CHILD ABUSE

RO ROBERTS

— a socio-environmental perspective

INTRODUCTION
In a series of two articles, the author presents a socio-environmental model which provides a framework for assessing the needs of abusing families. In the 2nd article (to be published in the Spring Issue) she looks at the application of the model in practice.

Ro Roberts B.S. (Hons.) Dip. Soc. Stud. has worked in the Child Welfare area in Local Government for a number of years. She is currently working on a manuscript related to managing human resource services in Local Government. She has a special interest in working with families and children and has been responsible for setting up local groups to promote community management of families in the area of child abuse.

Since the "discovery" of child abuse three decades ago, there has been an intimate relationship between theory and practice in the form of helping programs. To date, this influence has been largely one way – from theory to practice. Because models of causation of child abuse have come predominantly from the medical and psychiatric fields, this influence has had implicit, and potentially harmful, effects in retarding the growth of effective prevention and management programs.

One of these effects has been the development of "professional ownership" of the problem of child abuse. Such ownership is based on an implicit value system within which abusing families are seen as essentially different from non-abusing families. Within this framework they are viewed as "cases" and identified as in need of diagnosis and treatment of individual or family psychopathology.

It is only very recently (at least in Victoria) that community groups of workers and families have started to challenge this professional ownership.

The underlying values of this challenge stress that abusing families are not essentially different from non-abusing families. They share with all families in their communities the same needs for supportive relationships and services.

They differ only in their degree of needs. It is the conviction of some community workers that professionally based treatment services, where they are not closely integrated with community based and community managed support services, fail in many important respects.

They fail firstly, to prevent abuse occurring because their application is predicated on the presence of identifiable abusing symptoms.

They fail secondly, to provide long term supports for families whose abuse is very likely to be related to serious lack of material, social and psychological resources.

They fail, thirdly, to deal with social isolation by providing services which require families to be identified and stigmatized as abusing families.

Because they rely on preserving the professional/client relationship, they fail, lastly, to empower families to take more control over their lives.

The argument here is not that that there is no need for professional protective intervention to protect children in situations of intolerable risk. Unfortunately, there is a need – at least in the short term.

However, protective intervention services are not helping services. The argument here is rather that helping services which aim to prevent and manage vulnerable families must not be built around the professional knowledge gleaned from "after-the-bruise" treatment approaches, or from social control intervention.

This article proposes that an alternative model to the individual/family pathology model has the potential to overcome some of the dangers mentioned above. The model presented here is called the socio-environmental model. In the first of a series of two articles, an overview of the model is presented. In the second article, the practice implications of the socio-environmental model are discussed, in particular the potential contribution of social support network theory and practice.

There appears to be general agreement in the literature on child abuse that it is a phenomenon caused by a multiplicity of factors (Ross, 1980: Cook & Bowles, 1980; Kempe & Helfer, 1980). These factors can be divided into two categories which cover the main areas of research. The two areas subsume factors which arise from the family (including those factors which arise from the child) and factors which arise from the environment of the family. Close reading of the literature reveals that even hardliners of one focus or the other acknowledge the contribution of all factors in some combination. For example, both Spinetta & Rigler (1972) who represent the former focus, and Gil (1980) who represents the latter acknowledge multi-causation. What there is little agreement on is the relative weight given to intra-familial factors (such as parental pathology and/or physical and emotional characteristics of the child, or interaction of parent and child factors), or to socio-environmental factors. Reference to the research literature fails to clearly support one focus or the other. Parental pathology theorists accuse social context theorists of failing to demonstrate why all poor families do not abuse their children. (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972) and social environmental theorists have accused parental pathology theorists of failing to establish the definitive list of psychological characterstics which will predict that certain parents will abuse their children.

Child Abuse research is also bedevilled by methodological problems of finding a representative sample of the assumed population of abusers. There is reason to doubt that present measures of incidence are accurate measures of true incidence. For example, most, if not all, samples are pre-selected by public report, or by self report. As yet, there has been no adequate research method of locating the assumed "abusing" population who may include abusers who escape notification and who do not "own up" or seek help. Variations in definition of child abuse also necessarily define the abusing population. If serious injury or death is taken (Schmitt, 1980; Weston,1980) then the abusing population will be smaller than if a broader is used: e.g. "Child abuse and neglect are viewed as acts of commission and omission which interfere with the chances of children to develop their potential as human beings" (Cook & Bowles, 1980, p.1).

