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## **Pastoral Responses to Domestic Violence: Welcoming the Neighbors Who Live with Violence**

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I have served rural, suburban, and small city parishes in three provinces over more than twenty-five years. There has been violence in some homes in all these settings. My concern for being a more effective pastor in these matters prompted studies toward a D. Min. with St. Stephen's College, Edmonton, and a thesis entitled *Changing Ways – The Church's Ministry with Men Who Batter*. That study explored developing a community intervention for domestic violence. Over ten years it has grown to include first and second stage group counseling for men who act abusively, first and second stage interventions with women experiencing abuse, and an after-school program for children witnessing violence in the home. Practicing hospitality has meant welcoming individuals and community organizations into partnership with the church, and addressing together the social structures and assumptions that allow violence to continue.

This article explores the theme of hospitality as a metaphor for the mission of the church, applying hospitality particularly to the matter of family violence. I will share recent statistics illuminating the prevalence of violence in Canadian families. A challenge will be offered to the church to be hospitable to the men who perpetrate this violence. A second challenge will call for congregations to become involved in ministry for social change with their neighboring community services and agencies. And finally, a distinction will be made between hospitality as peace keeping and peace making. These are no longer concepts to be applied only to global settings but are relevant to the home and local community as well.

There are many particular matters of domestic violence that cannot be addressed in a short article such as this. The invitation to practice hospitality in matters of abuse expands in larger and larger circles, from neighbor to neighbor. How will we welcome children

abused by adults? Violent teenagers? Men abused by women? Persons abused by clergy? The convicted felon returning from prison? In all matters of abuse the church is challenged to provide a setting that encourages both comfort and accountability, healing and transformative change.

### **The Pervasiveness of the Problem**

There is a neighbor. You may have seen him without recognizing him. He may sit in the pew Sunday morning. He may simply nod "hello" at the coffee shop. He may have served on your executive committee at Church. He may walk past your church on a regular basis, reluctant to stop, uncertain whether he would be welcome.

There is a neighbor. You may have seen her without recognizing her. She may be a part of your choir or women's group or Sunday School. Or she may live in the dark house on the corner where the shades are pulled regularly and the police car stops occasionally. She may be quite deliberate about being home on time for meals; she can't stay late. She and her husband may appear to be the model family, but appearances are deceiving. She may be absent frequently. The excuse is the flu or trips to see her sister. But she comes back and the routine returns.

There are children in the neighborhood. You may have seen them without recognizing them. One child shrinks back. She appears shy, listless, perhaps depressed. One child is quite precocious, almost flirtatious; she appears older than her years. One child is quite aggressive; he's angry and lashes out and bullies other children.

These are our neighbors. They live under the shadow of the steeple on the corner. But they often are strangers, merely nodding acquaintances. The steeple intends to welcome them into community. But it may instead cast a shadow that intensifies the secrecy.

Jesus said we are to love God and love our neighbors. The question followed, "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus then told a story about a wounded man and a caring neighbor. These people also have their stories. They have names. They are our neighbors. And they live with violence in their homes.

Hospitality is one way of describing the mission of the church. Hospitality welcomes strangers as friends. In the days of our nomadic ancestors it was required to offer hospitality because inns were rare and one could never be sure when one would need the hospitality of

strangers in return. Hospitality was an act of generosity but also self-protection. There was safety in welcoming the stranger, even when an enemy. Hospitality created a context of peace, a temporary truce, a sanctuary.

Jesus was dependent upon hospitality in his travels. He expected hospitality both for his disciples and from his disciples. Hospitality was a gracious welcome that created the possibility for a greater graciousness to arrive. Hospitality extended toward the disciples created an opportunity for them to bring their blessing upon the home. Hospitality extended by the disciples created space for the nearness of God's reign to be realized.

In the story of the Good Samaritan hospitality is granted to the victim of violence. The Samaritan is gracious to the one who has been robbed and wounded. In the battered stranger the Samaritan recognizes a neighbor. The Samaritan *acts as a neighbor* to the one who has been shunned and abandoned by others. This is Jesus' story about being a neighbor.

How might Jesus have told the story if the Samaritan had come upon the *robbers*? How might Jesus have asked his disciples to be a neighbor to the violent ones?

