Andy J. Johnson

Editor

Religion and Men's Violence Against Women

Religion and Men's Violence Against Women

Andy J. Johnson
Editor

Religion and Men's Violence Against Women

Springer

Editor
Andy J. Johnson
Department of Psychology
Bethel University
Saint Paul, Minnesota
USA

For those directly affected by relationship violence.
If you were abused, you did not deserve this.
If you are abusing, you are not justified and must stop this.
If you had violence in your family growing up:
it is not your fault, you are not condemned to repeat this.
If you were killed by your partner,
may your memory fuel the rest of us to work together to end this.

Preface

Men's violence against women (MVAW) is a pervasive problem that occurs across all religious, cultural, and socioeconomic groups. Religious beliefs and values from sacred texts, cultural customs, spiritual practices, and their local interpretations are often intertwined with the occurrence of MVAW. Effects of religion are complex. They can range from those that influence individuals to deny, minimize, or even condone MVAW to those that can be used to confront abusive men about their behavior or to support healing in survivors and their children. Treating religious clients who live at the intersection of diverse cultural, racial, and other social locations in a culturally informed and sensitive manner can be a daunting task for mental health professionals.

This book is concerned with empowering mental health professionals to deliver culturally sensitive interventions when working with religious clients and communities affected by MVAW. The primary target audience is mental health professionals. The term "cultural sensitivity" is often simultaneously ambiguous and emotionally charged for many mental health professionals when it applies to the realm of religion. Some might confuse cultural sensitivity with cultural promotion (see Glickman and Gulati 2003 for a discussion of these issues as they relate to culturally affirmative mental health care). Seeking converts and proselytizing are not appropriate activities for mental health professionals. These activities are the concerns of missionaries, religious leaders, and religious organizations. Cultural sensitivity is not the same thing as cultural promotion.

On the other hand, cultural sensitivity and ignoring the role of religious culture are not the same thing either. Individuals operating from a position of ignoring or neglecting the religious culture of a client most often do so out of a lack of knowledge rather than from a position of cultural rejection. There are many contributing factors that lead to this lack of knowledge. Most graduate training programs provide little, if any, instruction on religious cultural diversity. In addition, many therapists may not have life experiences with diverse religious others or may not know persons with knowledge of religious diversity. Some may feel they are practicing in a universal manner by ignoring religion and culture altogether. The situation of neglecting culture often can result in cultural insensitivities due to the lack of a basic understanding of the religious cultural group of a client. A number of negative outcomes can result. For example, cultural neglect can affect therapy when the therapist does not know how to frame interventions in a culturally appropriate manner. Clients can become defensive or may feel that an important part of

their identity needs to be silenced in order to please the therapist. Sometimes a therapist may ask basic questions that demonstrate to the client that the therapist is not educated or knowledgeable about her or his religious cultural group. This can result in a religious client feeling burdened to educate the therapist about the group. Religious clients may react to this situation in a number of different ways. Some may have negative feelings about paying the therapist while providing the education the therapist lacks. Others may terminate therapy and try to find another therapist, while still others may give up hope and feel their best option is to try to improve things on their own. Other scenarios can arise as well and are discussed in Damron and Johnson (Chap. 1) and other chapters in this volume.

Unfortunately, there are some mental health professionals who operate out of a position of cultural rejection. They typically see religious culture as either a problem to be avoided or as an obstacle that must be overcome in the treatment of clients affected by MVAW. Rejecting the idea of the importance of religion in the life of a client does not automatically mean that the mental health professional will necessarily lack compassion or good intentions. Religious clients are often sensitive to the level of openness in others concerning their religious beliefs; however, what cultural denial in a mental health professional often does mean is that the religious survivor may not feel free to share how her religious faith or religious community affects her recovery. They might want to avoid painting their religious cultural group in a negative light or in a way that might align with negative stereotypes. Therapists in the cultural rejection position may also not be aware of significant resources for coping and transformation which might be available in a client's religious cultural tradition. In addition, these therapists may not be able to assist clients in identifying and securing support from the religious community since the community itself is judged a priori as a source of the problem regardless of the actual community characteristics or the potential of the religious community to be a helpful resource to the client. As the various chapters in this book demonstrate, positions of cultural insensitivity, cultural neglect, or cultural rejection can result in interventions that are less effective or even ineffective with religious clients.

So what does cultural sensitivity entail when working with religious clients? Cultural sensitivity involves having some knowledge of the potential importance that religion, culture, race, socioeconomic status, national origin, and immigration status have for the identity of a client. It also involves knowing about any special or unique circumstances this particular client may face as a result of her or his status at the intersection of these social locations and sources of identity. Developing cultural sensitivity to religious culture involves learning about the religious beliefs and practices of a group, individual differences within the religious cultural tradition, the history of different subgroups within the religious cultural group, and how these unique histories might influence the dynamics of MVAW in the group and the variety of ways in which MVAW is understood and dealt with by religious leaders and members. On the other hand, cultural sensitivity also involves realizing that in the end it is the client who decides what religious and cultural values, beliefs, commitments, and communities are central to her or his identity, which are important to maintain, and which should be changed. In summary,

the purpose of this work is to provide mental health professionals with basic information about MVAW as it appears in diverse religious cultural groups so that they can enhance their effectiveness with clients from these communities.

Organization of the Book

Mental health professionals addressing MVAW in religious clients and communities need to develop basic understanding in at least three major areas: general knowledge of MVAW, knowledge of the interface between specific religious cultural groups and MVAW, and general principles for providing culturally sensitive consultation and programming within diverse religious cultural groups. The three sections of this work address each of these concerns in order.

Part I: Background Information. Mental health professionals often have different levels of training with regards to MVAW. The first major part provides background information on gender violence and religious cultural groups in general. Damron and Johnson (Chap. 1) discuss the prevalence of MVAW, myths surrounding rape and intimate partner violence that tend to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator, and the variety of ways religious culture influences MVAW, and they provide an overview of the book and how mental health professionals might use it. Kilmartin (Chap. 2) examines the role of men in gender violence. He discusses the interplay of multiple factors which contribute to the fact that most perpetrators of gender violence are men even though most men do not commit gender violence. He also examines factors that result in gender violence not receiving as many resources to address it as other types of violence which have far fewer victims. Rayburn (Chap. 3) looks at the discrepancies between the official policies of religious institutions and the lived social experience of women and girls in religious communities. Implications of these discrepancies for the lives of women and girls are explored in terms of how various forms of misogyny are connected to the abuse of women and girls in religious communities. Finally, Mahoney, Abadi, and Pargament (Chap. 4) develop a model of intervention for survivors of situational interpersonal violence that is informed by research on spiritual and religious coping. These chapters together give an overview of the dynamics of MVAW, the role of overarching cultural issues that provide the backdrop in which MVAW is made possible and acted out, and insight into the complex dimensions of religious and spiritual coping as they relate to gender violence.

Part II: Working with Individuals within Religious Cultural Communities in the USA. Mental health professionals need background information on the variety of religious cultural groups. The second section of this work addresses this need. Characteristics of major religious cultural groups relevant to the identities of persons and the dynamics and treatment of MVAW in each group are outlined in each chapter. The underlying goal of each chapter in this section is to empower therapists to work effectively with diverse religious survivors and perpetrators of MVAW.

Chapter Selection in Part II. The selection of chapters to include in the second part revolved around a variety of factors. First, chapters were selected

from each of the following major religious traditions in the USA: Indigenous Peoples, Jewish, Christian, Islamic, and Eastern Religious Traditions. Each of these five sets of religious traditions are generally accepted as relatively separate and unique groups.

Second, an effort was made to take the religious identity of persons from major sects within each major tradition into account when selecting chapters. Emphasis was placed on how insiders construct their own religious identities, the types of rationale they provide for specific beliefs and practices, and things of this nature. For example, the "Orthodox Jewish Community has a unique belief system, religious outlook, and culture that set it apart even from other segments of the Jewish population" (quote is from the abstract of Bilek, Chap. 6). These unique characteristics, in turn, influence the dynamics and effective treatment of MVAW in the Orthodox Jewish community. These are some of the many reasons it was deemed necessary to have separate chapters for the Orthodox Jewish community (Chap. 6) and the Conservative Jewish community (Chap. 7 by Dorff).

Third, it was essential to note the differing histories of religious denominations or sects and the different emphases various religious denominations place on the importance of scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. In religious studies, these dimensions are often referred to as the Wesleyan Quadrilateral (see Johnson and Stephens, Chap. 29 for a discussion of these and other dimensions of religion). Different religious groups, especially those in the Christian tradition, often prefer one of these sources of knowledge (i.e., scripture, tradition, reason, or experience) over the others and are most responsive to communication strategies that match those preferences.

For example, Orthodox Christian denominations often place a strong emphasis on tradition (see Gassin, Chap. 10). Because of the high level of importance given to tradition in the Orthodox Christian Church, the sections describing traditions relevant to MVAW are longer in this chapter than they are in other Christian chapters. Discussions with Orthodox Christian leaders or clients that tap into the traditional teachings of major historical figures in the Orthodox Church on violence against women, such as the homilies of John Chrysostom, may be well received in this community but would most likely be rejected by many individuals in some Christian denominations which emphasize scripture as the most important source of knowledge, such as persons from Evangelical or Fundamentalist churches (Stephens and Walker, Chap. 13). Pentecostal and Charismatic churches are similar to the latter churches in many ways but they have a strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit and on emotional experience in addition to a tradition of ordaining women from the inception of their movements (see Murphy, Pommert, and Vidrine, Chap. 18). These differing histories of gender roles in the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches influence how MVAW is manifested in these groups. Differences in the dynamics of MVAW, their unique preferred styles of communication and persuasion, and their strong in-group preference makes working with clients and religious leaders from these denominations unique in many ways. Considerations of religious identity and group characteristics led to the decision to have one chapter for the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches and another for the Evangelical and Fundamentalist ones.

These examples highlight the different types of considerations which came into play in the chapter selection process for Part II.

Fourth, chapters in the second part were selected based on the intersection between religious tradition, race, culture, national origin, and immigration status within a group. This is especially true in the Christian subsection. For example, dynamics of how MVAW appears in churches of African descent, Latino Churches, multiethnic churches, and predominantly White churches differ not only according to religious identity but also in terms of responses to racism and stereotyping concerning the degree of perceived violence in specific cultural groups, differing numbers of recent immigrants in the church denomination, and other factors of social location relevant to MVAW. Separate chapters or parts of chapters were selected to try to capture essential religious cultural differences that affect how MVAW appears in these communities and that might influence the course of individualized treatment for survivors and perpetrators. For example, Muhovich and Geddes (Chap. 19) discuss complications of having an American pastor in a multiethnic church with immigrants from several countries in terms of the willingness of parishioners to discuss MVAW with pastoral leadership.

Fifth, chapters representing the Eastern Religious Traditions sought to capture the complexity of client lives at the intersection of religion, culture, national origin, and immigration status in a way that also reflected the fluid identities of individuals who practice and hold their religion in forms that are often very different from individuals in the Western religious traditions. Sometimes religious identity may be valued more highly by individuals in these groups while others may value national origin or subculture more highly than the commitment to a particular religious tradition. Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, Chinese traditions, and the Hmong each have unique values, scriptures, traditions, and histories that affect how MVAW unfolds in their respective communities. For example, Vang (Chap. 24) describes the role of traditional Hmong spiritual practices surrounding burial that result in strong internal and external pressure on wives of abusive husbands to stay in the marital relationship. Chapters on the Eastern Religious Traditions contain information about how MVAW unfolds within diverse traditions that might not be widely understood in or available to the majority cultures in the USA.

In short, each of the chapters in the second part of the book was carefully selected based on important religious and cultural issues essential for clinicians to be aware of due to the unique features of how MVAW unfolds in a specific community and to the differences in how clients from each of the religious cultural groups might construct their identities or have differing social situations confronting them when they face the problem of MVAW.

Chapter Features in Part II. Each chapter describes ways that the religious culture of a tradition is sometimes misused with regards to MVAW, religious and spiritual resources which can be useful in healing survivors and their children or for confronting abusive men, and recommendations for culturally sensitive practice. These are essential features for a number of reasons. First, it is important for mental health practitioners to be aware of how perpetrators of MVAW within a religious cultural group use a variety of methods and resources to exert power and control over their victim and any other family members, such as children. Religious scriptures, values,

beliefs, practices, and rituals are often misused by religious perpetrators to accomplish these objectives and to blame the victim for the abuse occurring. It is not unusual for a religious survivor of MVAW to internalize the blame for the abuse and to accept the twisted use of scripture and other religious beliefs or practices that minimize, deny, or even condone the violence directed at her. Understanding how use of the religious culture and the dynamics of MVAW are often intertwined within a group is essential for therapists.

Second, the tendency of religious survivors to internalize the blame and guilt for the abuse can result in interesting dynamics in treatment. Survivors and mental health practitioners alike may not be aware of religious beliefs, ideas, rituals, and practices which can be used to confront MVAW or which can be useful in healing. This can make it difficult for both parties to imagine a way for the client to reconnect with support that could be available in her religious community or with religious practices and beliefs which can alleviate her suffering. Openly acknowledging that her religion teaches that she deserves to be treated with love and respect and that it is wrong for her partner to abuse her can be a powerful intervention for a religious survivor. Direct or indirect pressure in therapy to further isolate or cut herself off from social support in her religious community—the very thing that the abusive partner is often trying to do—can unfortunately occur due to lack of knowledge of religious and spiritual resources in a community. This is not to say that one should automatically assume that the religious survivor should stay in her religious community. It is to acknowledge, however, that the decision on what to do with regards to her religious life is complex and is ultimately the client's to make. Therapists who understand both the religious supports for survivors and the misuse of religion within a religious cultural tradition to oppress survivors will be better equipped to help survivors process their options in an informed manner.

A third feature of each chapter in the second section of this work is a focus on the treatment of abusive men. Religious cultural groups at their best are concerned with the safety and thriving of survivors and their children, and the transformation of abusive behavior in men. Turning away from abuse, violence, and the use of power to control and manipulate, and turning toward a life of peace, self-sacrificing love, and care are essential for abusive men. It will not be possible to eliminate or even reduce violence against women in the general population unless violent behavior in men is addressed.

Fourth, each chapter in Part II spells out recommendations for mental health practitioners and researchers. Resources helpful to therapists in working with a given community are outlined. The chapters have been written by professionals from a wide range of disciplines who are in some way insiders to the religious cultural tradition they describe. This has enabled the chapter authors to write with an unusually high degree of sensitivity about important issues that can affect the religious cultural identity of clients or which might be relevant to understand the dynamics of MVAW and treatment issues within these communities. It also gives mental health practitioners the opportunity to observe how communication is carried out within the group, what information is seen as persuasive, and what tends to be emphasized as they reflect upon the way a given chapter is written. For example, one will notice that the questions and concerns of persons within the Roman Catholic tradition

(Starkey, Chap. 11) and those from an Anabaptist-Mennonite approach (Jankowski, Chap. 14) are quite different even though both traditions are Christian. Mental health practitioners who are mindful of these differences in values and communication styles will be better prepared to work with clients and religious leaders from the diverse religious cultural traditions included in this work.

Another advantage of having insiders provide recommendations about treating MVAW in each religious cultural group is less obvious. Damron and Johnson (Chap. 1), and Johnson and Stephens (Chap. 29) both describe how the source of information and the way it is presented may be highly important to at least some religious leaders in many religious cultural groups. These preferences can result in recommendations from an insider to the group who is seen as loyal and trustworthy being highly valued, while a recommendation which comes from an outside expert who is competent and experienced in MVAW could be undervalued or even devalued.

Being able to let resistant religious clients or leaders know that the information one has about MVAW in their religious cultural tradition comes from an insider who is knowledgeable and respectful of the group can be advantageous in many circumstances. For this reason, many chapters in Part II of this work contain recommendations for clergy and religious communities in addition to recommendations for mental health professionals. Having these recommendations available to you as a mental health professional will be advantageous for you to use with some religious clients and clergy, especially those who are particularistic (See Johnson and Stephens, Chap. 29 for a discussion of particularism). The recommendations for clergy and religious communities, in summary, are intentionally placed in chapters as tools for mental health professionals to use in their practice.

Fifth, each chapter in the second part of the book strikes a balance of discussing the misuse of religious tradition, religious and spiritual resources for healing survivors and confronting abusive men, and guidelines for culturally sensitive practice on one hand while communicating and organizing these discussions in a way that is culturally appropriate for that particular religious cultural tradition. Cultural sensitivity cannot be served well by forcing diverse religious persons to construct their chapters in the linear, tightly woven formats preferred by individuals in one of the dominant religious cultural groups in the USA (e.g., white Protestants). As will become apparent throughout this work, cookie cutter approaches to therapy with diverse religious others affected by MVAW do not work well. In a similar fashion, forcing a one size fits all strategy for all of the chapters also would not work well to promote intercultural understanding. One of the best examples is provided in Chap. 5 by Pierce. Preferred communication patterns in Native American (i.e., indigenous, First Nations, and American Indian) cultures are circular rather than linear. Pierce masterfully makes use of this communication style by illustrating the pernicious effects of racism, sexism, and genocidal actions over time by the dominant groups on MVAW in Native American communities. A culturally informed reading of this chapter will appreciate the additional depth and perspective she provides at each turn of the circle. Insiders to the tradition will find the information indispensable and essential to begin the quest to confront MVAW in their communities but will also realize that this is only a

beginning and will want to seek out even more information. Readings of the chapter that are not culturally informed or which are characterized by cultural rejection may miss the richness of the chapter and may see some of the information as redundant or unnecessarily repetitious. In short, the authors of each chapter provide us not only with essential information relevant to MVAW in their religious cultural tradition but also with demonstrations of the preferred communication patterns and examples of thought processes one often finds in their group. The richness and depth of this approach can yield much greater insight for the sensitive, observant, and thoughtful reader.

Finally, each chapter in the second part was written in a way that allowed it to be self-contained and read independently of the other chapters. Some readers may wish to brush up quickly on a tradition by quickly rereading a chapter and may not want to piece together parts of different chapters that each contain some pieces of the overall picture of the religious cultural group in question. This was also seen as being advantageous for readers obtaining a copy of a chapter through interlibrary loan or for those ordering only some of the chapters in the electronic forms of the book for sale on the Springer website.

Part III: Best Practices in Working with Clergy and Religious Communities. The third and final part of the book outlines best practices in working with religious leaders and religious communities to confront MVAW. Hamid and Jayakar (Chap. 26) explain principles and guidelines for providing consultation and educational programming in religious institutions. Kim and Menzie (Chap. 27) describe innovative models of collaboration between public service agencies and faith-based institutions in Korean American communities in the greater Oakland area. This unique program involved multiple partners from various public service agencies and religious organizations from differing religious traditions. Green (Chap. 28) outlines the underlying rationale and steps involved in establishing a systematic, comprehensive domestic violence policy within a religious organization. Finally, Johnson and Stephens provide useful guidelines for initiating work with religious leaders to address MVAW, summarize best practices, and provide directions for future research.

In conclusion, my hope is that this work will be useful to mental health professionals working to promote healing and transformation in the lives of persons affected by men's violence against women in diverse religious cultural groups. May we all become increasingly successful as we work together in taking these next steps to put an end to gender violence in all of our communities.

Reference

Glickman, N. S., & Gulati, S. (2003). *Mental health care of deaf people: A culturally affirmative approach.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

A. J. Johnson

Acknowledgments

This work has been an immense task that I would not have been able to complete without the inspiration, insight, and support of others. Carole Rayburn and Lisa Miller have encouraged me for a number of years to write on gender issues. A woman sitting next to me on a bus travelling from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville shared her concerns about the severity of the widespread gender violence in Cambodia, awakening within me a sense of urgency concerning the crisis of men's violence against women. Jackson Katz convinced me that gender violence is a men's issue, making me less apologetic and sheepish about discussing my new research interest. I also began to appreciate the importance of referring to the issue as *men's* violence against women rather than as violence against women, as violence against women just doesn't pop out of nowhere. It is usually a man who is being violent toward a woman even though most men are not violent. Deleting the word *men's* in men's violence against women tends to obscure that fact. Bystanders need to be involved in confronting men's violence against women regardless of their gender. This was a major turning point for me.

Carole Rayburn, Suzanne Koepplinger, Sang Bok Lee, Rafia Hamid, and Donald Walker participated in a symposium I chaired on Confronting Violence Against Women in Diverse Religious and Cultural Groups at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association in Washington, DC in 2011. I am grateful for the shared sense of determination we developed to bring greater awareness of the need to provide culturally sensitive interventions for those affected by men's violence against women in diverse religious cultural communities. Jennifer Hadley provided a possible avenue for this quest when she invited me to submit a book proposal. I cannot imagine a more wonderful editor than Jennifer. Her wisdom in guiding me through a number of difficult decisions with the book has been especially appreciated. Shubham Dixit has also been delightful to work with on this project as he guided me through the final edits.

Sandi Pierce worked with me on the initial proposal. Much to my dismay, she had to abandon being a co-editor due to prior commitments before the proposal was even half finished. Her deep insight into the plight of diverse religious women subjected to men's violence and to the treatment needs of abusive men was remarkable. I missed her input and thought of how she might address complicated situations on numerous occasions as the book unfolded. Pastor Mauro Souza and Pastor Anthony Jermaine Ross helped me to see more clearly how culture, gender, and social position affects the

way in which individuals approach and understand scripture through their workshop at the Church of All Nations. I admire the work of P. Scott Richards and Edward Shafranske on the intersection of religion and clinical psychology. Pastor Mauro and Pastor Jermaine helped me understand that a work on men's violence against women would need to take things a step further by looking at the intersection of multiple sources of identity and social location as these affect the unfolding of violence against women in diverse communities. Carole Rayburn helped me to acknowledge and confront deeply buried and unconscious sexism within myself—another major turning point.

I am grateful for the contribution of many individuals and organizations specializing in the healing of individuals affected by men's violence against women and the treatment of abusive men. Alexandra House; Lyla Pagels and Marlene Jezierski from Allina Hospital; the Aurora Center at the University of Minnesota; Amy, Barton, Cheryl, and David from Cornerstone; Jodi Cowdin from The Dwelling Place shelter; Laura Scandrette; and Jennifer and Tim Nelson from Friends University were all very generous with their time and with either sharing or referring me to various training manuals, workshop materials, and other resources. In addition, Cornerstone was instrumental in providing me with contacts both during and after their Annual Midwest Conferences on Domestic Violence and Abuse. It was through Cornerstone I met Jackson Katz, Ludy Green, and Jessalyn Frank. Ludy ended up contributing a chapter for this work and Jessalyn is working with me on another volume regarding violence against Deaf women. Andrew John from the Domestic Abuse Project provided a wonderful role model of respectful interactions with diverse religious community members. His example came to mind as a guide on many occasions. Dave Mathews (the social worker, not the musician as he is fond of saying) from Metro State University was also an important role model of someone who understood how to translate knowledge of diverse religious groups, cultures, and socioeconomic and immigration status levels into culturally sensitive practice. Richard Lee from the Department of Psychology and professors and graduate students from the School of Social Work at the University of Minnesota connected me with a number of potential chapter authors. Carolyn Scott Brown and Jane Frederickson from the FaithTrust Institute were also generous with resources and their time in helping me track down a couple of chapter authors. Hamdy El-Sawaf provided consultation on questions related to Islam and gender violence. Don Walker and Regent University offered me the opportunity to have an outstanding doctoral level research assistant, Rachel Stephens. I was stunned because this offer suddenly appeared out of the blue. They even paid her salary. Finally, Jill Damron was a graduate student at Bethel University. I was the professor and she was the student but it seems to me that I learned at least as much from her as she did from me. Jill provided input at a number of different critical points along the way.

A number of individuals at Bethel University were indispensable. Rhonda Gilbraith and other library staff went above and beyond the call of duty to help me with literature searches, Verena Getahun secured interlibrary loans of sometimes obscure materials, and Kent Gerber provided input on questions related to seeking permissions. Kelsey Schlichting, Joelle Hershberger,

Brooke Charleston, and Emily Stasel were phenomenal teaching assistants, enabling me to maximize the time I spent on the project and sometimes working long hours checking references. Kelsey also completely reorganized my office in the middle of the project when things had reached a crisis point. Joel Frederickson provided me with continual support as Department Chair. My colleagues in the MA Program in Counseling Psychology at Bethel University graciously took over philosophy of counseling advising when I became overwhelmed. My sincere gratitude goes out to Peter Jankowski, Jason Li, Myrla Seibold, Linde Getahun, and Jim Koch in this regard. Finally, a work of such breadth requires input and expertise from a wide range of scholars. Fortunately, I am surrounded by knowledgeable and generous colleagues who answered an extraordinary range of questions from me, often on very short notice. These colleagues included Sande Traudt, Julia Moen, Pamela Ngunjiri, Jason Li, Ruth Nelson, Kathy Nevins, Gretchen Wrobel, Stephen Sandage, Samuel Zalanga, Andrew Odubote, Sara Shady, Christina Busman, Gary Long, Juan Hernandez, Karen McKinney, Angela Sabates, Natalie Beazer, Carrie Peffley, Laura Gilbertson, Adam Johnson, Keith Brooks, and Leon Rodrigues. There are most likely others as well. My sincere apologies to those I have overlooked.

The chapter authors have been especially wonderful. I do not think it would be possible to have a better, more encouraging group. I started to list out chapter authors who had been especially meaningful to me but then I discovered that I had listed each one so it is probably best to refer you to the contributor list for all of their names. They have each been outstanding and account for the strengths of this volume. Any shortcomings clearly belong on my shoulders. My thanks go out to individuals from many different communities whose encouragement and thoughts have helped me sustain through this process. You know who you are and I am very appreciative of your support. Finally and most importantly, I want to thank my wife and daughter for everything they did for me during this long, challenging process. They made considerable sacrifices to enable me to finish this work while also being cheerful and encouraging each step of the way.

Contents

Contributors

Layal Abadi Department of Psychology, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH, USA

Muninder K. Ahluwalia Department of Counseling and Educational Leadership, Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ, USA

Natalie Ames Department of Social Work, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC, USA

Tricia Bent-Goodley School of Social Work, Howard University, Washington, DC, USA

Rabbi Raffi Bilek Baltimore Therapy Center, Baltimore, MD, USA

Kesslyn Brade Stennis Department of Social Work, Coppin State University, Washington, DC, USA

Ron Clark Agape Church of Christ, Portland, OR, USA

George Fox Evangelical Seminary, Portland, OR, USA

Jillian E. H. Damron Midwest Psychological Services, Hudson, WI, USA

Shamita Das Dasgupta Manavi, New Brunswick, NJ, USA

Rabbi Elliot N. Dorff American Jewish University, Bel-Air, CA, USA

Quyen Epstein-Ngo Institute for Research on Women and Gender, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Substance Abuse Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Injury Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

Michigan Institute for Clinical & Health Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Addiction Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

Elizabeth A. Gassin Department of Psychology, Olivet Nazarene University, Bourbonnais, IL, USA

Edna Geddes College of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences, Argosy University, Twin Cities, MN, USA

Ludy Green Second Chance Employment Services, Washington, D.C., USA

Rafia M. Hamid Domestic Harmony Foundation, Westbury, NY, USA

James P. Hurd Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Bethel University, St. Paul, MN, USA

Peter J. Jankowski Department of Psychology, Bethel University, St. Paul, MN, USA

Kushalata Jayakar Domestic Harmony Foundation, Westbury, NY, USA

Andy J. Johnson Department of Psychology, Bethel University, St. Paul, MN, USA

Shanta Nishi Kanukollu Division of Psychological Services, Nineteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Lake County, Waukegan, IL, USA

Christopher Kilmartin Department of Psychology, University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg, VA, USA

Mimi E. Kim School of Social Welfare, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, USA

Annette Mahoney Department of Psychology, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH, USA

Rev. Ann Rhee Menzie Korean American Coalition to End Domestic Abuse, El Cerrito, CA, USA

Nan J. Muhovich Department of Intercultural Studies & Languages, North Central University, Minneapolis, MN, USA

Nancy Murphy Northwest Family Life, Seattle, WA, USA

Kenneth I. Pargament Department of Psychology, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH, USA

Katherine J. Partridge Department of Psychology, Regent University, Virginia, Beach, VA, USA

Alexandra (Sandi) Pierce Othayonih Research, St. Paul, MN, USA

Department of Psychology, Metropolitan State University, St. Paul, MN, USA

Julene Pommert The Seattle School of Theology and Psychology, Seattle, WA, USA

Ann F. Pritt Private Practice, Kaysville, UT, USA

Carole A. Rayburn Private Practice, Silver Spring, MD, USA

Anneliese A. Singh Counseling & Human Development Services, The University of Georgia, Athens, GA, USA

A. Denise Starkey Department of Theology and Religious Studies, The College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, MN, USA

Rachel L. Stephens Department of Psychology, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, USA

Pa Der Vang School of Social Work, St. Catherine University, St. Paul, MN, USA

Bonnie Vidrine Department of Psychology, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA

Donald F. Walker Child Trauma Institute, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, USA

Department of Psychology, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, USA

Sailume Walo-Roberts Department of Counseling and Educational Leadership, Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ, USA

Leslie F. Ware Social Work Practitioner, Raleigh, NC, USA

Part I
Background Information

Violence Against Women in Religious Communities: An Introduction

Jillian E. H. Damron and Andy J. Johnson

Men's violence against women is a pervasive problem that occurs across all religious, cultural, racial, socio-economic, and national groups (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000a, 2000b, 2006). The target audience for this volume is mental health professionals. The general thesis is that mental health providers and religious communities need to work together to address issues of men's violence against women. The first part of this chapter reviews evidence concerning the prevalence of three major forms of violence against women in the USA: intimate partner violence (IPV), sexual assault, and human trafficking. The second part gives an overview of the book. The third and final part provides suggestions for mental health professionals on how to use this book.

Prevalence of Men's Violence Against Women

Intimate partner violence (*IPV*), occurs between spouses, ex-spouses, common-law spouses, and current or former boyfriends or girlfriends. The term violence encompasses the following areas: physical, sexual, psychological or emotional, economic, and stalking. Men and women both experience IPV, but statistically women experience 84 % of violent incidents with a male aggressor, men experience 12 % of incidents with a female aggressor, and 4 % of incidents are made up of same-sex aggressor and victims (Smith and Farole 2009). In the last 20 years, incidents of IPV reported to law enforcement have decreased by over 60 %, according to the US Department of Justice statistics (Catalano 2012), but they continue to occur with alarming frequency. For example, Catalano (2012, p. 10) reports 775,650 incidents of IPV against females for 2009–2010. While incidents of IPV are not evenly distributed throughout the day (more IPV incidents occur in the evenings and on weekends, for example), translating this large number into the average number of incidents per hour makes the 775,650 more understandable. This is an average of over 88 incidents of IPV against women every hour in the USA during that time period (there are over 103 incidents per hour if IPV incidents against men are included). In 2007, there was an estimated 2340 deaths related to domestic violence (Smith and Farole 2009). Children witnessed 22 % of domestic violence incidents and an additional 14 % of children were living in the home but did not directly witness the violence.

Attempted and completed sexual assaults against females also occur with alarming frequency (Planty et al. 2013). The data from the National Crime Victimization Survey in 2010 indicate a total sexual assault and rape victimization average count of 269,700. This amounts

A. J. Johnson (✉)
Department of Psychology, Bethel University,
St. Paul, MN, USA
e-mail: ajohnson@bethel.edu

J. E. H. Damron
Midwest Psychological Services, Hudson, WI, USA

to an average of over 30 instances of completed, attempted, or threatened rape and sexual assault per hour. Over 16 of these 30 plus incidents per hour involved completed rapes (i.e., 143,300 completed rapes; Planty et al. 2013).

Human trafficking is a form of violence against women which is beginning to receive more attention. The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 identifies human trafficking as a "severe form of trafficking in persons" (2000, Sect. 103, Line 8). This includes using force, coercion, or fraud to subject individuals to involuntary servitude, slavery, and bondage through the recruitment, harboring, and transportation of persons. Sex trafficking is defined as trafficking in persons for the purpose of a commercial sexual act. Banks and Kyckelhahn (2011) report that federally funded task forces identified 2515 suspected incidents of human trafficking between January 2008 and June 2010. Approximately 80 % of the confirmed cases of trafficking involved sex trafficking. The rest were primarily classified as labor trafficking. Over 80 % of confirmed sex trafficking victims were US citizens, while labor trafficking victims were primarily "undocumented aliens" (67 %) or "qualified aliens" (28 %; Banks and Kyckelhahn 2011, p. 1). Female victims outnumbered male victims by a 16:1 margin in confirmed sex trafficking incidents, while female victims were twice as likely as males to be victims in confirmed labor trafficking incidents (p. 6).

The primary focus of this book is on IPV, although other forms of violence against women are also discussed in several chapters. Governmental statistics tend to be a conservative estimate of the actual occurrences of IPV due to underreporting and differences in reporting frequency due to factors such as race, the type of relationship the victim has with the perpetrator, geographical location, and the type of IPV she experienced (Akers and Kaukinen 2009). Sexual assaults are even less likely to be reported than physical assaults (Chen and Ullman 2010). Underreporting is due to a variety of factors, including victims fearing the stigma that would be placed on them if they reported the incidents, a lack of resources and awareness of violence against women in the

criminal justice system, and the victims' fear for their lives and for their children if they were to leave an abusive situation or report the violence. It is also challenging to gauge the frequency of emotional and financial abuses accurately as these are not generally visible to others and they are hard to measure, especially if the victims have difficulty identifying and communicating this type of IPV which can be more ambiguous (Carney and Barner 2012; Leone et al. 2007; Tjaden and Thoennes 2000a, 2000b).

Even if one uses the most conservative estimates like the ones we have cited in this chapter, the occurrence rates are too high. A single incident of an individual using physical, emotional, or sexual violence toward another person is too high. Mental health professionals need to help leaders in religious communities develop awareness of the prevalence of violence against women in their communities and the detrimental effects IPV creates among survivors, their children, and congregations to address the problem effectively.

Unfortunately, misunderstandings and sometimes even biases between mental health professionals who work in the area of IPV and religious leaders occur due to differing sets of professional training and experiences. We have observed that many mental health professionals who specialize in treating IPV are acutely aware of how religious beliefs, practices, and sacred writings are used by abusive spouses to justify their violent behavior. On the other hand, these same mental health professionals may not encounter or be aware of strengths of a religious cultural tradition which can be used for healing survivors or to confront abusive behavior and attitudes. One can readily understand why this would be the case, as individuals who are experiencing peaceful, loving, and respectful relationships in a religious community generally do not seek counseling from a mental health professional who specializes in IPV. Religious leaders, on the other hand, are often aware of beneficial aspects of their religious and cultural beliefs, practices, and sacred writings. This is something they try to promote in their work and that they are involved with on a daily basis. It is not uncommon for religious leaders to hear reports from individuals in the com-

munity about how their personal and family life has improved substantially after a conversion or after starting to live religious values more fully. These same religious leaders are often shocked and horrified, on the other hand, when they discover the extent to which abusive spouses have misused their religion to justify violent behavior. This is something religious leaders typically do not see in their daily work. Abusive spouses and their victims generally try to hide the abuse and usually do so very effectively. In fact, it is not uncommon in our experience for a religious leader to be very confident that IPV does not occur at all in his or her religious community because the abuse is so well hidden and because religious leaders often do not have the training to be able to identify signs and symptoms of IPV.

In summary, mental health professionals need a better understanding of how the religion of clients can be useful to treatment, and religious leaders need a better understanding of how sacred writings and other elements of their religion are often twisted by abusive individuals to maintain power over victims. The chapters in Part 2 of this volume provide specific examples of how religion has been misused in this way within a wide variety of religious cultural groups. Additionally, mental health professionals need to make religious leaders aware of the resources within their communities and social systems to raise awareness and decrease the prevalence of IPV in their congregations.

Increasing collaboration and understanding between the mental health and religious communities is essential in decreasing and eliminating IPV. To do so, information about each party that the other should know will be examined, beginning with what mental health practitioners who specialize in IPV would especially like mental health professionals with a general practice and religious leaders to understand initially.