Given these serious methodological problems – of likely sampling error, of lack of agreement of definition, and of multi-factorial causation, it is obvious that child abuse research has extreme difficulty in establishing causation. What is of concern here is not the question of research evidence for or against a particular theoretical approach Both the parental pathology and the social context focus have identified

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1035077200904267 Published online by Cambridge University Press

significant features in the picture of child abuse. In fact it is relevant to note that the parental pathology school pre-dates the socio-environmental school, and that the latter has depended on the former to the extent to which it grew out of a critique of the "sick family" model. It could be argued that the earlier parental pathology approach was also necessary as a base, in that it not only established the fact that abuse occurs, but also prioritized the child abuse "syndrome" as a serious social problem requiring urgent action.

What is of concern in the present discussion, is the treatment/service implications of each theoretical approach.

In order to examine the treatment implications it is necessary to discuss the value systems underlying the two approaches. Values are difficult to discuss, not the least because they are usually not explicated. They represent deeply felt, even unconscious positive attitudes to those issues of life which are held to be especially valuable and worthy. They are the necessary and inevitable result of socialization in a particular culture. Although frequently inarticulated (in our "western" culture) they are nevertheless linked together in a "value system". They can act as powerful determinants of human choice at all levels of human activity.

The relevance of values to the present discussion is the fact that values do influence the research and practice choices of child abuse theorists and workers. In so far as child abuse practitioners are working in the value laden area of attempting to change human behaviour (i.e. to eliminate the abusing behaviour), it is considered essential that all the determinants of choice - of research and practice focus -- are spelt out. Where the values are not spelt out, they are deduced as much by what is not chosen as by what is intra familial (parental pathology) theorists have, in general, not discussed their value stand. In consequence their values are deduced from their work. In contrast, the socio-environmentalists have gone to some lengths to identify their values.

Each school represents one of two opposing value stands. These stands can be described as the "ice cube" stand or the "iceberg" stand (Garbarino, 1982). The ice cubers, who constitute those theorists who stress the importance of intra familial factors, believe that there is an identifiable population of abusing parents. Child abusers (parents or other caretakers) are seen as qualitatively different from non-abusing parents or caretakers. They form a discrete group which has in common – not only the fact that abuse has occurred but a set of psychological characteristics, whose combination in degree or kind are associated with the occurrence of abuse. Membership of this abusing population carries with it the status of deviance. Icecubers assume that abuse is uncommon and abnormal. The icecube approach – and the set of beliefs and assumptions which underlie it, has arisen from early attempts to describe the psychological profile of abusing parent in the hope that correlation would reveal causation. Because child abuse is believed to be an issue of deviance and psychological abnormality, it follows that icecube theorists argue that it is most properly the province of professionals to define the problem and to diagnose it. In this sense child abuse has become an issue of professional ownership – and consequently, such ownership has led away from community or neighbourhood, or non-professional ownership and responsibility.

"Icebergers", on the other hand – who represent the socio-environmental school, do not believe that abuse families are different from non-abusing families, except in terms of degree. Icebergers view abuse as an issue of degree or problem in parenting or child caretaking. They assume that all parents, within a given population (which could be a neighborhood, a community or a Nation) have more or fewer difficulties in parenting given the multiplicity of factors affecting their parenting. Abusing parents are thus seen as the same continuum as all parents. They share the same range of psychological characteristics that other families in their milieu have, and they are subject to the same influences from their environment. The value stress is on commonness between all parents, not differences between abusers and non-abusers. Because of the stress on commonality, there is rejection of labelling, of the concept of deviance, and of consequent stigmatization. This belief in the essential oneness of abusers and non-abusers tends to be accompanied by the belief that child abuse is in fact not uncommon and rare in incidence (Carter, 1981). The reported or discovered cases in a given locality are merely the "tip of the iceberg".

The basic service implications of these two value stands are that the family pathology focus stresses treatment, and the socio-environmental model stresses prevention. As mentioned above, the deviance assumed under the former model is thought to be best dealt with by those skilled to diagnose and treat (mainly those providing services under a medical model) (Gordon, 1982). A quote from Spinetta and Rigler highlights not only this focus on treatment, but also the limited expectation of success.

