THE DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY VIOLENCE RESEARCH: A RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

By

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To following your passion in life and to never settling, and to Doug Diekow, whose inspiration taught me this.
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Our study examined the trends in family violence research literature over the past 5 decades in relation to significant public policies. Although social science research pertaining to family violence has grown tremendously in the latter portion of the 20th century, few studies have focused on the process of research growth and development.

Our study used a retrospective longitudinal design to identify changes in family violence research literature over the past 5 decades, using 5 year intervals for the collection of data. A content analysis was utilized, based on information gathered from the titles and abstracts of 505 articles. These articles were taken from the four most frequently cited social science research journals in the field of family studies, in the social science citation index: The Journal of Marriage and Family, Child Abuse and Neglect, The Journal of Interpersonal Violence, and The Journal of Family Psychology.

Category of family violence was measured in terms of type of abuse (i.e., intimate partner violence, child abuse, elder abuse, sibling abuse, and abuse in lesbian, gay,
bisexual and transgender relationships). Behavior in association with abuse (i.e., physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, abandonment and fatality) was also measured. Each received a numeric code for purposes of data collection. The data were analyzed using chi-square tests to determine differences in relative representation of family violence article classifications. Significant chi-square analyses were followed with tests of standardized adjusted residuals to determine the nature of article representation (i.e. over-representation or under-representation of certain areas) in greater detail.

Trends identified in this study reflected an overall increase in research publication across all points in time after 1980, followed by a slight decline within the past 5 years. No articles were identified in the sample before 1980. The greatest influx in research publication from this sample occurred in the 1990s.

Across all decades, the majority of articles in this sample were on the topic of child abuse. Only two articles were on sibling violence and abuse, and no publications were identified on elder abuse. Regarding behaviors, sexual abuse received most attention, with physical abuse moderately represented. Little existed on neglect, emotional abuse, and fatality; and no articles were identified on abandonment.

Based on these findings, recommendations were made to increase research attention to underrepresented areas. This is essential to increase the knowledge base concerning these areas of family violence. This can enable both researchers and practitioners to better serve vulnerable families.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Family violence is a significant social issue in the United States. Scholars report that one in three female trauma victims, one in six pregnant women, and one in ten primary care clinic visitors come from an abusive relationship (Fisher & Shelton, 2006). The damage inflicted on children is pervasive as well. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Children’s Bureau (2004), a total of 851,000 cases of child abuse occurred in 2004. Furthermore, 1,490 children died from abuse or neglect in the same year (elevated from 1,460 in 2003). Significant as these numbers are, the actual occurrence of family violence may be much higher because many abusive behaviors go undetected (Neufeld, 1996).

Contrary to popular belief, family violence is not just a problem concerning women and children. In fact, estimates indicate that at least 200,000 men are victimized each year (Harley, 2006). Also, the elderly are maltreated at a rate of 550,000 annually (Thompson & Priest, 2005). The estimated annual cost in medical care to the victims of family violence is 5 billion dollars (Harley, 2006).

The process of social science research pertaining to family violence has grown tremendously in the latter portion of the 20th century. What began with an inquiry by a physician and his colleagues into the physical symptoms of child abuse (Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemueller & Silver, 1962) has expanded into a field of study dedicated to multiple forms of family violence (Gelles & Maynard, 1987). This research has not only been descriptive, identifying forms of violence; but also explanatory,
attempting to explain the reasons behind violent and abusive behavior within families and intimate relationships.

In addition to increased research interest, a great deal of political and social attention has been directed to the problem of family violence. Legislation has been developed to protect adult and child victims, and to punish perpetrators. Importantly, political attention has resulted in the regulation and standardization of criteria that aid in abuse identification and reporting; and in the allocation of funds for the development of prevention and intervention programs.

Although scholarly interest in family violence has grown, there’s been little reflection or systematic analysis on how it has developed and changed. It appears from examining the literature that the field is attending to different concerns compared to 20 years ago. However, little careful documentation confirms this, nor do we recognize gaps in the literature that need to be addressed. This information would help us better understand our thinking about family violence and its sub-areas. Research could further explore our understanding of a specific aspect of family violence or of this phenomenon more generally.

**Purpose of Study**

The purpose of this study was to examine the growth and development of family violence research literature in the past 5 decades. This includes trends in research publications, including the level of overall research interest in areas of family violence over time. In addition, this study situated family violence research into a larger social context by examining family violence policy development.
Definitions of Terms

Family Violence

Family violence is an umbrella term encompassing intimate partner violence/domestic violence, child maltreatment, elder abuse, and sibling violence. Each form of abuse will be discussed more specifically, followed by a brief description of common behaviors associated with these forms of family violence.

Domestic Violence/ Intimate Partner Violence

Domestic violence refers to violence and abuse between intimate partners. This category includes married and non-married, as well as heterosexual and homosexual couples.

Child Maltreatment

Child maltreatment includes abusive or neglectful behavior toward a child by an adult. This can include physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and/or neglect.

Sibling Violence and Abuse

Sibling violence and abuse includes behaviors such as physical, emotional and sexual abuse that occur between siblings.

Behavior Classifications

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse is described here as any behavior that involves unwanted or coercive physical contact within the family. This can include behaviors such as punching, kicking, slapping, choking, pushing, or using an object or weapon against a family member (Wiehe, 1997).
Emotional Abuse

Emotional abuse refers to behaviors that involve harsh, derogatory and/or negative language or actions toward an intimate partner or family member. This behavior is usually characterized by threatening, harassing and intimidating and causes psychological distress to the victim. It is important to note that this behavior often occurs in conjunction with other forms of abuse such as physical violence (Wiehe, 1997), which makes detection difficult.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse involves unwanted physical or verbal contact in a sexual manner. Examples include: touching, fondling, unwanted exposure, and/or coercion into behaviors such as intercourse or sodomy. Also included here is inappropriate verbal contact, or use of sexual imagery, such as exposure to pornography. On a final note, sexual abuse also applies in situations where the victim is ether too young or disabled and unable to consent sexual to behavior (Wiehe, 1997).

Financial Abuse

Financial abuse will be used here in reference to behaviors such as stealing or exploiting someone’s financial assets. This usually occurs in situations where the victim is dependent on the perpetrator, and/or is unable to manage his or her own expenses (Fern & Younger-Lewis, 1997; Paretti & Majecen, 1991).

Neglect

Neglect can be considered any behavior that fails to provide basic needs such as food, water, adequate clothing, shelter, nutrition, hygiene, medical care, or educational needs. Also, lack of adequate supervision or failure to prevent harm is considered neglectful behavior (Sneedon, 2003). Victims of neglect are usually individuals that rely
on their abuser for essential needs, such as help with activities of daily living. Thus, this population is usually composed of children, elderly, and the disabled (Shugarman, Fries, Wolf & Morris, 2003).

**Drug Abuse/Chemical Restraint**

An additional category is drug abuse, or chemical restraint; that is, using substances to control an individual against his or her will. This tends to occur in situations where victims are dependent on their abusers for help with activities of daily living (Shugarman, Fries, Wolf & Morris, 2003).

**Theoretical Introduction**

Because the primary goal of this study was to examine the development of family violence research literature over time, a theory would need to be one that provided a framework for understanding the development of knowledge. Ultimately, the basic components of Giddens’ structuration theory were applied in relation to the development of knowledge and social policy in the area of family violence. A central construct of this theory is structuration, or the intricate and interdependent relationship between structure, defined as informal institutions existing across time and space; and agency (also referred to as action) consisting of individuals, groups, and masses that act within structure to sustain and perpetuate it (Cuff, Sharrock & Francis, 1998; Giddens, 1984; Phipps, 2001). The relationship between the two is one of high complexity, because they are dependent on each other for the creation and perpetuation of societal norms, values, institutions, and practices.

This relationship was applied to the process of knowledge development in the area of family violence research and policy (as a reflection of social change). In other words, structuration theory will be applied to examine the relationship between the growth of
family violence knowledge and the process of policy development pertaining to family violence research, to determine if the process of structuration is present (i.e., there is a mutually interdependent relationship between family violence research and policy).

Although no other studies have been found that apply structuration theory to family violence literature development and social and policy change, its usefulness in application to general processes and change has been cited (Gynnild, 2002). In addition, research that employs the use of secondary data (such as a historical review of publications in family violence research literature), is considered an excellent application of structuration theory (Phipps, 2001). This theory will be discussed further in chapter 2.

Limitations

One limitation to this study was its use of archival data. That is, it depended on various publications from different points in time, taken out of historical context for purposes of data collection. Content of dated material has the potential to be misinterpreted, thereby losing the author’s intended meaning. One scholar notes that, “Content analysts whose work concerns historical documents often make the mistake of ignoring the fact that linguistic conventions are unstable over long periods of time, that past readings could dramatically differ from contemporary ones, and that the institutions that accounted for the documents’ creation are not comparable to the ones with which the analyst is familiar” (Krippendorf, 2004, p.187). Thus, validity could be threatened, as content analysis decreases confidence in the accurate description or evaluation of any category. However, a safeguard has been built through the careful construction of a codebook with strict criteria for the classification of data. Furthermore, contextual differences did not threaten this study to a large degree, as the criterion used in coding has been determined through an extensive review of the research literature. This
instrument not only decreased the likelihood of coding misinterpretation and error, but also enabled replication of this study in the future.

**Significance of Study**

Researching trends within family violence literature is an important contribution to this field of research. Not only can such an analysis provide an overview of where the literature has gone (i.e., the various forms of family violence that have been recognized), but can also provide information regarding areas that have been neglected. This knowledge can help family scholars assess where the field is at this point in time, to determine directions that will help us to better understand family violence, and to suggest appropriate directions for interventions and policies. In addition, this study is significant in that it used a theory that had been previously unapplied to family violence research, thereby further testing an emerging theoretical perspective. This process supports one of the central purposes of research, the building and testing of theory (DeVaus, 2001).
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Family violence is a pervasive and significant social problem affecting millions of family members over the course of their lives, often with severe and long-lasting impacts (Carter & McGoldrick, 2005; Gelles, 1997; Johnson & Ferarro, 2000). However, due to various factors, including social norms regarding the privacy, sovereignty, and autonomy of the family unit, family violence was a largely unrecognized issue until the latter half of the 20th century (Straus, 1992). Many credit this change to the publication of Kempe and colleagues’ (1962) landmark work, “The Battered Child Syndrome (Gelles, 1987; Sneedon, 2003), which provided evidence of child abuse and neglect being perpetrated by family members. Within a decade, an influx of research was dedicated to the issue of child maltreatment, and laws were established for reporting and protecting children against abuse. Also during this time, an interest in other forms of abuse such as intimate partner violence emerged; and by the mid-1970s, family violence had become recognized as a significant social problem (Kelly, 2004). The family was no longer assumed to be the safe haven, as previously idealized in U.S. society. Scholars began to identify and examine many other forms of family violence, including not only child maltreatment and domestic violence, but also elder abuse, sibling abuse, and later, violence between same-sex partners.

This chapter first provides an overview of each category of family violence. Included here are current definitions and classifications pertaining to the types of perpetrators, victims, and interactions that encompass current notions of each type of
family violence. In addition, the pervasiveness and outcomes for individuals (and families), impacted by this social problem are addressed.

**Child Maltreatment**

The first category that will be discussed is child maltreatment. Behaviors associated with this form of abuse primarily include physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect.

**Child Physical Abuse**

The United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) has defined physical abuse as “physical injury (ranging from minor bruises to severe fractures or death) as a result of punching, beating, kicking, biting, shaking, throwing, stabbing, choking, hitting (with a hand, stick, strap, or other object), burning, or otherwise harming a child. Such injury is considered abuse regardless of whether the caretaker intended to hurt the child” (Department of Health and Human Services [HHS], 2004).

Similarly, researchers have defined physical abuse as encompassing behaviors such as beating, whipping, shaking, burning, or the use of weapons to inflict harm on a child (Hamner & Turner, 2001). Others have defined physical abuse to encompass any “deliberate injury to a child, or willful or neglectful failure to prevent physical injury or suffering to a child” (Sneddon, 2003, p. 238). Annually, of the estimated 851,000 children who are abused, 17% are physically abused (HHS, 2004). In 2004, there were 152,250 confirmed cases of child physical abuse (HHS, 2004). Children who are physically abused are significantly more likely to die before age five than nonabused children (Rosenberg, 2003). Outcomes for children who are physically abused include: poorer interpersonal relationships, problematic behavior in adolescence and young
adulthood, and increased incidence of perpetrating physical violence (Swinford, DeMaris, Cernkovich & Giordano, 2000).

**Child Emotional/Psychological Abuse**

Emotional/psychological abuse has been defined by the Department of Health and Human Services as “a pattern of behavior that impairs a child's emotional development or sense of self-worth” (Child Welfare Information Gateway, ¶ 2). This may include constant criticism, threats, or rejection, as well as withholding love, support, or guidance.

Similarly, researchers often describe emotional abuse as involving such behaviors as degrading, rejecting, belittling, terrorizing, or isolating a child (Sneddon, 2003). Also, the destruction of physical property, and the threatening or harming of a child’s animals have been discussed (Wiehe, 1997).

In 2004, there were 61,272 confirmed cases of emotional abuse reported in the United States. In addition, emotional abuse cases represent about 6.5% of confirmed child abuse cases (HHS, 2004). However, it is important to recognize that this statistic may not be representative of its total occurrence, as many cases of emotional abuse occur in conjunction with other forms of abuse.