Mental Health Professionals

Identify Safety First The first, and most important, aspect of IPV that specialists would like therapists and religious leaders to be aware of

is the question of safety. Is a woman or girl reporting abuse safe in her current environment? What potential harm might come to her and any children she might have? Unfortunately, women tend to experience disbelief within their religious community, or to hear messages that their role is to submit to their husbands (see the chapters in Part 2 of this volume). The disbelief in these messages show the clouded lack of awareness of religious leaders and lay people of the danger that individuals experiencing IPV face. It takes an incredible amount of courage for victims to communicate their experience of IPV, due to the stigma and the manipulation from their abusers. It is not the role of a religious leader to determine whether or not a woman's report seems credible. This assessment should be handled by a competent mental health professional who is trained in the assessment and treatment of IPV. The primary role for a religious leader who is the first to hear about the abuse is to determine whether the woman is in immediate physical danger and to help her evaluate for herself how she might choose to protect herself after she has disclosed IPV (Johnson andStephens, Chap. 29). This should be the primary concern as the prevalence of fatalities increases significantly when the victim attempts to leave the relationship (Roehl et al. 2005).

Mental health practitioners can inform religious leaders about the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence website (http://www.ncadv. org/index.php). This site has information regarding how to get help, create safety plans, help a friend, and it provides links to resources available to individuals experiencing IPV. Other resources could include websites from individual state and private organizations to meet the needs of state and county residents. With this information, religious leaders will be better equipped to verify the safety of the reporting woman, or assist her in creating a safety plan for herself and her family.

Reporting Intimate Partner Violence Is Not an Attack on the Religion Women prefer to get help within their religious community, and this is often the first place they acknowledge the violence and ask for others to believe them

(Casa 2001; Clark, Chap. 12; Hamid and Jayakar, Chap. 26). This is an important reason why mental health professionals need to work more effectively with religious cultural communities. Mental health professionals can educate religious communities about what women who report IPV typically want (e.g., someone to believe them, to let them know they do not deserve to be treated this way, and to help them find safety and a way for the violence to stop). Sometimes religious leaders, organizations, and lay persons incorrectly identify a revelation of abuse as an attack on their religious organization. They may not understand how difficult it is for a survivor of IPV to reach out for help and may believe common myths about domestic violence (Jankowski et al. 2011; Peters 2008) or sexual assault (Burt 1980; Hammond et al. 2011; Hayes et al. 2013) that blame the behavior and character of the victim, minimize the abuse, and exonerate the perpetrator. In these situations, the person hearing the report about IPV may erroneously believe that the survivor is trying to discredit or attack the religious community in some way. This reaction may even be more likely if the abusive partner in the relationship is popular or a leader in the community. As IPV is characterized by secrecy, these men may be able to continue to participate actively in the religious community and perpetrate violence in their families simultaneously with the congregation supporting them as pillars of the community.

Our observation has been that many religious leaders are moved by compassion when they develop an understanding of the dangerous situations survivors face when they reveal they are being abused and that survivors desperately want help from their own religious community. Religious leaders are often surprised to learn that help within the church or other religious community is usually rated by survivors as being the least effective (Casa 2001; Hamid and Jayakar, Chap. 26).

Religious communities are often not safe places for survivors to disclose they are being abused. Women are often not believed and may even be blamed for the abuse. Sometimes individuals within the community may feel they are doing a good deed by informing the abusive part-

ner of what the survivor said, not realizing that he then will most likely punish her by becoming even more violent in private. The chapters in Part 2 of this volume can be consulted for more examples of how safety can be an issue within specific religious cultural groups. To increase their knowledge of how IPV works and continually impacts women, families, and the church community, religious leaders must first face and accept a painful reality: IPV is present within every religious group, every denomination, and every congregation even though nobody in any group wants this to be the case (Clark, Chap. 12). In every congregation, there are most likely individuals who have been or who are currently experiencing IPV at any given time. Religious leaders are usually unaware of this fact (Muhovich and Geddes, Chap. 19). Due to this lack of awareness and understanding of how IPV works, individuals do not feel safe or do not feel they will be supported by their religious leaders if they were to report the violence.

Mental health practitioners can educate religious leaders and communities to build awareness and knowledge of abuse dynamics so that they can be a valuable source of support for survivors and can make referrals to appropriate resources. Religious leaders also need to be informed that abusive men can be well respected leaders within the religious community. Mental health specialists see cases of abuse from multiple religious communities on a regular basis, but religious leaders tend to see the day to day functions of their congregations, within which the abuse is closely guarded and hidden by the abusive person and the abused alike.

Religious teachings are often twisted and misused to oppress women and continue the prevalence of IPV. Abusers often distort scriptural passages for their own gain in an effort to control victims of the violence. They use scriptures pertaining to submission of women to their husbands, men as having authority over women, prescribed roles of women in the religion, and divorce as bad, among others, to validate their own agenda of using violence to exert power and control over their intimate partners (Mahoney, Abadi, and Pargament, Chap. 4). Unfortunately,

when seeking help from their religious communities women are often met with these same messages from well-intentioned but ill-informed religious leaders who use the same scriptures in an attempt to lead the woman through what they view as a difficult time in her spiritual journey, and thus themselves condone the violence they wish to end due to misleading interpretations of religious doctrine or their own religious or personal biases. In order to increase understanding of how to help women seeking support from the church and to decrease the occurrences of inadvertently continuing the abuse on those who seek help, mental health specialists recommend that religious leaders gain a good understanding of the abuse dynamics present within IPV.

Understand Basic Abuse Dynamics Abusers do not wear a sign around their necks announcing this title, nor do they look like monsters. They are ordinary looking men who, as previously stated, may even hold a prominent status in the religious community and engage with fellow members and religious leaders in a way that would not be suspect. Religious leaders must be aware of this and be willing to accept that anyone could perpetrate violence against women (Kilmartin, Chap. 2). This will help to decrease the initial shock of learning about the abuse from a woman seeking help, thus increasing the bond of trust with the woman and the religious leaders with the initial acknowledgement of the abuse.

IPV thrives in secrecy. Women tend to hide the abuse due to the stigma that is attached. She may believe the abuse is her fault. If only she had not argued with him, if only she had remembered to buy the right brand of milk, if only she had completed the housework, if only she had not nagged so much, if only she could control the children, if only she could keep him from drinking too much. Messages from the abuser and the community may reinforce these beliefs. The perpetrator may have also used coercive controlling behavior such as threatening to take away the children, to take away money, to spread rumors, to tell her secrets, and to kill her or the children if she told anyone about the abuse (Jacobson and Gottman 1998; Lehmann et al. 2012).

If the victim has been threatened, the religious leader needs to be aware of the danger that the woman may be in if she tells about the abuse and to be aware of the more subtle signs that are present within IPV. These signs can include: increased isolation from support systems, increased depression or anxiety, increased aggression or social withdrawal in children, physical injuries; and the abuser controlling the money, how the victim dresses, acts, and who she speaks to, having affairs and accusing the victim of engaging in affairs, blaming problems on the victim, and talking badly about her to others. Leaders also need to be aware of the cycle of violence that makes it difficult for victims to leave the relationship and allows perpetrators to continue the violence. Mental health practitioners can educate religious leaders about the complexity of IPV, so that they gain an awareness of why it is not easy for victims to just leave the abusive relationship.

The abuse cycle begins with an initial "honeymoon" stage (Walker 1988, 2009). This occurs at the beginning of a relationship when the abuser builds trust with the victim through engaging in a loving and attentive manner. The tension building stage is marked by increasing attempts to control the victim, often using threats and intimidation to gain power. The victim will try to prevent the abuser's anger from escalating and calm him, accepting the responsibility to fix the abuser and the perceived problems in the relationship or the victim. The explosion stage is when the physical, verbal, emotional, and sexual violence occurs. After this stage is the second honeymoon stage in which the abuser attempts to gain the trust of the victim and continue the relationship through apologies, gifts, and promises that it will never happen again. This often awakens hope in the victim that the relationship will get better, especially in the first few repetitions through the abuse cycle. However, without direct and serious intervention on the abuser's behavioral patterns, mindset, and beliefs, the abuse cycle will occur over and over, often with decreasing time between the honeymoon and tension building stages (Walker 1988, 2009). Understanding the abuse cycle is an important step in eliminating the shame brought on women that occurs when

well-meaning individuals ask them why they did not just leave, or how they got themselves into this situation. Other important dynamics for religious leaders to understand in this regard include financial dependence of the victim on the abusive spouse, fear that the abusive spouse might carry out his threats to kill her and the children if she leaves the relationship, and the tendency of victims to internalize messages that they are responsible for or deserve the violence in some way.

Finally, specialists in the mental health professions would like religious leaders to be aware of the damaging impact abuse has on the family system and the children involved (Anda et al. 2006; Dube et al. 2002; Whitfield et al. 2003). Children are affected by IPV in a variety of ways, including the development of a distorted worldview. They may come to see the violence as a normal, even permissible aspect of relationships, and continue the abuse cycles in their own lives. They are at increased risk to become victims or perpetrators themselves. The children experience increased behavioral, emotional, and mental health issues that affect their functioning in home, school, and community settings (Anda et al. 2006; Dube et al. 2002; Whitfield et al. 2003). Religiously, children may learn to associate the church with a place where violence is accepted and continue in this mindset with their own families, or witness the twisted teaching and scriptures that support the continuation of the violence and pain and discontinue associations with a religious community. To prevent the detrimental effects of IPV on the individual, family, and religious community, religious leaders must be aware of helpful resources available to address these concerns.

Using Resources Mental health specialists trained in addressing IPV have the knowledge of how an abuser can use individuals and resources, including therapy, to gain power over, manipulate, and control the victim. In general, these specialists urge other mental health professionals and religious leaders *not* to use couple's therapy when addressing IPV (Gondolf 2012). Individualized and individual therapy for the abusive

partner is recommended (Murphy et al. 2009). In a faith-based sense, the violence has already broken the marital vows and should be addressed individually with the survivor receiving support from the religious community to increase her self-esteem and healing from the violence. The abuser should gain awareness of the cycle of violence and his mindset or belief system that contributes to his violent behavior (Gondolf 2012; Murphy et al. 2009).

Additional resources to address IPV are geared toward increasing awareness of abuse in the young in an effort to stop the transmission of violence to the next generation. For example, one helpful resource is the Know Abuse curriculum for youth which is available from the Pave the Way website (www.pavethewayproject.com) and was created by the Cornerstone domestic abuse advocacy organization (http://www.cornerstonemn.org). This curriculum educates children ages 12–18 in the types of abuse and the abuse cycle in an interactive way. It is used in school settings and could be used in youth group or outreach settings within the religious community in an effort to address IPV and teach young people how to help their peers both in and outside of the religious community. Faith-based materials and resources can be found at the websites for multiple religious traditions at the FaithTrust (one word) Institute (http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources). The chapters in Part 2 of this volume each identify specific resources which may be helpful for clients affected by violence against women and their religious communities.

Mental health specialists working with IPV need to have a good understanding of what perpetuates IPV, the support that is needed, and what religious leaders need to be aware of to help their congregations. Mental health specialists also need to have a good awareness of the worldviews, beliefs and practices that their religious clients bring into a counseling session. To address this latter issue, the culture and messages of the faith communities that religious leaders want mental health specialists and professionals to be aware of will be discussed next.

Religious Leaders

Due to the general mistrust and misunderstanding that historically have occurred between the mental health professions and religious communities (Richards and Bergin 2005; Sullivan et al. 2013), it is essential that mental health specialists working with religious communities are open to the concerns and viewpoints that religious leaders may have when seeking help for the members of their congregations. Perhaps the most important message that religious leaders would like to communicate is that not all people involved in religious or faith-based communities are untrustworthy and intentionally harming people's mental health and emotional welfare, especially those seeking help and asylum in the church community. Religious leaders also view faith-based practices as what mental health professionals would label as adaptive coping skills, helping individuals improve their mental and emotional health as they become more consistent in their religious devotion (Mahoney, Abadi, and Pargament, Chap. 4). Churches and religious leaders typically devote a large part of their ministry to preparing individuals for marriage and relationships that mirror the spiritual guidelines of the faith system.

One area of concern in some religious communities is the risk of members being "led astray" from their religious convictions and foundations if they seek help from outside professionals who do not hold the same religious leanings. In the religious leader's perspective, that could put the individual at risk of losing their moral compass, spiritual grounding, or even personal salvation in some religious communities. Individuals may also engage in ideals and practices that they might regret when they are feeling vulnerable, making it difficult for some religious leaders to refer members of their communities to outside professionals (Hamid and Jayakar, Chap. 26). Religious leaders may be especially reticent to refer clients to mental health professionals they perceive as promoting divorce and not valuing marriage. This tends to occur due to religious leaders not understanding the seriousness of IPV (e.g., the violence can escalate to the point where

the abusive spouse kills the victim) and how marital therapy can actually increase the severity of the abuse even though on the surface it appears to be an attempt to save the marriage. Religious leaders may also not be aware of relatively recent developments in psychotherapy where mental health professionals have developed culturally sensitive interventions for diverse religious clients (Aten et al. 2011; Pargament et al. 2013; Richards 2012, 2013; Richards and Bergin 2000; Shafranske 1996). In short, establishing trust with a religious leader or community may in many cases revolve more around shared values (Chaddock and McMinn 1999; McMinn et al. 2005), acknowledging the importance of marriage within the religious tradition while also explaining the seriousness of IPV, or demonstrating respect for the religious leader (McMinn et al. 2003) than around the competence and training of the mental health professional.

To be able to fully address the needs of individuals and families affected by men's violence against women, the mental health and religious communities must work to understand their differences and similarities and how the strengths of each can be combined to address this crime against the physical, emotional, and spiritual welfare of individuals, families, and society.

Summary and Overview

In summary, interpersonal violence is a multifaceted phenomenon that cuts across all national, socioeconomic, religious, cultural, and racial groups. This volume focuses on some of the most serious and common forms of interpersonal violence—men's violence against women—as they affect persons in diverse religious cultural groups. Religious clients struggling with men's violence against women can pose interesting challenges for psychotherapists and other mental health professionals. They might not be familiar with the vast array of different religious cultural groups. Client religious beliefs may be intertwined with dysfunctional, misogynistic beliefs or interpretations of sacred writings, values, or practices which play a role in excusing, minimiz-

ing, denying, or even condoning violence against women. Religious survivors often feel ambivalent, both wanting support from their religious community yet also fearing that others within their religion will blame them for the violence. They may feel a conflict between their religion and seeking professional help. Men within a religious group who behave violently toward women may be especially resistant to change if they use their religion to justify their violent behavior. Religious clients and their therapists may both be unaware of facets of the client's religious culture that disavow men's violence against women, that can be beneficial and supportive of the predicament of survivors, and that can provide healthy nonviolent understandings and life choices for men with violent behavior.

This multipurpose work serves as a text and a reference guide for the culturally sensitive treatment of women survivors of men's violence, bystanders, and men with violent behavior in diverse religious cultural groups. Background information on the nature of religious and spiritual coping, treatment implications of the discrepancies between the lived social experience of women and official ecclesiastical policy within religious groups, and an overview of diverse and interconnected forms of men's violence against women are provided in the first part of the book. Chapter 2 by Kilmartin explains that most violent offenders in IPV are men, even though most men are not violent. He examines factors which contribute to men's violence against women and explains how common myths about IPV and sexual assault, such as blaming the victim rather than holding the offender accountable, contribute to difficulties addressing these problems. Chapter 3 by Rayburn gives important insights into how lived social relationships often do not live up to the lofty ideals and policies within religious cultural groups, explaining the implications of this disparity for men's violence against women. Ethical issues in the treatment of survivors are discussed. Finally, Chap. 4 by Mahoney, Abadi and Pargament explains the complexity of spiritual and religious coping behavior in the context of situational couple violence, a less severe form of IPV. This chapter can be used to gain insight

into the multifaceted nature of spiritual and religious coping and will assist therapists in more clearly differentiating between healthy and unhealthy coping behavior.

The second part focuses on working with individuals within diverse religious cultural communities affected by men's violence against women. Each chapter in this part describes sacred texts, religious rituals, spiritual practices, beliefs, attitudes, and values as they relate to men's violence against women within a particular religious cultural group. Factors that contribute to the development and maintenance of unhealthy, violent relationship patterns within each group are described in addition to spiritual and religious resources that can be used in healing and mobilizing support for survivors. Issues of addressing the needs of men in each religious cultural group through empowering men who are bystanders to address violence against women in appropriate ways and confronting religious men in treatment for their violent behavior to make them accountable and provide them with appropriate nonviolent behavioral options are outlined.

Individuals have complex identities which are shaped by the intersection of their social locations which, in turn, have important implications for understanding violence against women in diverse religious others. Religion, culture, ethnicity, race, national origin, immigration status, socioeconomic status, ability, and gender interact in complex ways to influence how persons perceive and relate to one another. Mindful of this set of realities, Part 2 contains chapters that address MVAW in Indigenous Peoples, Jewish, Christian, Islamic, and Eastern Traditions and Groups. Chapters also were selected and designed to address the combination of religious and cultural identity within various subgroups. The preface can be consulted for an overview of the selection process for the chapters in this part and for additional explanations of the chapter features.

The third and final part addresses principles and guidelines for effective consultation and educational outreach programming within religious cultural communities. Hamid and Jayakar (Chap. 26) explain how to establish a relationship

with a religious cultural community based on trust and mutual respect. Issues related to assessment, developing a collaborative plan that takes the religious and cultural perspectives of the community into account, and maintaining sensitivity to the concerns of women, men, children, and diverse subgroups within the religious community are discussed. Kim and Menzie (Chap. 27) describe the Shimtuh Korean Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Program in Oakland, California. They discuss the collaborative nature of this program which emphasized the following four phases: community outreach, training and technical assistance, a community organizing campaign, and shared leadership with Korean immigrant Christian and Buddhist faith institutions to address IPV. Finally, Green (Chap. 28) explains the necessity of developing a domestic violence policy within a religious institution. Following the blueprint she established in her work with corporate leaders in this area, Green outlines the process of developing, maintaining, and updating a domestic violence policy.

How to Use This Book

Each mental health practitioner who uses this book may do so for different reasons and may gain in different ways from each part. The following lists some of the ways we anticipate the book can be useful to readers:

1. The chapters in the first part of the book not only introduce some of the major issues in men's violence against women, they also problematize many aspects of the issue which might otherwise seem straightforward at first glance. For example, Kilmartin (Chap. 2) challenges us to recognize the banal, commonplace nature of men's violence against women. Addressing men's violence against women would be much easier if it was simply a matter of identifying and treating a group of deranged or mentally defective men. In contrast, Kilmartin demonstrates that the problem is much deeper and more pervasive than one might think at first—there is something terribly wrong with the way masculinity is con-

structed in our culture. Likewise, Rayburn (Chap. 3) raises the question of how it is that egalitarian policies of a religious institution do not necessarily translate into egalitarian and respectful treatment of women and girls by leaders and followers within a religious community. The discrepancy between policies, words, and lived experience leads one to recognize that attitude and policy change is not enough—behavioral change is necessary. Finally, Mahoney et al. (Chap. 4) demonstrate that spiritual and religious coping is not uniformly unhealthy as some critics of religion would maintain, nor is it always functional and productive as many religious individuals might assume. In contrast, the reader is invited to consider the complexity of spiritual and religious coping for survivors of men's violence against women. The first part of the book, in short, can be used to facilitate understanding of the complexity of men's violence against women.

2. The second part of the book can be used as a guide to understanding individual clients from diverse religious cultural groups affected by violence against women. Culturally sensitive practice is not blind. It perceives religious and cultural differences, appreciates the strengths of the unique religious and cultural identity a client brings to treatment, identifies ways that personal and interpersonal dysfunction have become intertwined with religious themes, and uses cultural and religious ideas appropriately to make treatment more effective with a specific person. While considerable variation exists from person to person within each religious cultural group, each chapter can be useful in helping one to anticipate potential problems and issues. This can also contribute to increased confidence in identifying and confronting misogynistic and other inappropriate religious interpretations. Developing a better knowledge of functional community resources and beliefs can be useful in understanding and treating diverse religious clients.

3. Sometimes it can be challenging to identify common ground and shared values in community outreach with diverse religious

leaders or when trying to identify appropriate religious leaders to refer religious clients with religious or spiritual questions related to violence against women. This book can be used to generate ideas on what types of issues might be best to focus on or to examine first in this type of outreach. Identifying and training an appropriate religious leader who can provide beneficial pastoral guidance to religious clients on religious questions related to IPV can be difficult without some knowledge of a religious cultural group. Different communities often face different challenges and have diverse understandings and values. The ability to find a way to align the goals you have for outreach with the goals of the religious leadership is an essential skill to develop. Understanding the general status of addressing men's violence against women in each religious cultural group, anticipating potential obstacles and barriers within the community, and gaining familiarity with the strengths of a given religious cultural group can facilitate the development of productive collaborative programs and the identification and training of clergy referral sources.

4. Close observation of the construction of each chapter will also give insight into what information is considered most persuasive within a religious cultural group. Differences in the rhetoric of Christian groups provide illustrative examples. White conservative Protestant groups often place a strong emphasis on what the Bible says or, more accurately, what the Bible is interpreted as saying (e.g., Stephens and Walker, Chap. 13). Mainline Protestants, in contrast, often place a higher emphasis on reason and social justice (Clark, Chap. 12), while Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic communities tend to emphasize tradition and authority (Gassin, Chap. 10; Starkey, Chap. 11). Bible-Believing African Americans and Latino Protestants place a strong emphasis on experience in addition to social justice and scripture, as do Feminist Christians and theologians (see Bent-Goodley and

Brade Stennis, Chap. 8; Ames and Ware, Chap. 9; and Rayburn, Chap. 3, respectively). Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians are more concerned with feeling the direction of the Holy Spirit and use forms of rhetoric and persuasion which are very different from the other Christian groups (Murphy, Pommert, and Vidrine, Chap. 18).

5. Chapters in the final part of the book can be used to stimulate thought on how to best sort through various models and options for engaging a particular religious cultural community. Our hope is that it will assist you in the task of adapting existing models to the unique challenges you are encountering in your collaboration with a specific religious cultural group.

6. Finally, this book can be used to find ideas on possible areas for future research. The field of religion and men's violence against women is pretty wide open at present. Opportunities to make a significant contribution are abundant. Best practices in treatment and future research directions are outlined in the final chapter.

We want to clarify that this work is not intended to be used in any way that would pit one religious cultural group against another. It is not helpful to compare the reported prevalence of violence in specific religious groups to other religious groups or to groups who are spiritual but not religious. Attempts to use this issue to suggest one group is better than another ignores the fact that violence against women affects every known human group of any kind, including one's own religious or cultural community. Like it or not, we are all in this together. Mental health practitioners and diverse religious and spiritual groups must work together with the common goal of preventing men's violence against women and encouraging loving, peaceful, and fulfilling relationships for everyone, regardless of cultural or religious identities. We will be most effective if we bring out and encourage the best in all of our communities as we go forward together to end men's violence against women.

References

Akers, C., & Kaukinen, C. (2009). The police reporting behavior of intimate partner violence victims. *Journal of Family Violence*, *24*(3), 159–171. doi:10.1007/s10896-008-9213-4.

Anda, R. F., Felitti, V. J., Brown, D. W., Chapman, D., Dong, M.,…, & Giles, W. H. (2006). Insights into intimate partner violence from the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study. In P. R. Salber & E. Taliaferro (Eds.), *The physician's guide to intimate partner violence and abuse*. Volcano, CA: Volcano Press.

Aten, J. D., McMinn, M. R., & Worthington, E. (2011). *Spiritually oriented interventions for counseling and psychotherapy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Banks, D., & Kyckelhahn, T. (2011). *Characteristics of suspected human trafficking incidents, 2008–2010*. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=2372. Accessed 17 June 2013.

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *38*(2), 217–230. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217.

Carney, M., & Barner, J. R. (2012). Prevalence of partner abuse: Rates of emotional abuse and control. *Partner Abuse*, *3*(3), 286–335. doi:10.1891/1946-6560.3.3.286.

Casa, K. (29 June 2001). Violence at home. *National Catholic Reporter*. Retrieved from http://natcath.org/NCR_Online/archives2/2001b/062901/062901a.htm. Accessed 2 Sept. 2012.

Catalano, S. (2012). *Intimate partner violence, 1993–2010: Special report*. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ipv9310.pdf. Accessed 17 June 2013.

Chaddock, T. P., & McMinn, M. R. (1999). Values affecting collaboration among psychologists and evangelical clergy. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, *27*(4), 319–328.

Chen, Y., & Ullman, S. E. (2010). Women's reporting of sexual and physical assaults to police in the National Violence Against Women Survey. *Violence Against Women*, *16*(3), 262–279. doi:10.1177/1077801209360861.

Dube, S. R., Anda, R. F., Felitti, V. J., Edwards, V. J., & Williamson, D. F. (2002). Exposure to abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction among adults who witnessed intimate partner violence as children: Implications for health and social services. *Violence and Victims*, *17*(1), 3–18. doi:10.1891/vivi.17.1.3.33635.

Gondolf, E. W. (2012). *The future of batterer programs: Reassessing evidence-based practice*. Lebanon, NH: Northeastern University Press.

Hammond, E. M., Berry, M. A., & Rodriguez, D. N. (2011). The influence of rape myth acceptance, sexual attitudes, and belief in a just world on attributions of responsibility in a date rape scenario. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, *16*(2), 242–252. doi:10.1348/135532510X499887.

Hayes, R. M., Lorenz, K., & Bell, K. A. (2013). Victim blaming others: Rape myth acceptance and the just world belief. *Feminist Criminology*, *8*(3), 202–220.

Jacobson, N., & Gottman, J. (1998). When men batter women: New insights onto ending abusive relationships. Simon & Schuster: New York, NY.

Jankowski, P. J., Johnson, A. J., Damron, J. E. H., & Smischney, T. (2011). Religiosity, intolerant attitudes, and domestic violence myth acceptance. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, *21*(3), 163–182. doi:10.1080/10508619.2011.581574.

Lehmann, P., Simmons, C. A., & Pillai, V. K. (2012). The validation of the Checklist of Controlling Behaviors (CCB): Assessing coercive control in abusive relationships. *Violence Against Women*, *18*(8), 913–933. doi:10.1177/1077801212456522.

Leone, J. M., Johnson, M. P., & Cohan, C. L. (2007). Victim help seeking: Differences between intimate terrorism and situational couple violence. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, *56*(5), 427–439. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2007.00471.x.

McMinn, M. R., Aikins, D. C., & Lish, R. (2003). Basic and advanced competence in collaborating with clergy. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *34*(2), 197–202. doi:10.1037/0735-7028.34.2.197.

McMinn, M. R., Runner, S. J., Fairchild, J. A., Lefler, J. D., & Suntay, R. P. (2005). Factors affecting clergy-psychologist referral patterns. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, *33*(4), 299–309.

Murphy, C. M., Meis, L. A., & Eckhardt, C. I. (2009). Individualized services and individual therapy for partner abuse perpetrators. In K. D. O'Leary & E. M. Woodin (Eds.), *Psychological and physical aggression in couples: Causes and interventions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pargament, K. I., Mahoney, A., & Shafranske, E. P. (2013). APA handbook of psychology, religion, and spirituality (Vol. 1–2): An applied psychology of religion and spirituality. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Peters, J. (2008). Measuring myths about domestic violence: Development and initial validation of the domestic violence myth acceptance scale. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, *16*(1), 1–21. doi:10.1080/10926770801917780.

Planty, M., Langton, L., Krebs, C., Berzofsky, M., & Smiley-McDonald, H. (2013). *Female victims of sexual violence, 1994–2010*. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=4594. Accessed 16 June 2013.

Richards, P. (2012). Honoring religious diversity and universal spirituality in psychotherapy. In L. J. Miller (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of psychology and spirituality* (pp. 237–254). New York: Oxford University Press.

Richards, P. (2013). Working with the religiously committed client. In G. P. Koocher, J. C. Norcross, & B. A. Greene (Eds.), *Psychologists' desk reference (3rd ed.)* (pp. 277–280). New York: Oxford University Press.

Richards, P., & Bergin, A. E. (2000). *Handbook of psychotherapy and religious diversity*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Richards, P., & Bergin, A. E. (2005). The alienation between religion and psychology. In P. Richards & A. E. Bergin (Eds.), *A spiritual strategy for counseling and psychotherapy, 2nd ed*. (pp. 29–48). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Roehl, J., O'Sullivan, C., Webster, D., & Campbell, J. (2005). *Intimate partner violence risk assessment validation study, final report*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/209731.pdf. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Shafranske, E. P. (1996). *Religion and the clinical practice of psychology*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Smith, E. L., & Farole, D. J. Jr. (2009). *Profile of intimate partner violence cases in large urban counties*. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/pipvcluc.pdf. Accessed 21 June 2013.

Sullivan, S., Pyne, J. M., Cheney, A. M., Hunt, J., Haynes, T. F., & Sullivan, G. (2013). The pew versus the couch: Relationships between mental health and faith communities and lessons learned from a VA/Clergy partnership project. *Journal of Religion and Health*. (Advanced online publication). doi: 10.1007/s10943–013-9731-0.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000a). *Extent, nature, and consequences of intimate partner violence*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/181867.pdf. Accessed 15 June 2013.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000b). *Full report of the prevalence, incidence, and consequences of violence against women*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/183781.pdf. Accessed 15 June 2013.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2006). *Extent, nature, and consequences of rape victimization: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/210346.pdf. Accessed 15 June 2013.

Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, 114 U.S.C. §§ (2000).

Walker, L. E. A. (1988). Spouse abuse: A basic profile. In A. L. Horton & J. A. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion: When praying isn't enough* (pp. 13–20). Lexington, MA England: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath and Com.

Walker, L. E. A. (2009). *The battered woman syndrome* (3rd ed.). New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Whitfield, C. L., Anda, R. F., Dube, S. R., & Felitti, V. J. (2003). Violent childhood experiences and the risk of intimate partner violence in adults: Assessment in a large health maintenance organization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *18*(2), 166–185. doi:10.1177/0886260502238733.

Men's Violence Against Women: An Overview

2

Christopher Kilmartin

Men's violence against women is a widespread problem across cultures, socioeconomic groups, and religions (Watts and Zimmerman 2002), resulting in more damage and death than several major diseases (including all cancers) and accidents combined (Kristof 2013). And, of course, killing and maiming are only the "tip of the iceberg," as men's violence victimizes women in a wide variety of other ways, including intimate partner violence with less serious injuries, rape and other sexual assault, stalking, sexual harassment, public harassment, human trafficking, forced labor, and female infanticide. In many cases, this violence has a distinctly gendered component. In other words, the offender attacks the victim in part because she is a woman or girl.

The pervasiveness of this phenomenon is due, in large part, to the indisputable fact that women-as-a-group are strongly disadvantaged compared with men-as-a-group. (Note the use of hyphens to emphasize that there are wide variations within men and within women. Many men are relatively disadvantaged and many women are relatively privileged, but in the aggregate, the gap in social and economic power between the sexes is enormous.) For the purposes of this chapter, I am defining violence as a violation of human rights through intentional physical and/or psychological harm.

Whenever I write or talk about gender-based violence as a systemic issue, defensive reactions ensue. Some men, and a few women, react by saying things like: (1) "You're male bashing," (2) "I'm a man, and I'm not violent," and (3) "Women are violent too." These reactions are understandable and two of them contain indisputable truths: the vast majority of men are not violent, and there are also women who are violent. The first statement, however, is not. I think of "male bashing" as an unfair attack on men based on unjustified sweeping generalizations implying that all men are alike (which we are not; there is great diversity among men). It seems difficult for some people to hold two ideas simultaneously—that most males are not violent, and that most violent people are males, but again both of these statements are well supported by empirical data. Therefore, the fact that men-as-a-group are more violent than women-as-a-group does not imply simplistic "woman = good; man = bad" communication. It is simply stating that violence is partly embedded in the social meanings of what it means to be a man and in the social-structural conditions that create power imbalances between the sexes. In the quest to reduce men's violence, one of the greatest and perhaps most underutilized forces is the amplification of the voices and efforts of the vast majority of normal and healthy men to use their influence positively.

The factor that ties all of these different forms of violence together is the abuse of men's power through a variety of interconnected mechanisms such as sexism, entitlement, privilege, and a

C. Kilmartin (✉)
Department of Psychology, University of Mary
Washington, Fredericksburg, VA, USA
e-mail: ckilmart@umw.edu

toxic form of masculinity. *Patriarchy*, the societal system that confers greater levels of power and influence on males, is the overarching factor that ties all of these mechanisms together. Patriarchy has existed throughout the world for about 5000 years (Lerner 1986). It is expressed in the dominant conscious and unconscious values and beliefs assigned to men and women, social customs, economic arrangements (Kilmartin 2010b), and in what historian Gerda Lerner (1986) terms the "leading metaphors" of cultural systems. For the purposes of this volume, the most important of these metaphors are theologies constructed around male gods and religious authority, which place women into positions of subservience. Lerner asserts that goddesses were the norm before the advent of patriarchy but that over time they were transformed into gods as men came to power, based on the "counterfactual metaphor of male procreativity" (p. 220).

Because the sexes are so interdependent, the control of women by men is often accomplished through indirect means (Rudman and Glick 2008) such as indoctrinating women into subservient roles, depriving them of educational or occupational opportunities, limiting their access to economic and/or political resources, and rewarding women who cooperate with men's dominance. Women who do not cooperate are under threat of punishment, such as being considered socially unrespectable and reducing their access to resources. In a cross-cultural study involving 19 nations, Peter Glick and Susan Fiske (2001) note that benevolent sexism—the "women are wonderful" effect, which is roughly synonymous with chivalry—communicates that women are praiseworthy but ultimately incompetent and is used to secure women's cooperation with men's dominance. Hostile sexism, the outright antipathy toward women, is reserved for women who challenge men's dominance. In laboratory studies, men reported that they liked the women they interacted with more than they liked the men, but they nevertheless assigned women leadership roles and other resources less frequently than they did for men (Glick and Fiske 2001).

Violence is the extreme of hostile sexism. When men in the aggregate are threatened by women's assertions of power, they sometimes react with coercive measures. Although most men do not commit violence directly against women, many participate in systems that have the effect of condoning or even facilitating gender-based intentional harm. I do not intend to convey that the attitudes, behaviors, and social conventions in which men (and women) participate that result in violence are always intentional or even conscious, or that patriarchy is a conspiracy in which men gather and scheme about the best ways to oppress women. Rather, the social forces that impel the power imbalance have created and maintain gender-based violence as a toxic byproduct of the oppression of women. Below, I present two models: one focused on the individual causes of gender-based violence, and the other focused on larger social forces, the cultural-systemic model.

The Individual Model

As I have discussed previously (Kilmartin 2014; Kilmartin and Allison 2007), four conditions must be present for an individual to commit a violent act. I have since added a fifth condition, self-justification. Since this volume is about men's violence against women, I will use the generic masculine in describing these conditions even though violence is not limited to male actors. The first condition is pathology on the part of the offender. By "pathology," I am not referring to specific mental illnesses which could be diagnosed in the attacker (although some may be mentally ill), but rather characteristics that differentiate him from normal and healthy men who are nonviolent. For example, sexual assault perpetrators, in contrast to nonoffenders, show much higher levels across a constellation of characteristics such as hypermasculinity, misogyny, childhood maltreatment experiences, rape myth acceptance, and adversarial sexual beliefs (Lisak and Roth 1988).

The second condition is the decision to act violently. Many offenders have suffered from abuse and neglect, especially as children, and they deserve our empathy and attention in healing from their psychic wounds. However, there is

no contradiction between having compassion for someone's pain on the one hand, and holding him accountable for his behavior on the other. Even though his harmful actions are in part a product of his own maltreatment, he is nevertheless responsible for his actions except in the rare cases where he is so severely mentally ill that he cannot distinguish right from wrong and/or control his impulses. These are remarkably rare cases, and in the legal system, the bases for insanity pleas or decisions that a defendant is unfit for trial. Even in these rare cases when an offender is judged not to be legally accountable for his actions, he must be confined in a locked ward of a mental hospital to protect other potential victims.

Self-justification, the third condition, is part of the decision to act violently. Few people wake up in the morning and say to themselves, "I'm going out to commit an egregiously immoral act." They believe that their actions, however much social disapproval accompanies them, are nevertheless justified. As author Jim Butcher (2009) stated, "No one is an unjust villain in his own mind…. We're all the hero of our own story" (pp. 205–206). The self-narrative that an offender constructs may be affected by media portrayals of "good guys" doing violence against "bad guys," as when a police officer kills a criminal to protect other potential victims and/or to bring some measure of vengeance and justice. In television portrayals, about 40 % of violent acts are of this variety (Murray 1988), and the experience of retribution may activate the pleasure centers of the brain (Worthington 2010). In a longitudinal study of male children and adolescents who reported identifying with television aggressors, nearly twice as many reported that, as adults, they had pushed, shoved, or grabbed their domestic partners within the past year compared with those who did not identify with the aggressors (Huesmann and Taylor 2006).