> Certainly one would hope that research can eventually develop criteria to distinguish those inadequate parents who, with professional help, can meet the needs of their children, from those who cannot. We need eventually to be able to identify the high risk families prior to the onset of abuse, but should be satisfied for the time being if we can help determine after the fact of abuse which families must receive the most attention to assure the further safety of their child.
>
> Spinetta and Rigler, p.143

The socio-environmental model emphasizes services which do not label and isolate abusing families from other families, but which aim to increase mutual sontact and support. Types of services promoted by this model are based on an understanding of socio-environmental influences on families. As these influences vary according to the mutually interacting factors of neighbourhood and community membership, the focus is shifted from the individual family to the common needs of class and/or geographical communities. They are likely to be set up under the principle of universal access (relating to the perceived needs of the community) rather than the differential and residual access based on qualifying criteria. In other words, if child abuse is considered to be primarily a common occurrence of certain socio-environmental conditions the service will not be targetted to an assumed population of, for example, psychiatrically disturbed and deviant abusers, but to all members of the community (geographical or social) of common socio-environmental conditions. This does not mean that helping programs will ignore the fact that abuse has occurred or is occurring. Or that such programs will ignore the body of research indicating the extremity of negative psychological characteristics of certain abusing families (i.e. those at present subject to research). Or that positive discrimination and priority will not be given to such families within programs. The point is, that abusing status will not be the primary means of including or excluding service recipients.

This statement leads to the question as to what evidence exists to suggest that such services could be more effective than treatment services based on the parental pathology/icecube value approach. Is there support for the contention that socio-environmental influence/iceberg value stand offers abusing families more substantial help than the former approach?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine what the social-context model says about child abuse. The best developed account of this approach, based on work by Bronfenbrenner (1977) is found in Garbarino's writings (Garbarino, 1976; Garbarino &

Holly Stocking, 1980, Garbarino & Gilliam, 1981). The term "cause" is not used here as the model takes into account a multiplicity of factors which operate in interaction with each other and in combination, to precipitate child abuse. The model is certainly not a simple one. However, it is different from most child abuse models in that it states its value base explicitly and it has direct and practical implication for helping all families and particularly abusing ones.

The model has the following major propositions:–

1. child abuse is primarily an issue of family life and family relationships.
2. all family relationships are substantially determined by the family's social context over time, and at the present time.
3. all families are viewed as systems interacting with their environments at various levels.
4. this interaction means that families influence their environments, and are in turn influenced by their environment through a process of mutual accommodation and adaptation over time.
5. the key influential environmental systems with which families interact, are the close relationships embodied in kinship and friendship networks.
6. Families are also influenced by larger envrionmental systems such as state and national institutions and cultural norms and values.
7. These immediate and more general systems in interaction with the family can either nurture, support, and facilitate non-abusive parenting, or they can undermine "good" parenting and create the conditions for abuse to occur.
8. Although the totality of factors of a family's social context need to be considered, a number of sufficient and necessary conditions which are associated with the occurrence of child abuse, can be identified.
9. Sufficient conditions (factors which can by themselves or in combination) precipitate child abuse, provided the necessary conditions are present, include:
   - child rearing ignorance
   - unrealistic expectations of the child
   - presence of "special" child
   - mental illness
   - poor impulse control

It must be noted that low income is not seen as a sufficient condition in itself. It is seen as significant insofar as it can allow families to buy or develop resources, especially social resources (child care, holidays, adequate housing etc.). Inadequate income is therefore seen as important in respect of its propensity to create the conditions for "social impoverishment" (Garbarino & Holly Stocking,1980).

10. The necessary conditions which are always present when child abuse occurs are:
    1. Cultural values which define the status of child as the "property" of their parents to discipline and rear with minimal interference; and which allow the use of physical force against children,
    2. Isolation of the parent child relationship from "potent prosocial supports" (Garbarino & Holly Stocking, 1980: 32).

In summary, the ecological model proposes that child abuse varies directly as a function of "the degree to which human ecology enhances or undermines parenting" (Garbarino, 1976: 178).

The ecological model highlights a number of factors which indicate a humanistic or normalizing value base.

1. The model is based on the belief that child abuse can only be understood by a knowledge of normal child development. The developmental status of the child is reflected in: "the substantive variety and structural complexity . . . of the activities which he initiates and maintains in the absence of instigation and direction by others" (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1981: 26). Understanding normal child development includes a concept of quality of life where development is enhanced. As development is viewed on a continuum, so parenting is viewed as existing on a continuum of "adequate" (promoting healthy physical and emotional development), to "inadequate" (hindering optimal development). Therefore helping abusing families is not seen as a different process from helping all families (who need it) to achieve optimum development. The helping process is not seen as treating a disease or curing abnormality, but as a process of enrichment of parent/child relationships. The model is based on the belief that all families have the potential to achieve optimal child development given the right circumstances.