Psychological abuse is cited as the most devastating form of child abuse (Romeo, 2000), resulting in lowered self esteem, learned helplessness, and poor social skills (Hamner, et. al., 2001), with these impacts lasting into adulthood (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005). Other negative outcomes resulting from emotional abuse include issues with boundaries, trust, and general distress (Barnett, Perrin & Perrin, 2005). However, this form of maltreatment has received little attention in the research literature. This may be due to several factors including the only recent recognition of psychological abuse as a problematic occurrence within families (Gondolf, Heckert, & Kimmel, 2002; Klien &
Orloff, 1999). Also, it has been asserted that co-morbidity of emotional abuse in conjunction with other, more visible forms of abuse makes its detection difficult (Wiehe, 1997).

**Child Sexual Abuse**

According to The Department of Health and Human Services, “Sexual abuse includes activities by a parent or caretaker such as fondling a child's genitals, penetration, incest, rape, sodomy, indecent exposure, and exploitation through prostitution or the production of pornographic materials” (HHS, 2004). In the literature, sexual abuse has been defined as “the involvement of children and adolescents in sexual activities they do not truly comprehend, or that they are unable to give informed consent to” (Sneddon, 2003, p.237). This can involve behaviors such as touching, fondling, petting, forced penetration, exhibitionism (of the adult), voyeurism, or forced exposure of the child (Wiehe, 1997).

Literature has reported that at least one in four adolescent females have been reportedly sexually abused in some way (Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). In addition, according to the Department of Health and Human Services, there were 84,398 confirmed cases of child sexual abuse in 2004, which represented about 10% of confirmed child abuse cases (HHS, 2004). Furthermore, studies show that in these cases of sexual abuse, the median age of first occurrence is age 12 (Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). Outcomes for the victims of child abuse include problems with self-esteem, problems with boundaries, difficulty forming and maintaining intimate relationships, and an increased likelihood for teenage promiscuity and adolescent pregnancy (Anda, Felitti & Marchbanks, 2001).
Child Neglect

Child neglect has been defined in federal law by The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (2005) as “any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker, which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse, or exploitation, or an act or failure to act which presents an imminent risk of serious harm” (p. 1). Also, child neglect can exist in several forms failure to provide physical needs (i.e., food, water, clean clothing, shelter); emotional needs (love, affection, boundaries); or educational needs (i.e., failure to enroll child in school) (Sneedon, 2003). Research shows that neglect is most likely to occur in disorganized family settings, families of lowered socioeconomic status, and/or in families with depressed or substance-abusing parents in the home (Orange, 2005).

In comparison to each common form of child abuse, neglect is most commonly reported, with a rate of 544,050 cases in 2004, representing about 60% of all confirmed cases. Outcomes for victims of child neglect can be devastating. In fact, in 2004 one-third of the 1,490 child fatalities were the direct result of neglect (HHS, 2004). Furthermore, it is more likely that a child will die as a result of chronic neglect than from a single incident of physical violence (Berry, Charison & Dawson, 2003).

Summary

Overall, child maltreatment has been cited as the second leading cause of death among young children (Johnson, 2002). Furthermore, research shows that the outcomes for children can often include problems with mental health, such as depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder; problems with bonding and social relationships; low self-worth; and high levels of shyness (Gracia, 1995; Romeo, 2002). Also, children who have been abused show higher rates of suicidal ideation, attempt and completion (Zinn &
Eitzen, 2005). In addition, these children are arguably at a greater risk to perpetuate these behaviors in their adult relationships via the intergenerational transmission of violence (Gelles & Maynard, 1987; Noland et. al., 2004; Zinn & Eitzen, 2005).

**Domestic Violence/Intimate Partner Violence**

Domestic violence, also called intimate partner violence (IPV), is a form of abuse that impacts couples that are married, dating, and cohabiting. According to the 1998 Violence Against Women Act, The term, domestic violence, includes acts or threats of violence, not including acts of self defense, committed by a current or former spouse of the victim, by a person with whom the victim shares a child in common, by a person who is cohabitating with or has cohabitated with the victim, by a person who is or has been in a continuing social relationship of a romantic or intimate nature with the victim, by a person similarly situated to a spouse of the victim under the domestic or family violence laws of the jurisdiction, or by any other person against a victim who is protected from that person’s acts under the domestic or family violence laws of the jurisdiction. (Violence Against Women Act [VAWA], 1998)

Current definitions of domestic violence in the research literature encompass many forms of violence including physical, psychological, sexual, and financial abuse (Fern & Younger-Lewis, 1997). Furthermore, intimate partner violence (IPV) includes common couple violence and intimate terrorism, also called patriarchal terrorism (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000).

Common couple violence refers to the nature of intimate relationships that share instances of expressive violence. That is, these violent episodes are not severe, and are the result of a dispute (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). This violence is typically two sided, and does not escalate over time (Gelles & Maynard, 1987; Olson, 2004). Intimate terrorism, on the other hand, references a specific type of relationship in which one partner uses instrumental violence and/or abuse to maintain a level of power and control over the other partner (Gelles & Maynard, 1987). These relationships are often
characterized by levels of severe violence, isolation, fear, and helplessness on the part of the victim. It is important to note the distinction between these diverse forms of intimate partner violence, as they represent two completely diverse interpersonal situations, and have different effects (Henning & Feder, 2004). Behaviors associated with intimate partner violence include: physical abuse, psychological abuse, sexual abuse, and financial abuse.

**IPV and Physical Abuse**

According to the Center for Injury Prevention and Control (CDC), physical abuse is defined as "the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury, or harm. Physical violence includes, but is not limited to, scratching; pushing; shoving; throwing; grabbing; biting; choking; shaking; slapping; punching; burning; use of a weapon; and use of restraints or one’s body, size, or strength against another person” (Center for Disease Control [CDC], 2006, p.1).

Physical abuse has been defined in the literature in many diverse ways. These diversified definitions are often associated with the methodological stance of the researcher (Hegarty et. al, 2004). It is estimated that 9 million couples (one in six marriages), experience some form of intimate partner violence. This form of violence accounts for 20% of all cases of violence perpetrated against women (CDC, 2006).

Disparities in definitions of physical abuse have caused what some consider a gap between various theoretical and epistemological orientations within the research field, as well as in the practitioner community (Gelles, 1982). The problematic nature of having such contrasting definitions and classifications across various academic and social organizations has been cited again and again (Helie, Clement & Larrivee, 2003; Holden, 2003; Tham, Ford & Wilkenson, 1995). The lack of unified theory, research, and practice
has been identified as a significant culprit in relation to the current troubles that plague
family research and protection overall (Gelles, 1982; Shugarman, Fries, Wolf & Morris
2003).

**IPV and Psychological/Emotional Abuse**

The National Center for Injury Prevention and Control defines psychological abuse as any behavior that involves “trauma to the victim caused by acts, threats of acts, or coercive tactics. Psychological or emotional abuse can include, but is not limited to, humiliating the victim, controlling what the victim can and cannot do, withholding information from the victim, deliberately doing something to make the victim feel diminished or embarrassed, isolating the victim from friends and family, and denying the victim access to money or other basic resources. It is considered psychological/emotional violence when there has been prior physical or sexual violence or prior threat of physical or sexual violence” (CDC, 2006).

Psychological abuse among couples, like child psychological maltreatment, has received significant attention over the past 15 to 20 years. When defining psychological abuse, the literature often identifies behaviors such as degradation, manipulations, withholding affection, and making verbal threats (Fern & Younger-Lewis, 1997). The prevalence of this form of abuse in relationships is difficult to ascertain (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005). Nevertheless, there are repeated findings that psychological abuse does more long-term damage than other forms of abuse (Lewis, Griffing, Chu, et al., 2006). In fact, female abuse victims reportedly would rather endure physical abuse than be emotionally battered (Fern & Younger-Lewis, 1997), and some suggest an association between the experience of emotional abuse and negative outcomes in future relationships (Coning, 2005). Despite the documented severity of emotional abuse, it has only been
since the 1990’s that legislation has recognized the threat caused by psychological maltreatment (Klein & Orloff, 1999).

**IPV and Sexual Abuse**

According to The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2006), “sexual assault can be verbal, visual, or anything that forces a person to join in unwanted sexual contact or attention. Examples of this are voyeurism (when someone watches private sexual acts), exhibitionism (when someone exposes him/herself in public), incest (sexual contact between family members), and sexual harassment” (HHS, 2006).

Definitions of sexual violence in the research literature usually include some form of unwanted advances or behavior asserted upon the victim in an intimate relationship. Most definitions include explicit behaviors such as rape, sodomy, unwanted touching, petting, and fondling. Other authors have gone so far as to include behaviors such as sexual language, and exposure to pornographic material (Wiehe, 1997).

Research shows that a significant amount of sexual victimization in the U.S. occurs within the context of a romantic partnership (Tjaden & Theonnes, 1998). Furthermore, studies show that 10%-14% of wives have been forced into sexual activity by their partners (Strong, Devault & Cohen, 2001). According to the Center for Disease control, victims of sexual abuse are at an increased risk of being abused more than once. Other negative outcomes for victims include an increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, and a greater chance for unintended pregnancy. In fact, 32,000 pregnancies result from rape each year (CDC, 2006). Psychological outcomes for victims of sexual abuse often include depression, suicidal ideation, eating disorders, and post-traumatic stress disorder (CDC, 2006).
Despite statistics that cite the pervasiveness of sexual abuse, it has been widely ignored in the literature. This lack of empirical attention has been attributed to social norms and values regarding appropriate behavior inside of and outside of relationships that has attributed to the acceptance of violence against women (Gelles, 1997).

**IPV and Financial Abuse**

An additional category of domestic abuse that is prevalent in the research is financial abuse. This type of abuse usually entails withholding funds, stealing assets or property, or taking anyone’s financial liberties (Fern & Younger-Lewis, 1997; Peretti, 1991). Research also finds that financial abuse is highly likely to occur in situations of domestic abuse that would be considered intimate terrorism; that is, situations where one partner uses methods of power and control to isolate and dominate the other. Often, this involves forced financial reliance of the subordinate partner on the dominant one.

**Other Forms of Domestic Violence**

This final section on domestic violence encompasses other forms of family violence covered within the literature including domestic violence in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transsexual (LGBT) relationships; and domestic violence involving pregnant women.

**Domestic Violence in LGBT couples**

As with heterosexual relationships, abuse in lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual relationships includes physical, emotional, sexual and financial abuse. Although the behaviors in this category are similar to those in general intimate partner violence, this abuse is often undetected. One reason is that LGBT couples often do not come to the attention of practitioners due to the ambiguous nature (lack of traditional dominant and submissive gender roles) of power distribution within these relationships (Burke &
Owen, 2006). Issues that plague the LGBT community involve increased isolation caused by a lack of social support over lifestyle, control under the threat of being “outed” by a partner, and a lack of legal protection against same-sex batterers (Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). Only within the past few decades has the incidence of abuse in LGBT couples been given much research attention, and even so, most studies are conducted with small, nonrepresentative samples. An estimated 32% of LGBT individuals have experienced some form of abuse in a past relationship, and as many as one in four women in same-sex relationships are physically abused. Also, emotional abuse is present in an estimated 83% of LGBT relationships (Peterman & Dixon, 2003; Turell, 2000), suggesting that the incidence of violence appears to be higher in this group than in the heterosexual community (Burke & Owen, 2006).

Despite the apparent prevalence of abuse in LGBT relationships, little research has been located concerning the outcomes faced by victims of abuse in LGBT relationships. Scholars have claimed that research concerning LGBT domestic violence has a preoccupation with gender which takes away from issues of power and control that are central to the dynamics of these types of abusive relationships (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005; Johnson & Ferarro, 2000; Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). That is, current theory has devoted a great deal of attention to gender and in the process has shifted attention away from the importance of unequal power distribution within abusive relationships.

**Abuse During Pregnancy**

An additional form of domestic violence involves the abuse of pregnant women. Physical abuse has the potential to harm both mother and unborn child and in fact, is the leading cause of birth defects and infant mortality in the U.S, (Gelles, 1997). Another additional risks related to abuse during pregnancy include: anxiety, stress, depression,
substance use, infections, failure to gain weight during pregnancy, and labor and delivery complications. In addition, there is preliminary evidence that women abused during pregnancy are more at risk for being murdered by their partner than nonpregnant abused women (Sagrestano, 2004).

**Summary**

Despite variations in definition, identification, and reporting, domestic violence is still recognized as a significant social problem. Studies have found that as many as four women die on a daily basis at the hands of their partners (Lerner, 1997). Furthermore, research shows that over half of the homeless population is composed of women (and their children) who have fled a violent domestic partner (Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). More stunning still are statistics that report that more women are treated in emergency rooms across the United States as a result of domestic violence than are treated for muggings, rapes, and auto accidents combined (Gelles, 1997); and that at least 1200 women are killed by an intimate partner annually (Fisher & Shelton, 2006).

Victims of domestic violence are often severe and long-lasting negative outcomes. Survivors of this form of abuse are reported to have higher levels of anxiety and depression, as well as a higher incidence of chronic pain symptoms and suicide attempts (Fisher & Shelton, 2006).

**Elder Abuse**

The abuse of older adults is a phenomenon that is receiving an increasing amount of attention, possibly due to the growing elderly population (McCauley, 2006). Some scholars anticipate that research attention will increase as the large population of Baby Boomers continues to fill the ranks of those aged 65 and older. Also, as medical advances over the past century have extended life expectancy, research has shifted focus to the
quality of life in the later years (Jayawardena & Liao, 2006). Existing literature often cites instances of abuse and neglect that occur in families with lowered socioeconomic status, and among adult child caregivers who are under an incredible amount of stress and strain. Categories of elder abuse involve behaviors such as physical abuse, emotional abuse, neglect, financial abuse, and drug abuse (Zinn & Eitzen, 2005).