Self-justification involves a complicated set of influences (Tavris and Aronson 2007). For example, a man who has hit his spouse might use minimization ("I only did it once."), victim blaming ("She drove me to it. She doesn't know how to listen."), selective memory ("She always pushes me; she never loved me."), vengeance ("She

cheated on me; I was teaching her a lesson."), or attempts to provide premature closure to the event ("Look, I *said* I was sorry. Let's move on."). One offender stated in a batterer education group, "I was trying to push her onto the bed, but she hit the floor instead and cut her head on the night stand. If she had hit the bed like she was supposed to, I wouldn't be here" (Franklin 2003).

Religious justifications may play a role in gender-based violence. In some religions, it is believed that a man will treat a woman well if she behaves in ways that are considered appropriately deferent, caring, and forgiving. Therefore, if men abuse her, she is considered to have misbehaved and therefore deserving of maltreatment—a classic victim-blaming strategy. In both the religious and secular worlds, one often encounters this same phenomenon for judging the responsibility for rape. Some men and women will attribute a sexual assault to the victim's intoxication, flirtation, poor judgment, or manner of dress. Such an attribution includes the unexamined assumptions that men's sexuality is out of control and therefore it is women's responsibility to contain it, and that a sexual assault is sexual in nature, when in reality it is an act of violence for which sexuality is the mode of harm. Rape is no more about sex than hitting someone with a frying pan is about cooking.

In the marital situation, if the man believes that he is the rightful head of the family and that his wife should be subservient, he might be prone to violence when he perceives that he has lost a measure of masculine control when his wife disagrees with him or refuses to conform her behavior to his dictates. Some religious traditions justify rape and even murder as appropriate punishments for various perceived transgressions by women.

The fourth condition for violence to occur is the means to do harm. Obviously, the availability of weapons fulfills this condition, but in many cases, men's greater upper body strength and/or ability to intimidate based on size is sufficient to effect their violence. For instance, most acquaintance rapists use only the amount of force necessary to accomplish their objectives and rarely employ weapons. Often the victim is impaired

with alcohol and/or other drugs, making the assault easier to accomplish. The use of a weapon and the presence of physical injuries increase the likelihood of criminal charges; however, these circumstances are found only in a small minority of cases (Kilmartin and Allison 2007).

Finally, gender-based violence is unlikely to occur without social support. Many violent men associate with like-minded men who denigrate, disrespect, and dehumanize women. Men in these groups who disagree with those who display these attitudes often remain silent, believing that they are alone in their opinions (Kilmartin et al. 2008). At the macrosocial level, cultural attitudes about women and victimization also provide social support for individuals' violence, even as legal systems attempt to contain it. This factor leads us into a model that goes beyond the individual in an attempt to understand the "big picture" of this pervasive problem.

The Cultural-Systemic Model

As I have noted elsewhere (Kilmartin 2014), a comprehensive understanding of sexual assault must include a discussion of the important social contexts in which violence occurs. These contexts affect all forms of gender-based violence. The epidemiology of the problem varies among cultures, indicating that cultural beliefs and social-structural conditions affect violence against women. I have situated this model in a pyramid shape because greater numbers of people are involved as one moves from the tip to the base, and also because the forces toward the bottom of the pyramid serve to support those at the top. We will not end the scourge of gender-based violence until we erode its foundation (Fig. 2.1).

At the top of the pyramid are perpetrators, the small minority of men who are violent toward women. Although violence is a low-frequency behavior, it obviously has powerful quality-of-life implications, and small differences add up within large populations to create a serious public health problem. In fact, husbands, boyfriends, ex-husbands, and ex-boyfriends murder three women per day in the USA. To place this violence into context, the 2001 World Trade Center bombings killed 2973 people and the Virginia Tech massacre in 2007 killed 33. Therefore, male partners' and ex-partners' murders equate to a new Virginia Tech massacre every 11 days and a new 9/11 disaster about every 1000 days (Kilmartin 2010a). And yet little attention is paid to interpersonal violence by news media, a fact I will take up in the discussion of the foundational elements in the pyramid model.

If one adds psychological violence to the mix, the group of men at the top of the pyramid becomes much larger. In a meta-analysis (a statistical technique combining results from several studies) of 55 studies that included an aggregate of about 86,000 participants, Ilies et al. (2003) found that about 24 % of women had experienced sexual harassment in the workplace. This should not be construed as meaning that 24 % of men harass women; as with sexual assault, it is a small group of men who are serial offenders. The vast majority of the harassers of women are men (Pina et al. 2009). Many women report death and rape threats after posting feminist articles online

Fig. 2.1 The Cultural-Systemic Model of Men's Violence Against Women. (Originally from Kilmartin 2014. Used with permission)

(Atherton-Zeman 2013), an illustration of how hostile sexism is directed toward women who challenge men's power (Glick and Fiske 2001).

The next level of the pyramid is a group of (mostly) men who are the direct facilitators of the violence. Offenders often associate with like-minded men who may offer support for the offender's violence, either directly or by refusing to intervene in dangerous situations. For example, Boswell and Spade (1996) noted that rape-prone fraternities are characterized by jokes that degrade women and parties with heavier drinking, bathrooms for women that were filthy, sometimes to the point of being unusable, and music so loud that conversations are impossible. In contrast to fraternities which were safer places for women, the rape-prone fraternities exhibited a pervasive attitude that women are only for sex, as evidenced by members' loss of social status within the fraternity when they develop longer-term relationships with women. An undetected rapist ("Frank") within a fraternity explains to an interviewer how the fraternity facilitated his violence in a DVD available from legalmomentum. org (National Judicial Education Program 2005):

Frank: We had parties almost every weekend. My fraternity was known for that. We would invite a bunch of girls and lay out the kegs or whatever we were drinking that night and everyone would get plastered. We would invite girls, all of us in the fraternity. We'd be on the lookout for good looking girls, especially freshmen, the real young ones. They were the easiest, it's like we knew they wouldn't know the ropes kind of, it's like they were easy prey. They wouldn't know anything about drinking, about how much alcohol they could manage, and they wouldn't know anything about our techniques."

Interviewer: What were those techniques?

Frank: We'd invite them to the party and we'd make it seem like it was a real honor, like we didn't just invite any girl, which I guess is true [laughs]. And we'd get them drinking right away. We'd have a bunch of kegs but we almost always had some kind of punch also, it was almost like our own home brew. We'd make it real sweet, you know, we'd use some

kind of sweet juice and then we'd just throw in all kinds of alcohol. It was powerful stuff. And these girls wouldn't know what hit them. They'd all be just guzzling the stuff because it was just juice, right, and they were so nervous being there because they were just freshmen anyway.

Frank goes on to describe how he raped a young woman (he did not use the term rape and seemed unaware that he was describing a felony to the interviewer) whom he had groomed during the week by feigning romantic interest in her and invited to a party, where she quickly became intoxicated on punch made with sweet juice to mask its alcohol content. The fraternity brothers designated certain rooms in the house for those who wanted to be alone with a woman, and none of them intervened when he saw one of his brothers taking an obviously intoxicated woman to his room. "Frank" had separated her from the party by suggesting that she come upstairs to get away from the noise. Because she had been interested in him romantically, because he appeared to be interested in her, and because he had appeared to be respectful to her during the week, she accompanied him and he raped her.

His fraternity brothers facilitated the rape in several ways. First, they supported a social atmosphere in which women were routinely disrespected. Second, they normalized the belief that it was acceptable to get women intoxicated to facilitate sexual access. Third, they conspired to do so at the parties by concocting the sweet punch. Fourth, they turned up the music so loud that any woman who wanted to have a conversation with a man would have to go to an isolated place. Unlike a stranger rapist, the acquaintance rapist must find some way to separate the victim from social situations, and the loud music facilitated this process. Fifth, they failed to intervene when he was taking her upstairs, despite her being clearly intoxicated. And finally, many times fraternity members engage in a conspiracy of silence in the aftermath of an assault when law enforcement or campus judicial systems investigate (Seccuro 2011).

Facilitation can take the form of passivity, as when bystanders fail to intervene in potentially

dangerous situations. In a survey conducted by the Virginia Health Department, The American Institute for Research (2003) found that 69 % of men aged 18–34 reported that they knew at least one adult man who was or had been sexually involved with an underage girl, and 51 % reported knowing five or more. They nearly always expressed disapproval, and not surprisingly, the level of their disapproval rose as the difference between the ages of the man and the girl grew larger. But their stated willingness to intervene did not increase even as their levels of disapproval did.

In an egregious example, cult leader Warren Jeffs used his power to help men in his group obtain sexual access to underage girls, and other members of his cult refused to cooperate with investigating authorities. There were arrest warrants on Jeffs in 2005 but he evaded authorities for some time by hiding with members of his church. The victimization of these girls was so extensive that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) placed Jeffs on its Ten Most Wanted Fugitives list, finally arresting him in 2006 (FBI 2010). He is now serving a life sentence but continues to control his followers from prison (ABC News 2012). Church leaders facilitated Jeffs' crimes through money laundering and obstructing investigations by law enforcement. Jeffs used his religious authority to justify his crimes and intimidate church members (Brower and Krakauer 2011).

The next level of the cultural-systemic model involves cultural standard-bearers, who are people with wide influence and access to large audiences and who use this platform to promote gender-based violence. Warren Jeffs has a great deal of influence, but it is limited to a relatively small group of people who share his religious ideologies. In mainstream cultures, there are standard-bearers whose names are recognized within most households, and who have large numbers of followers.

Standard-bearers in mainstream US culture include political pundits, comedians, and other performers who routinely display disrespectful attitudes toward women and thereby influence their followers to do the same. For example,

when law student Sandra Fluke testified before Congress about the need for health insurers to provide contraception, radio performer Rush Limbaugh called her a "slut" and a "prostitute" and suggested that she ought to post sex videos online (Elverton-Dixon 2012). Limbaugh is particularly known for derogatory comments toward any woman who advances egalitarian ideals, once saying that feminism was invented so that "ugly broads" and "fat cows" could have access to the mainstream. Radio/television personality Howard Stern routinely brings women on to his show, has them remove their clothes, and makes comments on the acceptability of their bodies. Like several comedians, he also has been known to joke about rape (Jhally and Katz 2000).

Most of the cultural standard-bearers for violence against women are men, but not all. In 2009, when film director Roman Polanski was arrested many years after fleeing a sexual assault conviction involving subduing a 13-year old girl with alcohol and sedatives and then penetrating her anally while she was unconscious (Polanski pled guilty to a lesser charge and then fled to France to avoid incarceration), comedian Whoopi Goldberg stated on the popular daytime television show *The View* that Polanski should not be held accountable for his actions because he is a great artist and that his crime wasn't "rape-rape," implying that Polanski's violence was not serious enough that he should be held legally accountable (Allen 2009). Other cultural standard-bearers also expressed support for Polanski, including Woody Allen, Martin Scorsese, and Harvey Weinstein (Che 2012). *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno told 737 jokes about the 1994 alleged O. J. Simpson murders of his former wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman, over 200 more than on any other subject (Rice 2009). Simpson was acquitted in criminal court but found liable for the deaths in civil court (ABC News 1996).

Some politicians with extreme religious beliefs become cultural standard-bearers for violence with their misogynist rhetoric. To cite one example: in 2012, US vice presidential candidate Paul Ryan stated that a rapist who impregnates a victim should have the right to prevent her from

aborting the fetus (E. G. Ryan 2012) and stated that rapists should also be able to obtain custody of the child or have visitation rights as noncustodial parents. In fact, only 19 of the 50 states have laws explicitly preventing rapists from having these rights (Zuckerman 2012). Although there is no evidence that Ryan has ever been directly violent toward a woman, and in fact he may consciously believe that he likes women (he is married to one), his political stance not only downplays the horror of rape but also advocates toward possible retraumatization of rape survivors by the very men who attacked them. In this way, he is a polite supporter of egregious violence. Many people who voted for him did so on the basis of conservative and sexist religious beliefs, which have been adopted as the linchpin of his political party for several decades.

Whether they are overtly hostile toward women or merely insensitive, cultural standard-bearers would not be able to have such wide influence if their audiences found their communications objectionable. Standard-bearers are clearly tapping into broadly held cultural attitudes toward women. The next level of the cultural-systemic pyramid is prejudice and dehumanization, which provides a foundation for cultural standard-bearers, direct facilitators, and ultimately, offenders. Sexist, disrespectful, and dehumanizing attitudes toward women are held in wide segments of the population. Women who challenge the status quo of male dominance are often subject to negative consequences in the workplace (Stockdale and Bhattacharya 2009).

Even the benevolent sexist ("women are wonderful") attitude, held by many women and men alike, has an undercurrent of the belief that women are incompetent. One way in which women deal with male dominance is to seek the protection of powerful men. Psychologically, this strategy requires the adoption of the benevolent sexist attitude that women are special but less powerful and that if they behave with deference, men's power will be used to their advantage (such as with economic resources) rather than to hurt them. In the process, they denigrate other women who challenge men's power. In fact, women are much more likely to adopt benevolent sexist attitudes in cultures where men hold strong hostile sexist attitudes. Men can adopt their protectionism as a gallant duty and thereby downplay the unfairness of their dominance (Glick and Fiske 2001). College women who engage in "Prince Charming" fantasies of powerful men rescuing, providing for, and romancing them with chivalry show a strong tendency to have less ambitious career goals than other women, implicitly adopting beliefs in their incompetence, powerlessness, and in the process, adopting beliefs that normalize men's greater competence, social status, and power (Rudman and Heppen 2003).

Assigning full or partial responsibility for an instance of gender-based violence to the victim is another strategy that men use to protect themselves from the awareness that they hold unearned privilege and that they should play a role in ending men's violence against women that goes beyond merely refraining from the behavior. Victim blaming is a widespread phenomenon that takes extreme forms in men such as the belief in two-thirds of Indian judges that women who dress provocatively invite rape. Not surprisingly, of 635 rape cases in the Indian city of Delhi in the first 11 months of 2012, only one ended in conviction (Kristof 2013).

Victim blaming is not limited to men. Women use it to protect themselves psychologically from awareness of their own vulnerability. If a woman attributes a victim's assault to her manner of dress, flirtation, challenge to her partner's dominance, alcohol and other drug use, stupidity, and/or poor judgment, she can assure herself that she is safe if she does not hold the same characteristics and/or does not engage in the same behaviors. Survivors of gender-based violence will even engage in blaming themselves because they feel safer if they assure themselves that they learned from their mistakes and will not engage in risk behaviors again. As I often tell audiences, do not expend energy in blaming victims; they are experts at it and do not need your help with it.

Victim blaming can also be seen in the implicit calculus of empathy for victims of violence. Those who have been injured or murdered through random violence nearly always receive large amounts of compassion from the general

public. For example, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the 2007 Virginia Tech massacre, and the 2013 Newtown, CT mass murder of schoolchildren appropriately resulted in large outpourings of sympathy. The former two tragedies resulted in the building of memorials to mark the tragedy and make the public statement that the victim's lives mattered. It is likely that there will also be one built to mark the Newtown tragedy. In contrast, victims of interpersonal violence merit only a footnote in the news unless something is unusual (such as when the victim or assailant is a celebrity), and there is no physical memorial to these victims despite the fact that their numbers far outweigh those of random violence. As Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn (2009) put it, "we journalists tend to be good at covering events that happen on a particular day, but we slip at covering events that happen every day—such as the quotidian cruelties inflicted on women and girls" (p. xiv).

Why is there so much more compassion for victims of random violence than for those of interpersonal violence? Because it is nearly impossible to avoid identifying with random violence victims. People feel vulnerable because they are aware that they could have been one of these victims, could have been an employee at the World Trade Center or the Pentagon, a student at Virginia Tech, or the parent of one of the Newtown children. But implicit victim blaming allows people to distance themselves from those who have suffered or died as a result of interpersonal violence, by believing that they would not have had the poor judgment to be married to or otherwise associate with a violent man. It is interesting to note that the US government has spent more than a trillion dollars to combat terrorism in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks but only US $ 3 million to combat gun violence (Diaz 2013) and only US $ 1.6 billion to reduce violence against women ("House passes violence against women reauthorization" 2013), which resulted in the killing of three times as many women in the 10 years that followed. In response to international terrorism, the government narrowed the individual liberties of its citizens in an attempt to provide greater safety; in response to the scourge of gun violence in the USA, the government passed laws to give its citizens greater access to firearms.

The base of the pyramid is inequality, disadvantage, and power differences. Women-as-a-group continue to hold less economic power than men-as-a-group throughout the world. Although they have made gains in the political arena, women still lack proportional representation in government in most places around the world. Voters (both men and women) are often reluctant to vote for female candidates for national office, as evidenced by the large sex imbalance in the US Congress and the absence of any major-party nomination of a female candidate for the presidency. Filmmaker Michael Moore (2001) noted that women were not even allowed to vote in US elections until 1920, but when the rights of women to vote were recognized, they still voted for male political candidates even though women held the statistical majority. No other oppressed group in history has ever voted in overwhelming numbers to keep their oppressors in power, according to Moore (2001).

Moore's description tells us that sexism operates rather differently from racism, religious discrimination, and other forms of oppression. Because men and women are so interdependent, sexist men must find a way to love women and denigrate them at the same time (Rudman and Glick 2008). This task is accomplished by separating the women who are believed to deserve men's admiration from the ones who are believed to deserve their antipathy (Glick and Fiske 2001). As Peter Glick (2005) remarked, "If you hate black people, you don't tend to hang out with them on the weekends." Therefore, benevolent and hostile sexism serve to provide an uneasy resolution to men's ambivalence about women, and some women participate in their own subordination as a strategy for surviving in a male-dominated society. Moreover, sexism is often reproduced in family structures and interactions, as older family members pressure younger ones to adopt antiquated gender behaviors which they also model.

As a result, sexism continues to be an accepted social activity in a way that other forms

of oppression are not. For example, it is quite routine for girls and boys to wear different color robes in high school graduation ceremonies, a practice that would be viewed as unacceptable to distinguish racial, religious, or socioeconomic groups. There is a board game called "Battle of the Sexes," but it is doubtful that a "Battle of the Races" or "Jews vs. Christians" board game would be acceptable. One intermediate goal to ending sexism and inequality is for people to disapprove of sexism as a social activity in the same way that they disapprove of overt racism or religious intolerance.

I will end on an optimistic note. The base of the pyramid is slowly crumbling as the gendered division of labor erodes. Gender is becoming less and less of an organizing principle in modern society for several reasons. First, most heterosexual couples need two incomes to prosper and therefore increasingly find they have to share both domestic work and paid work force labor. Second, children are not the economic asset they were in agriculturally dominated societies, and therefore most women will not spend their young adult years giving birth to large numbers of children and thus they have more access to paid labor. Third, reproductive technologies are available that will limit the size of families in this overpopulated world, again giving women more options for directly remunerated work. Fourth, because of the advent of laborsaving devices, male upper-body strength is no longer much of an economic asset; there is little work men can do that women cannot, and therefore heterosexual couples have more options than ever in how they will negotiate paid and domestic work. This flexibility can be seen in the increased numbers of women in the military and men as full-time homemakers (Kilmartin 2010b).

Sexism will not survive in a society where gender becomes less of an organizing principle for the worlds of work and family. I do not believe that sexism will end in our lifetimes, but there are signs that it is improving. In 2013, women made up 18 % of representatives and 20 % of senators in the US Congress. Although still far short of equal representation, these numbers indicate progress. Women are now the majority of

the paid labor force even though their aggregate incomes still fall far short of that of men. And women's votes in the 2012 US presidential election were instrumental; the election would have gone to the losing candidate had only men voted (Ms. Magazine 2013).

Men's roles are also expanding. As the sole breadwinner pressure eases through the sharing of it in egalitarian couples, men find themselves taking on increased domestic labor, an important development, as there is a negative correlation across cultures between men's participation in childrearing and the epidemiology of gender-based violence within the culture (Coltrane 1995). As the social, economic, and physical separation of the sexes diminishes, so will its most toxic by-product, men's violence against women. Education, activism, legislation, and law enforcement can and are helping to accelerate this process.

References

ABC News. (1996). O. J. Simpson appeals civil suit verdict. http://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=94696page=1. Accessed 6 Feb 2013.

ABC News. (2012). Jailed polygamist leader Warren Jeffs issues hundreds of orders from prison. http://abcnews.go.com/US/jailed-polygamist-leader-warren-jeffs-issues-hundreds-orders/story?id=17770090. Accessed 5 Feb 2013.

Allen, N. (2009). Roman Polanski: Backlash as Whoopi Goldberg says director didn't commit 'rape-rape.' http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/roman-polanski/6245219/Roman-Polanski-backlash-as-Whoopi-Goldberg-says-director-didnt-commit-rape-rape.html. Accessed 5 Feb 2013.

American Institute for Research. (2003). *Isn't she a little young?* media campaign to reduce sexual exploitation of minors: Evaluation of the pilot campaign. Virginia Health Department, self-publish

Atherton-Zeman, B. (2013). How some men harass women online and what other men can do to stop it. http://msmagazine.com/blog/2013/01/23/how-some-men-harass-women-online-and-what-other-men-can-do-to-stop-it/. Accessed 1 Feb 2013.

Boswell, A. A., & Spade, J. Z. (1996). Fraternities and collegiate rape culture: Why are some fraternities more dangerous places for women? *Gender and Society*, *10*(2),133–147.

Brower, S., &Krakauer, J. (2011). *Prophets prey: My seven-year investigation into Warren Jeffs and the Fundamentalist Church of Latter Day Saints*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Butcher, J. (2009). *Turn coat*. New York: Penguin.

Che, J. (2012). Roman Polanski rape victim pens tell-all. http://www.nydailynews.com/blogs/pageviews/2012/10/roman-polanski-rape-victim-pens-tell-all. Accessed 5 Feb 2013.

Coltrane, S. (1995). The future of fatherhood: Social, demographic, and economic influences on men's family involvement. In W. Marsiglio (Ed.), *Fatherhood: Contemporary theory, research, and social policy* (pp. 255–274). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Diaz, T. (2013, March 3). Guns kill more people. Why does terrorism get more attention? *The Washington Post*, B3.

Elverton-Dixon, V. (2012). Rush Limbaugh, verbal abuse, and objective violence against women. http://www.tikkun.org/tikkundaily/2012/03/08/rush-limbaugh-verbal-abuse-and-objective-violence-against-women/. Accessed 5 Feb 2013.

FBI (2010). Ten most wanted fugitives 60th anniversary, 1950–2010. http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/ten-most-wanted-fugitives-60th-anniversary-1950-2010/famous_cases. Accessed 6 Feb 2013.

Franklin, R. L. (2003). Personal communication.

Glick, P. (2005). Ambivalent gender ideologies and perceptions of the legitimacy and stability of gender hierarchy. Paper presented in Symposium: New weave sexism research—Tangled webs of feminism, romance, and inequality (S. T. Fiske, Chair). Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, *56*(2), 109–118.

House passes violence against women act reauthorization. (2013). http://hanna.house.gov/index.php?option=com_contentview=articleid=3451:house-passes-violence-against-women-act-reauthorizationcatid=49:pressItemid=300066. Accessed 4 March 2013.

Huesmann, L. R., & Taylor, L. D. (2006). The role of media violence in violent behavior. *American Review of Public Health*, *27*, 393–415.

Ilies, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, *56*, 607–631.

Jhally, S., & Katz, J. (2000). *Tough guise: Violence, media, and the crisis in masculinity* (documentary film). Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation.

Kilmartin, C. (2010a). Incremental terrorism: Cultural masculinity, conflict, and violence against women (Incremental terrorism: Kulturelle Maskulinitat, Konflikt und Gefalt gegen Frauen). In W. Berger, B. Hipfl, K. Mertlitsch, V. Ratkovic (Eds.), *Kulturelle Dimensionen von Konflikten* (*Cultural dimensions of conflicts*) (pp. 91–105). Baden, Germany: Nomos.

Kilmartin, C. (2010b). *The masculine self*. Cornwall-on-Hudson, NY: Sloan.

Kilmartin C. (2014). Counseling men to prevent sexual violence. In M. Englar-Carlson, M. Evans, & T. Duffey (Eds.), *A counselor's guide to working with men*. Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

Kilmartin C., & Allison, J. (2007). *Men's violence against women: Theory, research, and activism*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kilmartin, C., Smith, T., Green, A., Kuchler, M., Heinzen, H., & Kolar, D. (2008). A real time social norms intervention to reduce male sexism. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, *59*, 264–273.

Kristof, N. (2013, January 12). Is Delhi so different from Steubenville? The New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/13/opinion/sunday/is-delhi-so-different-from-steubenville.html?_r=0. Accessed 7 Feb 2013.

Kristof, N. D., & WuDunn, S. (2009). *Half the sky: Turning oppression into opportunity for women worldwide*. New York: Vintage.

Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lisak, D., & Roth, S. (1988). Motivational factors in non-incarcerated sexually aggressive men. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*, 795–802.

Moore, M. (2001). *Stupid white men … and other sorry excuses for the state of the Nation*. New York: Harper Collins.

Ms. Magazine. (2013). Milestones. *Ms. Magazine*, *22*(1), 11.

Murray, B. (1998). Study says TV violence still seen as heroic, glamorous: Psychologists call on television executives to embed antiviolence messages in programming. *APA Monitor*, *29*(6), 16.

National Judicial Education Program. (2005). *The undetected rapist: Videotaped re-enactment of an interview with a sexual assault perpetrator*. New York: Legal Momentum.

Pina, A., Gannon, T. A., & Saunders, B. (2009). An overview of the literature on sexual harassment: Perpetrator, theory, and treatment issues. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *14*, 126–138.

Rice, L. (2009). Jay Leno has logged more than 30,000 jokes about politicians, says report. http://insidetv.ew.com/2009/05/28/jay-lenos-logge/. Accessed 5 Feb 2013.

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2008). *The social psychology of gender: How power and intimacy shape gender relations*. New York: Guilford.

Rudman, L. A., & Heppen, J. B. (2003). Implicit romantic fantasies and women's interest in personal power: A glass slipper effect? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *29*, 1357–1370.

Ryan, E. G. (2012). Paul Ryan sponsored a bill that would allow rapists to stop their victims from aborting. http://jezebel.com/5934975/paul-ryan-sponsored-a-bill-that-would-allow-rapists-to-stop-their-victims-from-aborting. Accessed 24 Jan 2013.

Seccuro, L. (2011). *Crash into me: A survivor's search for justice*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Stockdale, M. S., & Bhattacharya, G. (2009). Sexual harassment and the glass ceiling. In M. Barreto, M. K. Ryan, M. T. Schmitt (Eds.), *The glass ceiling in the 21st Century: Understanding barriers to gender equality* (pp. 171–199). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Tavris, C., & Aronson, E. (2007). *Mistakes were made (but not by me): Why we justify foolish behaviors, bad decisions, and hurtful acts*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.

Watts, C., & Zimmerman, C. (2002). Violence against women: Global scope and magnitude. *Lancet*, *239*(9313), 1232–1237.

Worthington, E. L. (2010). Forgiveness. Psi Chi Symposium keynote address, University of Mary Washington.

Zuckerman, E. (2012). 31 states allow rapists custody and visitation rights. http://www.theatlanticwire.com/national/2012/08/31-states-grant-rapists-custody-and-visitation-rights/56118/. Accessed 24 Jan 2013.

Ecclesiastical Policies Versus Lived Social Relationships: Gender Parity, Attitudes, and Ethics

3

Carole A. Rayburn

Much attention has been given to abusive gender matters in religious institutions and parity for women in denominational leadership roles, salary, training opportunities, and work assignments/placement. Women usually join religious groups because they are drawn to its theology, outreach, spiritual and religious mission. These women love God, the tenets of their chosen denominational places of worship, and the outreach that they think is present in these settings. What they might get but did not bargain for is second-place status, a back-of-the-theological-bus that defines them for the ecclesiastical establishment, its (usually) male leadership, and the congregation as inferior, second-best, somehow less blessed and worthy in the eyes of ecclesia and by transference in the eyes of God also.

When girls and women allow themselves to remain in the pews (occupied most always by 60+% women), they must close their eyes to the reality of what is happening and sell their womanhood and personhood for the sake of worshiping with others who believe in the same theology. But social relationships as lived out in the congregation and ecclesial group itself not only disenfranchise female persons in terms of gender attitudes and parity but also diminish their worthiness to be considered as good and deserving as their male counterparts.

In conservative seminaries, many professors inculcated male seminarians with the sexism that strongly suggests that women are just not as worthy or capable as men are. They attempt to instruct women in seminary in the same fashion, often with the hope of hooking a guilt response from women if they are not supportive and enabling to men to accomplish their best, even at the cost of women's achievements. Women are urged to be silent, not to "make waves" about any disagreement with their negative differential treatment by men in their denominational settings. Perhaps this should not come as such a shock when the very word "seminary" originally meant "seedbed, nursery" from the Latin *seminarium* for *semen*. In a world where "seminary" and "seminar" both derive from a word and concept seminally related to semen, sexist doors are open wide for providing the groundwork for prejudices and other abuses haunting girls and women in many of life's settings, in the home, religious establishment, in academe, social situations, and on the job. If the resultant message is that religion's goal of teaching love to all of God's people may in the ecclesial context primarily refer to men, losses are incurred by not only men and women who are seekers of greater maturity and balance in religious, spiritual, and general areas of life, but also ecclesia suffers considerable loss in not fully realizing the gifts and talents of all of its community (Rayburn 1981a).

From ancient times, females have been looked upon as fair play for abuse by males. Sometimes their enforced status as less-than-men was

---

C. A. Rayburn (✉)
Private Practice, Silver Spring, MD, USA
e-mail: valentinecarole@copper.net

interpreted as less-than-human and thus of less concern for protecting them or feeling guilty if they were physically or emotionally mistreated. Connections between misogyny—old and recent—and abuse of girls and women in religious settings is still occurring, causing much damage to all.

Often there is a schism between public policy of religious denominations (often taking a more liberal view of women's roles) and actual socio-psychological environments for women within the religious establishment (usually much more conservative and traditional, lagging behind the official position). Men may hold onto very narrow, limited roles for women, seeing women as subservient and auxiliary to positions of men. This tends to box women into corners, rendering them as superfluous or less important at best and distracting negative objects at worst (Daly 1968, 1973; Rayburn 1991).

Much of the abuse of girls and women within the religious environment begins with expectations of exactly why female persons were created. Girls who have been instilled with culturally traditional religious beliefs supportive of ideas of female inferiority and subservience may not be able to see themselves outside a helping, dependent, submissive role played out with paternal, protective men who determine their lives and define their very being (Rayburn 1982a). If men in traditional religious settings think themselves to have rightful and "God-given" dominance over women, men can then even believe that they have the power of life and death over the inferior, less worthy females.

Misogyny in its various settings may differ in degree but not in kind. One extreme form of misogyny is evidenced in cults. Religious zealots in Waco, Texas, maintained a large community of adults and children who had stockpiled weapons to ward off unbelievers who threatened their untraditional beliefs. The leader of the Branch Davidian, David Koresh, reportedly had sexual privileges with even very young female persons in the compound and life-and-death control over all members of the group. Koresh had presented himself as the patriarchal father of all of the members of this group, identifying himself as

an extension of biblical patriarchs and endearing himself to everyone and taking sexual advantage of girls and women, some related to the male members of the group but nonetheless deferring to the authority of their cult leader Koresh. Imploring his followers that death was preferable to surrendering at the hand of the government, Koresh and many of the Waco group went down in the bloody confrontation with government marshals (Ramsland 2005; Rayburn and Richmond 2001).

In another violent episode in a religious community compound, Jim Jones developed a very large network of followers—The People's Temple, many of whom were so devoted to him that they trusted him when they drank poisoned cool aide (many may not have been aware that this deadly drink would kill them). When they were threatened by invasion from government agents coming to rescue his less-than-willing followers, Jim Jones caused hundreds of his devotees to suicide or he had them murdered, along with US Congress members Leo Ryan and other officials, who had come with him to investigate the situation.

Like Koresh, Jim Jones had claimed sexual privileges with young girls and women, some of whom he had fathered with members of his community. The men who belonged to Jones' group acquiesced to Jones' authority as spiritual father in allowing him to have sexual relationships with their wives and daughters (Steel 1978). Both Koresh and Jones thought themselves to be Christ or God-like patriarchs to whom followers owed unquestioning allegiance and belief that it was a blessing to obey him in all ways (Rayburn and Richmond 2001). Abuse by these cult leaders did far more than sexually violate the young bodies of the girls in these compounds: They raped the innocence, childhood, personhood, and potential womanhood from them. Most of these girls and women died in the enforced suicides, homicides, and gun battles with government authorities. Any who survived the ordeal would have needed extensive counseling and psychotherapy if they were ever to have hoped to achieve normalcy and well-being along both physical and emotional planes. Their confusion and distrust in religious

authority figures and especially male authorities most likely would have rendered them emotionally troubled. Like fine crystal before the violent abuse, they would be shattered glass after such repeated disruption in their lives. Traditionally, female persons have looked to male persons—fathers, brothers, husbands, male priests and ministers—to protect and comfort them. Now, any thought of a male identity or image of God and Christ would become anathema. Any steps towards recovery of better health would include looking towards a motherhood-based female faith development (Rayburn 2012).

An area that would be highly meaningful to analyze and discuss is: Are females simply tolerated by the male populations in religious establishments? With the large number of female congregants, why has there seemed to be such a paucity of remedial training programs for understanding females as there are for ethnic minorities and cultural diversities?

To have a better understanding of the scope of the current examination of abuse of girls and women within the religious realm of society, we must delve into many arenas involved in this phenomenon. These concerns include the meaning of misogyny, the genesis of much misogyny, the sociological and psychological aspects of misogyny, and how such thought and behavior towards female persons have been evidenced throughout various cultures and in generations throughout history.

Since girls and women have been placed in a one-down, inferior position by patriarchal systems, they have often been quite reticent to speak up for themselves and indeed may not even be sensitive to their victim role in abusive situations with power-seeking and dominance-craving male persons. Female initial hesitance in recognizing and ameliorating such abusive actions needs to be understood and overcome in order to help them to achieve true personhood and womanhood. The fear, anxiety, sadness, depression, and symptoms of eating disorders, sleep disorders, and passive-aggressive reactions that may result from female persons having been subjected to male abuse for long periods of time must be worked through in psychotherapy and counseling

if they are to be made whole. Indeed, the US International Violence Against Women Act (ICRW 2013) pinpointed New Delhi, India, as unsafe for 95 % of women and girls regarding sexual violence in public spaces. In Morocco, while women have been religious leaders working as social activists promoting women's advancement through religious instruction and spiritual counseling for women and girls, these female religious preachers must impose the state's interpretation of Moroccan Islam legitimizing the king's authority as commander of the faithful (El Haitami 2013). The first empirical study exploring the prevalence of female genital mutilation was conducted in Iraq (see FGM 2013). Ascione (1998) studied the effects of abuse of battered women on the abused, their partners, and children, and intimidation by threatened abuse of pets. Cunningham and Baker (2004) sought to understand children's view of family violence. Home Office (2010) found that children living with domestic violence often develop intergenerational cycles of violence, girls of abused mothers are more likely to become victims of such violence and sons are more apt to become perpetrators.

Restrictive roles for Muslim women in America were studied by Kedar and Yerushalmi (2011). Rahman and Kabir (2005) found that more domestic violence occurred among Muslims and those with a history of premarital sex among unmarried persons. Religious leanings towards treating women as subordinate partners was found to be a contributing factor in violence against females. In Nigeria, Antai and Antai (2008) found that intimate partner violence was more likely to be tolerated by currently married Muslim women with low levels of education and household wealth.

Only a small percent of cases of abuse and/or violence are reported to the police or other authorities, so only a partial picture at best of the crime statistics on which awareness of such violence is based gets to the corrective and preventive organizations. Inadequate political and penal response to this violence permits it to continue, failing to prosecute perpetrators and not providing sufficient safe housing for victims (Home Office 2010). In a case involving an unlicensed

therapist and rabbi in an ultra-Orthodox community in Brooklyn, NY, the perpetrator received a 103-year-sentence for repeated sexual abuse of a girl in his care. Many members of his community criticized the extremely harsh sentence and thought that this kind of punishment would impede future reporting of abuse and violence in religious settings (Berger 2013). So the question is who has a right to be more protected: the perpetrator with religious ties or his/her victim, often also with a religious identity?