The local church at the crossroads has many neighbors who live with violence, because violence in the family is a pervasive problem in Canada. The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence asserts that family violence and abuse affects all Canadians, that no one is immune. Abuse occurs in all forms of relationships: parent-child, caregiver-client, adult child-parent, dating, gay and lesbian, marital and common-law and sibling. The following statistics are also reported:<sup>1</sup>

1. Since the age of sixteen, 51% of Canadian women report having experienced at least one incident of sexual violence.<sup>2</sup>
2. Nearly three in ten Canadian women (29%) who have ever been married or lived in a common-law relationship have been physically or sexually assaulted by a marital partner at some point during the relationship; 21% of these women were assaulted during pregnancy.<sup>3</sup>
3. Nearly one quarter of women (22%) who have experienced wife assault never told anyone about their abuse.<sup>4</sup>



4. Violent men are three times as likely as nonviolent men to have witnessed spousal violence in childhood, and women who were raised in similar circumstances are twice as likely to be victims of spousal violence.<sup>5</sup>
5. Between 1978 and 1997, 1,485 females and 442 males were killed by their spouses in Canada.<sup>6</sup>
6. A total of 90,792 women and children were admitted to 413 shelters for battered women across Canada in 1997-1998.<sup>7</sup>
7. Of sexual assaults by family members reported to police, girls were victimized in 79% of cases (1,662); while boys were victims in 21% of cases (440).<sup>8</sup>
8. The degree of risk of sexual abuse of persons with disabilities is "at least 150% of that for individuals of the same sex and similar age without disabilities."<sup>9</sup>
9. Violence in the home takes many forms. Unlike physical abuse, emotional abuse is harder to define and is not criminalized. A recent study of Ontario investigations into the mistreatment of children found that, in 1993, ten percent of investigations alleged emotional abuse.<sup>10</sup>
10. The Clearinghouse also reports... "In 1995, the Canadian Women's Health Test found that of 1000 women 15 years of age or over:
11. 36 percent had experienced emotional abuse while growing up; 43 percent had experienced some form of abuse as children or teenagers; and
12. 39 percent reported experiencing verbal/emotional abuse in a relationship within the last five years."<sup>11</sup>

Eighty-one percent of male respondents to one Canadian study of abuse in dating relationships in college and university relationships admitted they had psychologically abused a female partner.<sup>12</sup>

A 1990 National Survey on Abuse and the Elderly in Canada examined the prevalence of abuse among Canadian seniors. Four percent of seniors residing in private homes reported experiencing abuse and/or neglect. Chronic verbal aggression ranked as the second most prevalent form of mistreatment. A 1995 study of seniors' client records from various agencies again confirmed that emotional abuse was the most prevalent form of mistreatment.<sup>13</sup>

It is hard to imagine that the church would remain silent about a problem that affects half the women in Canada and one quarter of couple relationships! Jesus asked his followers to open their eyes and see people around them as neighbors, even brothers and sisters (Matthew 12:46ff.). How can we have safe and hospitable communities if so many of our homes are not safe? If we refuse to see the plight of our neighbors?

### **On Being a Neighbor to Men Who Act Abusively**

It is perhaps easier for the church to extend a compassionate hand to the victims of domestic violence. Just as the Samaritan offered time and effort and something from his purse for the one who was beaten, it can be expected that the Church would respond in like fashion toward women and children. But how might the congregation respond to the man who perpetrates the violence?

The congregation can begin by recognizing that men who act abusively may be in the congregation and they may be neighbors down the street. Domestic violence is everywhere, beside the church and in the church.

The congregation can be clear about who these men are. The congregation, its staff and members, must take allegations of abuse seriously. People who disclose their stories are doing so at some risk, and they need to be believed and supported to find the help required.

Having recognized certain individuals as men acting abusively, the congregation can be careful of its language. These men are not “perpetrators,” or “abusers.” Society has labeled these men criminals, and families have much stronger names for them. Experience has shown that labeling them merely reinforces the defensiveness and resistance to intervention. If the men must change what they *are*, they may find they can’t, or they won’t. A leopard can’t change its spots.

However the church has a unique perspective that is quite helpful in this healing process. These are men; they have souls. They are children of God, still in God’s image. They are men who deserve respect and who can still respond from their integrity when given the grace to do so. They are not abusers. That merely condemns them. They are men “who act abusively” and are held accountable for their behavior and are expected to have the capacity to change their behavior. The law, applied as judgement, merely condemns them, creating strong resistance and defensiveness. The grace to welcome

these men, while still holding them accountable to be what they are called to be, allows the defenses to gradually fall and the men are free to begin their work towards change.