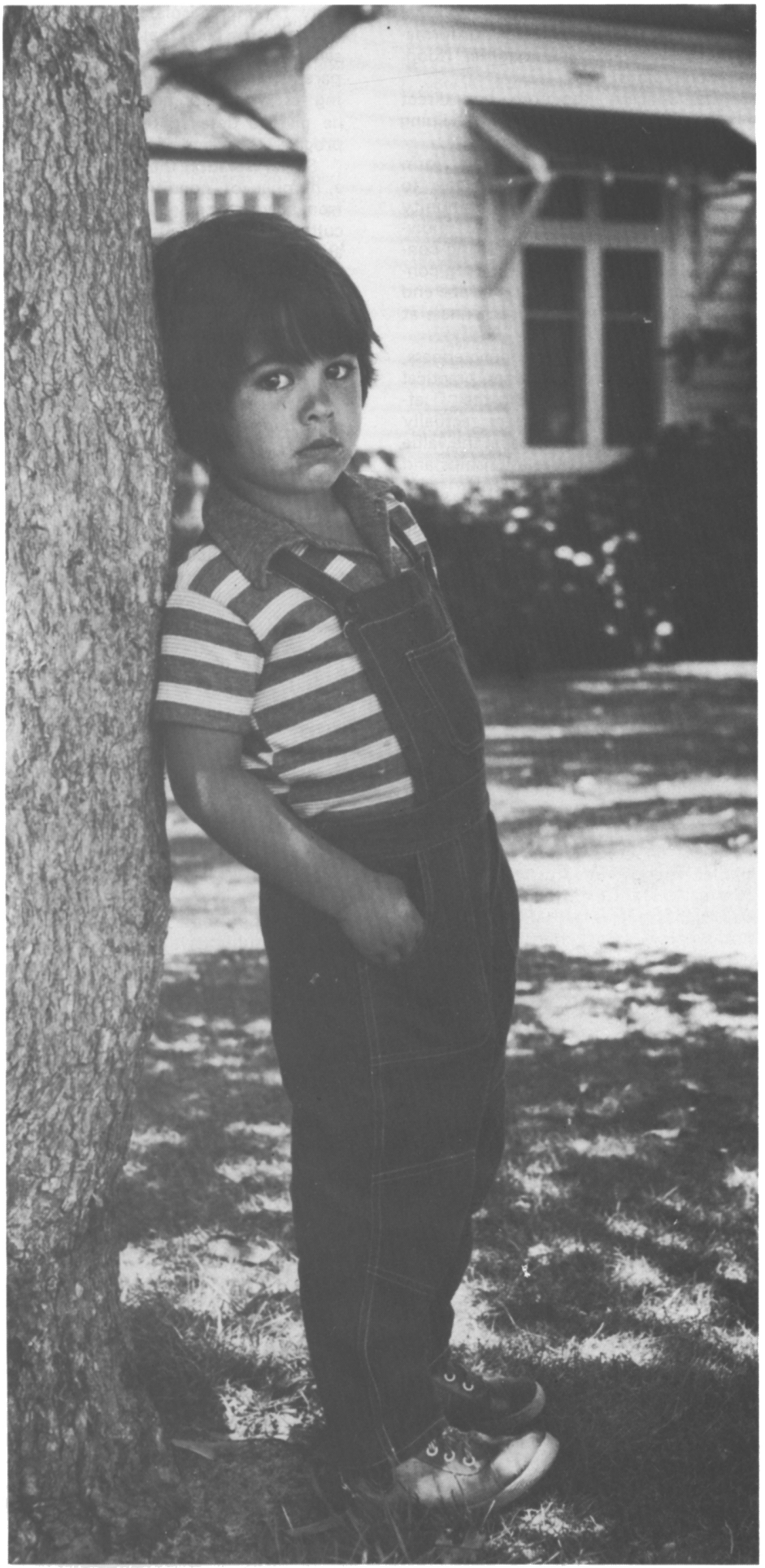
This value of family potential does not deny the reality that there are individual exceptions creating situations of intolerable physical and emotional risk to children; necessitating protective intervention. What the value does lead to is a concept that these occurrences are exceptions, not expected outcomes of assumed parental pathology.