**Elder Physical Abuse**

The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) defines physical abuse as the use of physical force that may result in bodily injury, physical pain, or impairment. Physical abuse may include but is not limited to such acts of violence as striking (with or without an object), hitting, beating, pushing, shoving, shaking, slapping, kicking, pinching, and burning. In addition, inappropriate use of drugs and physical restraints, force-feeding, and physical punishment of any kind also are examples of physical abuse (National Center on Elder Abuse [NCEA], 2006).

Approximately 15% of all individuals age 65 and older have experienced physical abuse. Furthermore, they represent 12% of all murder victims and 7% of all violent crime victims (NCEA, 2006). Finally, older adults who are physically abused are more likely to die at an earlier age than those who are not abused.

**Elder Psychological/Emotional Abuse**

The National Center on Elder Abuse defines emotional or psychological abuse as “the infliction of anguish, pain, or distress through verbal or nonverbal acts. Emotional/psychological abuse includes but is not limited to verbal assaults, insults, threats, intimidation, humiliation, and harassment. In addition, treating an older person like an infant; isolating an elderly person from his/her family, friends, or regular
activities; giving an older person the ‘silent treatment;’ and enforced social isolation are examples of emotional/psychological abuse” (NCEA, 2006).

It is often reported that emotional abuse of the elderly usually is perpetrated in the form of fear and guilt, such as fear for physical safety, or of the reoccurrence of physical abuse (Paretti & Majecen, 1991). Also, victims of elder abuse often report guilt over feeling as if they are a burden to their own children. Approximately 7.3% of elderly individuals are victims of emotional abuse. Outcomes for victims of emotional maltreatment are very difficult to distinguish. The most common result seems to be depression. However, according to the National Center on Elder Abuse, little is known about the degree to which abuse impacts the emotional state of abused elderly individuals (NCEA, 2006).

**Elder Financial Abuse**

The NCEA (2006) defines financial or material exploitation as “the illegal or improper use of an elder's funds, property, or assets. Examples include, but are not limited to, cashing an elderly person's checks without authorization or permission; forging an older person's signature; misusing or stealing an older person's money or possessions; coercing or deceiving an older person into signing any document (e.g., contracts or will); and the improper use of conservatorship, guardianship, or power of attorney” (The Basics, ¶ 6).

Loss of income, assets, and financial independence is a significant concern to older adults today. Research often defines financial abuse through general behaviors perpetrated against the elderly, such as stealing, withholding money, misleading, removing financial assets, or failing to provide means of living (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005). Reports have indicated that 12% of the elderly have been financially
exploited (NCEA, 2006). Once again, this population is highly vulnerable to such
behaviors when they rely on others for assistance with activities of daily living. Also,
discrimination based on age can prove problematic for those older adults who attempt to
fight for their rights, as they may not be taken seriously (Pedrick-Cornell & Gelles,
1982).

Elder Neglect

Neglect is defined by the National Center on Elder Abuse as “the refusal or failure
to fulfill any part of a person's obligations or duties to an elder. Neglect may also include
failure of a person who has fiduciary responsibilities to provide care for an elder (e.g.,
pay for necessary home care services) or the failure on the part of an in-home service
provider to provide necessary care” (The Basics, ¶ 4).

Scholars often include behaviors such as failing to provide safe and clean living
conditions and medical care to those in need. The prevalence of elder neglect is quite
striking, with 58.5% of confirmed elder abuse cases being classified as neglect. However,
it is also reported that as many as 84% of abuse incidents are unreported and undetected
(NCEA, 2006). Also, individuals over the age of 80 are neglected at a rate two to three
times that of all other older adults. Outcomes can include malnutrition, dehydration,
bedsores, hazardous or unclean living conditions, and many negative health outcomes
(NCEA, 2006).

Elder Drug Abuse/Chemical Restraint

A fairly new category of elder abuse that has emerged to some extent within the
literature is drug abuse, as perpetrated by a caregiver for the purpose of controlling or
abusing the elder. Specifically, this refers to behaviors such as withholding needed
medications, whether for current medical conditions or pain control, as a form of
punishment; threatening the withholding of medication; or using medication as a tool for bribery. On the other hand, providing an excessive amount of medication also constitutes drug abuse (i.e., using medications or medication dosages above the needed amount as a resource to control the elderly person). Little is known regarding the pervasiveness or outcomes associated with elder drug abuse.

**Summary**

Current statistics reveal that each year in the U.S. over 450,000 elderly persons are abused or maltreated in some way (Jogerst, Brody, Dyer & Arias, 2004; Rothman & Duntop, 2001). Although the popular image of elder abuse is usually composed of medical practitioners and caregivers who use cruel and abusive or neglectful tactics against the helpless nursing home patient, this is usually not the case. That is, research consistently has shown that the majority of elder abuse takes place within the family (McCauley, 2006). Overall, the incidence of elder abuse is significant and severe. It has been classified as a form of family violence because research reflects that most incidences of maltreatment occur within the home where the perpetrators are overworked, highly stressed, usually female, and the children of the person in need. It is reported that victims of elder abuse face higher levels of depression, increased risk of injury and fracture, and greater incidence of malnutrition, dementia, and death (Levine, 2003). As elder abuse is an emerging area of family violence research, much still needs to be done in relation to research, prevention, and intervention of this social problem (Jayawardena & Liao, 2006).

**Sibling Abuse**

Scholars have repeatedly stated that sibling abuse the most pervasive form of family violence (Gelles, 1997; Noland, Liller, McDermott & Coulter, 2004; Wiehe,
2002). Overall, the incidence of sibling abuse is quite high. Reports indicate that nearly 60% of individuals have reported experiencing abuse at the hands of a sibling at some time during childhood (Noland, et al., 2004). Sibling abuse appears to occur most often in homes that are of lower socioeconomic status and with single parents who are often absent. Reportedly, the majority of sibling abuse occurs in the context of babysitting (while a parent is often working). The result is often one sibling being left with responsibilities that exceed their developmental level (Wiehe, 1997).

Behaviors that are typically classified as abusive include physical abuse, emotional abuse, and sexual abuse. Yet, due a lack of research attention to this topic and recognition of sibling abuse as a social problem, no legal definitions were located pertaining to forms of sibling abuse.

**Sibling Physical Abuse**

Physical abuse among siblings includes actions such as punching, kicking, choking, using weapons, or any other behavior acted out with the intent of causing physical harm. Physical violence is typically the more visible form of abuse, and is most likely to receive public attention. Gelles (1997) reports that between 63% and 68% of all siblings engage in violent behaviors against each other. Another study reveals that 85% of males and 95% of females report that they have been the victim of aggression from a sibling (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005). Outcomes for victims of sibling physical abuse are usually negative. Not only does this maltreatment often result in physical harm, but the lack of recognition and intervention often results in invalidation of the victim’s experiences (Wiehe, 2002).
**Sibling Emotional/Psychological Abuse**

Behaviors that are emotionally abusive include excessive teasing, degrading, threatening, exacerbating a fear, and destroying personal property. This form of sibling abuse is considered to be the most pervasive (Wiehe, 1997). However, as is the case with many other forms of abuse, little information exists regarding the incidence of emotional abuse. This is due to the difficulty in detection of psychological abuse, perhaps as a result of the normalization of this form of abuse between siblings; or as a result of its occurrence in conjunction with other, more visible forms of abuse (Haskins, 2003; Wiehe, 2002).

Research shows that emotional abuse among siblings has similar impacts on growth, development, and the maintenance of social relationships as emotional abuse between other family members (i.e., among couples, between the elderly and caregiver, and parent to child). However, these behaviors are often overlooked or masked as simple teasing among siblings. Also, research shows that the co-morbidity of emotional and physical abuse that occurs in nearly every form of family violence is present here as well. Outcomes for victims of sibling emotional abuse suffer from lowered self-esteem and trust issues (Wiehe, 1997).

**Sibling Sexual Abuse**

Sexually abusive behaviors include unwanted touching, fondling, forced or coerced penetration of any form, exploitation, exposure, and voyeurism of a sibling (Wiehe, 1997). This form of abuse among siblings is very difficult to detect, and is rarely reported. Therefore, little statistical information is available regarding the incidence of this form of abuse. This lack of information has been attributed to the taboo nature of incest and other forms of sexual exploitation within the family (Wiehe, 1997). In fact, it
is argued that because of the unmentionable nature of sexual abuse, especially among family members, identifying victims of this behavior becomes very difficult (Haskins, 2002; Wiehe, 1997). Not only is there insufficient attention to sibling sexual abuse in the practitioners’ realm, but there is also a lack of theory in the research arena. That is, the focus of theory (and thus, research), has been on dealing with only father-daughter offenses (Haskins, 2003). Very little literature addresses the abuse of one child by another child. Some believe this to be another reflection of social biases in our desire to not label any child as a perpetrator (Wiehe, 1997).

**Outcomes**

Outcomes for the victims of sibling violence are long-lasting and severe. Studies reflect difficulties faced by survivors of sibling abuse, including problems with conflict resolution in future relationships, lower self-esteem, and problems with deviance and criminal activity (Reese-Weber & Kahn, 2005; Rowe, Rodgers & Meseck-Bushey, 1992). The emotional distress of surviving this abuse is often compounded by the lack of attention and validation of victims’ experiences by society (Wiehe, 1997). Also, outcomes for siblings who perpetrate violence are negative. Behaviors associated with violent sibling interaction include alcohol and drug abuse, violent criminal activity, depression, spousal abuse, neglectful and abusive parenting styles, and increased risk of suicide (Trenblay et al., 2004).

**Summary**

Awareness concerning the high incidence of sibling abuse is crucial, as research has repeatedly shown the importance of siblings in child and adolescent development, as well as the influence of sibling experiences on peer relationships, dating and adult intimacy (Howe, Rinalidi, Jennings & Petrakos, 2002). However, despite this evidence,
sibling abuse is one of the least researched forms of family violence. This has been attributed to attitudes of the normalization of abusive behavior among siblings (Wiehe, 2002). Also, scholars have attributed the lack of attention to sibling abuse to the lack of knowledge concerning its occurrence within the family unit.

Policy Overview

Historical evidence indicates that the types of violence reviewed above have been part of U.S. society for centuries (Ohlin & Tonry, 1989). However, it wasn’t until the latter half of the 21st century that family violence was not recognized as a social problem (Gelles, 1997), and laws and policies addressing this problem did not emerge until the 1970s or later. In fact, before the 1970’s family violence was seen as a private problem, in which the government should have no involvement (Lemon, 1999). Furthermore, because laws of the time supported the Family Privacy Doctrine, all cases of abuse within the family, except for homicide, grievous assault and incest, were excluded from legal intervention (Zimering, 1989). Intimate partner violence and marital rape were ignored as well. In fact, the normative procedure in law enforcement was to discourage arrest in situations of domestic violence if officers thought that the victim would not leave the relationship (Lemon, 1999). However, as social perceptions began to change with the recognition of “The Battered Child Syndrome” states began to develop child protection laws. By the 1980’s, mandatory reporting and abuse shelters were made available to victims of domestic violence (Zimering, 1989).

More recently, the legal system has taken other, less visible, forms of family violence into consideration. This includes interpreting forcible sex within marriage as rape, considering parental kidnapping as a criminal offense, and recognizing
psychological damage caused to children who witness domestic abuse between parents (Lemon, 1999).

Nevertheless, policy continues to neglect certain areas of family violence, such as sibling violence and violence in LGBT couples (Wiehe, 1997; Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). The lack of protection and intervention in these areas may be due to the lack of social awareness and understanding of these forms of family violence (Wiehe, 1997; Zinn & Eitzen, 2005).

Significant Policies in Relation to Family Violence

- **Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA)(1974)** - The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act established the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, as well as the National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information. Also, it provided assistance for individual states to build child abuse and neglect identification and prevention programs and increased the role of federal government in child abuse detection, prevention and treatment. CAPTA also provided grant money for research, program evaluation, and the training of professional workers in the area of outreach and prevention. CAPTA was amended in the following years: 1978, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, and 2003.

- **Indian Child Welfare Act (1978)** - The Indian Child Welfare Act awards the control of adoption and custody of Native American children to tribal members. This autonomy takes precedence over any state law that may conflict with the interests of the tribe.

- **CAPTA Revised (1978)** - The Adoption Reform Act added to CAPTA to include issues surrounding adoptions. This included locating permanent homes for disabled children, establishing better standards for adoptive placement, and provided for annual summaries of research on child abuse and neglect.

- **Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act (1980)** - The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act established the reunification families as the primary goal of child protective services. Included here are goals of increasing and improving services available to children and their families, and establishing permanency as early as possible through reuniting children with their family or through adoption.

- **Social Security Act Amendments (1981)** - Block grants are provided to states for the funding of child protective services.

- **CAPTA Revised (1984)** - Revisions to CAPTA provide for attention to medically disabled infants, and for the reporting of maltreatment by caregivers out of the
home. Also, a change in the definition of child sexual abuse to include exploitation was established.

- **CAPTA Revised (1988)** - CAPTA became Child Abuse Prevention, Adoption and Family Services Act, which provided assistance to states in order to improve their child protective programs.