Pastorally speaking, the Law is necessary to name limits and hold accountable. Much intervention work involves being clear about behaviors, and eventually attitudes, that are unacceptable. The men must be held accountable to the experience of the persons they have harmed. One expression of the defensiveness of the men is the persistent tendency to minimize, justify and blame. The men will claim, "It wasn't that bad ... I only ... I didn't mean to ..." Or, "If she hadn't first ... She started it ... Because she said that, I lost it ..." Or, "It's all her fault ... I wouldn't have had to, if she hadn't ...."

The men who have done harm cannot define the harm done or evaluate the damage by themselves. The persons harmed must define the abuse. So the persons who have experienced harm set the limits. And the persons working with the men enforce the limits. And the healing process is beginning to work when the men in the intervention group begin to limit one another and assume the limits internally themselves.

The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence has identified several characteristics of men who act abusively:<sup>14</sup>

13. A batterer [sic] objectifies women. He does not see women as people. He does not respect women as a group. Overall, he sees women as property or sexual objects.
14. A batterer [sic] has low self-esteem and feels powerless and ineffective in the world. He may appear successful, but inside he feels inadequate.
15. A batterer [sic] externalizes the causes of his behavior. He blames his violence on circumstances such as stress, his partner's behavior, a "bad day," alcohol or other factors.
16. A batterer [sic] may be pleasant and charming between periods of violence, and is often seen as a "nice guy" to outsiders.
17. Some behavioral warning signs of a potential batterer [sic] include extreme jealousy, possessiveness, a bad temper, unpredictability, cruelty to animals and verbal abusiveness.
18. There are certain predictors of domestic violence that often occur before actual abuse and may serve as clues to potential abuse. Awareness of these predictors also serves to ground a judgement



that a person's story is credible and it points to areas to focus on in intervention with men acting abusively.<sup>15</sup>

19. Did he grow up in a violent family? People who grow up in families where they have been abused as children, or where one parent beats the other, have grown up learning that violence is normal behavior.
20. Does he tend to use force or violence to "solve" his problems? A young man who has a criminal record for violence, who gets into fights, or who likes to act tough is likely to act the same way with his wife and children. Does he have a quick temper? Does he over-react to little problems and frustration? Is he cruel to animals? Does he punch walls or throw things when he's upset? Any of these behaviors may be a sign of a person who will work out bad feelings with violence.
21. Does he abuse alcohol or other drugs? There is a strong link between violence and problems with drugs and alcohol. Be alert to his possible drinking/drug problems, particularly if he refuses to admit that he has a problem, or refuses to get help. Do not think that you can change him.
22. Does he have strong traditional ideas about what a man should be and what a woman should be? Does he think a woman should stay at home, take care of her husband, and follow his wishes and orders?
23. Is he jealous of your other relationships – not just with other men that you may know – but also with your women friends and your family? Does he keep tabs on you? Does he want to know where you are at all times? Does he want you with him all of the time?
24. Does he have access to guns, knives, or other lethal instruments? Does he talk of using them against people, or threaten to use them to get even?
25. Does he expect you to follow his orders or advice? Does he become angry if you do not fulfill his wishes or if you cannot anticipate what he wants?
26. Does he go through extreme highs and lows, almost as though he is two different people? Is he extremely kind one time, and extremely cruel at another time?
27. When he gets angry, do you fear him? Do you find that making him angry has become a major part of your life? Do you do what he wants you to do, rather than what you want to do?



28. Does he treat you roughly? Does he physically force you to do what you do not want to do?

The approach to intervention with the men is both a pastoral and prophetic one. Prophetically the caregivers name the sin and define the limits and set a vision for what life may be. There is a call to repentance, to change, and to a hope that change is possible.

Hope is essential to any expression of hospitality. The prophet names what *is*, honestly and with integrity, but points to a larger vision, a possibility of something else. The hospitable prophet welcomes the sojourner, knowing the real dangers of the journey and the dark night, but expecting a new day. Hospitality without hope is judgement. Without hope one is not likely to welcome someone perceived to be an enemy. If one does, the welcome will be confinement or incarceration. In contrast, hospitality with hope recognizes what is common between the guest and the host, acknowledges the needs and the difficulties present in the guest, and provides for those needs out of the host's abundance.