2. The theory stresses the importance of an understanding of family needs over time . Each family is seen as changing constantly in respect of internal and external factors. Family needs are thus constantly changing. A family which may need considerable practical and emotional support at one point in their life stage, may achieve greater stability or self-sufficiency at another stage. Knowledge of child development and family life stages leads to the expectation that a combination of certain factors at one point in time (e.g. when the family has several small children) is likely to lead to increased family need for support and resources. The degree of family need will vary from family to family, but abusing families share with non-abusing families the same life stages, and vary only in degree of need – not kind. This developmental approach is in contradistinction to the parent pathology approach which is still largely dependent on the occurrence of an abusing incident to indicate the need for treatment, and which locks families ino an abusing status based on a "single event perspective".

3. Understanding child abuse must be based on extensive knowledge of the family's environment. This includes study of the family's immediate social context – i.e. their own relationships, and the relationships available to them through networks in their neighbourhood and community (this may be a geographical community or work community or special interest community – or all three) – and also study of the broader social context – i.e. macrosystem of the family's society – societal institutions and value systems. Families are influenced also by social factors and forces which do not directly touch them. These are called "second order effects" (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

As mentioned above, the ecological model attempts to deal with most of the factors included in the list of multifactorial causation. It attempts to describe how these factors fit in and interact. The model does, however, specifically exclude abuse where the abusers are frankly psychotic or seriously mentally ill. It does so on the grounds that the incidence of this type of abuse is very much in the minority. Research evidence does support this contention (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972). The model acknowledges that there is insufficient knowledge, at the present time , of the appropriateness or effectiveness of applying developmental principles to abusers who may be out of touch with reality (their social context) and in need of urgent treatment.

The value of the ecological model is that it attempts to identify theoretically the significance of the various factors, and to do so in such a way that concrete suggestions are made for treatment and prevention. Parental "pathology" or intra familial factors, are considered within the list of "sufficient conditions", but they are conceived of as arising out of social content. For example, sufficient conditions



include child rearing ignorance, unreal expectation, "propensity towards violence" (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1981), Although these are characteristics of individuals, they are firmly linked to environmental determinants. Garbarino in fact describes abuse as a "form of situationally determined incompetence in the role of the caregiver" (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1981: 29). The personal qualities (of role incompetence, or low parenting skills) are seen as relevant, but they are not considered merely as personal properties of disturbed parents. They are properties which are determined by the social context, and which are on a continuum of parenting.

Sufficient conditions are considered important in the constellation of precipitating factors, but they are not the most important. The most important factors according to the model are the two necessary conditions of: the way culture defines the rights of the child, and social isolation.

It is necessary to consider these two factors at some depth because they are the major explanatory concepts of how the abusing family is affected by their social context.

Many writers, not just ecological theorists, stress the likely influence of culturally held values. American writers, for example, in the field of child abuse have pointed out that cultural values influence very directly all family life in ways which are significant in encouraging abuse. These factors are seen as being: the acceptance of violence in the society as a whole (Gil, 1975); the tolerance of the use of violence in the family (particularly the use of physical force to discipline children) (Gelles, 1978; Straus, 1980); and the value of "family privacy" (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1981). Insofar as Australia is culturally similar to America (in terms of its capitalistic value system and political power base, technological sophistication and affluence) it shares these values (Boxx, 1980). There is some evidence that use of physical force in norms relating to violence are seen within the ecological model as examples of "macrosystems" which create "sociocultural-risk" of abuse. As Garbarino writes, this risk stems from "an ideology or cultural alignment that impoverishes the ability and willingness of adults to care for children and children to learn from adults" (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1981: 27). Again it is important to stress that all parents in a given society are influenced to some degree by these value systems.

It cannot be shown at this time how such macrosystems directly influence the individual incidence of abuse. However, the argument that sociocultural acceptance of family violence and the use of physical force in child rearing create "sociocultural risk" and set the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1035077200904267 Published online by Cambridge University Press

scene for abuse to occur, is compelling. If concentrated and serious attempts were made to change sociocultural values and to educate parents (and potential parents in schools) about alternate methods of child ciscipline, this would be likely, at the very least, to reduce role incompetence. The point made by the ecological model is that child abuse will never be tackled effectively if the sociocultural tolerance of violence is not reduced.