Misogyny

Misogyny, the hatred, dislike, or mistrust of women or girls, can be evidenced in sexual discrimination, violence against female persons, denigration of women, and sexual objectification of women (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* 1992; *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* 2001; *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* 1966). Misogyny has been viewed by Johnson (2000) as a cultural attitude of hatred of female persons just because they are female persons. Leading to females being oppressed in male-dominated societies, to sexist prejudice and violence towards women, it takes many forms from pornography to violence and taught and encouraged self-contempt of females for their own bodies and personalities. Flood (2007) noted that misogyny, the hatred of women, has not only placed women in subordinate inferior positions to men in patriarchal societies but also engendered women's internalizing their role as scapegoats in a society in which their sexual objectification has been sanctioned in self-loathing and body fixation and modification.

A prominent feature of ancient mythologies, various religions, and in writings of many influential Western philosophers, misogyny has been a thorn in the side of womankind throughout history and continues until this day, even in religious and spiritual establishments.

While it is possible to hate or dislike someone but not be abusive to that person, it is highly likely that singling out specific persons over a

span of time as inferior, other-than-the-equal to the dominant gender, tends to justify misuse and abuse of the other gender. Looking down through history, there is very strong evidence of such sexual discrimination, denigration, and sexual objectification of girls and women by male persons. Male-dominated or patriarchal societies whose misogynous ideologies or beliefs have placed women in subordinate, almost powerless roles have engendered reason-resistant prejudices against women. Aristotle (Ross 1912) proffered that women exist as natural deformities or imperfect males (perhaps referring to the lack of the male sexual appendage?). In any event, Western-culture women internalized their one-down, out-group roles as societal scapegoats. Multimedia then added insult to injury by objectifying women with culturally blessed self-loathing and quick-fix corrections through plastic surgery, bulimia, anorexia, feet binding, wigs, head scarves and hoods, and high fashion of six-inch high heels and tight skirts that would render them helpless if they were to flee from dangerous and aggressive pursuers (Cohen 2006; Katz 2013). As Flood (2007) pointed out, women swallowed the hatred and loathing from men as having some basis in truth, becoming self-hating and hating other women.

Ancient Greek Worldview of Women

Ancient Greek stoics seemed to be ambivalent towards women, both loving them and sensing their strong dependency on them as love and sexual objects while at the same time hating them, perhaps for male dependency on them for love and sexual satisfaction. This ambivalence was referred to by the stoic philosopher Antipater of Tarsus in *On Marriage*, his moral tract (Deming 2012; Satlow 2001). Salles (2005) also wrote of this constant shifting in men's love/hatred of women in ancient Greece.

Aristotle, writing that women were inferior to men, saw men as commanding and women as obeying; females as incomplete males were deformities who passed on only matter to their offspring whereas men passed on form (Freeland

1994). Socrates, in the *Apology*, warns men that living immorally reincarnates them as women, and that a democracy evidences moral failure if it promotes sexual equality (Pappas 2003). In the ancient Greek world, misogyny was found in mythology: Hesiod considered the human race to have existed peacefully and gods-focused before the creation of women; Zeus punished Prometheus by bringing an evil thing—Pandora, the first woman—with a closed container of all evils (hard labor, sickness, old age, and death) to humankind (Holland 2006). Greek literature on the whole, however, viewed misogyny to be an antisocial disease that was contrary to the value of women as wives and of the family as the basis of society (Deming 2012).

Judaism

In the Old Testament or Torah, in the Book of Genesis (Gen. 2: 19–23), Adam is allowed to name the woman, Eve, signifying that woman was made of man's rib. This matter often is misinterpreted by patriarchal enforcers as indicating that woman owes everything—her very existence—to man. So woman would be considered little or nothing without the control and guidance of man, being his possession and belonging to him rather than to herself. Thus was set in force an ever continuing problem with females being defined by males instead of females taking responsibility and control of naming and defining themselves. Enslavement, all types of physical and emotional abuse, and even murder of women by men in a patriarchal, male-dominated world could be justified by men based on misinterpretation of such defining of women by men (Rayburn and Richmond 2002).

Also in Genesis is the issue of original sin or fall of humanity stemming from Eve's yielding to temptation to eat the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The accounting of Eve's responsibility in this disobedience totally avoids and denies Adam's part in being a willing accomplice in sinning against God's command. To further exonerate Adam from being complicit in this willful sinning, the rabbis invented a pre-

vious wife for Adam, Lilith. Whereas Yahweh created Adam of pure dust of the earth, Lilith was supposedly created of filth and sediment (Graves and Patai 2004). Constantly challenging Adam's authority and superiority, Lilith left Adam and became a demon producing many demon offspring to plague humanity. Yahweh avoids woman's challenge of equality and defiance towards men by creating a second wife for Adam: Eve, produced from Adam's rib. Holland (2006) pointed out that Eve is the Hebrew equivalent of the Greek Pandora. Further, in contrast to other religions in the area, Judaism had no female angels and priestesses, thus denying that any concept of divine femininity or power derived from these roles. The Talmudic references to Shekinah gives a bit more substance to this being the feminine attributes of God, but not much evidence is found in the Pentateuch for Shekinah as the face of God (in Exodus 13:20–22, 14:24–25, it is "dwelling," settling" of the divine presence of God; Jewish Encyclopedia 2013). While *shekinah* is a feminine noun, there does not seem to be overall agreement in Judaism that this represents the feminine face of God. Indeed, there appears to be more acceptance of Shekinah in this role by many Christian denominations, often associating it with the Holy Spirit.

Taking a radical turn in interpreting the Adam and Eve and Lilith scripture and traditions, Jewish feminist Nancy Datan (1986) proposed that Eve was a cumulative fiction with diverse authors who were non-Jewish. In her view, this first woman, Eve, was Other: ubiquitous in both sacred and secular image, of a seductive and sinful different being standing between Ashtoret, goddess of fertility, and Mary, the virgin and mother. While both Ashtoret and Mary are blessed in their fertility, Eve is cursed in hers. Eve also stands at the midpoint between convergence of the psychology of religion and the psychology of women, transcending the traditional conflict between patriarchy and feminism. So for Datan, as for so many of the spiritual and/or religious feminists (Rayburn 1981a; Stanton 1895), the thought of assigning male domination over females is abhorrent and the blaming of Eve for the fall is erroneous. Datan held that Eve's creation after

Lilith resulted in an incomplete woman without the courage to stand in equality with Adam and to intelligently speak out and make decisions on her own. These later feminists reflected the harsh impact that the Genesis accounting and its interpretations had on the treatment of women by men.

Besides the second-class rating given to women in scriptural writing, attributes of women along biological, psychological, and sociological lines were connected by men to theology and power structure to determine their limitations. Common were blood taboos: Issuance of menstrual blood and the menses were held against women as a negative condition rendering women as impure, unclean, and in need of separation from the society of men for a period of time, in order to have ritual cleansing. Female virginity was emphasized much more than male virginity.

Menstrual blood exists when women are not pregnant or when their pregnancies have been disrupted. It would seem, then, that only when they were pregnant would women attain a state of spiritual purity. No such emphasis emerged concerning male purity. Discharge of semen while men were on long military battles, as well as in the case of nocturnal emissions, were not noted in the biblical accounts of ritual cleansing. So, in traditional patriarchal theology populated by male godheads, females only were the "dirty ones" made acceptable to the "clean ones"—men—by special performances of purification. Even in birthing a child, the period of separation in the *mikvah* was longer if the baby was a female. The masculine nomenclature played out far more importantly in biblical concept, with *testimony* and *testament* being derived from *testicles,* and later *seminary* and *seminal* being related to *semen* or *seedbed* (Rayburn 2012).

Women in Old Testament times were considered to be particularly susceptible to suffering from attacks by men who might prey on them. Remember the three women of Moab in the Book of Ruth—Naomi, Orpah, and Ruth, left on their own when their husbands died in a foreign land. Left alone to fend for themselves in hard times, their society regarded them as creatures in dire need of protection from men. Their fate was thought to dangle on a thread of generosity of pitying men. Worse than being a mere woman was widowhood, which placed women in a state of being a "used" or nonvirginal woman without financial means necessary for her survival. A childless widow, particularly one without sons, would be placed in the most-worthless pile of personhood. The two younger women, Orpah and Ruth, then, had neither children nor dowry to attract prospective husbands to save them from perishing. Naomi, their mother-in-law, had attained the highest status in the culture of her times: wife and mother. Now her husband and sons had died and she had nothing in the eyes of her society to command her as a worthy person. They resolved their problems of surviving by Orpah's returning to her own family, and Naomi's arranging for a male relative to salvage Ruth and making her once again an acceptable, protected woman (Rayburn 1982b).

Orthodox Judaism, as with some of the more traditional Christian denominations, teaches a dichotomy of gender roles and functions, with a principle of separate but equal: Men function in the spiritual realm and are God-focused in scholarly pursuits, while women hold a place in the secular world, being family centered and husband and children focused (Rayburn 1982b).

Incompatibility of a Loving God and Gender Inequality

Rayburn (1981b) held that it would be impossible to reconcile a loving God with inequality of women and men, contrary to Galatians 3:28. This verse speaks of the nonsegregation of the genders in sharing power and decision-making.

Even when a woman who has been a strong advocate of female personhood attained some professional success in her life, entering a conservative seminary may produce a shock to her otherwise feminist system. Many women were taught by their mothers that women are the equal of men and thus they should not yield to a patriarchal power structure that made female persons unworthy of complete womanhood and personhood. These women loved God all of their lives, and were drawn into a conservative ecclesiasti-

cal setting because of its uplifting tenets. Yet, because the message as lived out sociologically did not match the loving tenets of the belief statements, these women may suffer psychological and emotional abuse within their Protestant church and seminary, with gender discriminary disempowerment for women.

When the leadership in the synagogue or church, as well as the symbolic rituals, place male persons in permanent positions as the "priests of temple and home," female persons do not have a chance at establishing any true equality and mutual respect and sharing of responsibilities and decision-making.

The resultant emotional abuse, causing pain, anger, frustration, and sorrow become unacceptable. The disenfranchisement by the religious establishment leads to many women feeling quite marginalized and isolated, a stranger wandering in the wilderness.

Roland de Vaux in Ancient Israel (Stone 1993) wrote of the inferior social and legal position of Israelite wives who could not divorce their husbands, who could not inherit anything unless there was no male heir (see the Book of Ruth), who were considered possessions of their husbands and remained minors all of their lives, who addressed their husbands as *Ba'al* or master and *adon* or lord in the way slaves addressed their masters and subject addressed their kings.

Christianity

Beliefs regarding misogyny have differed among the various denominations concerning traditions and interpretations. Misogynistic thinking from the "fathers" of the Church was ever present. Tertullian considered a woman to be "the gateway of the devil" and "a temple built over a sewer" (Ruthven 1990). Rogers (1966) argued that Paul of Tarsus, Christian apostle in the early church, set forth a stern avoidance of female seduction—much to be feared, and insisted on female subjection to male authority.

In defense of basic Pauline theology however, Scholer (Hove 1999) analyzed Galatians 3:28 ("There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus") as supportive for all of the ministries of the church including women and men in equality and mutuality as partners. Even Hove (1999) noted that, while Galatians 3:28 would not ever hinder salvation for women based on their gender, the tradition was for wives to emulate the church's submission to Christ in relating to their husbands, and husbands were to emulate to Christ's love for the church (Ephesians 5:21–33; Campbell 2003). Rinck (1990), writing *Christian Men Who Hate Women*, argued that misogynists within the Christian social culture often misinterpret and misuse the biblical ideal goal of submission and humility; however, the true ideal and teaching about mutual submission emphasized mutual love and respect and not harsh enforcement of obedience. West (2003) also viewed male domination over women as a violation of the divine plan and a behavior stemming from sin.

Ruether (1982) analyzed the plight of Hannah as written in 1 Samuel 2:1–10. Oppression of women in Hebrew society was evidenced in her position of worthiness if she bore a male child for her husband. Woman could be redeemed from unworthiness only through bearing male children. Otherwise, she and any female offspring would be deemed dishonored and unworthy. Further, the priest, seeing Hannah emotionally shaken in her praying for a son, did not take her reactions as a serious and meaningful response to her plight until she explained that her pain involved desiring a son. Such was the abusive treatment of women whose very identity depended upon their connection with the significant men in their lives. Individual personhood and womanhood was very rare for women in biblical times. This attitude and perception has translated to modern times.

Swedlund (1998), analyzing connections between spirituality and sexual abuse of women, found that women disillusioned by their churches, angry at God, or thinking that their churches had little to offer them in dealing with abuse, had religious beliefs that contributed to their shame. Some of these women felt sinful, evil, and condemned by God. Indeed, often female persons confuse the church and its patriarchal authorities

with God—and a very unloving, noncaring, stiff-necked God. Thus, the abuse is doubled, with the actual abusive behavior being committed by earthly men and a secondary imagined abuse being added by an unforgiving and punitive male God.

Women who are mistreated in their church are often afraid to express their anger, fear, and frustration for fear that they might receive harsh criticism and disapproval from the congregation and religious establishment. Further, they may be urged to internalize their resentment, anger, fear, and to blame themselves for being a problem to ecclesia. Female seminarians and clergy, if they get to the first rung of the ecclesiastical ladder, may feel that they need to hide their talents and skills and to support men's roles within the church. They pay a big and painful price if they are seen as being a competitive threat to the men (Rayburn 1991). In seminaries, especially at an early stage in which women seminarians are very few in number, women may be seen first as novelties to be tolerated and at a later stage as unnecessary and unworthy presences and threats to more important male training.

In a Protestant seminary situated in a US cosmopolitan capital city in a mainstream religious denomination in which women have been ordained to the full gospel ministry for over 50 years, very blatant misogynistic, sexist attitudes nonetheless still surfaced from at least one of its professors. The professor, a highly learned and respected, well-published biblical scholar, asked what would happen in heaven to the widow who was widowed and then married her husband's brother in levirate proscription (Matthew 22: 23–30): Whose wife would she then be? Unhesitatingly he responded, "Oh, she will never make it to heaven. Heaven is only for virgin *males*!" He also spoke of the "filthy rag" when referring to any thought of salvation without Christ, explaining that the "filthy rag" reference meant a "disgustingly bloody rag of a menstruating woman." On another occasion, in a seminary class of twenty men and two women, he instructed that the Virgin Mary could never have been allowed to deliver baby Jesus in an inn because, in her pregnant condition, she was ritualistically unclean to

the people of her times. Seeming not to differentiate too well between ancient biblical times and modern day in just how historicity is a factor in differing attitudes, he carried onto the class his very misogynistic, sexist views to be digested by the class. His insensitivity produced more emotional choking at his words, the two women cringing at his illusions and the implications that they make about women being personally filthy, disgusting, and worthless in even modern times.

In yet another classroom in the same seminary, the professor was much more sensitive to women's plight in religious settings. When a male seminarian questioned the right of women to teach men at all, this professor brought up the historicity factor, stating that times specific to Paul's days were not applicable to our times in restricting the roles of women. This was a fortunate instruction for both male and female seminarians, since passing on sexist attitudes demeaning and limiting women would not benefit the religious community to which these seminarians would eventually go, nor their roles in society in general and as future religious leaders, husbands, and fathers, and wives and mothers in their own families (Rayburn 1981a).

In still another seminary, in a small university town in the northwest of the USA, the denomination is quite traditional and conservative but not mainstream. Here the denomination does not permit ordination of women to the gospel ministry, but some unordained staff positions are attainable in the church on an extremely selective basis. For over 30 years the seminary has existed and has graduated thousands of male seminarians. Only five women have been graduated with the Master of Divinity degree, with only four women then enrolled in the seminary program for the M. Div., and no real recruitment of women for future study. The most respected and scholarly, extremely well-published professor at this seminary greets his students twice a day with a rousing, "Good morning, Gentlemen!" Making little difference to him that his otherwise flawless English is now in err with the presence of one woman in his classes, it is not until a male seminarian points out to him that one student is not a "gentleman" that he corrects himself slightly and

says, "Good morning, *LADY*!" All references to biblical and early church persons are in the masculine gender. Alluding to seminarians' "wives" instead of "spouses" and praying that "we all will be better husbands," he addresses three women in his class of sixty men as "sirs." Other professors in that seminary continued to call male and female seminarians "brethren," "men," and "brothers." In a theology class, the professor stated that "we are *all seminally* related trough Adam," explaining that it is the "males who carry *all* of the genes that we inherit." When questioned by a shocked female seminarian, he cautioned her not to say that he said this but that Augustine and Tertullian did. He failed to explain why he was propagating this fallacious information, if indeed he recognized it as such. In most of the classes, Adam but never Eve was extolled, Abraham but never Sarah, and John the beloved but not Mary Magdalene was praised. And on it went, until many were left with the belief that the world that God created was not a world of "God created he him, male and female created he them" but rather that God created only males. Some may even have believed, as the professor and his examples of "seminally related through Adam" suggested, that men do create other beings seminally and alone, void of any female contribution. Ironically, one of the male seminarians was an M. D. and another male seminarian was the son of a medical doctor, yet neither raised any objection to what the professor was saying until the sole female questioned the logic and roused the two men out of their stupor (Rayburn 1981a).

In still another of these seminary classes, one of the female seminarians begged yet another professor in a private conversation to please stop calling her "brethren," "fellows," and "brothers." After privately speaking to him on two occasions, though the seminarians had almost all left at the end of the class, the professor screamed so loudly that all of the seminarians came back into the room. Hurling a tirade at "women's libbers" and defending his sexist language of the English translation of the Bible, he declared that women were never really equal to men but that women were meant to be subservient to men, and further that "brethren" included men and women and

that "brother" was equal to "sister." She retorted that, if this really were the case, she would no longer call him "Brother" or "Dr.__" but would now address him as "sister." While he insisted that he would simply laugh at this, the next day—and before she carried out her new way of addressing him—he had advanced to calling the class "Gentlemen and Lady." Fortunately for her, she had had a feminist mother who taught her about the equality of the sexes, and so armed with nonsexist attitudes before coming to even an uphill battle ground of this seminary, she fought back at the terrible abusive and disheartening attitudes. During field evangelism, she was one of a dozen seminarians—the only woman. During the devotional, one of the male seminarians offering the object lesson reflected upon the evangelistic team of twelve seminarians being like the twelve disciples of Christ, and turning to the sole women, he said, "Even you, you are like Judas: the different one!" The only woman on the seminary faculty was the biblical language professor, and she was a feminist but restricted to a large extent at what she could say within the seminary walls. Having female role models and advisors is very important to female seminarians' peace-of-mind and general well-being.

Sexism in seminaries seeps out into the community at large, as well as influencing religious leaders within the seminary and the church itself, causing misinformation and potential misunderstanding and misdeeds involving girls and women in families, intimate relationships, and networks of all kinds (Rayburn 1985b). Reconciliation and healing of bad relationships and violent abuse of girls and women would be more successfully warded off with a true male-female ministry. At least one seminary course in being more aware and appreciative of the female gender in all of its aspects and learning how to be at peace with one another should be required for all seminary students. This is essential for the sake of women, men, ecclesia, and society itself. Lop-sidedness is never God-centeredness (Rayburn 1985b). In the instance of violent abuse of girls and women, ameliorating these situations and bringing about a healthy circumstance on a case-by-case basis is only part of the problem. Feminists have histori-

cally contended that most of the emotional and mental problems existing today are at least in part due to society's influence on the individual more than the onus being primarily on the person. In the case of abuse towards women and violence in religious settings, socialization itself surely plays a vitally important part in dealing with and rectifying the abuse.

Half of the population—boys and men—must learn about and be willing to render some of the power and control that they have enjoyed over girls and women for the sake of true self-actualization for all and for peace, cooperation, forgiveness, and understanding to fully occur and have a chance of becoming the way of life. Loving and appreciating each other is the way that the two genders can live together in harmony, or they will surely die—literally or figuratively—as competitive, arch enemies in a dueling tug-of-war to the end of time. In the religious setting, this should be a lesson sought after and maintained in striving to be like our Creator God.

Islam

There have been documented instances of honor killings, domestic violence, and decidedly misogynic written and verbal communications by Islamic mullahs in Islam (Lichter 2012). In the fourth chapter (surah) of the Qur'an, named "Women (An-Nisa)" Allah instructs men to be the maintainers of women because some women, though excelling others, have been unwise with taking care of what they own and thus need to obey men who will guard them or oversee them. Should women not be obedient, men are urged to prevent women's desertion by admonishing them, isolating them by restricted seclusion in the home (Lichter 2012), and beating them. Obedient women, however, are to be treated well by Muslim men.

Lichter (2012) reported that husbands can divorce their wives but the divorce is unilateral in Islam, as is polygamy: allowed for men only. Further, Muslim women are compelled to marry only Muslim men.

Nomani (2006), in *The Washington Post*, offers an apologetic explanation for misogynistic

practices of Islam: Defending sharia law and domestic violence in Islam is difficult due to the seemingly religious sanction it gives to the violent acting-out behavior, but the commentary and interpretation have almost always been the exclusive providence of Muslim men.

Lichter (2012) also reported that some Muslim women reformers insist that "the law might be divine but the interpretation is human." They contended that early Islam stopped female infanticide and gave women freedoms including property rights. However, these early benefits for women were cut by male-dominated interpretation of the Qur'an with little or no interpretation by women. In what appeared to be a very strong attempt to protect tribal heritage, peace, and property, and to retain power, men took over the lives of female persons. This fierce control included capital punishment for women committing adultery or other illicit sexual acts, intended to send the harshest messages to rival males from other tribes. To protect transfer of property, there was bartering of females who were betrothed and married at an early age. Responsibility for *fitna* (social strife) was assigned to women to keep the peace of Islam and the honor of their male relatives, with severe punishment of women for any transgressions of *fitna*. Boys and men were prized much above girls and women, with female persons being strongly instructed to accept subjugation and infantilization, idealization, and subservience in societal male domination. In any event, cultural practices of discrimination towards female persons grew to be closely integrated with religious sanctions, as seen in "honor killings" and discriminatory sharia laws.

Sikhism

While this faith tradition itself has not been misogynistic, misogynistic cultural interpretations have engendered domestic violence and honor killings becoming a part of the Sikh culture (Webber 2004).

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Philosophers

Several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophers have been accused of misogyny. Otto Weininger, in *Sex and Character*, described the "woman" characteristic of each individual as being basically "nothing" and as being without any real existence, effective consciousness, and rationality (Izenberg and Sengoopta 2001). Arthur Schopenhauer, in his essay *Uber die Weiber (On Women),* wrote that women by nature were meant to obey and that women are by their nature enemies to other women (while men's nature is to merely be indifferent to other men). Friedrich Nietzsche, in *Beyond Good and Evil* (7:238), spoke of all higher forms of civilization having stricter controls on women, with women being less than shallow and less deserving than men (Burgard 1994). Kant, in *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime,* demonstrated through his derogatory statements about women that he was a sexist and misogynistic writer (Witt 2007). G. W. F. Hegel, in *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* viewed women as being less capable than men to engage in educational activities demanding universality as with the more advanced sciences, philosophy, and some artistic output; women to Hegel acted more from arbitrary opinions and inclinations (Gallagher 1997; Witt 2004a, b).

Feminist Theory

While the second wave of feminist theorists in the late twentieth century saw misogyny in a diverse spectrum of beliefs, attitudes, and actions, they held that the overall cause and result of misogyny were patriarchal social structures (Millet 1970; Rogers 1966). Misogyny ranged from open hatred of all women just because they are female, prejudice against all women, to hatred of women falling outside acceptable categories, including beliefs in dichotomies of the mother/whore or the virgin/whore. Holding prejudices against women as a group or being a "womanizer" in the fashion of Don Juan or Giacomo Casanova often qualified as misogyny. Feminist theory criticized embracing negative attitudes towards women as a group, regardless of misogynists' beliefs about individual or specific women.

Frye (1983), in *Politics of Reality,* considered the root of misogyny to be phallogocentricity and homoeroticism. Analyzing the Christian fiction of C. S. Lewis, Frye saw the special attention given to the masculine as erotic, comparing Lewis' ideal gender relations to covert male prostitution gangs: Men seeking to dominate others are viewed as less likely to have submissive roles in a patriarchal society but rather assuming these roles as a theatrical mockery of women. Paglia (1991), a "dissident feminist," proposed that it is fear of women rather than hatred of women men most often display in their negativism towards women.

Protecting the Abuser, Sacrificing the Abused

Once society, in the form of traditional patriarchal authority and other governing bodies, has given its blessing to misogynistic attitudes and behaviors of men towards women, an abusive pattern is set in place with male persons defining themselves as infinitely superior to female persons—who are then the imagined or real play things of men and who owe obedience and unwavering loyalty to their male superiors. A serious breach in women's carrying out the demands for compliance and pleasure of the men in their lives may be punished by physical and emotional suffering, even to the point of torture and death. Men, on the other hand, may be protected, respected, given almost blessings for following a "holy and righteous path" in male and female relationships.

Sometimes in small, self-contained religious communities, men who abuse the women in their lives may be walled off from any punishment, even when other community members know these men to be at fault for infliction of such abuse. Because their society as a whole—and to some extent, society at large—have been taught to regard men as infinitely more worthy as human beings

than are women, the scale of saving tips over in the male direction. Many excuses are proffered to excuse the male abuser of women, including "men will be men," "the Bible encourages husbands to keep their wives along the right path," "we must keep the family together, at all costs," "there are children involved, and they need their father," and "he has always been such a pillar of the community and the church/synagogue that he could never have been abusive to his wife or daughters," and "how could we send him away to jail—who would support his family?"

A recent lead editorial in *The Lancet* (2012) highlighted that violence is not a private matter to be hidden behind closed doors. Protected by everyone's silence, insisted British actor Patrick Stewart, gender-based violence only grows worse when it is shielded and hidden from bystanders. Cutting across all religious and cultural demographics, gender-based violence has included intimate partner violence, rape as a means of control, female genital mutilation, and honor killings. In deafening silence and blinding fog, perpetrators of such violence are hidden from community awareness, punishment, and/or incarceration that further intimidates, stresses, and devastates their helpless victims and isolates them from society and any potential sources of amelioration. Women victims, in particular, are disempowered and cannot fully take part in society socially and economically. Because these women are disempowered, they are more vulnerable to being victims of gender-based violence. While the abuser wants any observers to the abuse to do nothing and to see, hear, and speak no evil, the abused pleads with the onlooker to sense her emotional and physical pain, to act and become involved in helping and rescuing her, not forgetting her plight and struggle for survival. The extent of this problem, seen on a global scale, is being addressed and monitored by the US Administration and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in their first ever Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-Based Violence Globally.

If the abuser is a serial offender, he may be unable to stop his destructive actions unless he gets sufficient professional psychotherapy. His wife or other significant female may be so intimidated, and emotionally and/or bodily injured that she no longer tries to resist and fight back. Equally damaging, she may have bought into the horrible messages that her husband and society have given her. By this time, she may hate herself and, by extension, all women.

Self-hatred of women may lead women themselves to abuse girls and other women, turning their hatred of the traditional helpless role that society has ascribed to females on girls and women, allowing the aggressor women who abuse to temporarily feel a sense of strength and power and to identify with better-esteemed men. Indeed, some women may think that they are pleasing men (including their own fathers and the patriarchy) by becoming accomplices in siding against other women in the war of the sexes. This is not an uncommon happening in the religious setting and in the workplace, especially among older women seeking to ensure their secure place within the organizational structure.

Getting the religious community and society at large to confront the violent abuser of women—usually a male (though in less frequent instances other women)—is highly important to lessening abusive situations. Of course, the most vital frontline step is to identify an abused women or girl and get her to a protective shelter. To check repetitive abusive behavior, however, communication between the abuser and an authoritative resource within the community is of utmost importance. Much of the lethal element of physical and emotional abuse of women is accompanied by the secrecy surrounding the abuser and the abuse. The otherwise much revered and respected pillar of the community whom others never would have thought to be an abuser has been closeted or hidden from being revealed as a perpetrator of violence. Cloaked in respectability, the abuser has been allowed to carry on the insidious behavior in damaging the life of a woman. Once the situation is out in the open for all to see, the power of the secret assault on women is taken away from the abuser and the attacked women are better able to deal with the threat of abusive behavior. The religious establishment must vow never to protect the abuser and never sacrifice the

abused in order to shield abusers. Soul-searching by ecclesiastical authorities and members is vital to make sure that no appearance of approval is given to abusers of girls and women.

Help for Abused Women

Tournier (1978), referring to the ambiguity of violence in extoling war heroes while condemning violence of others in interpersonal relationships, recognized that authorities determine laws about what are legal and illegal violent actions but individuals ponder what is justifiable, necessary, useful, harmful, or wrong. To Tournier, rivalry between individuals was the normal and healthy essence of life. Aggressiveness for self-preservation and inspiring fear in service of inspiring respect leads of a balance of power, without threatening to conquer or destroy.

Destructive violence, the abuse of power leading to harming others, especially those in more fragile positions is perpetrated when violence creates a change that denies the spirituality of connectedness with others. Riddle (1982), viewing the integration of spiritual and political dimensions as all important in warding off violent behavior, maintained that spiritual awareness of individuals' unity with others and realizing that in harming others individuals are harming themselves establishes the counter-productivity of violence. Objectifying others and placing them at a distance from oneself increases the likelihood of violence. Seeing fear of domination or economic unrest as a threat to maintaining the status quo, potential abusers may foster abuse of the most vulnerable to assure a check-and-balance situation. To Riddle's concepts might be added that, when fear of loss of control and survival resources is strong enough, hatred and mistrust of those perceived as the most vulnerable individuals often motivates stronger persons to target others with abusive behavior.

Violent and abusive behavior towards girls and women is never to be accepted or condoned. Barring an unsolicited act of war or other survival attack in which a woman seriously provoked another person into a dangerous and damaging action, there is no excuse for a woman or girl to be attacked or abused. Especially in a religious setting in which individuals have reason to expect a loving, tolerant, peace-loving, and loving-kindness approach to all, particularly the downtrodden, victims of destructive, abusive behavior are truly jarred when the tenets of the creed of love and mercy are in the religious books but not in the spiritual hearts of the establishment or its members. Too, because women may identify ecclesia and its officials and other members with God or at least the godly, the belief system and the psychological well-being of the victims of abuse may be so shaken that they feel guilty and sinful for the abuse happening to them. They may feel worthless, hopeless, helpless, dirty, and isolated, almost nonentities.

Women will remain vulnerable to gender-based violence and abuse if they accept an inferior role in the family and religious settings, hoping to find favor with men by not questioning the status quo of male authority. Having been extremely criticized and often excluded from others in the religious community, abused women seek help from those counselors who are accepting of them, understanding of what they have endured, knowledgeable and appreciative of both the religious/spiritual and feminist worlds, and willing and able to help women (especially those who have been maimed by others' abuse and violence) to find their voices and goals in becoming fuller persons and women (Rayburn 1987). Because abused women have, for a long period of time, accepted being led by the men in their lives or in society in general, they have allowed men or abusive others to do their thinking and decision-making for them. Once they have permitted themselves to think and act outside the limiting group in which they were toys to be abused, they may explore being religious and also feminists, self-determining in their womanhood and personhood (Rayburn 1989).

It is vital that abused girls and women be sheltered from further abusive treatment and that may involve their being placed in a safe place especially designed for such protection of these victims. Along with this protection, the perpetrators of the abuse must be brought quickly as possible

to the attention of legal authorities, the courts, and police, and any agencies that would institutionalize them for mental examinations and/or incarceration in penal institutions.

Abused female persons in religious settings tread at least two difficult and different paths, the sacred and the secular realms. Because they are religious and/or spiritual in their background, they are familiar with scripture and ecclesiastical teachings. Sadly, if the abuser is connected with the religious community, they may fear not only the abusive acts but the perception of some cloak of sanctity about the abuser hidden in religious garb. Afraid to report the abuse and risk that the blame might come back on them, casting further shame, guilt, and even punitive treatment from abuser and perhaps the community itself, they remain silent sufferers in an unseeing and unhearing environment.

Once in a shelter and protected from the abuse, they need to be encouraged to open up lines of communication with sensitive and knowledgeable counselors or psychotherapists. Here, it is imperative for the counselors or therapists to be especially nonjudgmental—the victim of abuse already feels at fault for the abuse heaped upon her. More than any other kind of patient, religious patients are likely to experience their problems as felt punishment for some sin and to feel some degree of guilt for the horrible misdeed. Traditional therapy has tended to deny or make light of any guilt feelings patients may have or to admit the guilt is present but should be nullified as soon as possible. No matter how uncomfortable the therapist may be with any reflections on guilt, the fact is that the religious patient must deal with this as part of her world of reality. If the therapist is to be an authentic counselor to the religious victim of abuse, she or he must be able and willing to validate the patient's real felt guilt and hopefully forgiveness of herself and others. It is the professional task of the therapist to work through any discomfort she or he may have had with dealing directly with discomfort with issues of guilt and forgiveness (Rayburn 1985c). Too, there may be a touch of the long-suffering martyr in girls and women as a chosen duty to please such an important and supposedly holy being. Such a sad

mistaken call to obedience seems to have occurred in the girls and women led to have sexual relationships with Jim Jones and David Koresh. Crediting such dogmatic and charismatic cult leaders with attributes of the divine fraudulently may have given them the impression that they are a God-like figure and must do as he desires or be punished with death—or even worse, with damnation to hell. In the cases of those cults, the girls' fathers and the women's husbands may have been so fiendishly drawn into the cult leaders deceptions that they condoned giving "sexual gifts to father." When the abuse has occurred within a religious setting, the abused girls and women may look upon the religious community as a whole and also its leaders as accomplices in the abuse and as not protecting them nor condemning the perpetrators.

Ethical Concerns in Psychotherapy and Counseling with Abused Girls and Women

When the religious abused female persons are ready to deal with their anger, they may hesitate because their religious teaching may have urged them to be nonassertive, meek, and obedient. Anger may be such an unacceptable feeling for the religious female person. Therapists may help Christian women over this barrier by discussing Romans 1:18, Mark 3:5, 11:15. Therapists less knowledgeable or comfortable with scripture lessons may still be able to connect this need to express and deal with anger by "do not let the sun go down on your anger" of Matthew 5:21–24. The abused person's expressing anger constructively in this way will better enhance reconciliation and forgiveness with the self and others in the community at large. Seeking to communicate honestly, openly, respectfully, and lovingly is consistent with not only biblical teachings but with the best guidance for emotional well-being (Rayburn 1985a).

Therapists treating religious female persons who have been abused must not yield to temptation to take sides with or against the religious establishment. Abused girls and women need to

work out these problems for themselves, carefully and critically, in the background of an environment (including their therapists) that is nonjudgmental, caring, and unconditionally accepting. Besides being well versed in the psychology of women (including inclusive language and nonsexist language for God and faith), therapists need to look beyond traditional views of women's options to explore with the girls and women the most optimal road to self-actualization, along healthy, religious, and spiritual paths.

Psychotherapists and counselors need to be aware of and sensitive to the ambivalence abused girls and women are likely to feel towards authority figures. Especially in religious settings in which the abuse has been perpetrated, whether by an official or member of the establishment espousing religious or spiritual leanings, abused female persons have good reason to initially distrust anyone in a powerful position and who is offering to help them in some way. These girls and women do not want to be talked down to the level of immaturity, since even the once innocent girls are no longer children but more sophisticated little and young adults. Those who had identified themselves as religious may no longer choose to do so but may instead see themselves as spiritual but not religious or churched. A church, synagogue, or mosque may symbolize for them the place of abusive behavior and they may wish to never enter the doors of such an establishment. Whatever their options and desires on these issues, they need to ventilate and work through such thoughts and feelings in therapeutic treatment with a very nonjudgmental therapist or counselor. These victims of abuse may choose not to even deal with a counselor who identifies with a religious belief system, either similar or different from that of the abused person. Those who would be of most help to the abused female must be flexible, tolerant, and egalitarian in viewpoint, and aware and knowledgeable of cultural and ethnic variations.