Prophetic hospitality is the church's ministry. But so is pastoral hospitality. Pastorally, the hospitable caregivers are fellow sojourners and shepherds with the men in their journey toward change. The caregivers help give voice to the men's own pain, express forgiveness in appropriate times and ways, and repeatedly guide the men past threats, temptations, and turning points. Hospitable caregivers recognize they are very much like their guests but draw from different experiences in the same wilderness of relationships, values and decisions.

Two cautions must be expressed about pastoral responses to families experiencing domestic violence. The first is that couple counseling is not effective in early stages of intervention. Although often requested and possibly an early indicator of a violent problem, the persons experiencing violence will not be safe to disclose the true nature and extent of the problem because they may be punished for speaking. The couple dynamic may likely include an expectation that the problem lies with the woman, and if she were only more forgiving, patient, cooperative, etc. the problem would go away. Pastors have often been criticized for being quick to encourage "submission," patience, prayer and forgiveness, while failing to recognize the true nature and risk of the problem at hand.

The second caution is that men are often referred for “anger management.” This is not an anger management problem.<sup>16</sup> Careful consideration reveals that these men are quite capable of managing their anger in other social contexts, especially in the presence of hierarchical authorities, such as a boss or a police officer. The matter at hand has more to do with attitudes of power and privilege as a male in an intimate relationship than mere anger. Focusing on anger management techniques and conflict resolution skills, without addressing the attitudinal underpinnings has frequently been recognized to merely train men to be more verbally and emotionally manipulative. Physical abuse may actually decline, but emotional abuse may increase. Another problem with anger management interventions is that they are short-term, often a weekend, while long-term intervention, monitoring and mentoring are required.

Addressing family violence and welcoming the men who act aggressively often meets with congregational resistance. Consideration must be made for the safety and security of those who are being harmed. Occasionally the most hospitable action a congregation can offer is to see that while one partner remains in the congregation receiving its ministry, the other partner is welcomed in another congregation for ministry there. Christian values have tended to promote the protection of family unity at all costs. It may be that the safety of the individuals in the family, especially children, is a greater priority.

Congregations may also resist offering hospitality to people affected by violence because the matters addressed may increase shame and discomfort among the congregation as a whole. Awareness brings responsibility and a new sensitivity to one’s own behavior and attitudes. Individuals may become uncomfortable with their own behavior and experience. And the congregation – as a family – may be unwilling to acknowledge its possible complicity in allowing and enabling violence.

Rural congregations must be aware that resistance may come from the protection of the extended family. Smaller communities do not have the anonymity, or the resources, of larger urban centers. In smaller communities families are inter-related and dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors, including secrecy and denial, may be strong and wide spread.

While there is risk and discomfort in addressing violence in the family, the greater risk is in avoiding the matter and allowing it to grow. Family violence is a progressive problem. The cycle of violence increases in frequency and intensity over time. The cycle of violence is also intergenerational in that children growing up in abusive homes often seek relationships that replicate the attitudes and behaviors.

### **On Being a Neighbor to Local Churches, Agencies and Services**

So far consideration has been given to individuals and systems within the family and congregation. However the congregation's response to family violence can be expanded beyond the family to the community system as well.

Not only can the congregation welcome the persons harmed and doing harm in family violence, the congregation can extend hospitality to the agencies and services that are its neighbors and partners in a ministry of justice and reconciliation. Congregations may invite local agencies and discover neighbors, allies and friends, who share not only a common space, but a common value for safety and integrity in the community. Congregations can invite their neighbors into their "home," meaning not just a space on the map but a vision, a spirit, where something larger dwells, with grace.

Urban centers usually have resources for community response to family violence. There may be shelters and courts and perhaps even counseling agencies. Congregations in urban centers can ally themselves as partners for discussion and intervention. In rural settings that partnership is even more important. Perhaps the initiative for developing partnerships may even come from the church.