- **CAPTA Revised (1992)** - CAPTA was amended and reauthorized by the Child Abuse, Domestic Violence, Adoption, and Family Services Act. This act provides assistance to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect under the requirement that more research be conducted focusing on cultural diversity and child abuse and neglect. Also, provides grants to state community-based prevention programs.

- **Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) (1994)** - The Violence Against Women Act established a response to domestic violence and the sexual assault of women. Also, laws establishing protective services (such as the enforcement of interstate protective orders) were enacted. In addition, focus was given to battered immigrants, and support for various forms of community outreach programs was expressed.

- **Sex Crimes Against Children Prevention Act (1995)** - The Sex Crimes Against Children Prevention Act strengthens the penalty for the pornographic exploitation of children. This applies to those who create, advertise or traffic child pornography.

- **CAPTA Revised (1996)** - CAPTA amended to include services for children of families who are homeless or at risk of homelessness.

- **Child Abuse Prevention and Enforcement Act (1999)** - The Child Abuse Prevention and Enforcement Act was established to increase efforts to achieve permanence for foster children. This law requires that efforts be made to locate permanent homes for children who cannot be placed back in the home, and provides incentives for increasing number of adoptions. This law also takes emphasis off of the importance of family reunification, and instead focuses on establishing permanency for the child.

- **Older Americans Act Amendments (OAA) (2000)** - The OAA of 2000 established the National Family Caregiver Support Program. State grants were also awarded for the development of organizations to provide services for the families that care for older adults.

- **VAWA Revisions (2000)** - Amendments were made to the violence against women act, which identified stalking and dating violence to be included in crimes against women. Also, increased attention was given to the protection of battered immigrants and sexual assault. This bill also created a legal services program for the victims of domestic violence and sexual assault.
• **CAPTA Revised (2003)** - CAPTA was last amended by the Keeping Children and Families Safe Act, which provided community-based grants for the prevention of child abuse and neglect.

• **Domestic Violence Screening and Prevention Act (2003)** - The Domestic Violence Screening and Prevention Act established research centers on family violence (which will encompass research on child, domestic, and elder abuse). Also, this bill provides funding for the training of healthcare professionals on how to identify and treat forms of family violence. In addition, this bill establishes that all Medicaid recipients and all federal employees receive family violence screening and treatment through their insurance plans.

**Decade in Review from the Journal of Marriage and Family**

One of the most cited journals in the field of family studies is the *Journal of Marriage and Family*. It has been published for over 60 years and continues to be one of the most widely cited journals in the area of family research. In addition to addressing concerns pertaining to many areas of family life, this journal also provides decade reviews on family-related topics dating back to the 1960s. A brief summary of each decade review in relation to family violence had been provided here in attempt understand what was considered noteworthy during each ten year period included in this research.

Prior to the 1960s, the *Journal of Marriage and Family* existed under another name (*Marriage and Family Living*), and did not produce decade reviews. Although many articles focused on issues concerning family relations, violence in the family was not addressed. Instead, conflict in relationships was discussed in terms of power structure within the family (Safilos-Rothschild, 1970). The first decade review was published in November 1970, and reviewed research of the 1960s.

**The Decade of the 1960s**

No articles featured in the decade review of the 1960s addressed the issue of family violence. Instead, research activity, as cited from other articles in the decade review, will
be discussed here. In addition, potential reasons behind the lack of family violence research attention in this decade will be discussed. Research that was published in the 1960s took a clinical perspective, focusing only on medical evidence pertaining to the occurrence of family violence. As previously mentioned, this attention is often accredited to the publication of the Kempe et. al., (1962) study, which identified the physical signs and medical symptoms of child abuse.

Through an examination of article titles and abstracts within this JMF decade review, it was determined that domestic violence was not a topic of interest, nor were forms of family violence other than child physical abuse. Although, there was recognition of psychological impacts of growing up in a ‘broken home’, family violence was not addressed. This may be due to the fact that a broken home was often characterized as a result of the following classifications: death of mother, death of father, death of both parents, divorce, separation and other (Kaplan & Pokorny, 1971), i.e., a change in family structure.

During this time period, family violence was seen as an isolated issue, with pathological factors (such as mental illness) behind the perpetration of abuse (Gelles, 1985). In fact, the existing research often labeled the abuser as being psychopathic or sociopathic. Little was discussed regarding reasons associated with family violence. Most of the research that did exist focused on possible reasons for the assertion of power and authority within the family, and did not question that the legitimacy of that power belonged to men. Researchers did not identify factors related to family violence that need greater scholarly attention in the future (Rothschild, 1970).
**The Decade of the 1970s**

The 1970’s review focused more attention on family violence, and the article on this topic recognized violence against both women and children as a social problem (Gelles, 1980). Reasons for this recognition were social in nature, and the following assertions were made,

first, social scientists and the public alike became increasingly sensitive to violence due to a war in Southeast Asia, assassinations, civil disturbances and increasing homicide rates in the 1960s. Second, the emergence of the women’s movement played a part—especially by uncovering and highlighting the problems of battered women (Straus, 1974, p.874).

According to the review, a central focus of research during this decade was on determining the nature and extent of violence within the family. For instance, a good portion of studies published during this decade focused on determining how often acts of abuse occurred within the family.

Also, during this time theories that focused on explanatory factors behind family violence emerged. These theories included: resource theory, the ecological perspective, systems theory, evolutionary theory, and concepts in relation to patriarchy and wife abuse (Gelles, 1980).

Potential factors related to family violence occurrence were identified, such as low socioeconomic status, stress and isolation (Gelles, 1985). Greater attention was also given to the need to develop research methodologies for the study of family violence (Gelles, 1985). Prior to this time, conducting research on violence in the family was considered impossible, as most research designs were not applicable (i.e., researchers could not predict or control for the occurrence of abuse).

Areas identified as needing attention in the field were primarily for the development of methodology to assist in better understanding the scope and dynamics of
family violence. Also, the development of theory was identified as needed to overcome society’s reliance on stereotyping and myths concerning violence within the family (Gelles, 1980).

**The Decade of the 1980s**

According to research in family violence during the 1980s, attention was awarded to causes and outcomes of family violence. Included in the outcomes was a focus on the psychological implications of victimization. In addition, the classification of family violence into various categories was refined to include intimate partner violence, child abuse, elder abuse, and courtship violence (Gelles & Conte, 1990). The sexual abuse of children was also heavily researched and discussed during this decade. A great deal of emphasis was placed on the causes, incidence and consequences of child sexual abuse.

The strongest theoretical representation during this time period was on the intergenerational transmission of violence (a concept often associated with social learning theory). Also, a small number of studies dedicated to program evaluation emerged with the purpose of better understanding the effectiveness of intervention. At the close of this decade, areas identified as having a need for future attention were theory, methodology (specifically, a need for longitudinal studies on family violence), and the need to examine the co-morbidity of abuse forms within the family (Gelles & Conte, 1990).

**The Decade of the 1990s**

The decade review article on family violence (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000) observed that research in the 1990s focused on classification of family violence abuse forms with more refined definitions and greater inclusion. Forms of intimate partner violence, such as common couple violence and intimate terrorism were identified. In addition, violence impacting specific groups such as cohabiting couples, immigrants, the homeless, and
lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual couples was addressed. During the 1990s a greater
close focus was placed on the occurrence of family violence throughout the world, and the
threat to basic human rights family violence causes (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000).

In relation to theory, a great deal of focus on power and control in abusive
relationships was present in the literature. This was part in conjunction with a growing
dissatisfaction with the reliance on intergenerational transmission as the primary model
of family violence. Finally, research began to address negative implications of witnessing
violence in the home (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000).

At the end of the decade, the primary area identified as needing increased attention
was the development of theories to account for the various forms of family violence.
Also, there was a call for greater precision in distinctions within data produced, in order
to promote public awareness and policy development. The next decade review will take
place in November of the year 2010.

**Theory Overview**

This research examined the overall growth and development of published family
violence research over the past 5 decades. Because my research explores the emergence
of research and policy regarding family violence, theoretical foundations may best be
found in theories of knowledge development (rather than family violence per se). Yet, it
appears that few theories of knowledge development exist (Ylikoski, 2004).

This is not to say that no general epistemological frameworks exist. In fact,
schools of thought such as the Strong Programme have focused a great deal of attention
to the development of scientific knowledge (Thagard, 1994). Social scientists adhering to
this school of thought argue that human knowledge is formed within, and is influenced
by, the social context through which it is derived. Considerable attention (both positive
and negative), has been directed at the Strong Programme. For example, it has been asserted that the reliance on pure social explanations for the generation of knowledge ignores the role of reason, rationality, and logic in the development of science (Slezak, 1991).

Another relevant area of study pertaining to the development of knowledge has been labeled sociological meta-theory (also referred to as reflexive sociology, or the sociology of sociology) (Yukoski, 2004). Thinkers who adhere to this framework are concerned with examining the development of sociological theory and epistemology over time (Ritzer, 1988). Scholars have maintained that the process of meta-theoretical analysis has been present and crucial since before the inception of sociology as its own science. Such scholars who adhere to this orientation often point to the importance of the process of theoretical and philosophical thought in relation to such works as that of Marx on Hegel, or Parsons on Durkheim, Weber, and Pareto (Ritzier, 1988). Others, however, consider meta-theoretical analysis to be “bogged down in philosophy” and argue that this can prevent social science progress through hindering the development and strengthening of new theoretical frameworks (Ritzer, 1988).

This research sought to examine the development of social science research focusing on family violence. The various and emerging categories of family violence have been, arguably, related to the theoretical and epistemological thought of the time. For instance, before Kempe’s publication on the battered child syndrome, little attention or questioning was given to safety of children in the home (Gelles, 1987). The importance of the theoretical and epistemological framework can also be referenced with social movements such as the rise in the feminist ideology and the identification of
violence against women as a problematic social issue; or the prevalence of conflict
theory-oriented reasoning in the development of the power and control model of
explaining domestic violence (Ingoldsby, Smith & Miller, 2004). Finally, newer
theoretical developments, such as those under the umbrella of postmodernist
epistemology, have been tied to the recent (within the past 15 years) surge of literature
pertaining to racial, ethnic, and sexual orientation in relation to family violence (Mills,
1996). It can be asserted that all examples are situations in which theoretical and
sociohistorical shifts have influenced the types of questions social science researchers
have asked, and the knowledge they have derived.

Various theories have been applied in attempts to answer pressing questions asked
about family violence. These theories seem to fall into one of the three following
categories: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and cultural (Eckhardt & Dye, 2000). Earlier
studies pertaining to family violence often took an intrapersonal perspective, focusing on
the individual (Eckhardt & Dye, 2000). This is due, at least in part, to the medical
grounds on which this social problem was first defined. However, as the field progressed,
more studies emerged that took on a more interpersonal perspective. Some of these
prominent theories were social learning theory, conflict theory, and feminist theory.

The first of these, social learning theory, is one of the most widely used theories of
family violence. The widespread recognition of this perspective came about as a result of
the development and use of the intergenerational transmission of violence model. This
model focuses on the interactions within the family, and the transmission of certain
abusive behaviors from parent to child through experience, observation and modeling
(Hoffman & Edwards, 2004). Another theory that grew in popularity was conflict theory,
which focused on the unequal distribution of, and the constant struggle for power and control within relationships (Hoffman & Edwards, 2004; Van Wormer & Bednar, 2002). Feminist theory, which focuses on gender and patriarchal norms, has become prevalent in family violence literature (Hoffman & Edwards, 2004). That is, this theory focuses a great deal on how gender and gender roles impact power distribution and experiences within relationships. All three theories tend to share a focus on interpersonal relationships when applied to family violence.

However, certain scholars claim that by focusing only on the interactions between family members, important sociocultural influences are missed (Mills, 1996). This is not to say that existing theories do not take cultural and environmental influences into consideration. In fact, theories such as family stress and family systems theory take both interpersonal and environmental characteristics into account. Multi-level perspectives concerning the causes and consequences of family violence have also been utilized (Eckhardt & Dye, 2000; Mills, 1996). Finally, newer theories such as the ecological model, which takes a multilevel approach to family violence in society, are being used more and more. This is partially due to the recognition of the usefulness of a multilevel approach to family violence, as opposed to specific individual or interactional perspectives (Mills, 1996).

An overview of the literature pertaining to family violence research has been very beneficial. However, there are patterns within the literature that need to be addressed. First, as previously stated, there seems to be a great deal of debate within the field pertaining to definitions and taxonomy of abuse within the family. Furthermore, there also seems to be a mutual agreement within the literature that certain forms of abuse have
been neglected within the field. However, it has been very difficult to locate adequate
statistics about the amount of neglect that is occurring among the various areas of family
violence research. Instead, what can be found is a cycle of reference. That is, repeated
assertions of neglect within the research, followed by recurring (often circular),
referencing of others making the same claim. This is a phenomenon that is not
uncommon within social science research, and is what Straus and Gelles refer to as a
Deterministic Truism. That is, certain assertions, often ones that appear logical in nature,
become so widely accepted within a field, that they often become referenced as concrete
fact (s & Gelles, 1995). This is not to claim that there is no validity to the assertions made
by scholars in these situations. However, this study aimed to avoid making similar
assertions, and focused only on evidence present within the examined trends.