Some, even through their suffering and pain at the hands of an abuser, may choose to hold onto both their religious and spiritual beliefs and their staunch quest to become whole persons and women. Being ever mindful that their role

as therapists or counselors is that of enabler or facilitator and not necessarily initiator, the professional guide through such problems can point out options, inconsistencies, consequences, and resolutions to the abused persons. If therapists are comfortable in citing scriptural references for acting in positive and assertive ways that would facilitate achieving greater maturity for girls and women, this could enhance their arriving at their own conclusions and decision-making. Helpful books of guidance as those edited by Richards and Bergin (1997, 2000, 2004, 2005) and Miller (2012) would be most beneficial to doing therapy with religious women. While they are working through anger and resentment, feeling of isolation and loneliness, ambivalence, and depression in therapy, abused girls and women need to resolve their feeling and thoughts about the religious establishment and its attitudes towards female persons. Having the opportunity to find affirmative women and men and to network with other females, they would be able to free their energies to connect with female identities, definitions, and a myriad of broader structures and roles for women. Serving to inspire and affirm the womanhood and personhood especially of religious abused girls and women are the biblical accounts of notable and potent women such as Eve, Sarah, Naomi, Ruth, Esther, Leah, Rachel, Deborah, Mary, mother of Christ, Mary Magdalene, and Junia. Deborah (Judges 4 and 5) was a prophet, judge, and the equivalent to a five-star general military leader, a "mother in Israel" who through her deep faith stepped up to the call to save her people (Rayburn 1986). Mary, mother of Christ, rather than being a perpetually unassuming and submissive person, most likely was a caring, warm, intuitive, perceptive extrovert, who was later considered Queen Mother, Mother of Sorrows, and Mater Ecclesiae (Mother of the Church) by the Vatican (Richmond and Kanis 1987). Junia (Romans 16:7) was considered by Paul, and later by early church patriarchs Jerome and John Chrysostom to have been an apostle of Christ (Lester 2012). Helpful resource books such as *Women of Vision* (Gavin et al. 2007), presenting inspiring life histories of women of great outreach and influence, such as Eleanor Roosevelt,

Alice Paul, "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias, Ella Fitzgerald, Lucille Ball, Rachel Carson, Dorothy Day, Shirley Chisholm, Georgia O'Keeffe, Anne Sullivan and Helen Keller, Lillian Gilbreth, Rosalind Franklin, and Evelyn Hooker, Mary McLeod Bethune, Sister Annette Walters, Isadora Duncan, and Grace Hopper; and *WomanSoul: The Inner Life of Women's Spirituality* (Rayburn and Comas-Diaz 2008), the spiritual journeys of women professionals of diverse cultural, ethnic, and religious/spiritual backgrounds.

Focusing on love, understanding, and compassion for all (as in Galatians 3:28) is the antidote to counter-act the toxicity of misogyny, but this must begin at the very earliest age for the congregation and the community-at-large. Sensitivity training, involving raising awareness of the needs of girls and women necessary to protect them from harm and changing attitudes towards female persons, must be done on a regular basis to educate everyone about violence and abuse recognition, prevention, and intervention. Zero tolerance for violence and abuse must be the standard, and those who report abuse must be seen as potentially creditable and deserving of protection. Leadership opportunities within the religious community, especially peer-to-peer networks with specialists to work separately with victims and perpetrators of the violence and abuse are vital. Teams that empower, giving status to female advocates for abused girls and women, are essential. Creating and maintaining effective referral resources with multi-agency women-centered and women-tailored assessment centers for individual girls and women, making time to meet and develop prevention and early intervention resources are "musts" too. Further, developing and maintaining ongoing relationships with support shelters is needed: The congregation can become actively involved in collecting materials for girls and women in shelters, such as toiletries, some items of clothing, nonperishable food items, etc. The overall sine qua non is the demonstration of loving concern for these victims and the commitment of support for them in their dire distress: They are not alone. Their Creator and their religious/spiritual home stand by them to give them sustenance and strength to overcome adversity and not to falter before malicious behavior of others.

Responsible and responsive therapists and counselors will be ever vigilant in monitoring their own values, biases, and thinking, being ever mindful of inclusivity and gender-fair concepts and language (Rayburn 1985c). Seeking ways to constantly improve the environment to make it as free of misogyny and abuse of girls and women, better assuring female opportunities for empowerment, and making sure that programs for consciousness raising encourage equality and mutual cooperation between women and men create a better and more peaceful world within ecclesia and with the world at large.

References

American heritage dictionary of the English language. (1992). Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.

Antai, D. E., & Antai, J. B. (2008). Attitudes of women toward intimate partner violence: A study of rural women in Nigeria. Rural and remote health. http://www.rrh.org.an/published42article-print-996.pdf. Accessed 11 Feb 2013.

Ascione, F. R. (1998). Battered women's report of their partners' and their children. *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, *1*(l). www.vachss.com/guest_dispatches/ascione_3.html. Accessed 12 Feb 2013.

Berger, P. (2013). "Weberman gets 103 years for sexual abuse—And some question sentence." *Forward* (Feb 1), 10.

Burgard, P. J. (1994). *Nietzsche and the feminine* (p. 11). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

Campbell, K. M. (2003). *Marriage and family in the biblical world*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Cohen, S. (2006). Media exposure and the subsequent effects on body dissatisfaction, disordered eating, and drive for thinness: A review of current research. *Mind Matters: The Wesleyan Journal of Psychology, 1,* 57–71.

Cunningham, A., & Baker, L. (2004). *What about me! Seeking to understand a child's view of violence in the family*. London: Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System.

Daly, M. (1968). *The Church and the second sex*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Daly, M. (1973). *Beyond God the Father: Toward a philosophy of women liberation*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Datan, N. (1986). Forbidden fruits and sorrow: Eve and the sociology of knowledge. *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XXI*(2), 105–118.

Deming, W. (2012). Wikipedia. Appendix A, *Paul on marriage and celibacy: The Hellenistic background of 1 Corinthians*, *7*, 221–226. Accessed 28 Nov 2012.

El Haitami, M. (2013). Women in Morocco: Political and religious power. http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/merem-el-haitami/women-in-morocco-political-and-religious-power. Accessed 11 Feb 2013.

FGM. (2013). Female genital mutilation in Iraq. www.stopfgmkurditan.org/media/study_FGM_Kirkuk-en-1.pdf. Accessed 12 Feb 2013.

Flood, M. (2007). Between men and masculinity. In M. Flood, J. K. Gardiner, B. Pease, & K. Pringle (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of men and masculinities*. Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge.

Freeland, C. (1994). *Feminist philosophy catalogue* (pp. 145–146). Houston, TX: University of Houston.

Frye, M. (1983). *The politics of reality: Essays in feminist theory*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing.

Gallagher, S. (1997). *Hegel, history, and interpretation* (p. 235). New York: SUNY Press.

Gavin, E. A., Clamar, A., & Siderits, M. A. (Eds.). (2007). *Women of vision: Their psychology, circumstances, and success*. New York: Springer Publishing.

Graves, R., & Patai, R. (2004). *Hebrew myths: The Book of Genesis* (p. 65). Garden City, NY: Carcanet Press.

Holland, J. (2006). *Misogyny: The world's oldest prejudice* (1st ed.). New York: Carroll & Graf.

Home Office. (2010). *Call to end violence against women and girls*. London: HMSO.

Hove, R. (1999). *Equality in Christ: Galatians 3:28 and the gender dispute* (p. 17). Wheaton: Crossway.

International Center for Research on Women. (2013). U. S. International Violence Against Women Act. http://www.icrw.org/what-we-do/violence-against-women. Accessed 11 Feb 2013.

Izenberg, G. N., & Sengoopta, C. (2001). Review of Chandak Sengoopta's Otto Weininger: Sex, science, and self in imperial Vienna. *The American Historical Review*, *106*(3), 1074–1075.

Jewish Encyclopedia. (2013). Shekinah. www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13537-shekinah. Accessed 25 Feb 2013.

Johnson, A. G. (2000). *The Blackwell dictionary of sociology: A user's guide to sociological language*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Joint Task Force of APA Divisions 17 and 35. (2007). *Guidelines for psychological practice with girls and women*. Washington, DC: APA. www.apa.org/practice/guidelines/girls-and-women.pdf. Accessed 28 Nov 2012.

Katz, T. (2013). Body image problems: Stop hating your body! http://www.healthyplace.com/eatingdisorders/articles/body-image-problems-stop-hating-your-body/. Accessed 25 Feb 2013.

Kedar, M., & Yerushalmi, D. (2011). Shari'a and violence in American mosques. *The Middle East Quarterly, Summer,* 59–72. http://www.mefrum.org/2931/americanmosques. Accessed 25 Nov 2012.

Lancet (The). (2012). Opening the door on gender-based violence. *380*(9843).

Lester, M. (2012). Junia. Women of the Bible: Women Workers in Christ. http://www.netplaces.com/women-of-the-bible/women-workers-in-christ/junia.htm. Accessed 28 Nov 2012.

Lichter, I. (2012). *Misogyny in the Muslim world: Bound by culture or religion?* Huff Post: Religion. (25 Nov 2012).

Miller, L. J. (Ed.). (2012). *The Oxford handbook of psychology and spirituality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Millet, K. (1970). *Sexual politics*. New York: Doubleday.

Nomani, A. Q. (2006). Clothes aren't the issue. *Washington Post*, Oct 22.

Paglia, C. (1991). *Sexual personae*. New York: Vintage.

Pappas, N. (2003). *Routledge philosophy guidebook to Plato and the Republic*. New York: Routledge.

Rahman, M. M., & Kabir, M. (2005).Gender based violence against female adolescents and factors affecting it in Bangladesh. http://inssp2005.princeton.edu/papers/50432. Accessed 11 Feb 2013.

Ramsland, K. (2005). David Koresh: Millennial violence; David Koresh and the Waco incident—Both sides prepare. www.trutv.com/library/crime/notorious_murders/not_guilty/Koresh/1.html. Accessed 17 Feb 2013.

Random House Webster's unabridged dictionary, 2nd ed. (2001). New York: Random House.

Rayburn, C. A. (1981a). Some reflections of a female seminarian: Woman, whither goest thou? *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XVI*(2), 61–65.

Rayburn, C. A. (1981b). Wilderness wanderings. In E. M. Stern (Ed.), *The other side of the couch* (pp. 153–164). New York: Pilgrim Press.

Rayburn, C. A. (1982a). Feminism and religion: What price holding membership in both camps? *Counseling and Values*, *26*(3), 154–164.

Rayburn, C. A. (1982b). Three women from Moab. In *Spinning a sacred yarn: Women speak from the pulpit* (pp. 163–171). New York: Pilgrim Press.

Rayburn, C. A. (1985a). Psychotherapy and the religiously committed patient. In E. M. Stern (Ed.), *Psychotherapy and the religiously committee patient* (pp. 35–45). New York: Haworth Press.

Rayburn, C. A. (1985b). Sexism in seminaries and its influence on the church community at large. *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XIX*(2), 89–98.

Rayburn, C. A. (1985c). Some ethical considerations in psychotherapy with religious women. *Psychotherapy*, *22*(4), 803–812.

Rayburn, C. A. (1986). Personality study of Deborah. *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XXI*(2), 123–131.

Rayburn, C. A. (1987). Woman's wilderness wandering: Plight of flight or fight in the '80s. *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XXII*(2), 140–149.

Rayburn, C. A. (1989). Power struggles, equality quests, and women in ecclesia. *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XXIV*(2), 145–150.

Rayburn, C. A. (1991). Counseling depressed female religious professionals: Nuns and clergywomen. *Counseling and Values*, *35*(2), 136–148.

Rayburn, C. A. (2012). Motherhood and female faith development: Female tapestry of religion, spirituality, creativity, and intuition. In L. Miller (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of psychology and s pirituality* (pp. 182–196). New York: Oxford University Press.

Rayburn, C. A., & Comas-Diaz, L. (Eds.). (2008). *WomanSoul: The inner life of women's spirituality*. Westport, CN: Praeger.

Rayburn, C. A., & Richmond, L. J. (2001). Peacefulness, spirituality, and violence prevention. In D. S. Sandhu (Ed.), *Faces of violence: Psychological correlates, concepts and intervention strategies* (pp. 455–464). Huntington, NY: Nova Science Publishers.

Rayburn, C. A., & Richmond, L. J. (2002). Women, whither goest thou? To chart new courses in religiousness and spirituality and to define ourselves! In L. H. Collins, M. R. Dunlap, & J. C. Chrisler (Eds.), *Charting a new course for feminist psychology* (pp. 167–189). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Richards, P. S., & Bergin, A. E. (Eds.) (1997). *A spiritual strategy for counseling and psychotherapy*. Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association.

Richards, P. S., & Bergin, A. E. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of psychotherapy and religious diversity*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Richards, P. S., & Bergin, A. E. (Eds.). (2004). *Casebook for a spiritual strategy in counseling and psychotherapy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Richards, P. S., & Bergin, A. E. (Eds.). (2005). *A spiritual strategy for counseling and psychotherapy* (2nd ed.). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Richmond, L. J., & Kanis, S. (1987). Mary, the Mother of Jesus: Through scripture, tradition and typology. *Journal of Pastoral Counseling*, *XXII*(2), 150–158.

Riddle, D. I. (1982). Politics, spirituality, and model of change. In C. Spretnak (Ed.), *The Politics of women's spirituality* (pp. 373–381). Garden City, NY: Anchor Press.

Rinck, M. J. (1990). *Christian men who hate women: Healing hurting relationships* (pp. 81–85). Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Rogers, K. M. (1966). *The troublesome helpmate: A history of misogyny in literature*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ross, W. D. (Ed.). (1912). Aristotle's On the Generation of Animals. The Oxford Translation of Aristotle, 5. Trans. Arthur Platt. Oxford: Claredon Press. http://www.2.ivcc.edu/gen.2002/Aristotle.Generation.htm. Accessed 17 Feb 2013.

Ruether, R. R. (1982). Woman as oppressed; Woman as liberated in the scriptures. *Spinning a sacred yarn*: *Woman speak from the pulpit* (pp. 181–186). New York: Pilgrim Press.

Ruthven, K. K. (1990). *Feminist literary studies: An introduction*. City University, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Salles, R. (2005). *Metaphysics, soul, and ethics in ancient thought: Themes from the work of Richard Sorabji* (p. 485). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Satlow, M. L. (2001). *Jewish marriage in antiquity* (pp. 13–14). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stanton, E. C. (1895). *The Woman's Bible*. New York: European Publishing Company.

Steel, F. (1978). Jonestown massacre: A "reason" to die–the official story. www.trutv.cocm/library/crime/notorious…/jonestown/index_1.html. Accessed 25 Nov 2012

Stone, M. (1993). *When God was a woman*. New York: Barnes & Noble.

Swedlund. (1998). Spirituality and sexual abuse. What are the connections? Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for Women in Psychology, Baltimore, MD.

Tournier, P. (1978). *The violence within*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Webber, J. A. (2004). *Expanding curriculum theory: Dis/positions and lines of flight* (p. 87). New York: Psychology Press.

Webster's Third new international dictionary of the English language unabridged. (1966). New York: G. & C. Merriam.

West, C. (2003). *Theology of the body explained: A commentary on John Paul II's "Gospel of the body"*. Leominster, Herefordshire, Wales: Gracewing.

Witt, C. (2004a). Feminist reflections on the history of philosophy. In L. Alanen & C. Witt (Eds.), *Feminist reflections on the history of philosophy* (pp. 1–15). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Witt, C. (2004b). Form, normativity and gender in Aristotle: A feminist perspective. In L. Alanen & C. Witt (Eds.), *Feminist reflections on the history of philosophy* (pp. 117–136). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Witt, C. (2007). Feminist history of philosophy. In A. Witt & C. Witt (Eds.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of philosophy* (pp. 1–16). Stanford, CA: Stanford University.

Exploring Women's Spiritual Struggles and Resources to Cope with Intimate Partner Aggression

4

Annette Mahoney, Layal Abadi
and Kenneth I. Pargament

Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Savior. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit in everything to their husbands. (Ephesians 5:22–24; English Standard Version, ESV)

Jesus answered "Have you not read that he who created them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, 'Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and hold fast to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh'? So they are no longer two but one flesh. What therefore God has joined together, let not man separate." (Matthew 19:4–7, ESV)

Theologians and social scientists alike have expressed concerns that some Christian men lean on passages from the New Testament like those above to justify domestic violence against their wives (e.g., see Clark, Chap. 12). These verses may also be used to encourage survivors to endure spousal abuse to avoid a divorce. Yet, religion and spirituality encompass more than men or women relying on narrow interpretations of any religious tradition's scriptures to defend violent behavior in a marriage. Rather, religion and spirituality can be part of the problem or the solution when problems arise when women date, live with, or marry abusive men. In this chapter, we illustrate the dual-edged potential for religion to trigger spiritual struggles and to offer spiritual

resources to women coping with being in an intimate relationship with a physically violent man. Our primary audience of interest includes social service providers, and mental health counselors who want to address helpful and harmful manifestations of faith when they assist women involved in ongoing romantic relationships involving situational interpersonal violence.

Drawing on theory and research about relational spirituality (Mahoney 2010, 2013) and spiritual coping (Pargament 1997, 2007), we delineate ways that spirituality may shape how women cope, for better or worse, with situational interpersonal violence, a relatively less severe form of intimate partner violence that involves physical aggression at the hands of a male partner (e.g., slapping on face, pushing, shoving) associated with situational factors. This is in contrast to more severe forms of intimate partner violence characterized by persistent behaviors of the violent partner that exert power and control over the abused partner (Peters 2008). We discuss ways a helping professional can explore with women the dilemmas they face in prioritizing their goals and deciding if they should travel down the pathway of reforming or exiting the relationship to reach the destination of zero tolerance for physical aggression. We offer two case examples to illustrate spiritual struggles and resources women may encounter along the way to transform the connection to their partner.

Before proceeding, we want to be clear that our focus on women's spiritual coping strategies does not mean that we view women as being

A. Mahoney (✉) · L. Abadi · K. I. Pargament
Department of Psychology, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH, USA
e-mail: amahone@bgnet.bgsu.edu

culpable for their partner's actions. Rather, we view men as being responsible for using violence in a romantic relationship, and we believe there is no justifiable reason for men resorting to any form of physical aggression toward women (or vice versa). In short, we do not view women as being at fault for men's violence nor are women responsible for stopping men's violence. Thus, we urge the women we counsel to adopt a zero tolerance policy toward experiencing any aggression in a relationship. Given our focus, we refer readers to chapters in the second part of this handbook for discussions on ways religion and spirituality may influence men's decisions to engage in violent behavior toward women within specific religious cultural groups.

We also want to be clear that we generally take the stand that women have the right and responsibility to make their own decisions about how to respond to being a target of men's misconduct. Further, we recognize that women often struggle with ambivalence about how to respond when their partner engages in aggression, particularly if it is sporadic and relatively less severe, and that women often remain in relationships where they are at risk for future or escalating maltreatment. Thus, our chapter addresses ways that mental health professionals can engage in collaborative and spiritually sensitive dialogues that empower women to protect themselves from future harm. An exception to our rule of respecting a woman's autonomy is if she appears to be at imminent risk of serious physical harm and she is unwilling or unable to protect herself. As we discuss in more detail later, to evaluate her level of safety, we ask pointed and behaviorally anchored questions about aggressive behaviors that her partner has already used and her fears about behavior he may use in the future. In situations where we believe that a woman is at risk of serious harm, and she cannot or refuses to take steps to protect herself, we contact legal authorities to help ensure her safety. Notably, our chapter does not focus on crisis intervention with women who are in imminent risk of serious violence. Further, we do not intend for mental health professionals to use our suggestions in this chapter to respond to crisis situations.

Religion/Spirituality and the Risk Versus the Reality of Women Coping with Violence

We summarize the research literature about involvement in organized religion and the risk versus reality of women experiencing physical aggression from the men they love as the basis for the chapter. It is important for counselors to clearly understand these two contrasting sets of findings.

Risks of Exposure to Intimate Partner Violence Numerous sociological studies conducted on the US population have addressed the following question: Does higher religious attendance increase or decrease women's risk of exposure to physical violence by intimate partners? The basic answer is decrease. That is, studies show that greater religious attendance lowers the risk of intimate partner violence in heterosexual dating (Halpern et al. 2001), cohabiting, (Wilcox and Wolfinger 2008) and married (Ellison et al. 2007) relationships. For example, American men and women who frequently attend religious services have been found to be about half as likely as nonattenders to be physically aggressive toward their partners, according to reports from both the offenders and victims (Ellison and Anderson 2001). This decreased risk persists after taking into account the offenders' level of integration into society, alcohol and substance abuse, and low self-esteem and depression (Ellison and Anderson 2001). Further, no ties have been scientifically verified between being a victim or perpetrator of intimate partner aggression and being affiliated with a conservative Protestant group, holding conservative views of the Bible, or having an interfaith marriage. But an important qualification applies; namely, one rigorous study has found that the odds of husbands using physical aggression against wives greatly increases if the spouses had major disagreements with each other in how to interpret the Bible (Ellison et al. 1999). Specifically, this study focused on the relatively rare number of American couples (7.5 %) where marked disparities exist in spouses' biblical beliefs. The researchers found

that men with highly conservative biblical views were four times more likely in the past year to hit, shove, and/or throw things at wives who held more liberal biblical views compared to men married to women with similar biblical views. Thus, men who had biblically based conflicts with wives were more prone to being aggressive toward them. Overall, however, based on current scientific evidence, greater attendance at a place of worship by women or their partners greatly decreases the risk that women will be exposed to intimate partner violence by male partners, at least in the USA (Mahoney 2010; Mahoney et al. 2001); we could not locate parallel sociological studies on non-Western populations.

Reality of Intimate Partner Violence The finding that higher religious attendance decreases women's risk of being the target of intimate partner violence should not be confused with the answer to the following question: Does higher involvement in organized religion inhibit or escalate male violence for the subset of women romantically involved with abusive men? To our knowledge, the answer to this question is unknown. That is, no scientific studies have addressed the roles, for better or worse, that religious attendance may play within intact relationships where the man is being violent toward the woman. Nevertheless, religious leaders (and mental health professionals) are likely to encounter the reality that some women in their care are dating or living with physically aggressive men. For example, around 12–15 % of female adolescents and young adults report being the target of physical aggression by a dating partner in the past year (Humphrey and White 2000; Wolfe et al. 2001), and 22 % of all American women report having been physically assaulted at some point in their lives by an intimate partner (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). Even though these percentages are reduced if either partner more often attends religious services, religious leaders should be prepared to confront the reality of intimate partner violence as some women they know will have been victimized. Ironically, women of faith may be especially reluctant to disclose that their partners have been physically aggressive to

people in their religious circles precisely because fellow parishioners who more often attend religious services are at lower risk of being victims themselves. As a result, victims may feel their experience violates the norms of their religious communities and wish to keep the aggression hidden. We hope our chapter helps our audience be willing and able to initiate nonjudgmental, compassionate dialogues with women intimately involved with aggressive men.

The Scope of This Chapter

Prior to proceeding, we want to delineate further the scope of this chapter. First, we focus on women's religious and spiritual coping with male aggression within an ongoing romantic relationship. For our purposes, a romantic relationship refers to a dating, cohabiting, or marital relationship entered into voluntarily. Although we recognize that romantically involved same-sex couples also experience domestic violence and that gay and lesbian individuals report as being about as religious as heterosexuals (Sherkat 2002), we restrict ourselves to opposite-sex relationships given the focus of this handbook. In addition, given our expertise, we focus on women who are the target of physical rather than sexual aggression. Finally, we focus on women currently involved in a relationship with a male peer of their choosing rather than women recovering from violence by an ex-partner, acquaintance, stranger, or authority figure. For readers interested in interventions to help women overcome past relational trauma, we highly recommend the exemplary work of Nichole Murray-Swank who has created and evaluated an 8-session manualized intervention, *Solace for the Soul: A Journey*, that integrates spirituality into psychotherapy interventions to help survivors recover from a history of sexual trauma (Murray-Swank and Waelde 2013). Using rigorous data analytic techniques for single-case designs, Murray-Swank demonstrates the value of addressing spiritual struggles as well as facilitating a sense of spiritual connection and well-being to facilitate women's recovery from past sexual aggression. Similar to Murray-Swank, we

take a client-centered, pluralistic, and integrative approach to working with women who hold a belief in a Divine Other/Higher Spiritual Force. However, our focus here is on dialoguing with women currently involved in a consensual relationship where the man is engaging in physical aggression toward her.

Second, a rich body of descriptive studies exists on the roles of religion and spirituality in the lives of American women who have sought services from domestic violence shelters to exit an abusive marital or cohabiting relationship (e.g., Hassouneh-Phillips 2001; Nash 2006; Schneider and Feltey 2009; Yick 2008). Notably, this research focuses on women who have experienced severe physical aggression and chose to leave their partner. We were unable to locate similar qualitative studies of women whose exposure to domestic violence is ongoing and limited to more common forms of physical assault, such as being slapped, shoved or pushed, or verbally threatened. These less severe forms of violence often precede more extreme forms of violence that are more likely to trigger a women's decision to end an abusive relationship. In this chapter, we focus on the psychospiritual dilemmas that women face in coping with these more common forms of physical aggression while dating or living with an abusive partner for three reasons: (1) Therapists are more likely to encounter these women; (2) we especially would like to encourage early intervention into the cycle of domestic violence; and (3) we assume helping professionals may be less conscious of, or more hesitant to confront, less severe forms of intimate aggression. We hope our chapter facilitates a greater awareness and willingness to confront the relatively less severe end of the continuum of domestic violence with victims in a sensitive, but direct, manner.

Third, we were unable to locate peer-reviewed, quantitative research that has systematically assessed ways that spiritual struggles or spiritual resources contribute to how women cope when their partner engages in any type of physical violence, ranging from less to more severe. Thus, we draw on descriptive findings from interviews conducted with women who have sought help at domestic violence shelters. Further, we were unable to find controlled treatment outcome studies on the efficacy or effectiveness of addressing religious or spiritual coping when counseling women currently in a physically abusive relationship. However, we draw on rich body of basic research on religious and spiritual coping with other major stressors besides relational violence (e.g., Pargament 1997; 2011) to inform this chapter.

Fourth, to our knowledge, nearly all of the peer-reviewed community or national survey studies on faith and domestic violence in the past 30–35 years involve couples from the USA (Mahoney et al. 2001; Mahoney 2010). Thus, the statistical figures that we cite involve primarily Christians because relatively few Americans belong to other religious traditions. Here, for example, are rates of religious affiliation for women based on a 2007 US survey: 82.4% endorsed a Christian affiliation (53.8% Protestant, 25% Catholic), 12.8% reported no religious affiliation, 4.2% were affiliated with one of the many minority US religions, particularly Buddhist (0.7%) and Judaism (1.6%), and 0.7% did not know or disclose an affiliation (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2008). We hope more survey research is conducted henceforward on the role that religion and spirituality plays in the lives of women from diverse religious and ethnic subcultures. With the boundaries of our chapter now spelled out, we next describe our model to help religious leaders or pastoral and mental health counselors address women's spiritual coping with intimate partner violence, particularly when the physical aggression is relatively less severe in nature as in situational interpersonal violence or the early stages of the intimate partner violence cycle.

Overview of the Relational Spirituality Framework and Intimate Partner Violence

Introduction to the Relational Spirituality Framework Consistent with world religions having developed rituals and doctrines surrounding significant family events from birth to death (Onedera 2008), scientific studies on religion or

spirituality and family life have covered a wide range of topics on romantic relationships, such as mate selection, gender roles in heterosexual marriages, marital satisfaction, sexuality in and out of marriage, and divorce. Mahoney (2010, 2013) developed a relational spirituality framework (RSF) to organize the findings from these studies and studies on other topics located at the intersection of faith and family life (see http://www.bgsu.edu/departments/psych/spirituality/). In this framework, relational spirituality refers to when the search for the sacred is united with the search for relationships. Also in the RSF, the search for a relationship is divided into the stages of (1) discovery—form and structure the relationship, (2) maintenance—engage in processes to conserve the relationship, and (3) transformation—radically reform or exit the relationship. Further, spirituality is defined as the search for the sacred, a definition that encompasses the discovery, maintenance, and transformation in individuals' approach to the sacred over the life span (see Pargament 2007; Pargament and Mahoney 2009, for elaboration). In the RSF, the sacred refers not only to human perceptions of the divine, God, or transcendent reality but also to any aspect of life that takes on extraordinary character by virtue of its association with, or representation of, divinity (Pargament and Mahoney 2009; Mahoney, Pargament et al. 2013). Thus, we envision the sacred as composed of a core and a ring (Mahoney et al. 2013), such that the heart of sacred can extend outward and the sphere can encompass intimate relationships and other domains of life (e.g., career, community work, nature) perceived as possessing sacred qualities or reflective of God. The RSF also highlights that people's searches for the sacred and for intimate relationships often overlap. Further, both pursuits often occur within the context of organized religion as no other social institutions promote spirituality as a central mission (Mahoney 2010). Thus, religion is defined as the search for significance that occurs within the context of established institutions that are designed to facilitate spirituality (Pargament et al. 2013).

The RSF highlights that an important element of an individual's search for the sacred involves developing an understanding of the divine, God, or transcendent reality, and taking a position in relation to this central element of the sacred (Mahoney 2013). For many, such a connection represents a psychologically powerful bond. For example, people speak of having formed a personal relationship with an external deity who has well-delineated characteristics; however, people also speak of experiencing profound connections to a spark of the divine within the self or to supernatural forces that permeate all of existence (Hall and Fujikawa 2013; Pargament 2007). People travel along diverse pathways to foster their felt connections to what they experience as sacred, ranging from solitary exploration to engagement in religious networks. Given that empirical studies of faith and family life rely virtually exclusively on samples drawn from monotheistic societies that comprise predominantly Christians with minorities of nonaffiliated individuals, such as Jews, Latter Day Saints, or Muslims, we hereafter use the term "God" in this chapter to refer to women's felt connection with the core of the sacred, recognizing that images of God—theistic or nontheistic, tangible or abstract, immanent or transcendent, personal or transpersonal—vary widely across individuals, communities, and cultures. With this introduction to mind, we turn our attention to dilemmas triggered by intimate partner violence.

Relational Spirituality and Key Dilemmas of Intimate Partner Aggression

Mahoney's discrimination between the three stages of relationships in the relational spirituality framework illuminates three key dilemmas that women of faith face when involved with aggressive men. First, problems can emerge within intimate unions that require a transformation of the structure and/or processes of the relationship. In our view, any male-to-female physical aggression reflects a problem that cannot be tolerated or justified on secular or theological grounds. Rather, our value-driven stance is that a woman's ultimate destination in coping with male aggression

should be that the relationship fundamentally changes. Assuming a woman agrees that radical change is imperative, she then faces dilemmas in deciding what pathway to use to reach transformation. Should she (1) pressure the man to change and thus attempt to reform the relationship, or (2) accept that the man will not change and thus exit the union? These two pathways are, of course, not mutually exclusive, and could be pursued sequentially over time to reach the final goal. Further, both routes involve empowering the woman and are incompatible with her tolerating aggression. But, as we shall illustrate, her decisions about which destinations and pathways she should choose raise profound spiritual dilemmas that can greatly complicate coping with intimate partner aggression.

Second, with regard to the stages of forming and maintaining a romantic heterosexual relationship, major religious traditions generally concur that two highly desirable goals for women to pursue in life are to (1) establish a romantic relationship that evolves into a marriage, and (2) after a marriage is formed, engage in sexual intercourse to create a permanently intact family with biological children (Onedera 2008). Women's decisions of whether to reform or exit an abusive relationship, especially if children are involved, may also be complicated by how much they internalize these two life goals.

Third, disagreements exist within and between religious groups about the spiritual acceptability of forming and maintaining sexually active, nonmarital relationships. Divisive theological conflicts over premarital sexual relationships, cohabiting unions with children, and same-sex marriage can obscure the following point of theological consensus. Namely, like many secular groups, diverse religious groups concur about the ideal virtues that people should exhibit to sustain their romantic relationships after they are formed. For example, to our knowledge, no major religious group condones sexual or physical violence by a man toward a woman as a means to maintain a marriage. Rather theologically conservative and liberal religious groups alike teach that married couples should give and receive love, sacrifice, sexual fidelity, commit-

ment, and forgiveness from each other (Onedera 2008). The degree to which women internalize the goal to fulfill such virtues when dating or living with a man may intensify their dilemmas in deciding who should be responsible for making change happen and whether to reform or exit an abusive relationship. Next, we provide an overview on spiritual coping. We then explore spiritual struggles and resources relevant to coping with a destructive relationship given the potentially sacred goals highlighted above (i.e., get married, preserve a marriage, and exhibit ideal virtues in a relationship) and the routes to follow to make change occur.

Overview of Spiritual Coping and Intimate Partner Violence

Introduction to Spiritual Coping Due to the scarcity of empirical research on specific spiritual strategies that women use to cope with intimate partner violence, our chapter draws heavily on Pargament's model of "spiritual coping" (1997, 2007). Pargament's approach builds on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) classic tripartite theory of coping consisting of a person (a) appraising the nature of a stressor, (b) engaging in cognitive or behavioral strategies to respond to the stressor, and (c) pursuing particular goals via coping. Pargament (1997) defines spiritual coping as a search for significance in times of stress in ways related to the sacred. He posits that stressors can be appraised as being spiritually threatening, that unique spiritual pathways are available to cope with stressors, and that the destinations people strive to reach when coping with stressors can be imbued with sacred significance. Pargament (1997, 2007) also emphasizes that individuals can proactively identify and pursue goals that they view as significant. For example, as mentioned earlier, women may strive toward the goals to form and maintain a lifelong healthy marriage or to transform an unhealthy marriage. Pargament also highlights that individuals travel down diverse pathways to reach their desired goals. Women, for instance, may view repeatedly granting forgiveness to an abusive partner as a

spiritually condoned means to remain married. Finally, Pargament emphasizes that spirituality can be part of the problem by triggering spiritual struggles over the ends or means that people should pursue in their life journeys, or spirituality can be part of the solution in helping people alter dysfunctional destinations and pathways. Accordingly, spirituality can undermine or enhance women's pursuit of self-protective goals and processes when coping with an aggressive intimate partner.

Two Major Types of Spiritual Coping Research on spiritual coping has rapidly grown in the past 25 years (Pargament 2011), and two broad types of spiritual coping have been identified: (1) spiritual struggles, commonly labeled as "negative religious coping," and (2) spiritual resources, commonly labeled as "positive religious coping."

Spiritual struggles in coping refer to people's efforts to conserve or transform their approach to the sacred during stressful situations (Pargament 1997, 2007). For instance, abused women may wrestle with God about whether they should try to reform a relationship with an abusive partner or exit a union they have previously viewed as sacred and worth any sacrifice. They may also feel alienated and abandoned by a religious community that ignores or fails to grasp their plight. An inability to resolve these spiritual conflicts may mire them down in turmoil and intensify their distress. Empirically, greater spiritual struggles with other life stressors, such as natural disasters or illness, predict greater psychological maladjustment and poorer medical outcomes (Ano and Vasconcelles 2005; Pargament 2011). In an initial effort to examine specific methods of spiritual coping with a romantic partner's verbal and physical aggression, the second author surveyed 289 college students at a state university involved in a dating relationship (Abadi 2013). Two distinct subtypes of spiritual struggles were identified using factor analyses. Regarding the first subtype, 42% of the students reported that they had felt punished by God due to their partner's conduct and/or had passively expected or waited for God to fix their partner's behavior. This deferring style of spiritual coping has also been identified

in research on other stressors (Pargament 2011), whereby the individual views spiritual forces as being externally oriented, punitive, and authoritarian in nature. Such perceptions appear to lower people's sense of competence and control, and thus increase their anxiety or avoidance in confronting personal problems. Indeed, in Abadi's study, the more students felt spiritually punished or passive, the more posttraumatic stress (PTSD) symptoms they also reported, even after taking into account how much they engaged in secular forms of maladaptive coping (e.g., alcohol use, denial) that might aggravate poor adjustment.

Notably, we have begun to steer clear of the term "negative religious coping" because spiritual struggles can reflect pivotal "forks in the road" in people's lives that can lead to growth or decline. Specifically, people who resolve spiritual struggles over time often report spiritual or psychological growth from working through their pain (Pargament 2011). Along these lines, 100% of the students in Abadi's (2013) study endorsed at least one item reflective of a distinct, second subtype of spiritual struggle; this form of spiritual struggle is characterized by feeling angry at or abandoned by God or their religious community when coping with their partner's aggressive behaviors. But this form of spiritual struggle was tied to greater intentions to end a hostile dating relationship. In other words, a greater sense of disappointment and betrayal by God or a religious group was correlated with plans to exit the dating relationship, which presumably would often be in a young woman's best interest rather than remaining tied to a boyfriend who used verbal bullying or lashed out physically. Although longitudinal research is needed, this finding suggests the following: Over time, women engaged in spiritual struggles marked by feelings of anger or abandonment may be forced to rework their view of God or religious network as all-powerful, impotent, or uncaring forces, and come to relate to these entities as empowering allies who support women's efforts to protect themselves from harm in relationships. This hypothesis is consistent with reports by some women at battered women's shelters who said they struggled with their religious teachings, particularly about

women's roles in marriage, but after coming to a different understanding of their faith, they felt spiritually empowered to protect themselves by exiting the union (Yick 2008). In our opinion, the term "spiritual struggles in coping" better captures the potential for faith to advance either growth or decline, whereas "negative religious coping" implies that struggles are always better to be avoided than approached.

