giving him the

attention we should. Even when I knew it in my head I still can't cope with it when it was happening. And I think it was guilt on my part, because I know why and I'd take it out on him and it was my guilt 'cause I knew if we paid more attention to him that again maybe this thing wouldn't happen so often.

T: So you'd come back and center on yourself.

B: Yeh and I'd take it out on C. [son] and I knew it my guilt that was doing it, I knew that even then, like near the end would just eat at me. I know that we should do this, this and this, and probably this, this and this would happen and we're not doing it. And it's almost like a feeling of not even wanting to make an effort to do it, so naturally these other things are going to keep on happening.

T: Starting to feel you must be pretty crummy parents and stuff like that.

B: Yeh...

T: Can you think of anything else you might like to say?

B: Not right now. I thought you might stick in a leading question to get me going again.

T: Not right now. I can't think of anything.

(break)

Addendum

The following corrections with respect to the tables should be noted.

Table 12. The percentage figure in Row 4 (2- & 3-level Interactions) should read 79.8%, not 78.9% as stated.

Table 13. The percentage figure in Row 1 (Categorizations) under the Parent-Context category column should read 17.8%, not 38.5% as stated. The percentage figure in Row 2 (Factor-Related) for the combined context-related categories should read 52.6%, not 56.2% as stated.