This study utilized Giddens’ Structuration Theory (Giddens, 1984). The theory’s
basic concepts focus on the relationship between agency (action) and structure. Structure
usually entails informal institutions that are relatively stable across time and space.
Agency usually consists of individuals, groups, and masses that act within structure to
sustain and perpetuate it. Giddens asserts that structure needs agency to exist just as
agency needs structure. He terms this effect, the duality of structure and the process as
structuration (Cuff, Sharrock & Fracis, 1998). Furthermore, structure is said to both
enable and constrain agency. That is, through the rules and values of structure we come
by assets that enable us to pursue our own goals (these can be tangible like wealth or
intangible like social status). It is also important to note that structure is often composed
of the social norms and values of a given time, and can be changed (over time) by the
agents who actively reproduce structure.
According to Giddens,

social practices are not random and purely voluntaristic, but ordered and stable across space and time, in short they are routinized and recursive. In producing social practices, which make up the visible patterns which constitute society, actors draw upon ‘structural properties’ (rules and resources) which are themselves institutionalized features of societies. Structure is therefore activity-dependent. It is both the medium and outcome of a process of ‘Structuration’ - the production and reproduction of practices across time and space. This process is what Giddens has called the ‘double hermeneutic’, the double involvement of individuals and institutions. Put perhaps more truistically: ‘we create society at the same time as we are created by it.’(Giddens, 1984, p.14, Rose, 1998, p. 6).

This thesis involved structuration theory’s component of **structuration**.

Specifically, the study explored organized forms of agency that adhere to shared rules and constraints, in order to reach some common goal. For purposes of this thesis, the relationship between social science research and policy were examined as a social process, adhering to the same developmental constraints and allowances as any other social institution, which can be exemplified as a process of structuration.

The relationship that exists between family violence research and policy has been discussed elsewhere, and the following was stated: “The production of sociological research depends on the interplay between the main currents of the broader culture and social structure, and the main currents of research” (Straus, 1992, p. 20). That is, much like Giddens’ idea of agency, social science research acts within the set of cultural norms, values and rules. Also, research often depends on existing institutions (i.e. structure) for tools and assets needed to function (i.e., funding and publication). Through this process, research is done; and ideally, theory is built and changed, publication (a structural tool) is accomplished, and communication of knowledge within society persists. Also, this research in turn, is often relied upon heavily by policy-makers when determining
legislative action; thus, exemplifying the mutually interdependent relationship between these processes.

Within family violence research, this process has been cited again and again, although not in the context of structuration theory. For instance, many publications have alluded to the influence that research publication and academic communication has had on social movement and policy development (Miller & Mullins, 2002). Furthermore, many meta-analytical studies point to the process of scientific questioning, and specifically, the events and structures that determine which questions are deemed acceptable to ask (Yukoski, 2004). Such an example can be seen in the recent literature pertaining to violence against women. That is, the act of defining violence against women as a social problem has influenced the types of questions, as well as the amount of questioning scholars designate to the topic (Kelly, 2004; Klien & Orloff, 1999; Zinn & Eitzen, 2005). Another example within family violence research can be found in the realm of domestic violence research pertaining to gay and lesbian relationships. It was not until postmodern trends in society (including trends in research) began to change definitions of family, that battery within same-sex couples was given attention (Zinn & Eitzen, 2005).

Thus, keeping in mind assertions regarding the continuous interplay between agency and structure (in this case, family violence research development and policy), the goal of this research was to examine the progression of our collective knowledge pertaining to family violence. This was attempted through an examination of trends within research publications over the past 60 years in conjunction with social movements and policy changes during this time period. By incorporating an analysis of publication
frequency and type in relation to public policy development, it may also be possible to gain a better understanding regarding the process of structuration of the field of family violence research.

**Research Questions and Hypotheses**

**Q1.** What are the trends in the family violence literature within the past 60 years?

**Q1.1.** What is the relative representation of each area of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time?

**H1o:** There will be no significant differences in the relative representations of categories of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.

**H1a:** There will be significant differences in the relative representations of categories of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.

**Q2:** What are the trends in policy related publications pertaining to family violence within the past 60 years?

**Q2.1 What is the relative representation of policy related articles to all articles on family violence at selected points in time?**

**H2o:** There will be no significant differences in the relative representation of policy-related journal articles pertaining to family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.

**H2a:** There will be significant differences in the relative representation of policy-related journal articles pertaining to family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.

**Q3:** Will there be changes in the number of published articles on family violence during times of greater public policy activity?

**H3o:** There will be no significant differences in the number of publications of family violence-related journal articles in times of greater public policy activity.

**H3a:** There will be significant differences in the number of publications of family violence-related journal articles in times of greater public policy activity.

**Conclusions**

Various forms of family violence covered in scholarly publications, practice and policy were discussed in this chapter. Forms of family violence discussed include:
intimate partner violence, child abuse, sibling violence and abuse, elder abuse, and violence within LGBT couples. Behaviors identified within these categories are: physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, financial abuse, drug abuse, and neglect. Common theories used in family violence research were also discussed, as well as the applicability of structuration theory to the field of family violence research. Finally, changes in policy pertaining to family violence were also addressed, including shifts in social norms and the increasing recognition of various forms of family violence as a social problem.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The central purpose of this study was to describe the historical trends in social science literature pertaining to family violence in the past 5 decades by examining the published literature for the appearance of articles on the major categories of family violence during this time frame. An additional purpose was to situate trends in family violence research within the context of a changing society by observing the appearance of articles pertaining to family violence policies. Taking the temporal component required in evaluating change into consideration, this study implemented a retrospective longitudinal research design, using archival data. This type of research design lends itself to studies that involve rebuilding past events and allowed the researcher to process data in a sequential and temporal pattern. A final aim of this project was to provide a springboard for discussions pertaining to the future development of the field of family violence research.

This study may be considered descriptive rather than explanatory. Although this type of research is considered by many to be somewhat less desirable than explanatory research (Timmer, 1997), it is also necessary in developing research on understudied topics. That is, descriptive research provides an essential basis for future scientific inquiry.

Because this design was retrospective, many of the common issues surrounding longitudinal design, such as variance in instrumentation or variance in measurement over
time, did not pose a threat (DeVaus, 2004). Furthermore, the use of archival data reduced many of the problematic effects related to following human participants over time, such as individual dropout or panel attrition (DeVaus, 2004). Thus, this form of research design was useful in this type of study, as it enabled the review of various documents published over a long period of time and from various sources. In addition to the benefits listed above, a retrospective longitudinal study was convenient in that it lent itself well to the application of structuration theory to family violence research. That is, the analysis of data from various periods of time prepared the researcher to describe contextually situated scientific progress and processes in the evolution of this field of research.

**Data Collection**

**Sample Selection**

This research utilized a non-probabilistic or purposive sample, focusing on a selection of articles pertaining to family violence research published in selected journals. The sampling frame consisted of 505 family violence-related journal articles published in selected social science journals in the United States during the past 5 decades. An exclusive focus on journals pertaining only to family violence was not possible for several reasons. First, there are few in existence, and the goal was not to examine trends in family violence journals but rather, to describe trends in the content of articles in the field overall. Also, some of the journals that are currently publishing articles on family violence were not established during the early portion of the study frame time, and selecting only these journals would not adequately represent changes in the field over time.

**The Social Science Citation Index**
Four family journals were identified based on the frequency of publications appearing in the Social Science Citation Index. This search engine provides researchers with information concerning bibliographic information, abstract information, and journal citation information from a current or retrospective point of view across various disciplines (Thomson Scientific, 2007).

For this study, a search was conducted that limited results to journals in family studies only, and provided a list of research journals in ranked order based on the total number of annual citations of articles appearing in that journal. This enabled the researcher to identify the four most frequently cited journals in the field of family studies. These journals were: *The Journal of Marriage and Family*, with 4211 citations, *Child Abuse and Neglect*, with 3141 citations, *The Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, with 1572 citations, and *The Journal of Family Psychology*, with 1263 articles.

**Procedure**

From these journals, the researcher selected all articles published on family violence over the past 5 decades for inclusion in the study. From the four most frequently cited journals, all family violence articles were identified through an examination of all volumes and issues published in selected years. A content analysis was conducted based on the content of the title, content of the abstract, and year of publication. This information was collected beginning with the most recent journals in the selected time frame (2005) and traced back to the earliest publication in the year 1960 (for pre-existing journals), or the earliest publication of the journal (as many of the used journals were not in existence in the 1950s). The year 1960 was chosen because it dated before the publication of the landmark 1962 study of child maltreatment, by C. Kempe.
Five-year markers (i.e. 2005, 2000, 1995, 1990, 1985, etc.) were chosen for purposes of data collection. These dates allowed for the collection of a sample of articles over the designated time period in a time frame that was suitable for this study. Also, using 5 year intervals within each decade enabled the examination of trends in relation to significant policy developments throughout this time period. That is, sampling in 5 year intervals allowed for the examination of increases or declines in article publications in time periods both before and after development of subject-significant policies (i.e., policies pertaining to the same subject matter as research publication).

**Content Analysis**

Content analysis has been found to be particularly useful in research that tracks categories and frequencies over time and in situations where groups are difficult to access (Bryman, 2004). It has been described in many ways, and can involve diverse approaches and practices. This method has been credited with an ability to apply an objective and systematic method of analysis to data that are more qualitative and abstract in nature (Berelson, 1952; Bryman, 2004; Holsti, 1969). In this situation, the manifest content of communication was applied to the titles and abstracts of selected article publications.

A significant weakness of content analysis resides in what some claim to be its atheoretical nature. According to Bryman (2004), this is due to the ease with which data can be systematically measured, making it an objective method that does not require strong theoretical support. However, in this situation, the very purpose of the content analysis was to provide a systematic method of showing process over time, thereby alleviating concern about theory. That is, this research aims to build structuration theory by utilizing it in a new area.
Instrument for Family Violence Content in the Literature

No instruments have previously been created to examine the content of family violence articles in such a way that could be applied to this study. Therefore, an instrument was created for purposes of data collection.

A content analysis codebook was created and used to count and classify articles on family violence. However, as discussed in Chapter Two, the operationalization of the abstract term, family violence, proved to be difficult. Therefore, an extensive review of the literature was conducted to ensure adequate construct validity of this instrument. Members of the researcher’s committee further ensured face validity and proper categorization regarding forms of family violence during the process of data collection by reviewing and recommending.

This instrument was used to analyze each selected article and the results were compiled into a spreadsheet. The following categories of family violence were included: intimate-partner violence (IPV); child abuse; violence in lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual couples (LGBT); elder abuse; sibling violence and abuse; and general family violence. This final category was applied to those journal articles that focused on generalized aspects of family violence, and/or did not denote any specific form of abuse involvement or participation. In instances where the article identified the perpetrator and the victim in greater detail, a more specific code was given, depending on information provided. For example, an article that discussed intimate partner violence where the perpetrator was a heterosexual woman was categorized as female to male IPV. This captured more specific details regarding the focus of research in a given area.

In addition to abuse category, articles were also coded according to abuse behavior. Behaviors included in the instrument were: physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual
abuse, general neglect, medical neglect, educational neglect, abandonment, financial abuse drug abuse/chemical Restraint, homicide /fatalities, and other/unspecified abuse forms. Unspecified abuse was coded for situations where the abuse form was not identified in the article.

Data Analysis

A frequency analysis was conducted for the occurrence of each code to locate specific trends within selected published literature over the past 5 decades. This included influxes or declines in the types of violence represented in the literature. In addition, a frequency analysis of articles concerning emerging policy trends in relation to family violence was conducted.

Two chi-square analyses were used to analyze the data by both category and abuse form to test for differences in distribution of article publication over time. This analysis was designed to reveal if the differences (where present) in the frequency counts regarding the representation of family violence categories were representative of changes in the field (i.e., and not caused by characteristics unique to the sample).

The chi-square analysis was followed by a test of standardized adjusted residuals. This analysis was designed to reveal areas with extreme values in relation to the expected distribution of values. For the standardized test of residuals, any values greater than the absolute value of three (positive or negative three), were considered significant. This is due to the understanding that zero equates to complete evenness of distribution, and anything with a value greater than three (positive or negative), will indicate a significant discrepancy within that particular area. Having both positive and negative residuals allows understanding concerning direction of representation (i.e., over-representation or under-representation). Thus, areas with very strong positive or very strong negative
residuals provided information regarding the degree to which all selected categories of family violence have been addressed in the research literature.

**Limitations**

One potential limitation of this study is the inability to account for contextual variables due to the nature of the data. That is, political and social events specific to a historical time period, or changes in agency and structure, such as technological advancement and changes in administration, are not accounted for. This establishes a need to avoid making conclusions concerning causality, as potential spuriousness cannot be avoided. Furthermore, this project was built on the premise that contextually situated knowledge is potentially conflictual in nature to this form of research. That is, retrospective longitudinal research depends, to some degree, on the interpretation of the reviewer and, therefore, cannot be completely objective.

A final limitation of this research rested with the use of chi-square on a purposive sample. However, the primary predictive power of chi-square analysis is strongest with a random sample; when a sample is random, chi-square is able to predict a sample’s true representation of its population. However, in this circumstance random sampling was not desirable because it would have severely reduced the ability to obtain data (i.e., using a random sample of family-related publications would significantly reduce the amount of family violence-related publications in the sample). Therefore, due to the need for purposive sampling (in order to measure what needs to be measured), the predictive power of chi-square analysis cannot be as strong as in other circumstances. Yet, because this study is more concerned with descriptive data, this was not an overriding concern.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

This study examined the growth and development of family violence research literature over the past 5 decades, as reflected by publication trends in selected family research journals. The focus was on the difference in publication rates and subject matter of articles pertaining to various types of family violence featured in the research literature. In addition to examining trends in publications, this study explored the potential implications of significant social policies in family violence.