Spiritual resources in coping refers to accessing spirituality as a resource to reach desired goals when confronting difficulties, such as working with God in a collaborative manner to take action to resolve the problem, asking for God's help to gain and give forgiveness, and seeking a closer spiritual connection with God and others. However, such efforts are not necessarily associated with more desirable outcomes for two reasons. First, at any one point in time, greater "positive religious coping" is often correlated with more, not less, psychological, spiritual, and relational distress. In short, at any one given point in time, the more people are suffering, the more they turn to spirituality to cope as means to solve the problem. For example, in Abadi's study (2013), the more students said they tried to rely on spiritual resources to cope with their partner's aggressive behaviors, the more PTSD symptoms they reported. Second, accessing spiritual resources tends to be related to better outcomes over time (Ano and Vasconcelles 2005), but not always. For example, one longitudinal study showed that turning to God to help forgive an ex-spouse after the time of a divorce was tied to more verbal aggression toward the ex-spouse a year later (Krumrei et al. 2008). Thus, we prefer "spiritual resources in coping" over "positive spiritual coping" because spiritual resources are not inevitably tied to desirable outcomes.

Here is a final note on terminology. We have shifted over time to using the term "spiritual" over "religious" when dialoguing with clients for three reasons. First, atheists and people who are not engaged in organized religion report experiencing spiritual struggles, such as feeling distant, unhappy, angry, cut off from, or abandoned by God (Exline 2013). Second, people who are not involved in organized religion still often report

turning to spiritual resources, such as a connection to a Higher Power for help during times of trouble (Pargament 2011). Third, about 15–20% of American label themselves as "spiritual but not religious," with 65% describing themselves as "spiritual and religious" and 5–10% as "religious but not spiritual" (Marler and Hadaway 2002). In our view, the term "spiritual coping" speaks to everyone who uses spiritual coping strategies, inside or outside the context of institutionalized religion.

Collaborative Dialogues about Spiritual Coping with Intimate Partner Aggression

We now turn to pragmatic suggestions and case illustrations to engage in collaborative dialogues about spiritual coping with women who are experiencing intimate partner aggression in a romantic union.

Entering the Conversation: Initial Questions on Spirituality and Physical Aggression To broach the topics of spirituality and physical aggression, we have found that directly asking questions in a matter-of-fact, kind tone of voice works well. In our experience, using specific questions about both domains gives people encouragement and permission to reveal information often shrouded in privacy. With regard to a partner's aggressive behavior, people especially are more likely to endorse concrete questions about the partner's behavior rather than vague or general questions such as "Have you been abused or physically assaulted?" (Holtzworth-Munroe et al. 2010). Here are some specific questions that we ask to open up the topic of domestic violence and assess the severity of the aggression: Has your partner thrown something that could hurt you? Has he pushed, grabbed, or shoved you? and, Has he slapped or hit you? Going further, it is imperative to assess whether the woman is in imminent harm by asking pointed questions about more severe forms of violence including acts of coercive control, verbal threats of severe violence, severe physical violence, sexual

violence, and stalking. For detailed guidelines for assessing the risk of serious injury or death, we recommend a recent article by Holtzworth-Monroe et al. (2010); the Appendix (Table 4.1) of this chapter includes instructions about building rapport and a list of specific questions to assess the full range of domestic violence. The interview protocol by Holtzworth-Monroe et al. (2010) is available free of charge in the public domain, and was designed for mediators working with families in court-connected mediation programs. In our view, mental health professionals can also use this type of approach to consider the risks presented in the specific situation, including safety, balance of power issues, the possibility of coercion, and the professional's ethical duty not to facilitate involuntary and/or unconscionable agreements between a woman and her partner. For additional information on assessing and understanding intimate partner aggression, this US government report is a helpful resource: https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/181867.pdf (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). To reiterate, the rest of this chapter assumes that a woman is not in a crisis situation or in need of assistance to avoid risk of serious injury or death.

Three questions we use to become familiar with the woman's religious/spiritual identity include: How important is spirituality or religion to you? Do you attend religious services in a church or another type of religious or spiritual community? and, Are there certain spiritual or religious beliefs and practices that you find particularly helpful in dealing with difficulties? For more information on our approach to assessing and understanding relational spirituality, see http://www.bgsu.edu/departments/psych/spirituality/.

Understanding the Helping Role: Facilitate Insight and Action About the Relationship After sparking an initial conversation, helping professionals may have an opportunity to help a woman gain insight and take action to cope more effectively with being in a relationship with an aggressive man. Increasing insight involves exploring the woman's desired destinations and her preferred pathways to reach her goals. It also means uncovering spiritual strug-

gles that cause problems in her selected ends or means as well as identifying spiritual resources that she could access to facilitate solutions. Taking a stance of motivational interviewing (Miller and Rollnick 2002), we strive to help a client recognize the pros and cons of retaining or changing her current goals or methods of coping with her partner. In short, we see our role as helping her sort through her dilemmas so she can prioritize her goals, resolve spiritual struggles that obstruct her goals or pathways, and identify constructive spiritual resources to help her reach her desired ends.

Being Ethical: Transparency About Desired Destination and Pathways Consistent with the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association, we are transparent with clients in abusive relationships that our top goal is for her to protect herself from further aggression by her partner, and that we see two acceptable pathways to transform the relationship so she is safe: reform the dynamics or exit the union. However, we are also quite clear that her life is her own, and we are not responsible for making her decisions for her. In our experience, being unambiguous about our position empowers, not usurps, a woman's decision making because she can more easily give informed consent to access our help or seek help elsewhere. We are also clear that we will take time to explore fully the dilemmas and obstacles she faces in making her safety her top priority. Being transparent about our agenda typically engages a woman as an informed, active agent in a collaborative process to increase her insight and action about her choices about her relationship.

In the event that we cannot forge a mutual agreement with a woman that the ultimate goal is to end the abuse by her partner (not necessarily end the relationship), we refer her to another professional. Prior to referring, we use clinical judgment and consult with colleagues to decide how confrontational to be with a woman about her decisions that place her in potential danger. Of course, as we have highlighted above, if the issues involve protecting her from imminent lethal harm (e.g., suicidal or homicidal threats or

behavior) or her children from domestic violence or child maltreatment, we contact legal authorities, per our state and local laws.

Exploring Spiritual Struggles and Resources over Goals when Coping with Partner Aggression: Illustrations with a Case Study Women who experience relational violence when dating or living with a man more often utilize passive coping strategies to deal with life stressors than women who are not in abusive relationships (e.g., Rhatigan et al. 2006). Thus, victims may be especially vulnerable to passively pursuing the goal to tolerate an aggressive partner rather than proactively aiming to transform the relationship. To illustrate the ways spiritual struggles may contribute to women's dilemmas of which of these two goals to pursue (i.e., tolerate versus transform), we focus on a case study of one woman's spiritual struggles over being the "agent of blame" versus "agent of change," and focusing on possible causes versus solutions of the man's behavior: partner, God, others, and self.

People naturally seek out explanations for the causes of problems, such as why men behave badly. Within medical and social sciences, "etiology" is concerned with the origins or causes of diseases and pathological behavior. In the case of domestic violence, as the chapter by Kilmartin and other chapters in this handbook detail, many factors have been identified as causing men's violent behavior. For example, relational aggression has been traced back to biological predispositions, stable personality characteristics, family-of-origin experiences, peer influences, past and current relationship dynamics, and subcultural influences, such as media exposure and poverty. Ideally, any problem would be prevented by eliminating the root causes. But after a problem has developed, causes may have very little to do with solutions. For example, neither a victim nor perpetrator can change the man's past or current factors beyond either partner's control, such as low unemployment opportunities. And, obviously, the only factor that a victim has direct control over is her own behavior. Yet, a victim faces two troubling questions in proactively taking on the goal to transform the relationship: (1)

"Why should I be the one to make change happen?" and (2) "If I am successful, does that mean I was to blame all along?" In our clinical experience, these two questions raise profound spiritual struggles that can contribute to the woman's passivity and ambivalence about being the agent of change. However, if she chooses to pursue the goal of changing the relationship, a woman can draw on spiritual resources to stop waiting for someone else (the man, God, or others) to initiate change and to stay clear that being the primary agent of change is not tantamount to being the cause of the problem.

Our case example illustrates a woman who experienced spiritual struggles over what goal to pursue after her partner became aggressive. All cases in this chapter are fictionalized composites of different clients we have seen who face dilemmas about whether their goal is to tolerate mistreatment or to take assertive action to change their situation. Joan was a 38-year-old married woman from a conservative Christian background who attended church weekly. Her 40-year-old husband Jake shared her religious convictions and often attended services with her and their 12-year-old twins. They appeared to have a solid marriage, but Jake had a long standing pattern of yelling at Joan after he came home frustrated from his factory job as a mid-level foreman. In the past year, he had escalated quickly on several occasions to slapping her when discussing whether he should find a new job. Jane sought counseling after Jake broke a lamp, but he refused to come to sessions with her. She reported a growing sense of despair and anxiety about the situation. She made clear that her desired goal was to transform the marriage by reforming the couples' dynamics, saying she disapproved of Jake's behavior, but she also wanted to remain married as a divorce would violate the sanctity of her marriage. Our discussions about assertive actions she could take to openly insist that Jake change his behavior, however, repeatedly stalled and circled back to her privately analyzing Jake. She ruminated about the causes of his behavior. Rather than fight her resistance to be open about her misery, we explored her spiritual attributions of his conduct. She cautiously and tearfully

revealed that she viewed Jake as being "prideful" and "sinful" for failing to fulfill his designed role as the spiritual leader of the family. She also disclosed that she prayed daily to God to change Jake's heart so he would come into therapy to confess his wrongdoings. Given God's apparent failure to intervene, Joan felt quite frightened that Jake's behavior would spin further out of control. Joan also began to wonder what she had done wrong in God's eyes to deserve Jake's hostility, citing her own failings to be sufficiently patient, loving, and kind. But, in fact, she appeared to relate to Jake in an excessively appeasing manner that reinforced his stance that his verbal outbursts were justifiable and his physical aggression was unfortunate but forgivable. Jane and Jake had one meeting with their pastor in which she alluded to Jake's temper, and Jake vaguely admitted he "sometimes had a tough time with anger." But the pastor did not ask specific questions about Jake's behavior and neither spouse spontaneously revealed the details about his violent behavior. Joan hoped Jake would change after he agreed with the pastor to pray more. But his pattern persisted. Joan then felt disappointed in her pastor for not better assessing or correcting Jake's conduct. All in all, Joan felt that the goal of being the one who proactively transformed the marriage threatened her fundamental spiritual understanding of who should be the primary agent of change when a marriage was not working, and she quietly but deeply resented being forced into the role of taking assertive action to protect herself from harm.

To help Joan overcome passivity, I helped her articulate her most cherished sacred goals about her marriage which included: (1) preserving a lifelong union, (2) living out the virtues taught by her religious tradition to maintain a marriage, and (3) helping her husband be virtuous. Helping Joan explore the sacred goals for her marriage fostered her self-confidence and helped her trust that I would be transparent about my goal, while respecting her goals. I also consistently validated that her husband's unchecked aggression was a growing and serious threat to her top three spiritual strivings, and we worked to increase her insight into her spiritual ambivalence over being assertive. She began to draw on spiritual resources to motivate her to try to protect herself from Jack's aggressive behavior. This included seeking God's support to confront Jack's problems, joining an online Christian chat group who encouraged her to overcome her fear and anger about being an agent of change in a dysfunctional marriage, and enlisting her pastor's approval to be a more assertive wife. Once she fully embraced the goal to proactively transform the marriage, she took vigorous action to pressure Jake to change. He was initially quite defensive and did not agree to work on his aggression until after Jane moved out from their home with their twins. Once she made clear she was willing to file for a divorce, he sought out professional help to pursue the goal to salvage his marriage by gaining control over his aggressive behavior.

Spiritual Struggles and Resources Over Pathways When Coping With Partner Aggression: Illustration With Case Example Even women who are always clear their goal is to transform and not tolerate relationships marked by partner aggression face dilemmas about what pathway to follow when their partner is aggressive: try to reform their romantic relationship, or exit the union and, if the couple has children together, work on being effective co-parents with their ex-partner? Reforming an intact but dysfunctional relationship is always challenging, with a woman asking herself: "Is it worth it to try to fix this relationship?" Commitment to persist in reworking a relationship depends on perceived satisfaction, irretrievable investments, and quality of alternatives (Rhatigan et al. 2006). When it comes to exiting the relationship, research on women coping with relational aggression indicates that two critical questions that women ask themselves are: "Will I be better off (outside of this relationship)?" and "Can I do it (exit successfully)?" (Choice and Lamke 1997), and if children are involved "What is in my child(ren)'s best interest?" As illustrated below, spirituality can intensify struggles over these questions and block progress down either the route of reform or exit. Alternatively, spirituality can offer unique resources to help women persist to traveling down either pathway to reach the goal of not tolerating physical aggression by an intimate partner.

The next case example is also a fictionalized composite of several cases. It illustrates ways spiritual coping can intersect with efforts to reform versus exit a relationship with an aggressive partner. Sue was a 24-year-old woman cohabiting with Rob, the father of their 3-year-old daughter, Beth. The couple met shortly before both graduated from a mid-western Catholic college. They quickly fell in love, conceived Beth unintentionally when dating over the summer, and then moved in together. Sue postponed going to graduate school to become a full-time mother while Rob unhappily settled for an entry-level retail job. Despite their intense sexual attraction, the couple soon discovered they had divergent goals for their lives, with Rob wanting to travel internationally and work abroad and Sue being adamant about staying close to home. They had chronic arguments over when and whether to marry, with frequent angry outbursts. Rob had slapped or hit Sue with his fist on several occasions when she had sworn and yelled at him. After the last violent episode where Sue slapped Rob back for the first time, he moved out of their apartment saying he wanted to separate permanently. Heartbroken and furious, Sue sought out individual counseling.

Sue recognized that her relationship with Rob was harmful to all parties involved and needed radical change, but she faced spiritual struggles over both the pathway of reforming and of exiting their romantic bond. With regard to reforming the union, she felt that God would only forgive her and Rob for an unplanned pregnancy if they married. She also disclosed that she had laid "guilt-trips" on Rob about his failure to keep his "sacred promise" to marry her when they learned about the pregnancy, which escalated their conflicts. After fights, Rob would tearfully confess his regret and ask her forgiveness for his aggression. She then granted him absolution, and the couple would reconcile by making passionate love. We gradually realized that Sue's implicit spiritual belief was that Rob needed her unconditional love to grow into the kind of man "he was meant to be." Regarding whether to exit their romantic bond, Sue was exhausted by the couple's deep incompatibilities and relieved that Rob's

aggression provided a valid reason in the Catholic Church to annul a marriage. She especially felt less guilt-ridden for not pursuing marriage when Rob told her their priest had admonished him for his wrongdoings during a private reconciliation rite. Yet, she struggled with ambivalence about relinquishing marriage and instead focusing on the goal to be effective co-parents. She felt profound guilt of depriving her daughter of an intact and two-income biological family, which violated what she had always viewed as God's hopes for herself and her children. She also resented that Rob would probably more easily pursue his vocational dreams as a single parent than she would.

Working with Sue first involved helping her gain insight in spiritual struggles that were blocking her from effectively either reforming or exiting a romantic relationship with Rob. She decided first to try to change her own behavior toward Rob. She hoped this would trigger major improvements so they both would want and be able to pursue a healthy marriage. She drew on spiritual resources to help her change including praying to God for help to talk calmly with Rob and not use sexuality as a bonding strategy to recover from destructive interactions. She also came to see that while God could function as a source of infinite, unconditional love for herself and Rob, she needed to cease participating in a dynamic where she provoked Rob and, after he acted badly, she felt spiritually superior to him and absolved him of his sins. She was successful in changing her own behavior, which made her feel less guilty and helped her gain perspective on Rob's issues. Sue gradually decided Rob was not a man she would have wanted to marry if she had not become pregnant. She then shifted to trying to exit their romantic relationship in a manner that would maximize their odds of working together as co-parents without verbal or physical aggression being part of the picture. To reach this end, Sue turned to prayer and meditation to help her overcome feelings of guilt, loss, and anger so her emotions would not escalate conflicts with Rob. Fortunately, Rob was able to stop his violent behavior, and the pair was able to work together effectively as co-parents.

Closing

We have offered a heuristic model for mental health professionals to use to address ways spirituality can be part of the problem and the solution for women coping with a relationship marked by situational intimate partner violence that is relatively less severe. We have suggested helping professionals can help women identify spiritual struggles and resources as they work to overcome obstacles to transform the union by one of two pathways: reform the relationship dynamics or exit the union. We have emphasized the need to be respectful but direct in discussing with a woman the spiritual dimensions of her coping with being in a romantic relationship with an aggressive man. In our view, the goal of such dialogues is to increase the women's insight so they are better equipped to take effective actions to ensure their safety and protect themselves. We hope such collaborative discussions empower women to find and maintain loving, long-lasting unions.

Appendix (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1 Guidelines to explore spiritual coping with mild intimate partner aggression. (Adapted from an interview protocol by Holtzworth-Monroe et al. (2010) that is available free of charge in the public domain, and was designed for mediators working with families in court-connected mediation programs)

Explore the frequency and severity of acts of physical aggression by male partner

Ask directly about the man's physical aggression to detoxify the topic. Concrete questions asked in a kind, matter-of-fact manner will elicit more disclosure than vague questions about if she has experienced "abuse." Specific questions for mild physical aggression include: Has your partner thrown something that could hurt you? Has he pushed, grabbed, or shoved you? Has he pulled your hair? Has he slapped or hit you? (http://www.domesticviolenceresearch.org/)

Rule out the risk of serious injury or death to the woman by asking pointed questions about more severe forms of violence (e.g., acts of coercive control, threats or use of severe violence, sexual violence, stalking). See Holtzworth-Munroe et al. (2010) for an interview protocol that is free of charge in the public domain. If the woman is in a crisis situation, take appropriate action to help ensure her safety

Table 4.1 (continued)

Explore the frequency and severity of acts of physical aggression by male partner

Explore the woman's general religious and spiritual identity

Become familiar with the woman's religious/spiritual identity. Opening questions include: (1) I am wondering how important spirituality or religion is to you? (2) Do you happen to attend religious services in a church or another type of religious or spiritual community? (3) Are there certain spiritual or religious beliefs and practices that you find particularly helpful in dealing with difficulties? (4) Has your problem affected your spiritually? (see Hodge 2013)

Clarify the woman's ultimate goal for her romantic relationship and dilemmas that interfere with her taking action to transform the relationship

Find out if the woman's goal is to transform the relation by no longer tolerating physical aggression by her male partner

Make clear your own position on the appropriate goal—in our case, the ultimate goal is zero tolerance of physical aggression

If the woman passively accepts the situation or is ambivalent about change, then explore

Spiritual struggles that contribute to her tolerating physical aggression

Conflicts with God, self, and religious community over relationship goals

Spiritual resources to make her safety her top priority

Support from God, self, and religious community over relationship goals

Explore two alternative pathways she can use to reach the goal of transformation

Reform the relationship

Spiritual struggles that interfere with her pressuring the man to change

Conflicts with God, self, and religious community over change processes

Spiritual resources to empower her to pressure the man to change

Support from God, self, and religious community over change processes

Exit the relationship

Spiritual struggles that interfere with her leaving the man

Conflicts with God, self, and religious community over breakups

Spiritual resources to empower her to leave the man

Support with God, self, and religious community over breakups

References

Abadi, L. (2013). College students' spiritual resources and struggles in coping with current physical and psychological intimate partner aggression. Unpublished master's thesis. Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green Ohio.

Ano, G. A., & Vasconcelles, E. B. (2005). Religious coping and psychological adjustment to stress: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *61*, 1–20.

Choice, P., & Lamke, L.K. (1997). A conceptual approach to understanding abused women's stay/leave decisions. *Journal of Family Issues*, *18*, 290–314.

Ellison, C. G., & Anderson, K. L. (2001). Religious involvement and domestic violence among US couples. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *40*, 269–286.

Ellison, C. G., Bartkowski, J. P., & Anderson, K. L. (1999). Are there religious variations in domestic violence? *Journal of Family Issues*, *20*, 87–113.

Ellison, C. G., Trinitapoli, J. A., Anderson, K. L., & Johnson, B. R. (2007). Race/ethnicity, religious involvement, and domestic violence. *Violence Against Women*, *13*, 1094–1112.

Exline, J. J. (2013). Religious and spiritual struggles. In K. I. Pargament, J. J. Exline & J. W. Jones (Eds.), *APA handbook of psychology, religion, and spirituality* (Vol I, pp. 459–476). Washington, DC. American Psychological Association.

Hall, T. W., & Fujikawa, A. (2013). God images and the Sacred. In K. I. Pargament, J. J. Exline, & J. W. Jones (Eds.), *APA handbook of psychology, religion, and spirituality* (Vol I, pp. 277–292). Washington, DC. American Psychological Association.

Halpern, C., Oslak, S. G., Young, M. L., Martin, S. L., & Kupper, L. L. (2001). Partner violence among adolescents in opposite-sex romantic relationships: Findings from the national longitudinal study of adolescent health. *American Journal of Public Health*, *91*(10), 1679–1685. doi:10.2105/AJPH.91.10.1679.

Hassouneh-Phillips, D. (2001). American Muslim women's experiences of leaving abusive relationships. *Health Care for Women International*, *22*, 415–432.

Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Beck, C.J.A., & Applegate, A.G. (2010). The Mediator's Assessment of Safety Issues and Concerns (MASIC): A screening interview for intimate partner violence and abuse available in the public domain. *Family Court Review*, *48*, 646–662.

Hodge, D. R. (2013). Assessing spirituality and religion in the context of counseling and psychotherapy. In K. Pargament, A. Mahoney, & E. P. Shafranske (Eds.), APA handbook of psychology, religion, and spirituality (Vol. I, pp. 93–124). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Humphrey, J. A., & White J. W. (2000). Women's vulnerability to sexual assault from adolescence to young adulthood. *Journal Adolescent Health*, *27*, 419–424.

Krumrei, E. J., Mahoney, A., & Pargament, K. P. (2008). Turning to God to forgive: More than meets the eye. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, *27*, 302–310.

Lazarus, R.S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer.

Mahoney, A. (2010). Religion in families 1999–2009: A relational spirituality framework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *72*, 805–827.

Mahoney, A. (2013). The spirituality of us: Relational spirituality in the context of family relationships. In K. Pargament, J. J. Exline, & J. Jones (Eds.), *APA handbook of psychology, religion, and spirituality* (Vol. I, pp. 365–389). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Mahoney, A., Pargament, K. I., Swank, A., & Tarakeshwar, N. (2001). Religion in the home in the 1980s and 90 s: A meta-analytic review and conceptual analysis of religion, marriage, and parenting. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *15*, 559–596.

Mahoney, A., Pargament, K. I., & Hernandez, K. M. (2013). Heaven on earth: Beneficial effects of sanctification for individual and interpersonal well-being. In J. Henry (Ed.), *The Oxford book of happiness* (pp. 397–410). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Marler, P. L., & Hadaway, C. K. (2002). "Being religious" or "being spiritual" in America: A zero-sum proposition? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *41*, 289–300.

Miller, W. R., & Rollnick, S. R. (2002). *Motivational interviewing preparing people for change*. (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Murray-Swank, N. A., & Waelde, L. C. (2013). Spirituality, religion, and sexual trauma: Integrating research, theory, and clinical practice. In K. Pargament, A. Mahoney, & E. Shafranske (Eds.), *APA handbook of psychology, religion, and spirituality, Vol. II* (pp. 235–254). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Nash, S.T. (2006). The changing of the Gods: Abused Christian wives and their hermeneutic revision of gender, power, and spousal conduct. *Qualitative Sociology*, *29*, 195–209.

Onedera, J. D. (2008). *The role of religion in marriage and family counseling*. New York: Routledge.

Pargament, K. I., (1997). *The psychology of religion and coping: Theory, research, practice*. New York: Guilford Press.

Pargament, K. I. (2007). *Spiritually integrated psychotherapy: Understanding and addressing the sacred*. New York: Guilford Press.

Pargament, K. I. (2011). Religion and coping: The current state of knowledge. In S. Folkman (Ed.), *Oxford Handbook of stress, health, and coping* (pp. 269–288). New York: Oxford University Press.

Pargament, K. I., & Mahoney, A. (2009). Spirituality: The search for the sacred. In S. J. Lopez (Ed.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 611–620). New York: Oxford University Press.

Pargament, K. I., Mahoney, A., Exline, J. J., Jones, J. W., & Shafranske, E. (2013). Envisioning an integrative paradigm for the psychology of religion and spirituality: An introduction to the APA handbook of psychology, religion and spirituality. In K. I. Pargament, J. J. Exline, & J. W. Jones (Eds.), *APA handbook of psy-*

chology, religion, and spirituality (Vol I, pp. 3–19). Washington DC, American Psychological Association.

Peters, J. (2008). Measuring myths about domestic violence: Development and initial validation of the domestic violence myth acceptance scale. *Journal Of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 16*(1), 1–21. doi:10.1080/10926770801917780.

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. (2008, June). U.S. Religious Landscape Survey: Religious beliefs and practices: Diverse and politically relevant. The Pew Forum Website: http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report2-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf. Accessed 30 Aug 2013.

Rhatigan, D.L., Street, A.E., & Axsom, D.K. (2006). A critical review of theories to explain violence relationship termination: Implications for research and intervention. *Clinical Psychology Review, 26*, 321–345.

Sherkat, D. E. (2002). Sexuality and religious commitment in the United States: An empirical examination. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*, 313–323.

Schneider, R.Z., & Feltey, K.M. (2009). "No matter what had been done wrong can always be redone right": Spirituality in the lives of imprisoned battered women. *Violence Against Women, 15*, 443–459.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000). *Extent, nature, and consequences of intimate partner violence: Research report, Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey* (NCJ 181867). Washington, D.C.: Centers of Disease Control and Prevention.

Wilcox, W. B., & Wolfinger, N. H. (2008). Living and loving "decent": Religion and relationship quality among urban parents. *Social Science Research, 37*, 828–848.

Wolfe, D. A., Scott, K., Reitzel-Jaffe, D., Wekerle, C., Grasley, C., & Straatman, A. L. (2001). Development and validation of the Conflict in Adolescent Dating Relationships Inventory. *Psychological Assessment, 13*, 277–293.

Yick, A.G. (2008). A metasynthesis of qualitative findings on the role of spirituality and religiosity among culturally diverse domestic violence survivors. *Qualitative Health Research, 18*, 1289–1306.

Part II

Working with Individuals within Religious Cultural Communities in the US

"Sexual Savages:" Christian Stereotypes and Violence Against North America's Native Women

5

Alexandra (Sandi) Pierce

In both the USA and Canada, research has found indigenous women to be more frequent victims of physical and sexual violence than women of any other racial or ethnic group (Bachman et al. 2008; Brzozowski et al. 2006; Tjaden and Thoennes 2006). Unlike women of European descent, the violence that permeates the lives of today's Native North American women is not rooted in their traditional religions or cultures. Rather, it is directly linked to the sexualized stereotypes constructed by Christian ministers and colonial leaders during the colonial era (Balzer et al. 1994; Deer 2010; Lynne 1998; Sethi 2007; Smith and Ross 2004; Wolk 1982). Christian dogma in Europe had long emphasized women's inherent inability to resist evil, but Protestant ministers in the British colonies depicted Native women as closely aligned with the devil, sexually depraved, and a threat to Christian society. Those stereotypes remain embedded in the USA and Canadian social attitudes toward Native women, framing them as deserving targets for "disciplinary" violence.[1]

---

[1] When describing the indigenous peoples of Canada, I use the terms First Nations and Native, and when describing the indigenous peoples of the United States, I use the terms American Indian/Alaska Native, and Native. Colo-

---

A. (Sandi) Pierce (✉)
Othayonih Research, St. Paul, MN, USA
e-mail: spierce651@comcast.net

Department of Psychology, Metropolitan State University, St. Paul, MN, USA

Status of Women in British Colonial Societies

To better understand how the high rates of violence against Native women came to be, we must examine the status of women in the North American British colonies and British colonial men's attitudes toward the Native women they encountered. Two major religious groups represented the vast majority of settlers in the first 13 colonies in the USA: Anglicans (the Church of England) and Protestants (primarily Puritans who later evolved to become Congregationalists) (Butler 1990). Both groups associated maleness with civilization, superiority, the enlightened soul, and rationality, while associating femaleness with untamed wilderness, inferiority, vulnerability to the devil's temptations, and emotion. Eve's "female" attributes were viewed as the single cause of humanity's fall from grace (Bonomi 1986; Christ and Plaskow 1979; Franklin 1984). MacLeitch (2011) reported that under British law, a man was entitled to employ physical force to control a disrespectful or otherwise wayward wife. Men's judicious exercise of power was viewed as essential for ensuring orderly households and, by extension, the social and political stability of the community.

The New England colonies, including New Jersey, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were conceived and established as Protestant

---

nial documents typically use the term "Indian," so when referencing these documents, I use that term.

settlements. Even colonies like Virginia, which were launched as primarily commercial ventures, were led by entrepreneurs who considered themselves to be "militant Protestants" (Library of Congress 2010, p. 1). Gender issues were inherently religious issues in colonial Protestant communities, where Christian dogma was interwoven with preserving the patriarchal order (Karlsen 1998). Men were authorized to counter women's innate lack of "the moral compass" through patriarchal domination (Fischer 2002, p. 4).Citing biblical depictions of women as "the weaker vessel," Protestant leaders in England and in the British colonies were quick to quash any indication that a woman might covet power or attempt to gain it, depicting such transgressions as clear evidence of Satan's influence (Fischer 2002; Karlsen 1998).

Females were also the legal property of their fathers and husbands. In her detailed analysis of sex, race, and resistance in colonial North Carolina, Kirsten Fischer (2002) reported an incident in 1697, when a woman colonist in North Carolina was given 30 lashes for violating her husband's property rights by running away. Fischer also found that while biblical scripture and British law prohibited unruly speech in both men and women, women that stepped outside proscribed gender roles experienced special forms of public humiliation. Any that spoke out in public, especially when questioning patriarchal authority, were depicted as "scolds" and a menace to the social order.

Fischer (2002) described two punishments for unruly women: ducking and carting. In ducking, the woman was tied to a board or a chair and then dropped repeatedly in a pond, river, or large barrel of water. Robbed of voice while under water, she was also rendered speechless, while sputtering and gasping for air, each time she surfaced. Carting, which in England had been used specifically to punish women accused of prostitution, was utilized in the British colonies to punish women that committed blasphemy, which included questioning or challenging male authority. According to Fischer, the accused woman was stripped to the waist and carted around town for an hour, then pilloried in the public square for an additional hour. Fischer (2002) argued

that these very public, degrading, isolating, and frightening punishments were a powerful tool of patriarchal authority, serving to remind women of their proper place by emphasizing the difference between the rights of men and the rights of women.

In analyzing colonial documents, Carol Karlsen (1998) found that Puritan clergy played a fundamental role in suppressing women's voices through accusations of witchcraft. Those most frequently accused were independent women involved in petitions and court suits involving property, mistreatment, and divorce. Karlsen noted that testimony describing a woman as angry could be sufficient evidence for Puritan ministers to declare her a witch. Roach (2004) argued that pervasive fear and panic characterized the social, economic, and political environments of Protestant-led British colonies, which contributed to the rigid oppression of women colonists. Norton (2002) argued similarly that the Salem witch trials may have been propelled by social fears from a concurrent Indian war on the nearby Maine/New Hampshire border. Frequent internal factional disputes over church leadership and political authority have also been identified as significant contributors to rigid enforcement of patriarchal authority (Fischer 2002; Plane 2000; Roach 2004).

Within a strict division of gender-based rights and responsibilities, three core ideas of Protestant ideology strongly influenced attitudes toward Native peoples, particularly Native women. The first is predestination, described by sociologist Max Weber (1930) as the most central dogma of seventeenth century Puritan Calvinism. Unlike Anglican and Catholic ideologies' emphasis on the pursuit of salvation and redemption from sin, Calvinist dogma held that it was impossible for humans to gain salvation through their own actions. Rather, God foreordained who would be doomed to everlasting death and who would receive God's irresistible grace as one of his elect (Campbell 2010; Weber 1930).

Second, Calvinist Protestantism held that all human pleasures are profoundly corrupt. Ministers exhorted their congregations to serve God by subduing the irrational influences of the flesh (Reuther 1983). According to Weber (1930), an

ascetic approach to daily life accompanied by thrift and rational thought in worldly matters was considered evidence of true faith, and the accrual of property and other forms of wealth was viewed as proof of God's approval.

Weber (1930) argued that the third core idea of Calvinist Protestantism was the certainty of Satan's constant presence. Historian Frank Luttmer (1999) concurred, arguing that the devil was more present in Christian minds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than at any other point in history. According to Luttmer, ministers depicted Christian life as constant warfare against Satan, in which devout Christians were required to fully recognize their own internal corruption and to maintain constant vigilance against the devil's influence in their own and others' thoughts and actions. Weber (1930) emphasized the importance of the fact that given this belief, church memberships would unavoidably include both doomed and elect, giving ministers justification to administer any discipline necessary to force sinners' adherence to God's commandments. In his treatise, *The Christian Warfare Against the Devil, World, and Flesh* (1633), John Downame, a Puritan minister, warned of sinners whose internal vigilance was lacking:

> …of all others their state is most dangerous, for they are grievously sick, and have no sense of their disease, their wounds are so mortal, that they deprive them of all feeling; they are assaulted yea taken prisoners whilst they sleep soundly in security, and discern not the approach of the enemy… they are most assaulted when they feel no assault. (Downame 1633, Sect. 2, paragraph 2)

Weber (1930) asserted that Protestant dogma also required the faithful to live as if they were among God's chosen elect. Since doubts were considered temptations of the Devil and lack of self-confidence was proof of insufficient faith, Protestant male colonists' "intense worldly activity" served three important purposes: it dispelled sinful doubts, built self-confidence, and resulted in evidence of God's favor (Weber 1930, p. 67). Furthermore, Weber posited, the rigidity of predestination created an inner loneliness and isolation, while the prohibition of human pleasures and constant terror of being lured into sin resulted in hatred and contempt for any person

perceived as "an enemy of God bearing the signs of eternal damnation" (p. 75). Luttmer (1999) concurred, reporting that early Protestant colonists viewed psychological anguish as essential proof that their souls were appropriately engaged in war against the Devil, while considering compassion for a sinner to be the result of the Devil's influence.

In the British colonies, Protestant ministers and leaders promoted stereotypes of Native women that reflected their religious beliefs about their own superiority. In sermons and other writings, church leaders depicted Native peoples as vicious savages allied with the devil, shamelessly wallowing in a state of sin (Fischer 2002). Contrasting dramatically with the heavy woolen clothing of English settlers, Natives' nudity, especially in the women, was deemed proof positive of their alignment with Satan. In 1613, Alexander Whitaker, the minister of the Virginia Colony, wrote:

> They live naked in bodie, as if their shame of their sinne deserved no covering: Their names are as naked as their bodie: they esteeme it a vertue to lie, deceive, and steale as their master the divell teacheth them. (Stannard 1992, p. 211)

Ministers characterized Native-occupied lands as a part of Satan's kingdom that, left in its natural wild state, would remain in Satan's power (Slotkin 1973). As Reuther (1983) noted, "to American Puritans the untamed forests of North America and the Indians that lurked in their shadows represented fallen nature inhabited by the power of darkness" (p. 81). Historian Donald Hopkins (2002) reported that when Puritans first arrived at Plymouth, they found empty Indian villages, skeletons, burial places, and a few survivors, and interpreted this to be God's intervention on their behalf (p. 235). John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, voiced a similar interpretation:

> For the Natives in these parts, Gods hand hath so pursued them, as for 300 miles space, the greatest parte of them swept awaye by the small poxe, which still continues among them: So has God hathe herebye cleered our title to this place. (quoted in Silva 2011, p. 34)

Silva (2011) asserted that religious leaders' persistent of the use term "savage" not only condemned indigenous peoples' beliefs and ways of life, it also relegated them to an uncivilized *state* of wilderness, living as they did on lands absent the trappings of English civilization such as cattle, enclosures, or cultivation. By categorizing native peoples as "savages" living outside civilization, ministers endorsed a legal argument that because Indian lands were "uncivilized," they were unclaimed, which included those used seasonally as gathering, hunting, or fishing grounds. In the Virginia Colony, Governor Winthrop formally decreed that the rights of "more advanced" peoples superseded any property rights of hunter gatherers (Cave 1996).