The second necessary condition – isolation – is the key concept for helping programs. The concept of social isolation pervades the ecological model at all levels. It provides the link between intra-familial factors (i.e. "microsystems"), cultural value systems and institutions ("macrosystems") and social context factors such as networks of informal relationships with extended family, neighbours and friends, and formal relationships with community figures and professional helpers. This level of social context influence and interaction is conceptualized in the ecological model of child abuse, as the "mesosystem" level. Optimal development of children is seen as being dependent on the "richness of mesosystems" as represented by an "adequate" number, strength and quality of relationships.

The condition of "social isolation" is not a theoretically pure concept in the ecological theory. In fact the model can be criticeized for creating a circular argument: abuse can only exist in conditions of isolation, therefore if child abuse is present, families must be isolated. In other words abuse is defined in terms of isolation, and vice versa. The concept also depends for its validity on its operationalization. As it has subjective as well as objective components (how isolated a person perceives themselves to be as well as how available social contacts are in reality), it is difficult to achieve uniform operationalization. Abusing families may be surrounded by close kinship networks (possibly critical and undermining ones) and yet feel isolated. Alternatively they may have very superficial, in-constant social network relationships, yet not feel isolated as they have not experienced a different situation, or do not see themselves as different from their neighbours who share the same depressed expectations of their neighbourhood or community.

Nevertheless, social isolation is accepted as a crucial explanatory concept in this discussion for the following reasons:

1. research indicates that social isolation is a common characteristic of abusing families,
2. the concept stresses not only the negative of isolation, but the positive of social connection – particularly in respect of the distribution and exchange of resources – emotional (nurturance) intellectual (information feedback) and material (food, money, jobs)
3. the concept therefore has direct practical application for helping programs.
4. the concept (in its positive form of social connectedness) relates to all families in a certain community rather than merely "deviant" individual. Thus it is a normalizing concept which places families on a continuum, of social isolation at one end and complex social connectedness at the other.
5. the concept of social connectedness, at its very least, provides practical suggestions for increasing the safety of potentially, or actually abused children by stressing the value of increasing social relationships and connections for the parents and for the child .

Social isolation as a characteristic of abusing families has been written about by researchers and by practitioners. Writers so frequently comment on this factor in studies of child abuse, as to prompt Garbarino & Gilliam (1981) to claim that the research support is unanimous. As mentioned above, operationalization of the concept varies widely – e.g. Straus (1980) used the indicator of organizational memberships – i.e. membership of a formal club or group and found that rate of child abuse did increase in families with little or no membership to such organizations.

There is some research evidence of similar trends in Australian society (Carter 1981a, Cox, 1981; Ford, 1981). McCaughey and Chew (1977), although not writing about child abuse, found extreme examples of isolation in Australian families. They commented that such isolation had severe effects, because the families studied considered that the personal networks of relatives, neighbours and friends were by far the most significant source of help. Anecdotal evidence coming from abusing parents themselves illustrates the concept graphically:

> "Isolation is the woman who says: 'On Christmas Day and New Year's Day – that's the days I bawl my eyes out'." (Wadsworth, 1979)

Social isolation is also linked by the model to macrosystems and sociocultural risk by defining and stressing the impact of the culturally held value of family privacy and independence. As Garbarino and Gilliam (1981) point out, the negative and dangerous effects of the value of freedom, independence and autonomy are – lack of ready access to feedback, lack of access to nurturance and sharing of resources, and an increase in estrangement and alienation. Bronfenbrenner (1973) notes that American families are not only increasingly becoming isolated from the rest of society, but that children themselves are becoming isolated from their parents, and their neighbourhood. Writing as a developmental psychologist, he gives a detailed description of the progressive effects of macrosystem risk.

Social isolation therefore arises from a number of conditions. It can arise from general societal factors such as cultural values discussed above; it can arise from particular features of abusing families – for example rootlessness and high mobility, and/or low social relating skills; and lastly, it can arise from the actual availability of formal and informal support networks in the neighbourhood.

Social isolation is seen as having two main components in relation to abusing families, i.e. lack of social supports, and failure to use available supports. The fact that these two factors obviously interact with each other, demonstrates the proposition of ecological theorists that social isolation is conceptualized as a process of interaction of the family with its social context.