This chapter will describe the study findings, including the general trends in publications over the time period utilized in data collection, and more specific information about these trends including: (a) the distribution of relation type, and (b) the abuse type among overall publication rates. This will provide knowledge regarding general proportions of each form of family violence among all family violence research in selected journals, and how these ratios changed over time.

Journals Sampled

The content analysis of the four selected family journals began in the most recent year in the study time frame, and worked back through each decade in five year intervals. A total of 505 articles were reviewed. Of the four journals sampled, only one (The Journal of Marriage and Family) existed in the early portion of the study time frame. The other journals, The Journal of Child Abuse and Neglect, The Journal of Interpersonal Violence, and The Journal of Family Psychology, date back to 1977, 1987 and 1986, respectively. Therefore, all entries before 1980 can include only one journal.
In addition to the establishment of new journals during this time frame, publication rates within the journals changed over time. For instance, the Journal *Child Abuse and Neglect*, increased its annual publication rates from four issues to twelve issues in the early 1990s.

The coding process for the content analysis used an ad hoc approach to allow for the emergence of topics on family violence during the process of data collection. Topics that emerged and were added to the codebook were: parenting styles, criminality and deviance, cohabitation, religiosity, risk-taking behaviors, and general incidence rates.

**General Publication Trends by Decade**

The mean year of publication for this sample was 1997.14, and the standard deviation 6.953. That is, 68% of all articles in this sample were published within seven years of 1997 (i.e., between 1990 and 2004).

![Figure 1. Changes in Frequency of Publications about Family Violence Over Time](image)
Results indicate that there has been a large increase in the publication rate of family violence research articles in the study time frame, 1960-2005 (as shown in Figure 1). This increase began in the 1980s (as there were no articles located before this date), with a large influx between 1980 and 1985 from approximately nine articles (1.8%) in 1980, to 48 articles (9.5%) in 1985. However, the greatest increase between any two measurement points occurred between 1990 and 1995, with publication rates more than doubling from 51 to 124 (10% to 24.6%). This may be attributed to both the establishment of The Journal of Interpersonal Violence, as well as an increase in the annual publication rate of Child Abuse and Neglect. The peak of article publication within this sample occurred in 2000 (140 articles), with a small (1.4%) decline in 2005 (133 articles).

**Trends in Family Violence Abuse Category**

One of the three major classifications in the coding process was that of family violence category. These relationships (i.e., child abuse, intimate partner violence, sibling abuse, elder abuse, etc.) have been classified under perpetrator/victim because the code enables the researcher to identify the perpetrator, the victim, or both parties in the forms of family violence addressed within each research article. The distributions for each of these forms of family violence differed by decade. Once again, no articles emerged within this sample in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, this analysis only accounts for articles published between 1980 and 2005 (see Figure 2).

The decade of the 1980s saw an upswing in articles pertaining to child abuse (with 14 articles identifying a perpetrator and 38 not), totaling 52 publications or 91.3% of all articles published in the 1980s. This was followed by general and unspecified family violence, with four publications (7%); and intimate partner violence, with only one
publication (1.8 %). There were no articles in the areas of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender violence, sibling violence and abuse; or abuse of the elderly.

The decade of the 1990s brought an influx of articles related to several categories of family violence. Again, the largest category was child abuse, totaling 134 articles for 76.5% of all articles, (with 21 articles that specify perpetrator and 113 that did not); intimate partner violence with a total of 22 or 12.6% of articles (with six articles that specified perpetrator and 16 that did not); and unspecified family violence, with 14 or 8.5% of articles.

Figure 2. Trends in Family Violence Category-Related Publication Over Time

For the first time in these four journals, articles were published on sibling violence, although only two or 1.2% appeared. Finally, publication on LGBT violence was also present with two or 1.2% of articles. There were no values for publications on elder abuse.
The period between 2000 to 2005 produced data that were distributed into the following areas: Child abuse, with 170 or 62.3% of articles (28 articles with specified perpetrator and 142 without); intimate partner violence with 83 or 30.4% of articles (31 with specified perpetrator and 52 without), unspecified family violence with 18 or 6.6% of articles, and LGBT violence with two or 0.7% of articles. There were no values for publications in the areas of sibling violence and abuse, or elder abuse.

**Behaviors Identified in the Literature**

The second indicator of trends in publication by topic is the type of abusive behavior that the article addresses. The differences in distribution for each decade are depicted in Figure 3.

![Figure 3. Trends in Publication by Abuse Behavior Over Time](image-url)
These areas include physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, general neglect, medical neglect, educational neglect, abandonment, financial abuse, drug abuse, unspecified abuse, and fatalities as a result of abuse. For the decade of the 1980s, data were distributed as follows: 32 articles or 56.1% on unspecified abuse; 12 articles or 21.1% on sexual abuse; nine articles or 15.8% on physical abuse; and four articles or 7% on neglect. No articles were published on emotional abuse, financial abuse, educational neglect, medical neglect, drug abuse, or fatalities related to family violence.

The 1990s distribution was: 85 articles or 48.6% on sexual abuse; 62 articles or 35.4% on unspecified or general abuse; 19 articles or 10.9% on physical abuse; four articles or 2.3% on emotional abuse; three articles or 1.1% on abuse related fatalities; and two articles or 1.1% on neglect. No articles were published on abandonment, financial abuse, drug abuse, educational neglect or medical neglect.

During the time period of 2000 to 2005, data were distributed into the following areas: 142 articles or 52% on general or unspecified abuse forms; 73 articles or 26.7% on sexual abuse; 45 articles or 16.2% on physical abuse; six articles or 2.2% on emotional abuse; two articles or 0.7% on neglect; and one article or 0.4% on abandonment. No articles were published on fatalities associated with family violence, financial abuse, drug abuse, educational neglect, or medical neglect.

**General Trends in Family Violence Concerning Issues**

In addition to coding for behavior and relationship by year, various issues discussed within these articles were included in data collection as well. Some themes that were built into codebook included: theoretical development, methodological development, policy, social services for victims and batterers, service program evaluations, judicial and law enforcement issues, the child welfare system, substance abuse, medical care and physical
health outcomes, mental health outcomes, homelessness, immigrant violence and abuse, cohabitation, as well as demographic indicators such as race/ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and religiosity.

The most common themes in relation to family violence were: Mental health outcomes with 97 articles or 19.2%; research methodology with 58 articles or 11.5%; trends and incidence rates with 52 articles or 10.3%; child welfare with 45 articles or 8.9%; parenting styles and skills with 42 articles or 8.3%; international family violence with 33 articles or 6.5%; service programs for victims with 27 articles or 5.4%; and general theoretical development with 22 articles or 4.4%.

In addition to the common themes listed above, articles focusing on demographic characteristics such as race, gender, socioeconomic status, and religiosity were also coded. The results of the frequency analysis revealed that articles focusing on these factors were small in number, with 14 articles or 2.8% focusing on gender; seven articles or 1.4% on socioeconomic status; six articles or 1.2% on race; and two articles or 0.4% focusing on religiosity.

**Hypotheses Testing**

Several hypotheses were tested to determine whether there were significant trends within the data. These hypotheses are reviewed below and the results of chi square analyses used to test for differences in distribution of article publication over time are presented.

**H1o:** There will be no significant differences in the relative representations of categories of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.

**H1a:** There will be significant differences in the relative representations of categories of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.
Two separate chi-square analysis were conducted. The first tested for a difference in distribution concerning relationship type, and the second for differences in abusive behavior type. In addition, in cases where the chi-square test was significant, a standardized test of adjusted residuals was conducted to determine degree of deviation from equal distribution. Statistical significance is reached if adjusted residuals are greater than positive or negative three (with zero indicating equal distribution).

The value of the chi-square for family violence category publication by year was 85.725 (with statistical significance at p=0.000). This reflects that across all decades, there were significant discrepancies in the publication amounts for various articles on family violence. In relation to abuse category, very few areas had significant adjusted residuals. However, these residuals are telling, as they can show points in time that the influxes and declines in each area of research occurred. For example, intimate partner violence (male to female violence), had a non-significant, but negative residual in every period of this study. Yet, the residual increased to a significant 5.1 (the strongest positive residual value), in 2005, indicating an increase of research representation over the past 5 years; despite the slight overall decline in research publication. Another significant residual was for child abuse (by a relative), which was 3.3 in 1985, indicated overrepresentation in relation to other forms of family violence research publication. However, all other years following had non-significant, negative residuals, indicating that the slight decline in child abuse research publications that identified a relative perpetrator occurred after 1985.

No other residuals for family violence category were significant; however, it is notable that in 1995, publication rates in sibling violence and abuse had a positive
residual approaching significance (2.5). This occurred in the only year where publication on sibling violence and abuse was present, and all other year points were negative.

The value of chi-square for behavior by year was 60.846 (with statistical significance at p=0.001). Significant adjusted residuals were found in 1990 (3.1) and 1995 (3.6) for sexual abuse, and decreased in 2005 for a negative residual (-3.6). This indicates that the representation of sexual abuse in the research literature declined in relation to other forms of research. No other areas of abuse behavior have significant residuals. However, it is interesting to note that neglect is near significance in 1985 with a positive residual (2.7). This was the only year with a positive residual for neglect.

These residuals provide useful information regarding the development of each area of family violence across time. However, caution must be given in that because this is a purposive sample, the explanatory power of the chi-square (which residuals are directly dependent on) is limited. Regardless, in relation to the findings of this analysis, the alternative hypothesis, that significant differences in the relative representations of categories of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time would be found, was supported. We turn now to the second hypothesis.

**H2o**: There will be no significant differences in the relative representation of policy-related journal articles pertaining to family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.

**H2a**: There will be significant differences in the relative representation of policy-related journal articles pertaining to family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time.
Descriptive statistics were run to examine activities in publication related to policy issues. The overall representation of family violence policy-related articles in this sample, over all decades, was a mere 0.6%. This can be broken down by decade to reveal that in the 1980s and 1990s no articles were published in direct relation to family violence policy, in the selected journals. In the first part of the decade of 2000 there have been three (one in 2000 and two in 2005). Although these frequency counts reveal that policy articles have been under represented in these journals, no statistical information can be given regarding significant changes over this time period, due to the small amount of data obtained. Consequently, there is insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis that there were no differences in policy-related article publication.

**H3o:** There will be no significant differences in the number of publication of family violence-related journal articles in times of greater public policy activity.

**H3a:** There will be significant differences in the number of publication of family violence-related journal articles in times of greater public policy activity.

No statistical methods of analysis could be employed in testing this hypothesis due to insufficient data. However, a descriptive investigation was conducted in attempt to identify commonalities between research publication trends and policy development. This analysis will be discussed in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was designed to examine trends in the publication of research literature pertaining to family violence in selected family research journals over the past 5 decades. The research sought to identify areas of family violence that have been neglected in research and publication. The results were telling, and provided information concerning the relative representation of various topics in family violence selected for examination in this study.

**Research Questions**

The central research question for this study was: What are the trends in the family violence literature within the past 60 years? There has been a steady and noteworthy increase in overall publication of articles on family violence across five-year intervals, with a decline occurring after 2000.

Another research question in relation to the first was: What was the relative representation of each area of family violence research at the points in time selected for this study? Clearly, child abuse and intimate partner violence accounted for the majority of publications. However, violence among lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender relationships seems to be an emerging area of research. Finally, there was little to no representation of elder abuse, or sibling abuse.

The second research question was: What was the relative representation of policy related articles to all articles on family violence at selected points in time? Policy articles were highly underrepresented relative to other topics of family violence. In fact, the
overall representation of policy-related articles across decades was less than 0.6%, and in many individual year points was 0%.

The final question was: Will there be changes in the number of family violence related articles during times of greater public policy activity? There was no concrete answer reached for this question because statistical analysis could not be conducted due to insufficient data. Instead, an assessment of significant policies pertaining to family violence with trends identified in this study was conducted. The findings will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Hypotheses**

The first hypothesis of this study read: There will be significant changes in the relative representations of categories of family violence in the family research literature at selected points in time. This hypothesis was supported. A significant discrepancy was found to exist in the relative representation of various areas of family violence in the time frame selected, as well as in the overall representation of family violence publications. Specifically, research on child abuse was overrepresented, whereas, intimate partner violence, elder abuse, LGBT violence, and sibling abuse were underrepresented.

The second hypothesis read: There will be significant changes in the relative representation of policy-related articles pertaining to family violence in family research literature at selected points in time. This hypothesis was not supported because insufficient data were available to confirm or refute the presence of significant changes in policy-related articles during the time period of this study.

The third hypothesis read: There will be significant changes in the amount of publication of family violence related articles in times of greater policy activity. This hypothesis not supported because insufficient data were available. However, because the
evidence obtained from a general policy exploration also does not directly support or contradict the hypothesis; further study is required to put this statement under higher scrutiny.

**Instrument**

The open-ended content analysis codebook was useful in classifying material in this situation, as it allowed for identification and coding to continuously emerge and develop throughout the data collection period. The codebook assigned numeric values to various categories, forms and issues in relation to family violence. The applicable codes were entered for each article featured, based on title and abstract, along with information about the journal volume, issue, year, and article author information. Also, only articles published in English were included, so the research published in other languages could not be considered.

A content analysis was conducted on four journals selected from the field of family studies on the basis of their representation in the Social Science Citation Index, i.e., the journals chosen had the greatest number of article citations. The sample consisted of 505 articles published between 1960 and 2005, gathered from volumes published at the beginning, middle, and end points of each decade within this time frame. However, all articles sampled were taken from volumes dated on or after 1980, because no family violence-related articles appeared in the sample before this time.