The notion that Native peoples threatened the future of Christian civilization was strengthened when male and female settlers captured by Indians refused to return to their settlements, preferring the Natives' ways of life over the rigid patriarchal hierarchy that controlled colonial life (Axtell 1975). Based on documented captive accounts, Vaughan and Richter (1980) reported that 30–37 % of approximately 1641 men, women, and children captured in the New England colonies were unwilling to leave their captors when peace treaties afforded the opportunity. Colonial leaders, with the support of Christian ministers, responded with severe sanctions. Stannard (1992) described one such incident in 1612, when a group of young English settlers ran away from the Jamestown settlement to live with the Indians. The governor had every escapee, male and female, hunted down and brutally executed.

Status of Women in Native Societies

Historical records indicate that patriarchal authority was emphatically not part of indigenous Northern American religions or cultures. In stark contrast to the British colonies' social structures, many of the indigenous societies that early settlers encountered were matrilineal and matrifocal, with women wielding considerable influence in political decisions and distribution of resources (Bonvillain 1989; Fischer 2002). Describing Algonquin peoples in Canada's New France colony, Jesuit Father LeJeune wrote:

> The women have great power here. A man may promise you something, and if he does not keep his promise, he thinks he is sufficiently excused when he tells you that his wife did not wish to do it. (Norton and Alexander 1996, p. 21)

Even Native societies that were patrilineal, women seem to have had considerable authority. Though Native women and men often had distinct gendered roles in their communities, gender did not dictate the social value of a particular activity (MacLeitch 2011; Wolk 1982). Rather, the gendering of responsibilities dovetailed with beliefs about men's and women's distinct spiritual powers, which required careful tending to avoid imbalances (Fischer 2002). In her book *Imperial Entanglements*, Gail MacLeitch (2011) described Iroquois families as matrilineal, with women having significant spiritual power due to their status as life givers. As such, they controlled their communities' agriculture and distribution of food. MacLeitch noted that clan mothers wielded significant political influence, too, through the right to select and remove chiefs. Relations between men and women were generally egalitarian, with power diffused throughout the society rather than concentrated in a small number of individuals.

In some indigenous groups, gender roles were even more fluid. While Native men typically held official positions of power in trade, diplomacy, and warfare, women might also occupy these and other "male" roles (Blackwood 1984; Carneiro 2002). In 1676, Quaipan, a Narragansett woman chief, fought as a warrior and was killed by the English; a Pocasset woman chief commanded an army of more than 300 warriors (Grumet 1980). Women occupied warrior roles in other tribes, too, including the Ojibwe, Lakota, Cheyenne, Piegan, Creek, and Cherokee (Jaimes and Halsey 1997; Medicine 1983; Wolk 1982).

Most indigenous societies encountered by colonists and later settlers had stringent prohibitions against mistreatment of women (Bonvillain 1989; Tannahill 1982). Nineteenth century Tuscarora ethnographer J.N.B. Hewitt described Iroquois men's intervention to protect female

colonists being beaten by their husbands, just as they would in their own communities where any man protecting a woman was honored for such action (Mann 2000; Roesch Wagner 1986). Zion and Zion (1993) described traditional Navajo beliefs that recognized men and women as distinct but complementary equals, noting, "Under Navajo common law, violence toward women, or mistreatment of them in any way, is illegal" (p. 413).

Lakota (Sioux) oral history holds that any Lakota man that acted against his family was viewed by the community as lacking the self-discipline, respect, caring, and spiritual understanding to lead his people (Artichoker et al. 2008). He was also not considered competent to take on roles in the men's societies, such as leading or participating in a war party or a hunt (Valencia-Weber and Zuni 1995; White Plume 1991). Men acting violently toward women could also experience severe sanctions:

> …those unable to adhere to customary practices of respectful behavior experienced consequences from kinship networks and social societies with the power to physically punish, shun, banish, or even kill an abuser of women. (Artichoker 2008, p. 2)

Writers of the late 1700s and early 1800s confirmed the refusal of Native men to commit sexual violence against any woman, even in war. Mary Rowlandson, the first woman taken captive by Indians, reported "not one of them ever offered the least abuse or unchastity to me in word or action" (Rowlandson 1682/1974, pp. 108–109). Colonel van Schaik of the Continental Army wrote, "Bad as the savages are, they never violate the chastity of any women, their prisoners" (Johnston 1908, p. 270). Orsamus Turner, a White man born in New York and orphaned at the age of 17, researched and wrote several early histories of Native peoples and pioneer settlement in upstate New York (Koch 2001). Turner (1851) noted in his description of Seneca wars, "…an Iroquois warrior was never known to violate the chastity of a female prisoner" (p. 91).

Some, such as Axtell (1975), have argued that Native men's disinterest in rape may have been due to strong incest taboos, as adoption was a common practice among Eastern tribes. Gutiérrez (1991) described a line drawn between life-taking and life-giving sexual acts, making rape a form of self-contamination. Adair, who lived among the Cherokee and Chickasaw for 30 years, noted similar reasons that Indian raiding parties did not rape female captives: "…they should think such actions defiling, and what must bring fatal consequences on their heads" (Williams 1930, p. 171).

Constructing the "Sexual Savage" Stereotype

While Protestant ministers promoted the notion that Indians' simple existence was a threat to civilized Christian society, Protestant male colonists exhibited a fervent sexual interest in Native women. In their letters, sermons, and journals, colonial males elaborated on the women's sexual attractiveness while also emphasizing their "innate" sexual depravity (Fischer 2002; Smith 2005). In her book *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina*, Kirsten Fischer (2002) described the widely published journal of John Lawson, who was authorized by King William III to survey the coastal and interior regions of the Carolina Colony. According to Fischer, Lawson's journal was considered the authoritative source of information about the true nature of Indians in the 1700s (Fischer 2002). In his journal as it was published online, Lawson depicted indigenous women as exotic, overtly sexual creatures:

> When young, and at Maturity, they are as fine-shap'd Creatures, take them generally, as any in the Universe. They are of a tawny Complexion; their Eyes very brisk and amorous; their Smiles afford the finest Composure a Face can possess; their Hands are of the finest Make, with small long Fingers, and as soft as their Cheeks; and their whole Bodies of a smooth Nature. They are not so uncouth or unlikely, as we suppose them; nor are they Strangers or not Proficients in the soft Passion. (Lawson 1709, p. 183)

Fischer (2002) described the indigenous communities encountered by British colonists as having extensive trade relations with other tribes and with European traders and settlements. She noted that it was not uncommon for the Native

women of these communities to occupy a diplomatic role, which could potentially lead to sexual liaisons. Fischer reported that Native women in these roles enjoyed high status in their communities, recognized as mediators who increased visitors' ability to speak Native languages and understand local customs. In his journal, Lawson (1709) recorded the benefits of these liaisons for British traders, as well as his assumptions about the Native women's motives:

> First, They [traders] being remote from any white People, that it preserves their Friendship with the Heathens, they [Native women] esteeming a white Man's Child much above one of their getting, the Indian Mistress ever securing her white Friend Provisions whilst he stays amongst them. And lastly, This Correspondence makes [traders] learn the Indian Tongue much the sooner. (Lawson 1709, p. 29)

Another excerpt from Lawson's journal further illustrates his inability to comprehend a society in which women enjoyed significant sexual freedom while men were unconcerned about protecting paternal lineage:

> The Girls at 12 or 13 Years of Age, as soon as Nature prompts them, freely bestow their Maidenheads on some Youth about the same Age, continuing her Favours on whom she most affects, changing her Mate very often, few or none of them being constant to one…Multiplicity of Gallants never being a Stain to a Female's Reputation, or the least Hindrance of her Advancement, but the more *Whorish*, the more *Honourable*, and they of all most coveted, by those of the first Rank, to make a Wife of. The *Flos Virginis* [virgin flower], so much coveted by the *Europeans*, is never valued by these Savages. (Lawson 1709, pp. 34–35)

Upon observing Native families' lengthy discussions with a non-Native suitor before permitting a daughter to enter such a liaison, Lawson (1709) indicated his bafflement as to why families left the decision solely to the woman if the suitor was "an Indian of their own Town or Neighborhood, that wants a Mistress," but took charge of such discussions if the man was non-Native (p. 184). In 1775, reflecting upon his 30 years among the Cherokee and Chickasaw, James Adair described similar astonishment in British colonists upon observing Native men's lack of outrage when being "cuckolded" by their wives (Williams 1930, p. 153).

British colonists were also astonished that Native women and men were equally entitled to terminate a marriage, with women usually retaining their homes, the fields they had cultivated, and their children regardless of which partner requested the divorce (Fischer 2002; Plane 1993). As one Native man explained to James Adair in 1775, the ease of divorce among the Choctaw and Cherokee was sensible:

> …marriage should beget job and happiness, instead of pain and misery…[If a couple could not love each other] it was a crime to continue together, and a virtue to part. (Williams 1930, p. 480)

Plane (2000) argued that colonial observers failed to recognize the complexities of Native peoples' marital arrangements, as Algonquin peoples had several distinct types of marriage, each with its own social rules and obligations. Plane argued that, though European cultures actually had several types of marital relationship, there was only one "ideal type" sanctioned by both church and state. Fischer (2002) concurred, writing:

> These outsiders may also have exaggerated the extramarital activity of Indian spouses, either for their sensationalist value, or because they did not recognize Indians' marriages as such. (p. 38)

Native men did not escape being sexually stereotyped. According to Fischer (2002), some British colonists viewed Native men's matter-of-fact acceptance of women's marital and sexual rights as evidence that they were undersexed. In his journal, John Lawson reported: "the Indian men are not so vigorous and impatient in their Love as we are" (1709, p. 186). Similarly, King's Botanist John Bartram described the indigenous men of North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida in 1765 as "gentle, tender, and fondling even to an appearance of effeminacy" (Waselkov and Braund 1995, p. 114). Describing Georges-Louis LeClerc de Buffon as "the world's most respected zoologist and botanist" from 1715 to 1792 (p. 78), Hyde (2002) quoted the scientist's description of the Native men of North America.

> "The savage is feeble and small in his organs of generation; he has neither body hair nor beard, and no ardor for the female of his kind". (p. 341)

The stereotyping of Native women as sexual savages and Native men as sexually inadequate gave

male colonists license to engage in forcible rape without incurring any legal, moral, or spiritual consequences (Fischer 2002; Smith 2005; Smith and Ross 2004). Fischer (2002) argued that these stereotypes of Native men and women also allowed British colonists to view their sexual aggression against Native women as harmless fun:

> …given the presumption of sexually eager and unsatisfied Indian women…in the eyes of many European men, sexual restraint in such circumstances was hardly praiseworthy and may have seemed ludicrous. (p. 68)

Such presumed license is evident in the diary of Colonel William Byrd, a wealthy Virginia planter who led a team to survey the boundary between the Virginia and North Carolina colonies. Fischer (2002) quoted excerpts from Byrd's journal to illustrate his humorous tone when describing sexual assaults against Native women:

> …Some men became "more boisterous, & employ'd force" when they failed to persuade… [one woman] certainly have been ravish't, if her timely consent had not prevented the Violence… [one could see] by some of our Gentlemen's Linnen, discolour'd by the Soil of the Indian Ladys, that they had been convincing themselves in the point of their having no furr. (pp. 68–69)

Sexual victimization of Native women was also common in Canada during the colonial era. In 1769, an officer at York Factory on Hudson's Bay described the sexual exploitation of indigenous women in the men's house at the factory as more extreme and visible than that of women in London's worst brothels (Bourgeault 1989). Fort Langley men's journal entries described enslaved indigenous women being offered to British men at the fur trade forts and elsewhere on the Pacific coast (MacLachlan and Suttles 1999). Other Hudson Bay men described the seizure of indigenous women as payment for a husband's or father's debt by men at other British fur forts in Canada, who then sold the women to men at the fort. If a husband or father attempted to intervene, he was severely beaten and the Canadians also took the family's gun and tent (Brown 1996).

One 1792 journal entry described the kidnapping of Native women at the North West Company's Athabasca Fort and Churchill River Fort in Canada:

> A Canadian that had two [Native] women before, went to their tents and took a young woman away by force, which was the only support of her aged Parents: The old Indian her Father, interfered, he was knocked down and dragged some distance by the hair of his head…all this is encouraged by their [fort] masters, who often stand as Pimps to procure women for their men, all to get the mens [sic] wages from them. (Brown 1996, p. 83)

The continuing role of the "sexual savage" stereotype is seen in military and settler men's violence against Native women as the USA expanded westward. Del Mar (1998) reported a pattern of general physical and sexual assaults against Native women in late 1850s Oregon. He described three White men's undeterred rape of three Native women found walking on the beach, reporting that Native residents at the coastal Siletz Indian agency were reluctant to send their children "especially the older girls" to school because the White staff seemed "only here to gratify their lusts" (p. 28). Roesch Wagner (1986) described the popular media's response when White teachers interviewed in Indian schools at several Indian nations reported that Indian men did not rape women:

> Front page stories admonished big-city dandies to learn a thing or two from Indian men's example, so that white women too could walk around any time of the day or night without fear. (Roesch Wagner 1986, paragraph 10)

While White women may have been safe from Indian men, the reverse was not true. In 1890, an Oregon rancher described "squaw chasing" as still "a popular local pastime," in which ranchers on horseback surrounded Native women in a field as a lead-up to sexual assault (Jensen 2004, p. 184).

In California during the 1848–1851 Gold Rush, California miners' sexual assaults against Native women were commonplace "since White men could not be convicted of rape or any other crime, based on the testimony of an Indian" (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, p. 92). Hurtado (1988) noted that during the 1850s, California newspapers frequently reported rape and sexual enslavement of Native women in mining camps:

> The *Daily Alto California*'s 1858 report of assaults on Trinity County Indians was typical. In the

northern mines, the newspaper declared, there was a class of men who, when they could not 'obtain a squaw by fair means, [would] not hesitate to use foul.' They would 'drag off the squaw' and 'knock down her friends if they interfered. (p. 180)

The 1864 Sand Creek massacre led by Colonel Chivington, a former Methodist minister, is another example. Cheyenne, two-thirds of whom were women and children, were flying a white flag and the US flag given them by military authorities at Fort Lyon as assurance they would be protected. In a report to Congress by the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War (U.S. Senate 1865), witness accounts of the carnage against people known by Fort personnel to be peaceful included:

> "Women and children were killed and scalped, children shot at their mother's breasts, and all the bodies mutilated in the most horrible manner" (pp. 82–83). "I heard one man say that he had cut out a woman's private parts and had them for exhibition on a stick…I also heard of numerous instances in which men had cut out the private parts of females and stretched them over the saddle-bows and wore them over their hats while riding in the ranks". (pp. 89–90)

In 1869, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer invited his officers to "avail themselves of the services of a captured squaw," choosing a captured Cheyenne woman for himself (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, p. 92). In 1871, an armed "citizens group" attacked a group of Apaches camped at Fort Grant without provocation. C. B. Briesly, an Army surgeon, described the aftermath:

> Two of the best-looking of the squaws were lying in such a position, and from the appearance of the genital organs and of their wounds, there can be no doubt that they were first ravished and then shot dead. Nearly all the dead were mutilated. (Jacoby 2008)

The Role of Church/Government Alliances

From the colonial era through the middle of the twentieth century, governmental authorities and Christian churches in the USA and Canada repeatedly joined forces to force the assimilation of American Indian, Alaska Native, and First Nations peoples. These partnerships employed three key strategies, which bear major responsibility for the current high rates of physical and sexual violence within Native communities. They were:

- Prohibiting Native men's spiritual, economic, and social roles, while demanding that Native men assert and enforce patriarchal authority over women and children.
- Prohibiting all sexual, marital, and child-rearing arrangements that reinforced Native women's right to self-determination and supported their safety through a collective network of relationships.
- Severing Native children from their families and communities to prevent transmission of traditional language, culture, and social responsibilities to future generations.

Paula Gunn Allen (1992) argued that the greatest impact of forced assimilation was the destruction of important social positions that Native men held through their ritual and political relationships with women. In the New England colonies, as Puritan settlements evolved toward Congregationalism, the dogma of predestination shifted toward one in which salvation could be earned through good works. Concerned with separating their Indian converts from non-Christian influences, Protestant missionaries established "praying towns" to impart Christian knowledge and reinforce adherence to Christian beliefs (Plane 2000). Morrison (1974) noted that many Natives not necessarily interested in Christian conversion viewed these enclaves as places of refuge from intertribal and Native-colonial wars.

Plane (2000) reported that Protestant authorities governing the praying towns strategically created a separate Indian court system, purportedly to resolve conflicts between Natives. However, the decisions of these courts were subordinated to British authorities that continued to enforce the missionary codes. According to Plane, these courts undermined Native women's traditional status by formally authorizing Native men to exclude them from decisions that affected their marital and sexual autonomy. Native peoples' marital relationships were a primary focus of church-government alliances, as altering

these would change the basic structures of Native societies (Fischer 2002; Norton and Alexander 1996). In 1633, Father LeJeune, a Jesuit missionary in Canada's New France colony, documented his conversation with an Algonquin man whose wife had protested turning their son over to the priest for Christian conversion. LeJeune wrote, "I told him then that he was the master, and that in France women do not rule their husbands" (Society of Jesus et al. 2012, p. 181).

Polygyny, plural marriage, was a common practice as well as economic and social necessity among many Native peoples, including the Algonquin, Comanche, Cheyenne, Dakota, Osage, and Pawnee (Gregg 1844; Moore 1991). Moore (1991) argued that unlike Anglo-Saxon society in which polygyny is sexually motivated on the part of the husband, American Indian women and men both benefited from polygyny. For women, plural marriage involved sharing a household, child care, and all domestic labor with other women who were usually their sisters. Native men gained a larger household, more children, and more resources.

Protestant missionaries perceived these "exotic conjugal practices" to be major barriers to Christian conversion (Plane 2000). In his account of Presbyterian missionaries assigned to work with the Nez Pierce and Choctaw peoples, Coleman (1985) described their frustration with "the deficient Indian" who had no understanding of the sacred ideal of "a Christian home," preferring "impermanent relationships and plural marriages" (p. 92). According to Coleman, these missionaries' definition of a civilized Christian home was:

> …comprised of an economically independent father, the support and head of the family; a pious and home-keeping mother; obedient and disciplined children; the unit itself sanctified by the rite of Christian marriage and living in its how tidy house…this self-sufficient unit, and not the larger kinship network, was the building block of Christian civilization. (p. 92)

The establishment of Indian reservations in the USA and Indian reserves in Canada further disrupted the gendered balance of power typical of most Native societies. In 1783, the Iroquois were forced onto small reservations and not permitted

to leave (Boyer et al. 2011). Iroquois men could no longer fulfill their traditional roles as diplomats, traders, trappers, and warriors, nor could they engage in mourning wars, taking captives to be adopted in place of a lost loved one (Boyer et al. 2011). According to Salmon (2000), Iroquois men viewed the acceptance of peace and confinement to a reservation as acknowledgment that they were unable to defend their families, which created great shame and desperation among male warriors and political and religious leaders. Salmon added, "Among Indian men, unrestricted drinking led to thefts, fights, and wife and child abuse" (p. 171).

Lauren Wolk (1982) reported similar experiences among the Ojibwe in Minnesota. Ojibwe women traditionally farmed and gathered food while raising the children, as Ojibwe men contributed by hunting, trapping, and trading furs. Confined to reservations, Ojibwe men were systematically stripped of their weapons and their roles as providers and spiritual leaders, leaving Ojibwe women with total responsibility for sustaining the family. Wolk (1982) argued:

> The disruption of economic balance, plus the different values that White society placed on male and female contributions and their roles in general, collectively laid the basis for inequality and lack of respect between men and women. (p. 47)

In 1869, the US Congress approved President Grant's Peace Policy, which had five major provisions: (1) to place all American Indians in the USA on reservations; (2) to use military force, if necessary, to achieve placement of Natives on reservations and ensure that they stayed there; (3) to furnish supplies for reservation Indians at fair prices; (4) to appoint "competent, upright, moral, and religious" agents to oversee reservation life; and (5) to establish regular and Sunday schools so that Natives could be citizens (Indigenous Peoples Issues & Resources 2013; Trafzer 2009; Tyler 1973). Wyandot historian Clifford Trafzer (2009) commented, "Ironically, the Peace Policy produced some of the worst massacres and injustices against Native people" (p. 103).

Implementing the Peace Policy, the US Army drove the Plains tribes onto reservations under

dual governance: a missionary charged with converting the Indians to Christianity by whatever means necessary, and an Indian agent selected by the designated church authority who directly controlled the distribution of food rations and other essential goods (O'Brien 1989). Though no clear federal order was ever issued, Army officers also encouraged trappers and hunters to kill Plains tribes' primary food source, buffalo, by providing them with as much free ammunition as they wanted. One of these men, Frank Mayer described his experiences in his journal, which was published in 1958:

> One afternoon I was visiting this [Army officer] in his quarters… He said to me: 'Mayer, there's no two ways about it: either the buffalo or the Indian must go. Only when the Indian becomes absolutely dependent on us for his every need, will we be able to handle him. (Mayer 1958, pp. 29–30)

In 1872, 73 Indian reservations were allotted to Christian churches as their exclusive religious domains. Of these, 50 (68%) were Protestant denominations (Prucha 1986). Roman Catholics, assigned only seven reservations, protested vehemently (Prucha 1986; Rahill 1953). Catholic University historian Peter Rahill (1953) reported the Catholic Church's response, which was to demand assignment to all reservations on which Catholic priests had already converted Indians. This included reservations in Minnesota, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, and New Mexico territories. According to Rahill, the Catholics were especially outraged at their lack of representation in Washington D.C., where an all-Protestant Board of Indian Commissioners was given full authority in determining such assignments. The conflict peaked in 1873 when a Catholic missionary held mass for Nez Percé members, though he had been denied permission to do so and the reservation was supervised by the Presbyterian Church (Rahill 1953). The same year, James Willem, the Indian agent on the Yakima reservation assigned to the Methodist Church in Washington Territory, complained to Indian Affairs Commissioner Smith that all of the Protestant churches had expected sole jurisdiction over the reservations to which they were assigned, "most of all without

the interference of the Catholic priesthood" (quoted in Rahill 1953, p. 114).

By 1880, most American Indians were confined to reservations and caught in the religious crossfire. As Prucha (1986) observed,

> What was more serious was the complete disregard for the religious views and the religious rights of the Indians themselves. Quakers, Methodists, Episcopalians, and all the other Protestants, fighting for the religious liberty of their own groups on the reservations, made no move to grant so much as a hearing to the Indian religions. (p. 524)

The Christian missionaries assigned to reservations also arrived with their own set of assumptions about their authority and about the people over whom they would wield it. A 1919 tribute to Episcopal Bishop Hare included this description of his first arrival at Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota:

> About the slight form of the young bishop a group of scowling, painted savages, squatting upon the ground; their hands still red with the blood of soldiers and settlers, their hearts seething with rebellion and revolt. They had made their last stand against the encroaching white man; they had fought their last fight and had failed. Driven in from every side, they were ringed about with soldiers' bayonets and held in check by superior force. Scarcely one among them professed Christianity and the majority hated the white man's religion as wholeheartedly as they hated everything else which reminded them of those whom they counted their persecutors. Here was a tremendous and threatening problem, a sinister obstacle in the path of civilization and progress. (McClure 1919, p. 15)

In 1883, the federal Indian Affairs Commission implemented a new *Code of Indian Offenses*, a set of rules designed to force Natives on reservations to adopt Christian beliefs and patriarchal family structures. The *Code* was to be implemented by Indian police and three-member Courts of Indian Offenses, all of whom were to be selected by the Indian agent chosen by the Christian church assigned to the reservation (Department of the Interior 1883).

The Native men chosen for these positions of authority had no real power, but displaced traditional peacekeeping roles as chiefs and in men's societies responsible for preserving peaceful community relations (O'Brien 1989). Much like

Protestant ministers' authority over earlier Indian courts in colonial "praying towns," the *Code* authorized the Indian agent to present issues for the Court's consideration, to compel witnesses' attendance, and to enforce all orders passed by a majority of the court. Furthermore, the Indian agent and the federal Indian Office wielded final authority over these Courts' orders, decrees, and judgments (Department of the Interior 1883).

Two "Indian offenses" defined in the *Code* went to the heart of Native men's traditional religious roles. Rule 4 made participation in the sun dance or any other religious dance, feast, or ceremony illegal and punishable by withholding of rations for up to 10 days. If the offense was repeated, rations were withheld for 15–30 days, or by imprisonment for up to 30 days. Practicing as a "medicine man" was prohibited in Rule 6, punishable by at least 10 days' imprisonment, which continued indefinitely until the Indian court and the agent were convinced the man would not re-offend. The vague language of Rule 6 permitted charging any Native man resisting assimilation with this crime:

> …[Whenever] the influence of a so-called 'medicine man' operates as a hindrance to civilization of a tribe, or that said 'medicine man' resorts to any artifice or device to keep the Indians under the influence, or shall adopt any means to prevent the attendance of children at the agency schools, or shall use any of the arts of the conjurer to prevent the Indians from abandoning their heathenish rites and customs, he shall be adjudged guilty of an "Indian offense". (Department of the Interior 1883, p. 4)

Rules 5 and 8 of the 1883 *Code of Indian Offenses* criminalized Native peoples' traditional marital arrangements. Rule number 5 prohibited Indian men from entering a plural marriage, a crime punishable by a fine of not less than 20 dollars (approximately $ 400 in 2013 dollars) or work at hard labor for a period of 20 days, or both. Rations were to be withheld as long as he "continued in this unlawful relation." Rule 8 prohibited an Indian or mixed-blood man from offering or giving anything of value to relatives of an Indian woman in order to live or cohabit with her (which in traditional life would constitute a marriage). If convicted of violating Rule 8, rations could be withheld from the man attempting plural marriage and any person accepting this gift for a period determined by the Indian agent, or they could be imprisoned for up to 60 days (Department of the Interior 1883).

As of 1907, new rules had been imposed that further fractured the extensive network of clan relationships that were the core of Native community life. Indian agents were ordered to prohibit visits to other reservations and to require Native peoples to stay within their reservation boundaries, advising them that entering the public domain was trespassing, a punishable crime. Exceptions for "a few Indians, who have by meritorious conduct and attention to labor earned the extension of certain privileges" might be granted, but the visit must be short and not interfere with the petitioner's work on the reservation (U.S. Senate 1907, p. 122).

Required to accept the patriarchal rule of husbands and reservation authorities and isolated from their extended families on other reservations, Native women lost their cultural and social protections against domestic violence. Jaimes and Halsey (1997) described the shift in Native men's behavior when confined under the authority of Indian agents and Christian missionaries:

> …the situation breeds frustration and rage of the most volatile sort, especially among native males, who have been at once heaped with a range of responsibilities utterly alien to their tradition—'head of the household,' 'sole "breadwinner,' and so forth—while being structurally denied any viable opportunity to act upon them…this has led to a perpetual spiral of internalized violence in which Indian men…turn their angry attentions on their wives and children. (p. 311)

In Canada, violence against Native women also increased as Native men converted to Christianity. A Jesuit missionary in early New France described an incident in women of a visiting Native band described Algonquin male converts' threatening behavior:

> [The men told us] 'It is you who keep the demons among us. You do not urge to be baptized; you must not be satisfied to ask this favor only once from the Fathers, you must importune them. You are lazy about going to prayers; when you pass before the cross, you never salute it; and you wish to be independent. Now know that you will obey your husbands…and if any fail to do so, we have concluded to give [you] nothing to eat. (Society of Jesus et al. 2012, pp. 106–107)

The priest reported that when one woman fled into the woods, military officers asked her husband's permission to chain her by one foot if they were able to capture her, and to withhold her food and water for 4 days as a penance. The husband agreed (Society of Jesus et al. 2012). In his memoir, US Army Colonel Richard Dodge (1883) described Cheyenne and Arapaho women's reduced safety once confined to reservations:

> …the diminution of the power of the chiefs, and the failure of the United States Government to furnish any adequate substitute, work greatly to the injury and demoralization of the women. Under the tribal government a man who outraged a girl was obliged to pay for and take her to wife, under penalty of death. Now there is no punishment. (p. 203).

The third and perhaps most devastating church-government alliance was the government-mandated removal of Native children to attend Christian boarding schools. The Canadian and US governments both recognized that assimilating Native children by isolating them from their families and communities was less expensive than an ongoing series of Indian wars, and could potentially open lands for settlement (Adams 1995). Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller remarked that a 10-year Indian war would cost $ 22 million, but isolating and educating 30,000 Native children for a year would cost less than one-fourth of that amount (Pratt 1973).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Native women were characterized as "the bad mother, uncivilized and uncivilizing," validating the argument that Native women's motherhood "must give way to the civilizing environment of the industrial or residential school and, later, the foster or adoptive home" (MacGillivray and Comaskey 1999, p. 31). In 1847, the Department of the Interior Commissioner William Medill described Christian churches as his department's "most efficient and faithful auxiliaries" (Fritz 1960, p. 415). Historian Henry Fritz (1960) reported that by 1825, Christian denominations already operated 38 Indian schools east of the Mississippi River and in Arkansas and Missouri, and in 1865, the US government expanded federal aid to missionary schools. As part of Grant's 1869 Peace Policy, Congress set aside additional funds for churches to build and operate mission boarding and day schools on their assigned reservations, again allowing Protestant churches to wield significant authority (Fritz 1960; Keller 1983). A report to Congress (Joint Committee on Printing 1909) described 1908 Indian education activities. It indicated that in 1882, 3077 American Indian children attended 71 boarding schools nationwide (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada n.d.b). In 1908, 30,639 Native children attended some type of Indian school, 21,725 (73 %) of whom were in 170 government-funded Christian boarding schools. The Congressional appropriations reported for Indian education reflected similar increases. In 1882, federal appropriations for Indian education were $ 135,000; in 1908, they were more than $ 4 million (Secretary of the Interior 1908, p. 53–56). According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (n.d.b), 150,000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children were placed in more than 130 residential Indian boarding schools operated by Anglican, Catholic, and Methodist churches.

Initially, Native families in the USA were encouraged to send their children to residential Indian boarding schools (Adams 1995). As of 1907, Congress authorized Indian agents to impose severe sanctions on Indian parents and guardians who failed to send their children to Indian schools, or keep their children in these schools. Indian agents could withhold of food rations, clothing, and other annuities from noncompliant families, at their own discretion. Children that ran away from school were to be arrested, and any persons interfering with their return to school were to be arrested and punished (U.S. Senate 1907). Church officials, missionaries, and local authorities took Native children as young as 5 years of age from their parents and guardians, and shipped them by train to the schools (Smith 2007).

The first and best known off-reservation Indian schools in the USA were industrial boarding schools designed and operated by ex-Army officers to teach Native boys agricultural and mechanical arts (Fritz 1960). The first, Virginia's Hampton Normal and Industrial School, was a manual labor boarding school originally founded in 1868 by US Army General Samuel Chapman

Armstrong to educate freedmen (former slaves). According to Linsey (1995), Armstrong was familiar with a popular notion among Virginia's elites that they were somehow related to Pocahontas, and saw opportunities for financial and political support by both northern and southern philanthropists if he began educating Natives as well.

In 1879, Colonel Richard Pratt opened Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, the first government-funded residential school designed specifically for the assimilation of American Indian girls as well as boys. Initially housed in an abandoned Army barracks, Carlisle became the dominant model for Indian education. Approximately 12,000 American Indian children attended Carlisle in the 39 years the school was in operation (Anderson 2000).

The stated purpose of these schools was to eradicate Native children's ties to their families, culture, language, and religion, replacing them with values and behaviors of the dominant Christian society (Hoxie 1989). In an address to a convention of Baptist ministers in 1883, Pratt remarked: "In Indian civilization I am a Baptist, because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and…holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked" (Landis 1996a). In Canada, the announced intent was quite similar:

> The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would otherwise be subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up. It brings him into contact from day to day with all that tends to effect a change in his views and habits of life. By precept and example he is taught to endeavour to excel in what will be most useful to him. (Dominion of Canada 1899, p. ix)

Children were forbidden to speak their Native languages, even in private, given new "Christian" names or numbers rather than names, required to attend Christian religious services, and harshly disciplined for infractions (Landis 1996a; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012). Carlisle historian Barbara Landis (1996a) described daily life at Carlisle as modeled after military life, with days split evenly between academics and employment training. Boys were required to wear uniforms while laboring in carpentry, tin smithing, blacksmithing, and the school's printing operation. Girls dressed in Victorian-style dresses while performing the school's cooking, sewing, laundry, ironing, baking, and other domestic duties. Former student Janice Acoose described a similar daily routine in her Canadian boarding school during the 1950s:

> …early rise, prayers, shower and dress, meals premised by prayers, school premised by more prayers, rigidly programmed exercise time, catechism instruction and bedtime, which was premised by excruciatingly painful periods of time spent on our knees in prayer circles. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012, p. 26)

As Andrea Smith (2005) pointed out in her book *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, the abuse of Native children in Canadian and US Indian boarding schools violated international human rights laws on genocide, including the United Nations (1951) *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. At Carlisle, students were organized into gendered companies headed by school-designated officers, who marched the children to and from classes and to the dining hall for meals. They were usually not permitted to return home during the summer months, and were instead "placed out" by the school with the families of Christian farmers, businessmen, and craftsmen, usually as servants or farm labor (Landis 1996a).

In other boarding schools, children were also required to perform work that supported and/or funded the schools' operation, at times in violation of child labor laws (Institute for Government Research 1928; Landis 1996a). Milloy (1999) described Canada's schools as no more than workhouses, with very little time spent on educational instruction. A map of Carlisle Indian School created by Jacqueline Fear-Segal (n.d.) identifies the site of the school's hospital and doctor's quarters, with a note that Indian girls trained and worked there as nurses. Fear-Segal's map notes also indicate that from 1891 to 1912, students built the school's staff housing, the administration building, a model home, the laundry, and the warehouse. At other schools, while some older Native female students might learn nursing or office work skills, most received only basic education (Almeida 1997; Marr 2004).

The learning and social environment of the Indian boarding schools was permeated with constant references to students' families, portraying them as doomed by ignorance to live in conditions of savagery, filth, and disease (Adams 1995). An example can be seen in a serialized story by Carlisle's White matron, Marian Burgess. Published in the student newsletter *The Indian Helper* from October 18 to December 20, 1889, transcribed by Carlisle historian Barbara Landis (1996b), and quoted here with permission, the story is titled "How an Indian Girl Might Tell Her Own Story If She Had the Chance."

Burgess's story describes the return home of a fictional Carlisle girl (Mollie) after graduation, and her dramatic resistance to efforts by her family and the leader of her pueblo community (the Governor) to force her return to "Indian ways." While purchasing a bed, table of chairs, washtub, and iron to introduce her mother to cleanliness, Mollie announces to the White storekeeper that she is determined to retain her Christian faith and the civilized way of life that she learned at Carlisle. When Mollie repeatedly refuses to don Indian dress to attend a dance ordered by the Governor, he has Mollie and her parents stripped naked, bound and dragged through the village, whipped, and pushed into a damp, dark hole. Mollie dares her jailer to beat her again, declaring that right made her strong. Beaten to unconsciousness a second time, Mollie describes her father's response when she awakens:

> …with proud gaze he said: 'My daughter, you are a wonderful girl. You are a brave girl. It made me strong when I was being whipped by that dog to see you so heroically stand the dreaded blows upon *your* back. I believe now more than ever that you are right. I believe you have with you the white man's God. I intend more than ever to follow you. I am your father and should be able to lead you, but the old way is not good. I don't know the white man's way. Can I learn it? I *will* learn it. THEY can't make me do what you don't want me to. [emphasis in the original] (Landis 1996b, transcription of the *Indian Helper*, November 22, 1889)

Carlisle matron Burgess included these additional cautionary comments at the end of the final installment, which further illustrate the school's constant message to female students:

> We trust that those of our girls who read the story will take courage from Mollie's experience, and see that there is really only one way to do, and that is, to brave and conquer the trials as they come. It is a cruel system that throws a young school girl, unprotected, back into a nest of vileness, to be governed by the superstitions and outrageous customs of by-gone ages. (Landis 1996b, transcription of the *Indian Helper*, December 20, 1899)

Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Bonnin), a Lakota former Carlisle student and teacher, was one of Carlisle's harshest critics. Having graduated from Earlham College in Indiana and become a political activist, Zitkala-Sa voiced her strong disapproval of the Christian evangelizing the school imposed on its students. She also protested the military discipline and lack of access to higher education, asserting that Indian students should receive more than vocational training that limited their future opportunities (Yu 2009). Milloy (1999) argued that girls attending Indian boarding schools were educated to be "civilizing mothers," which required that they first be "civilizing wives" as advanced in civilization as the Indian male graduates of the schools (p. 41).