That was my experience in Camrose, Alberta, where our local congregation developed a partnership with community agencies and services that took root and became a registered society. It began with a joint conversation about services provided for families. Excellent services were available for women and children, but nothing was provided for the men. Women had only two alternatives then, to leave the shelter and leave the marriage or leave the shelter and return home where nothing had changed. Together the agencies and church researched what was required and developed a pilot program of intervention with men acting abusively. Efforts were made toward



developing awareness with medical, police enforcement, court and school authorities. Since this work was really outside the mandate of the agencies, supplemental funding was required.

Over time, this program has developed into a two-stage intervention for men, a two-stage intervention for women, and an after-school program for children witnessing abuse. A community-based non-profit society, the Family Violence Action Society, was created to secure funding, develop policy, recruit and supervise staff and increase public awareness. Staff from this partnership have expanded their influence, conducting seminars in schools, churches, fraternal organizations and community settings all around the region.

Similar initiatives are now beginning in the communities of Selkirk and Beausejour, Manitoba. Regularly a representative of a congregation meets with other representatives of the local shelter, police force, victims' services, the school board, and others. Together the church and these agencies are creating a safety web for the community.

The web appropriate to a particular locale will depend upon the services available. It might be appropriate to invite neighbors such as the following.

29. A women's shelter. There may be one immediately available. If not, there may need to be developed a system of safe houses where women and children may be protected prior to transfer to a shelter for assessment and counseling.
30. The local police. The church can facilitate conversations about procedure. The church may make itself available for crisis intervention. There may be an opportunity to assist the members of the force with their own mental and emotional health; they too are affected by the trauma they witness.
31. Local physicians, health clinics and emergency rooms, and addictions personnel may require assistance identifying clues to family violence, clarifying procedure, and affirming their important contributions to intervention.
32. Other partners, other strands in the safety web depend upon community components. Are there local courts? Judges, lawyers, both for the prosecution and the defense, and probation officers need to be aware of alternative resources.

33. School teachers often receive disclosures from children. What assistance do they require?
34. Is there an aboriginal council that can be involved and have a say in the highly disproportionate number of aboriginal men who are charged? The Statistics Canada 1999 General Social Survey on Victimization reports that "Aboriginal women are victimized at three times the rate of non-Aboriginal women and twice the rate of aboriginal men."<sup>17</sup>

Mandates differ from agency to agency. Staff members change frequently within departments. Simply gathering the people at the table for introductions is helpful. Persons can then clarify their procedures and responsibilities and, very importantly, their limitations. The ministry of hospitality extends to inviting circles of community agencies and citizens to meet and discuss and become acquainted, so responses after violence may be more effective, and preventive possibilities may be explored.

Communication builds understanding, allowing for further steps toward consultation, cooperation, and finally collaboration. Who better can identify gaps and required corrections to policy than the front-line workers?

Hospitality is that art of seeing, recognizing, inviting and introducing strangers who may become friends. Agencies may seem like strangers. They get focused upon their own duties and procedures. Routines and paperwork and meetings and budgets and policy changes and political wrangling all can add a burden to an already discouraging work. A vision is required that sees beyond what is, to what might be. A unifying vision is required to see how the whole is greater than the sum of any parts, that recognizes a common spirit at work, inspiring tremendous efforts toward a common concern.

As a church we speak about God's Spirit poured out on men and women, young and old. That Spirit may rest upon and work through other agencies and communities as well. Scripture describes God using a variety of agents, often outside the recognized faith community. We have the metaphor of the church as a body with many gifts in the coordinated functioning of many parts. As neighbors, we need the gifts of energy and expertise that other partners can bring to addressing violence. We have the metaphor of the church as a

hospitable community, where people may be welcomed and encouraged to function as neighbors for the safety and well-being of the whole. The church may be an hospitable host, a catalyst, for conversation, collaboration and hope.

### **Peacekeeping and Peacemaking**

The Lutheran appreciation for Law and Gospel is helpful in a ministry of hospitality to families suffering violence, both to those harmed and those suffering harm.