**Overall Trends in Family Violence Publication**

Significant trends were identified in the increase in overall publications in this area of research (as well as increased proportion of all articles published in these journals). More attention has been awarded to the problem of violence within the family with each passing decade. Interestingly enough, the only decline noted in the overall research
literature was identified within the last five years (since 2000). Potential indicators behind this decline are not known, however one could speculate a relation between social and political changes following September 11, 2001, as a possibility. Perhaps a decline in attention to this area of family violence research is a result of a shift in the pull of resources toward research in the areas of national defense, global relations, and terrorism; and away from domestic social problems such as violence in the family. Further empirical research is needed to explore any potential link between shifts in social and political climate, resources and publication in the area of family violence.

The most heavily represented type of publication was on child abuse. This was found to be the case in every decade that produced testable data featured in this study. Therefore, it can be determined that a great deal of attention in the research community has been devoted to and continues to be focused on child abuse. However, the proportion of publications in abuse category has shifted closer to equal distribution over time, as other forms of family violence have received more attention in recent years.

A small number of articles focused on demographic information such as race, class and gender. Almost half of these articles focused on issues related to gender. Surprisingly, only seven articles were published on socioeconomic status. This is despite the fact that issues related to social class and poverty have been shown to be directly correlated with most forms of family violence (Barnett, Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2005).

It is important to note that the delimitations of this study must be taken into consideration when discussing the trends identified here. There may be many family violence-related topics that are not of interest to the journals chosen for this study; which would influence frequency counts and proportions by topic. That is, because only the four
most frequently cited journals were used, it is impossible to capture a completely
generalizable idea of what is occurring in the field overall, because these journals may
not be completely representative of overall activity in the research field.

**Trends in Category of Family Violence Research**

It is evident that the largest proportion of family violence related articles have been
consistently on child abuse. Within these articles, the majority (82.3%) have an identified
victim (i.e., a child), but no clear perpetrator. Those where a perpetrator has been
identified usually involve a batterer that is a relative caregiver to the child.

More attention has been given to intimate partner violence in recent years than in
previous decades. Also, although it is a small percentage, the emerging representation of
lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender research is very telling about shifts in how we
define intimate partner violence; as well as what we consider worthy of research
attention. Finally, within this sample, no articles focusing on elder abuse were identified,
and a very small percent on sibling violence and abuse emerged in only one decade.

An additional finding in relation to representation of family violence categories has
been the identification of underrepresented categories in the research literature. Of all
categories identified in this study, the most neglected were sibling violence and abuse,
with only two articles published, and elder abuse, with no articles published. That is, the
number of articles published from this sample frame on elder abuse was such that no
analyses could be run due to insufficient numeric values (i.e., not enough cases were
identified). This is important also because it reflects another highly neglected area in the
research literature.

It is also fascinating to note that there were no relevant articles identified before
1980. The common topics appearing in the 1960s and 1970s were divorce and the sexual
“deviance” of women, which was often defined in articles as premarital sex and extramarital sex. This is once again a good example of how society has changed over the past 60 years, especially in relation to what is considered a social problem worthy of empirical scientific research and publication, and how researchers and journals may focus on topics reflecting key social changes of the period.

Finally, although abuse during pregnancy has been recognized as a significant social problem (Gelles, 1997), only one article was published on this category from this sample. This article was published in the 1990s and accounted for 0.6 % of all research literature that decade.

**Trends in Behavior Associated With Family Violence Research**

Important findings emerged in relation to behaviors associated with family violence. For example, the most common types of abuse discussed in the research were sexual abuse and unspecified abuse. In the articles pertaining to sexual abuse, the perpetrator was seldom identified (i.e., information was not given regarding whether or not the abuser was a family member, acquaintance or stranger). However, more often than not, when a perpetrator was identified, it was a parent or family member.

Another highly occurring form of abuse in publications was found to be physical abuse. However, once again, the perpetrator was not identified. The least published topics were emotional abuse, neglect, fatality and abandonment.

Once again, the gaps in the proportions of articles about various forms of family violence have narrowed over time, suggesting greater representation in areas that have been previously ignored; this seems to be the case with emotional abuse and neglect. An ironic finding was that many articles focused on the mental health outcomes for abuse victims, while research on emotional abuse appears to be lacking. This trend is
fascinating because it is evident that there is an interest in mental health and psychological well being, but not on the abuse form that most directly impacts the victim’s mental health.

It is also interesting to note that the publication rate for neglect, although minimal in all time periods, has actually decreased slightly in frequency and proportion over time. Also notable is that with the high amounts of sexual abuse-related article publications, the vast majority focused on the sexual abuse of children and not sexual abuse in intimate partner relationships. Finally, with all decades, a good proportion of articles (over half in the 1980s and in 2000) did not specify any behavior in association with family violence. Instead, these articles focused on abuse category (i.e., IPV or child abuse), or occasionally on other factors such as social services, policy and program evaluation.

**Decade Reviews from The Journal of Marriage and Family**

Several interesting trends in family violence research have been identified, including areas that have been overrepresented as well as neglected, as well as overall changes in family violence publication rates over time. For purposes of comparison, the decade reviews from the *Journal of Marriage and Family (JMF)*, are discussed again here.

In the 1960s there were no articles pertaining to family violence research. This is congruent with the findings presented here for the entire sample of journals, as no articles were identified in the sample during the 1960s. In the decade review of the 1970s, the first review article focusing on family violence appeared, recognizing that family violence research was emerging; most of the articles discussed the nature and extent of violence in the family. In contrast, no articles in the study sample were identified from this time period. This suggests that the study strategy of sampling articles in 5 Year
intervals missed articles appearing at other times, or that these articles appeared in journals not included in the sample (i.e., not the most cited journals).

According to the *JMF*, 1980s decade review, many areas of family violence were present in the research literature, including IPV, child abuse, and elder abuse. The findings here are in accordance with the exception of research on elder abuse, which did not appear in the sampled articles. In addition, the JMF decade review for the 1980s also discussed the emphasis that was placed on child sexual abuse. This was also supported here, in that child sexual abuse accounted for the largest proportion of articles represented in the sample during the 1980s (91.3%).

According to the JMF decade review, the 1990s was a very active time period in family violence research. Research focused on refining categories of family violence, and addressing violence in populations that had been previously unrecognized (LGBT couples, immigrant groups, the homeless, and international family violence). Although articles on many of these issues did appear (excluding homelessness) in this study during the 1990s, they were very small in number and proportion. For example, only two articles were published on immigrant violence (1.1%), and seven on international violence (4.0%). Interestingly, the number of articles on international family violence more than doubled in the decade of 2000, to 23 (8.4%). It will be interesting to see if this trend will be reflected in the next decade review for *The Journal of Marriage and Family*, scheduled for publication in November 2010.

**Policy Exploration**

Findings indicated that only a very small number of articles related to any form of family violence policy were published. In fact, the frequency of publications was so minute that analyses could not be performed. One possible explanation is that the selected
journals are not as concerned with policy as journals not selected for this study. For example, the *Journal of Family Policy*, the *Journal of Family Law*, and the *Journal of Family History*, may include more policy related articles. It is important to note, however, that publishing on the topic of policy is not necessarily indicative of the impacts of policy development and social movement on the field of family violence research. That is, the potential impacts of policy on research initiatives, funding and resources is not a relationship that can identified simply through an examination of articles that focus directly on policy, as policy can influence the entire process of research, publication and development of the field.

To examine the potential relationship between research and policy when statistical analyses could not be run, the research explored policy development in relation to the trends revealed in this study was done. Several major policies that were passed over the past 5 decades that apply to the issue of violence in the family were identified, then mapped on a time line and examined in relation to trends in the publication of articles pertaining to the subject matter of the policy. Because this study examined trends according to five-year markers, points directly before and after the policy was passed were examined. This investigation does not attempt to imply a causal relationship between research publication and policy; instead, it aims only to examine the potential evidence of an association that may exist. The areas of research interest were designated as overall publication in family violence, specific publications in child abuse, and specific publications in intimate partner violence. These precise areas were chosen because child abuse and intimate partner violence policies have been at the forefront of family violence related policies.
Several interesting similarities emerged from the comparison of research trends and policy development. First, in several circumstances, times of low policy development were also marked by minute increases, or even declines in research activity. For instance, for trends in child abuse literature, the only period in this study that had no new policy development, 1985 to 1990, excluding the revision of an existing policy, was also marked by a decline in the research literature pertaining to this subject matter. Despite the decline in article frequency between 1985 and 1990, the decade of the 1980s had the highest proportion of articles published on child abuse, and the policies passed in relation to family violence were focused primarily on child abuse (i.e., Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare act of 1980, Social Security Act Amendments of 1981, and three CAPTA Revisions). An additional finding of interest was in relation to intimate partner violence research and the passing of The Violence Against Women Act. VAWA, which was established in 1994, was passed shortly before the period of the largest increase of intimate partner violence research, 1995 to 2000. During this time period a revision was also made to the original VAWA (2000); thus, the time period of highest research publication on domestic violence was situated directly in between two periods of intimate partner violence policy development. Similarly, in 1995, the Sex Crimes Against Children Act was passed, and the highest number of articles on the sexual abuse of children was published. This five-year period also included a revision to CAPTA (1996), and ended with the passing of the Child Abuse Prevention and Enforcement Act (1999) as well.

However, in this investigation, several areas of publication do not appear to be related to policy development. For instance, the first sharp increase in publication of child
abuse-related articles did not occur until nearly six years following the passage of the original Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (1974). Furthermore, there were time periods in this study that actually revealed declines in research during periods of policy activity. For instance, the greatest decline in both child abuse and intimate partner violence research, as well as overall family violence research, occurred between the years 2000 and 2005, yet important policy activity was occurring at that time, including revisions to both VAWA and CAPTA, and the enactment of the Domestic Violence Screening and Prevention Act (2003). Also, despite the passage of the Older Americans Act (2000), there continued to be no research articles published on elder abuse in this sample. Thus, although several interesting similarities emerged from this descriptive analysis, the findings are too preliminary and mixed to assert any type of relationship that may exist between research trends and policy development.

Theory

Family violence research development is a dynamic process that is continuously changing over time, as shown by the publication trends identified in this study. Strong evidence of changes in family violence knowledge development were identified through changes in distribution of articles on family violence over time. The development of new journals and the dramatic increases in newer areas of research, as well as marked declines in existing areas of research publication, reveal the constantly changing nature of scientific research in this area.

This study sought to utilize structuration theory to explain the patterns of change in family violence research publication. That is, the trends identified in research publication were examined in relation to significant social policy development on family violence.
This theory was used in attempt to identify a relationship between these areas, and to use this dynamic relationship to better understand the development of this field.

Central components of structuration theory, including agency (action), structure, and the process of structuration, were all applied to the field of family violence. Agency was examined in the form of research publication trends, structure in the form of policy, and the process of structuration through the interdependent relationship that may exist between the two. In other words, this study sought to identify a relationship between family violence research publication and family violence social policy that may reveal the presence of an intricate process of structuration (i.e., a mutually interdependent relationship between research and social policy that is present in the creation and perpetuation of the field of family violence research).

The development of policy on family violence within this time period reflects changes in social acceptability, legal definitions and regulations, and political shifts where family violence is concerned. Potential commonalities identified between trends in research publication and policy development may demonstrate the intricate relationship between research publication and policy, as a reflection of the culturally contextual and somewhat subjective nature of scientific research. That is, viewing family violence research as a process influenced by social movement and change (indicated by policy development) allows for the understanding of how this area of scientific research has developed, and how it can be influenced by, and in turn, influences social action and cultural change, which is the process of structuration.

Because no statistical analysis could be conducted, the dynamic relationship between family violence research trends and policy development was explored in an
attempt to better understand the process of structuration pertaining to family violence research. Although these findings were mixed, there was sufficient evidence of a potential relationship between agency (family violence research activity) and structure (family violence policy), to warrant further empirical investigation. That is, the various commonalities found, such as increases in publication on research areas pertaining to policy subject matter during time periods of social policy development, may be evidence of the dynamic relationship (i.e., the process of structuration) between policy development, and research activity within this sample.

Just as plausible, it seems there is a relation between social change and research. For instance, as U.S. society has become more accepting of same sex couples, we have seen an interest in same sex violence. Also, as society ages, we would expect to see the emergence of an interest in elder abuse. With the occurrence of ‘specific’ tragic events, such as horrific child rapes and homicides, the research community may respond with increased attention to this area. Other examples of the tie between social change and family violence research have been made. Such ties include the early emergence of family violence research literature decades ago as a result of greater sensitivity of violence due to war, social activism, increased crime rates, and other societal issues of the time (Straus, 1974).

Another area that is in need of further investigation in relation to family violence research is changes in theoretical and epistemological orientations. That is, it is apparent that there may be a relationship between emerging trends in research, and theoretical development. For example, changes in theory over the study time frame, such as the growth in popularity in the feminist and conflict perspective may be related to the
increases in research initiative in areas of violence against women and other forms of violence in the family. This also may be the case with the rise of postmodernist theories and changes in definitions concerning what constitutes as “family”, as well as the increasing attention to forms of family violence such as violence and abuse in same-sex marriages. Thus, examining trends in family violence research in relation to the growth and development of general social theory may produce interesting and useful findings.

Although it was difficult to peg down a connection between social policy and family violence research, the possibility of this connection still seems evident, and worthy of investigation. In short, further studies are needed regarding the potential application of this theory to the process of family violence research.