The ecological model proposes, therefore, that abusing families are isolated from social relationships. The question must then be asked, are social relationships necessarily supportive? It can be argued that social relationships have the potential to offer social support, but it is a fact that they do not all do so. Straus (1980) found that within his group of parents experiencing high stress, parents who also had many relatives living nearby had a higher rate of child abuse than parents who had few relatives living near them. The finding suggests that some kin networks may not be supportive nor opposed to violence. The ecological model however does appear to promote the romantic notion that social relationships equal social support. Nevertheless, it is argued here that treatment and preventative programs must seek to maximize this potential as a means of providing emotional, intellectual and practical resources to abusing families in particular, and all families in general, in such a way that families have the opportunity to reciprocate and to share, and that their confidence, self esteem and skills (and "power") is enhanced by such sharing.

The literature on social support networks – both in their analysis and application, has a great deal to offer the field of child abuse, although there are, as yet, very few examples of direct application or analysis to this field. Social relationships are seen by social context theorists as most significant medium through which the abusing family interacts with its environment. It is important to note that the assumption is not that merely increasing social relationships will help abusing families

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1035077200904267 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and reduce abuse, but also that the families' access to and use of supportive social relationships and networks must be increased.

REFERENCES

1. Ross, P. On the Side of the Child. Melbourne, Fontana, Collins, 1980.
2. Bronfenbrenner, U. Towards an Experimental Ecology of Human Development, American Psychologist, 1977, 32, pp. 513 - 531.
3. Bronfenbrenner, U. The Two Worlds of Childhood, U.S. and U.S.S.R. New York, Pocket Book, 1973.
4. Carter, J. Current Controversies in Child Abuse, in Second Australasian Conference on Child Abuse: Conference Proceedings. Mt. Gravatt, Council of Adult Education, 1981a.
5. Cook, J.V. and Bowles, R.T. (eds.) Child Abuse: Commission and Omission, Toronto, Butterworths, 1980.
6. Cox, A. Functioning of Families who Maltreat Their Children, in Second Australasian Conference on Child Abuse. Conference Proceedings. Mt. Gravatt Council of Adult Education, 1981.
7. Ford, A. Physical Abuse and Sexual Abuse: Is There a Link? in Second Australasian Conference on Child Abuse. Conference Proceedings. Mt. Gravatt Council of Adult Education, 1981.
8. Garbarino, J. A Preliminary Study of Some Ecological Correlates of Child Abuse: the Impact of Socio-economic Stress on Mothers. Child Development, 1976, 47, pp. 178 - 185.
9. Garbarino, J. and Holly Stocking, S. The Social Context of Child Maltreatment, in J. Garbarino and S. Holly Stocking (eds.), Protecting Children from Abuse and Neglect. San Francisco, Joseey - Bass, 1980.
10. Garbarino, J. and Gilliam, G. Understanding Abusing Families. Massachusetts, Lexington Books, 1981.
11. Garbarino, J. Perspectives on Child Maltreatment: Iceberg and Ice Cubes, Child Development, 1982, 27 (1).
12. Gelles, R. J. Violence Toward Children in the United States, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1978, 48 (4), pp. 580 - 592.
13. Gil, D. Unravelling Child Abuse, in J.V. Cook and R.T. Bowles, Child Abuse: Commission and Omission. Toronto, Butterworths, 1980.
14. Gordon, M., Families Under Stress — Children at Risk. Melbourne City Council, 1982 (unpublished).
15. Kempe, C.H. and Helfer, R.E. (eds.) The Battered Child, 3rd Edition. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980.
16. McCaughey, J. and Chew, W. (eds.) Who Cares — Family Problems, Community Links and Helping Services. Melbourne, McMillan, 1977.
17. Pelton, L.J. Child Abuse and Neglect: the Myth of Classlessness. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1978, 48 (4), pp. 608 - 617.
18. Schmitt, B.D. The Child with Non-Accidental Trauma, in C.H. Kempe and R.E. Helfer, The Battered Child, 3rd edition. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980.
19. Spinetta, J.J. and Rigler, D. The Child Abusing Parent: A Psychological Review, Psychological Bulletin, 1972, 77 (4), pp. 296 - 304.
20. Straus, M.A. Stress and Child Abuse, in C.H. Kempe and R.E. Helfer (eds.), The Battered Child, 3rd edition. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1980.
21. Wadsworth, Y. A Family Kind of Place. Melbourne City Council, 1979 (unpublished).
22. Weston, J.T. The Pathology of Child Abuse and Neglect in C.H. Kempe and R.E. Helfer, The Battered Child, 3rd edition. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1035077200904267 Published online by Cambridge University Press