Peacekeeping draws from the enforcement of the law. It requires that people are held accountable for their behavior. It requires that justice is served. Peacekeeping requires that law enforcement personnel are equipped to act efficiently and effectively. In a recent study of the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment, misdemeanor domestic violence cases were randomly assigned three possible responses: (1) "advice," including brief mediation; (2) an order to the suspect to leave for eight hours; (3) arrest. Tracking the suspects over six months, it was found that those suspects who had been arrested "manifested significantly less subsequent violence."<sup>18</sup> As these studies were replicated elsewhere however it was found that "arrest was a short-term deterrent but could exacerbate violence in the long term."<sup>19</sup> Arrest was most effective with well-integrated suspects but "had no effect on poorly integrated individuals with prior records for violence"<sup>20</sup> (Schmidt, Janelle D. And Lawrence Sherman 1993, as quoted by Ursel). Zero tolerance and strong pro-arrest policies have resulted in "dual arrests" where both parties are arrested on cross-complaints. This has resulted in a backlog of court cases, high rates of stays of proceedings and low rates of conviction.<sup>21</sup>

Ursel notes that the legal process is designed to deal with specific incidents. But she quotes Worden pointing out that "domestic violence typically involves multiple incidents, sometimes of escalating seriousness, with little physical evidence and few witnesses."<sup>22</sup>

The justice system must protect the innocent. But by definition it is a system based on power and creates an adversarial contest, with partners arguing their case to win. There are other collateral legal issues as well, such as divorce, custody and matters of child support. This process is complex and messy.



So the law is not enough. We also need the gospel, a process that strives toward mercy and reconciliation along with justice. Peace keeping also requires peace making.

External controls are required to limit behavior, protect the innocent, and hold those responsible accountable. But those external controls must become internal. Not only must there be a limitation on behavior but attitudes must be transformed. It is not enough to separate, restrain, protect and punish. Efforts must be made at mending and healing – restoring relationships with one self, one's family, one's community and one's God.

True reconciliation rises above shame and its secrecy and the isolation and denial brought by guilt. Fear sequesters. But it fades in the light of hope and truth and comfort. So when salvation comes it is not just individuals but peoples who are restored. We experience salvation as individuals. As families. As safe communities. This is the experience of real peace.

The church has a ministry in peace-keeping and peace-making. It is a ministry of hospitality, both to the wounded and to those who wound. Peace-keeping involves setting those structures, boundaries and expectations that provide an external setting of safety. But peace-making addresses the relationships within that setting, providing a peace within the soul, whether that of the individual, the home, the congregation, or the neighborhood.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Health Canada National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, accessed at <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hppb/familyviolence/html/1facts.html>; internet.
- <sup>2</sup> Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, November 18, 1993 (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Center for Justice Statistics): 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Karen Rogers, "Wife Assault: The Findings of a National Survey," *Juristat*, 14, 9 (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1994): 1, 4, 12.
- <sup>4</sup> Rogers: 20.
- <sup>5</sup> Rogers: 13.
- <sup>6</sup> Robin Fitzgerald, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 1999* (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1999): 35.

- <sup>7</sup> Cathy Trainor, "Canada's Shelters for Abused Women," *Juristat*, 19,6 (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1999): 1.
- <sup>8</sup> Robin Fitzgerald, "Assaults Against Children and Youth in the Family, 1996" *Juristat*, 17,11 (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1997): 7.
- <sup>9</sup> Dick Sobsey, "Sexual Offences and Disabled Victims: Research and Practical Implications," *Vis-a-vis*, 6, 4 (Ottawa, ON : Canadian Council on Social Development, 1988): 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Health Canada, "Emotional Abuse" (Cat.H72-22/18-1996E, ISBN 0-662-24593-8): 3.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, "The Problem: Why Do Men Batter Women?" Accessed at <http://www.ncadv.org/problem/why/htm>, Mar 24, 2002; internet.
- <sup>15</sup> National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, "The Problem: Predictions of Violence," accessed at <http://www.ncadv.org/problem/predictors.htm>, Mar 24, 2002; internet.
- <sup>16</sup> See Mary Nomme Russell, *Confronting Abusive Beliefs* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing, 1995). Also Marvin Allen and Jo Robinson, *Angry Men, Passive Men: Understanding the Roots of Men's Anger and How to Move Beyond It* (New York, NY: Fawcett Columbine) 1993.
- <sup>17</sup> Jane Ursel, "Domestic Violence Policies and Their Impact on Aboriginal People" (Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission, February 21, 2001): 3.
- <sup>18</sup> Ursel, 5.
- <sup>19</sup> Ursel, 6.
- <sup>20</sup> Schmidt, Janelle D. And Lawrence Sherman 1993, as quoted by Ursel.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> Ursel, 7.