**Limitations**

The most significant limitation was the inability of this study to adequately measure policy as a representation of social change or its impact on family violence research. This made it difficult to strongly support structuration theory, as statistically sound research on the relationship between policy and publication, and therefore, on the process of structuration, could not be identified. One potential reason for this may be that the selected journals are not emphasizing the publication of family violence policy-related writings. Instead, such articles may more likely be found in journals in the disciplines of law, criminal justice, and political science, as well as policy reports issued by agencies and organizations. So, by virtue of the sampling focus on family journals, policy related publications may have been overlooked.

In addition, the small journal sample limited the scope of this study in that there may not have been a valid representation of the many areas of publication in family violence research. Therefore, rate of citation may not have been an adequate method of
selection of journals. This became particularly apparent in the time period before 1980, when the journal selected for this study was apparently publishing very little on family violence. However, there is still valid information in that the most frequently cited journals in the field were not publishing in the underrepresented areas identified.

An additional limitation identified in relation to the journals selected was that the change in volume and issue publication could not be controlled for. That is, during this time frame, spikes in frequency may have been attributed to increases in annual publication rates. For example, the *Journal of Child Abuse and Neglect* increased publication rates from four issues a year to twelve issues a year after 1990. Although this activity may represent an increased interest in family violence research, it also may have skewed the proportion balance to reflect a greater amount of child abuse research publications than is actually occurring within the field. This is another example of how the study sample is limited in scope concerning general applicability, as frequency of child abuse article publication may have skewed the results to reflect higher rates of publication than may actually be occurring overall in the field of family violence research.

Another limitation to this study is in the limited number of year points. It was not possible to sample every year in the past five decades in the study time frame. Therefore, the number of articles taken into consideration for analysis was small in relation to total field activity (i.e., 505 articles in this sample as opposed to 1572 in the sample frame). However, by choosing to only include five-year markers, this study was still able to gather a good amount of information regarding trends in publication over a long period of
time (as opposed to using every year in a shorter amount of time). Thus, this method was chosen as opposed to sampling every year in a shorter period of time.

Finally, the difficulty of applying structuration theory to this study was a limitation. This may be associated with the nature of the theory itself, that is, scholars have stated that structuration theory may be difficult to test empirically (Cuff, Sherrock & Francis, 1998). Also, as was previously stated, the lack of historical contextual factors in this study may have limited the extent to which structuration theory could have been applied. For example, in a recent study, the applicability of structuration theory in various areas of social science research was investigated. The results reflected that the most successful studies had ethnographic information about actors across time and space. Those that used a broader, more collective approach (i.e., following overall institutional progress as opposed to change among individuals or groups), had a more difficult time utilizing the theory (Phipps, 2001).

**Future Research Recommendations**

The primary recommendation of this study for future research is to address those areas of family violence that have been identified as underrepresented in the literature. This lack of research attention must be addressed if we are to gain knowledge that can be applied to outreach, education, policy and prevention.

First, elder abuse research did not arise in the time frame utilized. Although this may be due to the fact that the sample journals do not publish on elder abuse, the complete omission of this area in these journals is still alarming. Research that does exist tells us that this is a widespread problem (i.e., over 450,000 elders maltreated annually), with significant negative victim outcomes (Jogerst, Brody, Dyer & Arias, 2004; Rothman & Duntop, 2001). Therefore, increased research attention needs to focus on elder abuse.
In addition, the limited knowledge we have on sibling violence and abuse tells us that the incidence of this form of family violence is estimated at nearly 60% (Noland, et al., 2004), and that victims suffer long lasting, negative outcomes exacerbated by the lack of validation received from a society that does not recognize this as a social problem (Wiehe, 2002). Yet, sibling violence and abuse was one of the two topics in family violence category that was the most underrepresented in the literature. Special focus should be given to this area if we are to increase professional and public awareness of this form of family violence. Posing questions about why sibling abuse exists, how it has gone unrecognized for so long, whether or not it has been normalized in our society (and if so, in what ways), what constitutes a healthy versus unhealthy sibling relationship, and how we can address the problem for better prevention and intervention would be a start in better understanding sibling violence and abuse. However, before we can tackle this social problem, shifts in the research field, policy arena, and overall public perception must take place to recognize and accept that abuse among siblings is in fact, a social problem.

Another area of family violence that is in need of research attention is neglect. Despite the fact that neglect accounts for over 60% of confirmed child abuse cases (HHS, 2004), this topic was underrepresented among articles considered in this study. Similar points have been made regarding the lack of research on neglect. One such study stated that despite the growing incidence rate of neglect (a 100% increase between 1986 and 1993), research on neglect has accounted for a very small proportion of research (of the 489 articles published in the first five volumes of Child Abuse and Neglect, only 25 were on child neglect) (Bloom, 2000; Zuravin, 1999). In another study, there were only 559
articles of neglect published in a psychology index that published a total of 5,848 entries (Garbarino & Collins, 1999). Thus, the neglect of research on neglect continues to be a significant issue in family violence research.

For further understanding of the influences of social context on the process of scientific research and publication, an additional suggestion for future research would be to conduct decade-specific analyses that can take contextual variables into consideration when examining trends in research literature. For example, an in depth analysis of the 1970’s, using a larger sample (every year) from journals that focus more on policy could allow for a more in depth analysis and a greater understanding of the potential relationship between policy activity and research development. Also, a more detailed examination of research development would be beneficial. That is, because this study was only able to examine article publications from very specific journals, a great deal of research activity was not addressed. This includes research published in journals from other disciplines, as well as research activity that may not have been published at all. Therefore, a more detailed examination of social science research on family violence could potentially provide useful information on the growth and development of the field.

As previously stated, a limitation of this study was the potential incompatibility of social science journal articles and family violence policy-related publications. Therefore, an additional research recommendation would be to explore alternative sources of policy-related information. One such source would be the Thomson West law search engine. This source contains over 23,000 databases concerning case law, state and federal statutes, administrative codes, newspaper and magazine articles, public records, law journals, law reviews, treatises, legal forms and other information resources. Therefore, it
may be suitable in accessing more information concerning policies, media coverage, public response, and details surrounding the legislative process in relation to family violence policy overall.

Finally, selecting specific policies on family violence and examining publications in time periods directly before and after legislation has been passed may be a useful approach to examining the potential relationship between scholarly publication and policy activity. With research that meets this goal, structuration theory could be better applied and supported to the development of the field of family violence research.

**Implications for Practice**

The first recommendation for practice based on this research would be to apply the knowledge gained here regarding the neglect of certain forms of family violence to public education campaigns. Increasing public awareness of areas that we now know to be underrepresented can help to change perceptions and values regarding various forms of violence in the family. These changes in awareness can better enable outreach organizations to serve populations that may be struggling with family violence. For example, victim advocacy training that incorporates information about less known areas of family violence may be influential in helping in the identification, intervention and prevention of these forms of abuse.

A second recommendation would be to expand efforts to educate families themselves about family violence. That is, through education, we may be able to increase awareness and recognition of the presence of abuse forms that are not widely known or understood (i.e., elder abuse and sibling abuse), and increase the likelihood of reporting and intervention for families in crisis.
We can start to educate families by educating those in practitioner positions that involve direct outreach and community involvement. Giving them any information (as research information has proven to be limited), to use in educational programs, counseling, prevention, lobbying, and other services has the potential to reach a great deal of the population. These small steps can go far in increasing public awareness, changing public perception of unhealthy family relationships, and assisting families themselves.

Implications for Policy

Although the results pertaining to policy were mixed, implications based on the trends identified for social policy are extensive. Because the nature of this study was to examine the relationship between family violence research publication and family violence social policy, many of the recommendations offered here touch upon this relationship. More specifically, these policy recommendations emphasize the importance of policy development on research initiative and knowledge development.

To begin with, legislation that recognizes the nature and extent of underrepresented areas of family violence is needed. For example, policies focusing on elder abuse are needed to increase research funding and initiative, enact stronger protective legislation, and promote educational programs that can increase public attention regarding maltreatment of the elderly.

Another area in need of policy attention is that of abuse between siblings. Legislation that recognizes the presence of and consequences that result from sibling violence and abuse can increase public attention of this social problem. Also, having protective guidelines in place can aid practitioners in the identification, intervention and prevention of this form of abuse. Finally, public policy that recognizes this problem is intrinsic to increasing social awareness and redefining how we define healthy and
unhealthy sibling relationships; thus, promoting change in social norms regarding the acceptability of abusive behavior between siblings.

In addition, policy attention that recognizes the nature and extent of domestic violence in lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender relationships is needed. The legal rights of same-sex couples is currently a highly controversial issue. Most debate surrounds family-related issues such as the right to marry and the right to adopt children. However, attention that focuses on abuse in these relationships is lacking. As is the case with other forms of underrepresented research identified in this study, increases in public awareness are needed. This can be addressed by the development of policies that increase funding to the development of programs that can aid this population. Such programs include service programs that aid this population through increasing resources, education, and general public recognition. Also, funding that increases research initiative is needed to generate knowledge, as well as promote methodological advances and theoretical development addressing violence in the LGBT community.

Conclusions

This study has identified trends in the publication of journal articles on family violence over the past 5 decades. Trends identified include the lack of research publication on family violence in selected journals before 1980. Popular topics of publication, such as research on child abuse and specifically, child sexual abuse, were identified. Also trends such as the increasing proportion of research on intimate partner violence emerged. Finally, areas of family violence research articles from selected journals that have been underrepresented in publication, such as elder abuse, sibling violence and abuse, LGBT abuse, neglect, emotional abuse and abandonment, have been identified.
Although many areas identified were thought to have been neglected previously, this study is unique in that it produced statistical evidence, not only identifying underrepresented areas but also showing the degree to which these areas have been neglected. With this knowledge, we can move forward and work towards providing more empirical research in these areas. Furthermore, we can avoid what Straus and Gelles (1995) have referred to as the deterministic truism, as when we discuss areas that have been overlooked in the research literature, we now have statistical evidence to support our claims.

Having the understanding that family violence research is a social process that is contextually situated, culturally influenced, and subjective to the researcher can help us to be aware of how definitions and perceptions of what constitutes family violence, and what warrants research attention has changed over time. With this understanding, we can be aware of and open to potential changes in future research, especially regarding how we define violence in the family. That is, as we have seen a portion of the historical shift in research, policy, definition, classification and awareness concerning family violence, we may be more open to the reality that these areas will continue to shift and change. It is possible that family violence forms that may emerge in future research and be accepted as social problems may not enter our consciousness today. To be open to this possibility, and to pursue areas of research that have been previously neglected, may be the immediate future of this field; and the time to entertain the possibility that our awareness may continue to shift concerning these areas is now.
APPENDIX A
CONTENT ANALYSIS CODEBOOK

**Family Abuse Categories:**
1- IPV (male to female)
2- IPV (female to male)
3- IPV (LGBT men)
4- IPV (LGBT women)
5- Child Abuse (parent/guardian or relative to child).
6- Child Abuse (non-relative to child)
7- Sibling Abuse (male to female)
8- Sibling Abuse (female to male)
9- Sibling Abuse (male to male)
10- Sibling Abuse (female to female)
11- Elder Abuse (IPV male to female)
12- Elder Abuse (IPV female to male)
13- Elder Abuse (family caregiver to victim)
14- Elder Abuse (non-family caregiver)
15- Family violence General/Unspecified
16- IPV unspecified
17- Child Abuse Unspecified
18- Sibling Abuse Unspecified
19- Elder Abuse Unspecified

**Family Abuse Behaviors:**
100- Physical abuse
101- Emotional/psychological abuse
102- Sexual abuse
103- General neglect
104- Medical neglect
105- Educational neglect
106- Abandonment
107- Financial abuse
108- Drug abuse/Chemical Restraint
109- Other/Unspecified
110- Homicide/Fatalities

**Family Violence Issues**
200- Intergenerational transmission of violence
201- Theoretical development
202- Family violence policy
203- Service program- victim oriented
204- Service program- batterer oriented
205- Service program evaluation
206- Demographic- SES
207- Demographic-Race/ethnicity
208- Demographic- gender
209- Immigrants
210- Legal services (judicial)
211- Legal services (law enforcement)
212- Child Welfare Services
213- LGBT
214- Pregnancy
215- Methodological development
216- physically or developmentally disabled
217- International
218- Substance Abuse
219- Healthcare/Medical treatment
220- Homelessness
221- Mental Health/Wellbeing
222- Service program-family
223- Parenting
224- Criminality
225- Cohabitation/Dating
226- Demographic-Religiosity
227- risk taking behavior
228- incidence/rates
229- age

Year
Numeric Value of year
APPENDIX B
CITATION INDEX TABLE

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REFERENCES


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Rachel Susannah Birmingham was born on May 2, 1982, in Syracuse New York. She is the youngest for four children, and has spent most of her life in rural north Florida. She attended Santa Fe Community College as a dual enrollment student, and graduated in the top 10% of her dual enrollment class while also earning her high school diploma. During this time, Rachel worked as a volunteer for a juvenile justice program, and received congressional recognition for her service to the community in 2000. She graduated from P.K. Yonge Developmental Research School in 2001, and earned her associate’s degree months later. During Rachel’s undergraduate years, she worked as a nurse’s assistant, and cared for patients with advanced dementia and Alzheimer’s disease. As a Florida Merit scholar, she received a B.A. in sociology from the University of Florida in 2005.

Rachel is currently working on her master’s degree in family, youth and community sciences at the University of Florida. She is a certified by the Florida Coalition against Domestic Violence and works as a child advocate for Peaceful Paths Domestic Abuse Network. She is planning to pursue her doctorate degree in the fall of 2007.