In her book on the Chilocco boarding school, Hopi scholar K. Tsianina-Lomawaima (1994) argued that the true goal of Native girls' training was to inculcate subservience and acceptance of the "proper place" assigned them by white society, while eliminating the agrarian roles of Native women and ties to their land (p. 86). Tsianina-Lomawaima noted that this focus deliberately promoted the goals of the Allotment Act, which forced American Indians onto small homesteads to free up previously communal land for White settlement. Andrea Smith (2004), concurred, arguing that the primary role of Indian girls' education was:

> … to inculcate patriarchal norms and desires into Native communities, so women would lose their places of leadership in Native communities. (par. 7)

Children frequently died from malnutrition, absence of medical care, unsanitary and overcrowded living conditions, and infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, measles, and influenza (Adams 1995; Fournier and Crey 1997; Hyer 1990; Smith 2004; Tsianina-Lomawaima 1994; Waldram

et al. 2006). Trachoma, a primary cause of blindness, was epidemic. After examining more than 16,000 students at 133 Indian boarding schools, US Health Service Surgeon J.W. Schereschewsky (1913) reported the average the rate as 29.86%, with over half of the schools having rates greater than 30%. In two schools, the infection rate was over 90%, and in 10 others, it ranged from 70 to 90% of students.

Dr. Peter Bryce (1907), Canada's Chief Medical Officer for Indian Affairs, reported on health conditions at Canada's prairie boarding schools. He found that of the 1537 Native children admitted to 15 schools between 1888 and 1905, nearly 25% were dead; and at one school "with absolutely accurate records," 69% of students had died, almost always of tuberculosis (1907, p. 18). More recently, Perkel (2013) reported that the Missing Children Project has confirmed that at least 3000 First Nations children died while attending Canadian residential schools, and that the research team believes the number could rise after examination of additional documents in government archives. The 1918–1919 influenza epidemic hit Indian boarding schools particularly hard, largely due to the conditions in which the children lived. In a letter to the parents of a deceased student, the superintendent of the Indian boarding school at Washington's Yakima agency expressed his regret that he could not tell them more about their daughter's death, explaining that he had 150 cases at once (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1918). At Haskell boarding school in Kansas, 300 Indian students died of the flu (Child 1999). After five students died of influenza in a 2-day period in 1918, the principal of the Industrial School at Red Deer, Alberta wrote to the Secretary of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

> For sickness, conditions at this school at this school are nothing less than criminal. We have no isolation ward and no hospital equipment of any kind. The dead, the dying, the sick, and the convalescing were all together. (quoted in Lux 1992, pp. 25–26)

Even more traumatic than institutional confinement, forced assimilation, and high death rates, Native children were often exposed to sexual, physical, and emotional abuse by church and lay personnel (Gonzales 1999; Smith 2004;

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012). Though official policy prohibited cruel or unusual punishment of children, former students described withholding of meals and severe beatings with buggy whips, harness straps, belts, and sticks (Adams 1995). They were also forced to administer assaults on other children (LaPointe 1987; Northrup 1993). In some schools, a "climate of abuse" developed, in which young boys were beaten and even raped by older boys (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012, p. 44).

Ray (2013) published a series of letters from South Dakota's St. Francis Mission School documenting a certain priest's sexual abuse of children and the school's failure to end it. In 1968, an administrator referred to the priest's drinking problem and his tendency to molest the little girls in a letter to a colleague. The administrator reported that he chose to talk with the priest rather than referring him to a psychiatrist because the priest was already fearful of even seeing a medical doctor. In a second letter the same year, the administrator remarked that he was still having the same trouble with the priest. A 1971 letter from the school's Superior mentioned a recurrence of the priest's problematic behavior but did not elaborate. The first administrator's letter from 1973 praised the priest's work but noted that he still was engaging in sexual activities with little girls and that administrator tried to be present whenever little girls were around.

In 2001, the Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada published testimony by former boarding school students, who reported witnessing the deliberate starvation, strangling, and beating deaths of other children by Protestant and Catholic school personnel in at least eight schools. They reported Native girls impregnated by priests were forced to drink Epsom salts and die as a result, and others were forced to undergo abortions or be sterilized. In its report, the Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada (2001) cited tortures to which scores of survivors had testified under oath:

> tightening fish twine and wire around boys' penises; sticking needles into children's hands, cheeks, tongues, ears, and penises; holding children

over open graves and threatening them with being buried alive; forcing them to eat maggot-filled food; stripping them naked in front of the assembled school and verbally and sexually degrading them; daily beatings without warning using whips, sticks, horse harnesses, and iron pipes; confining them for days in unventilated closets without food or water; and applying electric shocks to their heads, genitals, and limbs. (p. 36)

The Contributing Role of Popular Media

In nineteenth century works framed as nonfiction, "Indian experts" described the savagery of Indian women. Daniel G. Burnet, who became the first president of the Republic of Texas, published a number of articles and letters on the subject. This excerpt is from a book chapter published under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

> The [Indian] women…are decidedly more ferocious and cruel to prisoners than the men…These fiends stake out the unhappy victim by day, that is, fasten him on his back to the ground, with his limbs distended by cords and stakes. At evening, he is released and taken to the dance, where he is placed in the centre of a living circle, formed by the dense mass of his tormentors, and made to dance and sing, while the furies of the inner line beat him with sticks and thongs of raw-hide, with great diligence and glee. (Burnet 1851)

Historian Francis Parkman (1865) reported that Huron women far exceeded the men in vindictiveness, ferocity, and cruelty, and in a widely published 1883 memoir, US Army Colonel Richard Dodge (1883) offered a similar description:

> In extravagance of delight in the anticipation of a scene of torture, for hellish ingenuity in devising, and remorseless cruelty in inflicting pain, the Indian woman far exceeds her husband and son… when a dead body is found specially mutilated, the head beaten, battered, and crushed out of shape by stones, it is squaw work. (p. 534).

After publishing a positive account of Indian peoples in 1913, William Thornton Parker, a Surgeon of the Indian Service from 1867 to 1885, published a second book emphasizing their savagery in 1918. In it, Parker noted, "On the frontier in Indian wars, the torture of prisoners is often carried out by Indian squaws" (1918, p. 18).

In early fiction literature, Native women were characterized as tragically romantic figures, most often cautionary tales involving racial intermarriage. The first dime novel published in the USA was *Malaeska: The Indian Wife of the White Hunter* in 1860. In the novel, Malaeska, the daughter of a Mohawk chief, marries a White man. Fighting on opposite sides of a war, her husband and her father are both killed, and her husband's parents take her son as their own. Powerless, Malaeska agrees to work as a servant in their home rather than lose her son completely, but eventually attempts to escape with him. He is ripped from her arms and sent to school in France. When he returns home, after learning that Malaeska is his mother, he dramatically leaps off a cliff and Malaeska dies of grief (Frey 2001).

A second and larger genre focused on the extreme barbarity and deceitfulness of Indian women. Sonnichsen (1978) described this genre as "Western horror," particularly novels depicting Apaches as the most cruel, vicious, and merciless of all Indians, and Apache women as enthusiastic torturers. As Maria Mies (1998) commented, "All 'natives' were 'savages,' wild nature, but the most savage of all were the 'native' women" (p. 100). In the late 1880s and 1890s, a subgenre of Western novels graphically described White settler women's helpless vulnerability to the unthinkable savagery of Native men. Casting Native women as "the complete opposite of white women," authors provided dramatic descriptions of the Native women's "violent and brutal acts against white soldiers" (Carter 1997, p. xvi).

The progressive damnation of Native women in popular literature affected not only the general public's attitudes toward them, but also affected the positions taken by prominent leaders in education and policy. Herbert Spencer (1896), a high-ranking political theorist and leader of the eugenics movement in Europe and the USA, drew upon such stories to illustrate the evolutionary inferiority of the Dakota and Comanche. In 1909, during a Congressional debate over appropriate punishment for men that committed rapes against Native women, US Representative Norris argued:

> …the morals of Indian women are not always as high as those of a white woman and consequently the punishment should be lighter. (Congressional Record 2596, cited in Deer 2004)

Popular art in calendars, magazines, and other print media also contributed to the notion of Native women as "sexual savages." Examples can be seen in the early pin-up art of B. Atkinson Fox. From the early 1920s through the 1930s, Fox specialized in Brown & Bigelow calendars showing young Native women wearing minimal buckskin clothing that left shoulders, thighs, and sometimes midriffs bare. Always in wilderness settings and often by water, the women most often appeared isolated, unaware of potential danger, and vulnerable, much like wild game seen through a hunter's rifle scope. One titled "Pride of the Blueridge," showed a young Native woman holding a blanket to her breast as she exited a river, challenging her hunter (the observer) by laughing shamelessly while looking directly at him.

In 2011, *Indian Country Today*, the largest American Indian newspaper in the USA, published an article criticizing the sexual stereotyping of Native women as a form of "entertainment." The article featured dozens of photos of 1950s strippers and burlesque performers, actresses from the 1930s to the 1950s, and pin-up art by Al Moore, Gil Elvgren, George Petty, and Peter Darro, featuring "Indian" women in progressively skimpier costumes and increasingly seductive poses (ICTMN Staff 2011).

Indigenous scholar Emma LaRoque (1990; 1994) argued that literature and popular culture played central roles in perpetuating stereotypes that contribute to the victimization of Native women by both Native and non-Native men. In her written testimony to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry hearings, LaRoque noted:

> The portrayal of the squaw is one of the most degraded, most despised and most dehumanized anywhere in the world. The 'squaw' is the female counterpart to the Indian male 'savage' and as such she has no human face; she is lustful, immoral, unfeeling and dirty. Such grotesque dehumanization has rendered all Native women and girls vulnerable to gross physical, psychological and sexual violence. (LaRoque 1990, paragraph 2 of "The changing image of Aboriginal women")

Rayna Green (1975) argued that the combined princess/squaw stereotypes of Native women may appear to reflect the virgin/whore dichotomy so evident in European history, but the historical framing of the squaw as vicious and disposable serves to neutralize the innocent princess facet. In an online article, *Media Smarts*, Canada's Centre for Media and Digital Literacy (Media Smarts 2011) argued that images of Native women characterized them as women "who cannot be tamed and must therefore be degraded and eventually conquered." Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, former director of research for Canada's Aboriginal Healing Foundation, described these as representations of an "exotic, beautiful, and dangerous New World" (Media Smarts 2011). On the other hand, Sands (1992) noted that the woman was seen as a "breeder" in her relation to Indian men, but in relation to colonizing males she was "either a primitive sexual object or dusky virgin "royalty"…[who] is easily abandoned because she has no distinct personal identity" (p. 268).

Sands (1992) described the effect of visual images depicting Native women as simultaneously sexually available, exotic, and untamed as "chilling in their genocidal potential" (p. 217). A 1982 pornographic video game titled "Custer's Revenge" released for the Atari 2600 is a case in point. According to Project Coe (2011), "the game is widely regarded as one of the most racist games ever developed." Though it was pulled off the market after significant protest and several lawsuits, the company still sold approximately 80,000 copies. The main character of the game is "Custer," a naked, sexually erect man in a military hat. The goal of the game is for Custer to exact revenge on the Indians for killing him and his men by repeatedly raping an Indian woman tied to a cactus. The Coe Project noted,

> Racist, misogynistic elements aside, the game itself is simple: dodge, rape, repeat. The game gets more challenging each time you rape the Indian woman, and you will need to rape her many times indeed in order to achieve a high score (2011, paragraph 7).

The perpetuation of the "sexual savage" stereotype continues in recent news stories that depict Native women victims as less valuable and potentially responsible for their own victimization.

Newspaper stories about Canadian women murdered and reported missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) consistently characterized them as mostly First Nations drug-addicted prostitutes, even though many were non-Native (Jiwani 2009; Jiwani and Young 2006). In a study comparing news coverage of three White and three Native DTES victims, none of which had any history of involvement in drugs or the sex trade, Gilchrist (2010) found that the White victims were featured six times as often as the Native victims. Furthermore, White victims' stories were four times longer than those of Native victims, included praiseworthy details about their personal lives, and were usually accompanied by a large picture on the front page. In contrast, the First Nations women's stories were in later sections of the newspaper, had headlines much less likely to provoke a sympathetic emotional response, and mentioned only generic positives, such as "she was nice" (Gilchrist 2010). Jiwani (2009) found that victim-blaming was especially evident in Canadian news stories about White men's violence against Native women. Male offenders were typically identified and described with respect to their individual backgrounds and actions, but the Native victims were constantly described as drug-addicted sex workers (pp. 8–9).

Jiwani (2009) argued that the media's emphasis on victims' First Nations status not only made them appear responsible for their victimization, but prevented public recognition that their murders were related to historical patterns of sexual violence imbedded in the colonization process. Adriana Rolston (2010) described the media's similar disinterest in cases of missing/murdered Native women along Canada's Northern highways until Nicole Hoar, a White woman, disappeared in 2002:

> The first time papers like *The Globe and Mail*, the *Edmonton Journal* and *The Vancouver Sun* really covered the Highway of Tears was in 2002, when Hoar, a 25-year-old Caucasian woman, vanished. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) did not disclose the race of the victims in the earlier cases, but many media outlets assumed they were aboriginal. Hoar's disappearance received lots of media attention and provoked a four-day land and air volunteer search. A $ 25,000 reward was offered for any tips leading to Hoar's whereabouts. (paragraph 13)

Recent Research on Violence Against Native Women

Research in the USA and Canada (see Tables 1 and 2) has consistently found Native women to be the most frequent victims of violent crime

Table 5.1 Summary of US research on violent victimization of Native women

Study focus	Data source	Key findings for Native women
Average annual rape/sexual assault victimization rate, U.S.	1991–2005 National Crime Victim Survey/NCVS (Bachman et al. 2008)	AI/AN women's rate: 2.5–3 times that of White women, more than twice that of Black women, four or more times that of Asian women
Experienced lifetime rape, U.S.	2010 CDC National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (Black et al. 2011)	26.9% of AI/AN women 22.0% of Black women 18.8% of White women
Experienced lifetime completed rape, U.S.	1995–2005 NCVS (Bachman et al. 2008)	40% of AI/AN women 38% of Black women 36% of White women 30% of Asian women
Experienced intimate partner rape, U.S.	National Violence Against Women (NVAW) Survey (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000a)	15.9% of AI/AN women 7.4% of Black women 7.7% of White women
Rape on U.S. Indian reservations	2008–2010 tribal law enforcement reports to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports system (Perry 2012)	Rapes represented 15% of all violent crimes on reservations
Homicide mortality rate, Alaska	2004–2007 Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics data (Alaska Native Epidemiology Center 2009)	Alaska Native women's statewide rate: 3.8 times the national women's rate

when compared to women of other racial groups, whether they reside in urban, suburban, or rural communities (Bachman et al. 2008; Greenfeld and Smith 1999; Hylton 2002; Proulx and Perrault 2000; Rennison 2001). AI/AN woman are also most likely to experience severe injuries or death as a result of an assault. Analysis of 1992–2005 NCVS data found AI/AN women to be 2.5 times more likely than non-Native women to face an armed rapist and also more likely to sustain additional serious injuries (Bachman et al. 2008).

Reliance on national data can mask even higher rates of violence against Native women in smaller geographic regions, especially those near poverty-affected Native reserves and reservations. Women's advocates from American Indian reservations and Alaska Native villages have reported that few AI/AN women are able to escape being raped at some point in their lives (Amnesty International 2007; Dobie 2011; Williams 2012). Charon Asetoyer, a women's health advocate on the Yankton Sioux reservation in South Dakota, reported that most young women there consider rape to be the norm, an inevitable life experience (Williams 2012).

Bachman et al. (2008) reported that the 1992–1998 average AI/AN women's homicide mortality rate in Bon Homme County, near the Santee Sioux and Yankton Sioux reservations in South Dakota, was 555.56 per 100,000, almost 62 times the national rate (9 per 100,000), and in Bristol Bay, Alaska, the Native women's homicide rate was 18 times the statewide rate for White women. In Washington state, AI/AN women's 2008 inti-

mate partner homicide rate was 5.38 times that of White non-Hispanic women (Fawcett et al. 2008). In Dakota County, Nebraska, which is located near three reservations, AI/AN women's homicide rate was 92.17 per 100,000 (Bachman et al. 2008).

As Table 5.2 shows, Canada's Native women are also disproportionately represented as victims of severe violence. In 2000 alone, the AI/AN women's rape/sexual assault rate was seven times that of White women, slightly more than 5 times that of African American women, and more than 35 times that of Asian American women (Rennison 2002). Native women's rate of violent victimization in Canada is two to three times that of non-Native women, whether the perpetrator is a spouse, acquaintance, or stranger (Brennan 2011; Statistics Canada 2011). The 1997–2000 homicide rate for Aboriginal women was almost seven times that of non-Native women (Brzozowski et al. 2006). In 2005, the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) created a database for tracking reported cases of missing and murdered First Nations women. By March 2010, when government funding for the project ended, NWAC (2010d) had identified 582 Native women reported missing or found murdered since the late 1960s.

In recent years, research has found similarly disproportional victimization in the sex trafficking of Native girls and women, identifying it as a serious and growing problem in the USA and Canadian regions with large populations of Native peoples affected by poverty. Studies with

Table 5.2 Summary of Canadian research on violent victimization of Native women

Study focus	Data source	Key findings for Native women
Rate of violent victimization in past 5 years, Canada	2004 Canada General Social Survey (Brzozowski et al. 2006)	Aboriginal women's rate 3.6 times that of non-Native women
Rate of violent victimization in past 12 months, Canadian Provinces	2009 Canada General Social Survey (Brennan 2011)	Aboriginal women's rate 2.5 times that of non-Native women
Rate of non-spousal violent victimization in past 12 months, Canadian Provinces	2009 Canada General Social Survey (Brennan 2011)	Aboriginal women's rate 2.7 times that of non-Native women
Sexual assault rate, Nunavut Territory, Canada	2002 Department of Justice Canada (Levan 2003)	Aboriginal women's rate 12.3 times the national rate
Homicide mortality rate, Canada	2004 Canada General Social Survey (Brzozowski et al. 2006)	Aboriginal women's rate almost seven times that of non-Native women

women and children in street prostitution in Canadian cities have found that 14–63 % of their samples are First Nations, though First Nations peoples represented only 1–3 % of the area population (Assistant Deputy Minister's Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth 2001; Benoit and Millar 2001; Cler-Cunningham and Christensen 2001; Farley and Lynne 2000 cited in Farley and Lynne 2005). In a qualitative study with 22 Aboriginal communities across Canada, informants in some areas estimated that 90 % of minors in the local sex trade were First Nations (Canadian Save the Children Fund and National Aboriginal Consultation Project 2000).

In 2008, the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center (MIWRC), a social services agency in Minneapolis, began screening incoming clients for commercial sexual exploitation as part of its case management/case planning process. MIWRC found that more than one-third (34 %) of girls and young women ages 12–21 had already been sold for sex, 42 % of whom had initially been coerced or forced into prostitution at age 15 or younger, and 20 % of whom had first been prostituted when they were age 12 or younger. They were also exposed to the sex trade on a regular basis: 41 % had one or more friends in prostitution, 45 % had regular contact with gang members, and 31 % currently knew a pimp (Pierce 2009; Pierce 2011).

In 2010, the FBI and the Anchorage Police Department began warning Alaska Native villages that sex traffickers were targeting Native minor girls visiting Anchorage for youth conferences, as well as luring them to Anchorage for purposes of prostitution (DeMarban 2010; Hopkins 2010; McBride 2011). Since that time, a rapidly rising number of domestically trafficked AI/AN girls have been reported in the larger cities of Alaska, South Dakota, Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington, and in North Dakota "fracking" mining and oil fields (Johnson 2012; Pierce 2011; U.S. Attorney's Office, District of North Dakota 2012).

Perhaps the most glaring example of social indifference to Native women's safety is the 582 cases of missing and murdered First Nations women identified by the Native Women's Association of Canada, most of which remain unsolved (NWAC 2010b). Human Rights Watch observed, based on NWAC's data, that an annual average of 20 Native women have gone missing or been found murdered from the 1960s to 2010, and more than one-third (39 %) occurred after 2000 (Human Rights Watch 2013). NWAC identified 158 murdered First Nations women and girls from 2000 to 2008 alone, who represented 10 % of all female homicides nationwide though First Nations women represented only 3 % of the nation's female population (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action 2012; O'Donnell and Wallace 2011).

The rising number of unsolved cases received little attention from law enforcement until the mid-1990s, when the rate at which women were disappearing from the poorest neighborhood in all of Canada, Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES), provoked human rights activists' demands that the police launch a full investigation (Sisterwatch Project and Women's Memorial March Committee 2011). Families and community members reported having repeatedly asked local law enforcement and the RCMP to investigate the disappearances of their loved ones for more than 20 years, but neither took any meaningful action until advocates, journalists, and academics pushed the cases into the public eye (Bennett et al. 2012; Schatz 2010). A particular point of protest was the low priority given to homicides of Native women. NWAC argued reported that the 2005 national Canadian homicide clearance rate (charges laid) was 84 %, but in the homicides of 393 First Nations women and girls, charges were laid in only 40 % of cases (NWAC 2010d).

Between August 1998 and late 1999, Vancouver police and the RCMP received compelling information suggesting that Pickton was the likely killer, but failed to respond (Sisterwatch Project and Women's Memorial March Committee 2011). By the time a serious investigation began, 69 women had disappeared from DTES alone (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action 2012; NWAC 2010d). The investigation eventually found that Robert William Pickton, owner of a pig farm and a salvage business, frequently cruised the DTES offering drink, drugs,

and money to entice women to a social club at his farm (Crime and Investigation Network 2012). It was not until 2002 that police finally arrested Pickton, after DNA and other evidence on his farm was linked to 33 victims. Pickton, who boasted of killing 49 women to an undercover police officer, was eventually charged with 27 counts of murder and convicted of six (Ball 2012; Burgmann 2012; Sisterwatch Project and Women's Memorial March Committee 2011).

During a government inquiry into the delayed investigation, a former 911 operator testified that racial discrimination was pervasive in the Vancouver Police Department. She said:

> I was told to 'stop being a bleeding heart,' and to 'grow up, these people are the scum of the earth'. (Burgmann 2012)

Following Pickton's trial, human rights advocates joined Native women's groups in demanding that the Canadian government address the disproportionate numbers of missing and murdered Native women all across Canada. Of the 582 cases in NWAC's database, 160 (27%) had occurred in British Columbia, 79 (14%) in Manitoba, and 93 (16%) in Alberta (NWAC 2010a, b, c). In Manitoba, Helen Betty Osborne, a 19-year-old Cree woman, had been studying to be a teacher when she was kidnapped, sexually assaulted, and murdered by four White men in La Pas, Manitoba (Amnesty International 2004). In its final report to the Canadian government, the Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission (1999) described non-Native men's frequent sexual harassment of Native women on the streets of La Pas, noting that this practice was apparently well known and ignored by the RCMP. The Commission concluded that Betty Osborne would not have been killed if she had not been a First Nations woman.

In British Columbia and Alberta, First Nation families and communities demanded that the RCMP address cases of women who went missing or were found murdered near Canada's northern Highways. Three of these, Highways 16, 97, and 5, run through multiple First Nation communities (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action 2012; CBC 2013; Rolston 2010). From 1969 to 2006, 18 women disap-

peared while traveling these routes. Most were young First Nation women and girls. It was not until 2005 that the RCMP launched Project E-Pana to investigate similarities between the cases (Rolston 2010). The Lheidli T'enneh First Nation et al. (2006) collaborated to publish a report describing their communities' extreme fear, frustration, and sorrow that 11 of these victims were First Nations girls, and their dismay at the RCMP's slow response.

By 2012 a total of 40 women and girls had been murdered or reported missing near Highway 16 alone, some as young as age 14, and most from First Nations (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action 2012). Only one case had been solved, through analysis of DNA collected years earlier from a deceased prisoner who had been imprisoned in the USA for a brutal kidnapping and sexual assault (Rolston 2010). Human Rights Watch (2013) published a report criticizing law enforcement's poor effectiveness in protecting indigenous women and girls in British Columbia. Human Rights Watch reported significant evidence of discrimination, in which law enforcement often deprioritized reports of sexual assault against First Nations women, and even when investigations did occur, victim-blaming by police officers was a significant problem.

Three days later, the RCMP sparked new outrage in Native communities by publicly questioning the validity of NWAC's 582 cases. The RCMP spokesperson argued that of the 118 victims whose information they had received from NWAC, 64 were in a police database but 54 could not be confirmed (CBC 2013). NWAC's President Audette immediately issued a press release that the organization was "shocked" at the RCMP's comments, saying:

> The high number of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls that has been documented was based on accurate secondary source information that in many instances came directly from police reports that had further been corroborated by NWAC researchers with various police agencies. (NWAC 2013)

Maryanne Pearce (2013), a federal government worker and doctoral candidate at the University of Ottawa Law School, published findings from her dissertation titled *An Awkward Silence:*

Missing and Murdered Vulnerable Women and the Canadian Justice System. Pearce, who is of Mohawk and Celtic descent, spent 7 years documenting cases of missing and murdered women in Canada, cross-referencing news articles, police websites and reports, court documents, and other public documents. Using a very conservative approach to coding and validation of potential cases, Pearce confirmed 824 missing and murdered Aboriginal, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis women from 1950 to 2013, far more than the 582 identified by NWAC and challenged by the RCMP. Furthermore, Pearce found that 80 % of these victims were *not* involved in the sex trade, which significantly contradicts the media representations described earlier.

Identifying the Primary Perpetrators

Like women of all other racial and ethnic groups, research has found that Native women are most frequently victimized by intimate partners. In the USA, studies have found AI/AN women significantly over-represented as victims of assault by an intimate partner, and more likely than women in other racial groups to experience severe, potentially life-threatening intimate partner violence (Bachman et al. 2008; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998, 2000b; Trainor and Mihorean 2001). In the National Violence Against Women survey, 37.5 % of AI/AN women reported rape, physical assault, and/or stalking by an intimate partner, compared to 24.8 % of White women, 29.1 % of African-American women, and 15 % of Asian/Pacific Islander women (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000a).

In a report on statistical trends in violence against women, *Statistics Canada* (2006) reported that in the 1999 General Social Survey (GSS), Aboriginal (Native) women in the Canadian provinces reported spousal assault twice as often as Aboriginal men and three times as often as either non-Aboriginal men or women. The gap between Aboriginal women and men had narrowed to some degree in the 2004 GSS, but Aboriginal women still reported intimate partner violence at a rate triple that of non-Aboriginal women and

non-Aboriginal men. In the 2009 Canadian GSS (O'Donnell and Wallace 2011), the gap still remained, with 15 % of Aboriginal women reporting spousal violence versus 6 % of non-Native women. Furthermore, of the Aboriginal women that reported spousal violence in the 2009 GSS, 59 % were injured by their partner badly enough to need medical care and 52 % feared for their lives.

It cannot be determined how much of the intimate partner violence against Native women and girls is related to sex trafficking, but recent research in Minnesota has found that pimps are establishing intimate relationships with young Native girls by posing as caring and attentive "boyfriends," then using severe physical and sexual violence, psychological manipulation, and threats against girls' mothers, siblings, and children to force the girls into prostitution and prevent their escape (Matthews et al. 2011; Pierce 2009).

Native women are also more frequently victimized by strangers than women of other racial groups. Four studies based on NCVS data found that AI/AN women more often reported sexual assault and rape by a stranger than White and Black women, but less frequently reported rape or sexual assault by a family member or acquaintance (Bachman et al. 2008; Perry 2012; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998, 2000b). In Canada, First Nations women are twice as likely to be sexually assaulted by a stranger than non-native women (Cohen and Maclean 2004; Statistics Canada 2006). A similar pattern is seen in homicide data. FBI Uniform Crime Report data from 1976 to 2002 indicate that women in general are most often murdered by an intimate partner. However, AI/AN women are also much more likely to be killed by a friend or acquaintance than White women (Bachman et al. 2008; Perry 2012). In Canada, 27 % of murdered Aboriginal women are murdered by a current or former partner, while 35 % die at the hands of a nonintimate (Statistics Canada 2008).

It would seem natural to assume that most of these perpetrators are Native men, since most violent crime involves victims and perpetrators of the same race (Becker 2007; Simmons 2009).

In fact, AI/AN women in the USA are most often victimized by men of a different race (Bachman et al. 2008; Perry 2004). One factor that encourages this assumption is the common belief that most residents of American Indian reservations and Alaska Native village residents are Native. This, too, is untrue. Though there is variation across different tribal/village lands, the 2010 US Census found that overall, 77% of the individuals living in American Indian reservation areas and 32% of those living in Alaska Native village statistical areas were non-Natives. Outside Native lands, American Indians represented an average 1% of the population (Perry 2012).

Analyzing 1992–2005 NCVS data, Bachman et al. (2008) found that 57% of AI/AN sexual assault victims and 55% of Native physical assault victims described the perpetrator as White. In contrast, 76% of White women and 88% of African-American women reported that their sexual assault perpetrators were a man of their own race. Earlier US studies of crime victimization data found even higher percentages of White men as perpetrators of violence against Native women. Greenfeld and Smith (1999) reported that 75% of AI/AN victims of interpersonal violence and 25% of Native female victims of family violence (including childhood abuse) described the perpetrator as a non-Native. Perry (2004) found that 78% of Native rape and sexual assault victims ages 12 and older described White assailants. In the state of Washington, where the homicide rate for Native women is almost triple that of White women, more than half of Native women's murderers are non-Natives (Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence 2012).

At round tables conducted by the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center in Minneapolis and Duluth, advocates reported that most pimps trafficking Native girls and women into prostitution were African American gang members, though some American Indian and Latino gang members were also involved (Pierce 2009).

In Canada, very little has been published on the race of the victim in relation to the race of the perpetrator. The dearth of information about the perpetrators' race makes it very difficult to determine the scope of violence against Native women that is perpetrated by Native men. First Nations women's groups and human rights advocates have been extremely critical of the RCMP's incomplete documentation of violent assaults and homicides, arguing that these missing data prevent an understanding of First Nations women's victimization by Native versus non-Native men (Amnesty International 2004). Of the 582 cases of missing and murdered First Nations women in Native Women's Association of Canada database, 23% of Native women's murderers were described as non-Native men while 36% were described as First Nations men, but police did not record the perpetrator's race in 51% of the cases (NWAC 2010d). NWAC suggested that the proportion of non-Native perpetrators would probably be much higher if racial identification had been documented (NWAC et al. 2012).

In tribal police reports to the FBI Uniform Crime Report from 2008 to 2010, rape represented 15% of all violent crime reported on reservations (Perry 2012). However, FBI reports do not describe the race of these perpetrators. Bachman et al. (2008) reported that 36% of sexual assault perpetrators of AI/AN women in 1992–2005 NCVS data were "other" race, but this aggregate category included perpetrators of all races who were not White or Black, which included American Indians. Perry (2004) described the perpetrators of approximately 60% of violent crime victims in 1992–2002 NCVS data as "White," but did not report what proportion of the remaining 40% of offenders were AI/AN or men of other races.

Though perpetrators' races are not reported, some research has found high rates of violence against Native women in areas where most of the population is Native. In Nunavut, Canada's northern Territory, 85% of the population is Inuit. Nunavat's sexual assault rate is more than 12 times Canadian women's national rate (Levan 2003). A survey conducted by the Alaska Federation of Natives also found sexual violence rates up to 12 times the national rate in communities such as Emmonak, Alaska, where Natives represent over 90% of the population (Williams 2012). The rate of spousal violence among First Nations women in Canada's predominantly

Native western provinces is also much higher than Native women's national rate, which is already three times that of non-Native women (Trainor and Mihorean 2001).

Healing the Harms

From the colonial era forward, North America's Native women have experienced high levels of violent victimization by non-Native males. Today, they are also exposed to significant violence by Native men. Emma LaRoque (1996) argued that the colonization process itself is the major contributor for this dual endangerment:

> Racism and sexism found in the colonial process have served to dramatically undermine the place and value of women in First Nations cultures, leaving us vulnerable both within and outside our communities. (LaRoque 1996, p. 11)

Yellow Horse Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) asserted that government extermination policies, religious persecution, forced migration to Indian reservations, and systematic removal of Native children to boarding schools caused repeated exposure to trauma, which impeded Native peoples' natural grieving process. The two scholars described a process by any unresolved grief from past trauma is transferred to the next generation, over several generations. They defined this as generational or historical trauma. Andrea Smith (2007) described this cumulative impact as a "soul wound" (p. 1).

Native children in boarding schools suffered high levels of violence and abuse, and also learned that these were acceptable and effective ways to control others, which they carried into their lives as husbands, wives, and parents (Brave Heart-Jordan 1998; Noriega 1992). This social learning has been identified as the most critical factor underlying the high rates of violence in American Indian, Alaska Native, and First Nations communities today (Gonzales 1999; Smith 2004). Gonzales (1999) reported that children returning home from Indian boarding schools were often alienated within their communities and experienced uncomfortable relationships with guilt-ridden parents. According to Gonzales (1999), low self-esteem and self-hatred were commonplace.

Yellow Horse Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) noted that returning students were also unprepared to be parents themselves, writing:

> Spiritually and emotionally, the children were bereft of culturally integrated behaviors that led to positive self-esteem, a sense of belonging to family and community, and a solid American Indian identity. (p. 63)

A comprehensive study of domestic and family violence in Canada's First Nations communities also concluded that the problem of Native men's violence against Native women and children is most often rooted in intergenerational abuse. The study found that when abuse occurs in generation after generation, it is always linked to the need to heal from trauma that has its roots in Native peoples' historical experience (Bopp et al. 2003). Doka (1989) described "disenfranchised grief," which occurs when a dominant society refuses to recognize a peoples' grief and losses as legitimate, which has been the case for American Indians throughout history. The result in the grieving group, Doka argued, is sadness, anger, and shame, feeling helpless and powerless, struggles with feelings of inferiority, and difficulty with self-identity. Jezierski (2001) added that not only is disenfranchised grief a significant barrier to the healing of trauma, but the associated emotions have been identified as common in male perpetrators of domestic violence and child abuse. Poupart (2003) asserted that internalized oppression may be expressed by American Indian peoples inwardly as self-destructive behaviors, and outwardly as violence against family and community members. LaRoque (1994) argued that Native men internalized White attitudes toward women and began treating them as inferiors as a result of assimilation efforts. However, she also asserted, Native men's exposure to pornography and to racist/sexist depictions of Indian men as violence-crazed savages and Indian women as debased, sexually loose squaws also led Native men to internalize those sexual attitudes and behaviors.

Ending the transmission of generational trauma and restoring Native women's safety from violence will require a two-fold approach: (1) a reconciliation process in which the majority society recognizes, acknowledges, and attempts to

correct the harms done; and (2) a decolonization process in which Native communities understand and heal from historic trauma and its effects on their lives, particularly on male-female relationships. In regard to the reconciliation process undertaken by the majority society, Hooker and Czajkowski (2012) of Eastern Mennonite University described four core values of their "Transforming Historical Harms" (THH) approach, which they developed to begin healing historical wrongs such as slavery and Native residential schools. On page 31 of Hooker and Czajkowski's training manual is the following text, which describes four key values and their strengths:

- *Truth* establishes a correct account of the past and present and builds trust. It casts past events in an accurate light, providing a context for identifying the harms of the past and how they can be corrected.
- *Mercy* allows for empathy and an ability to see the "other" as human, as well as forgive oneself, creating a possibility for connecting and building relationships.
- *Justice* is a commitment to right the wrongs of the past. It supports equality and respect and allows people to come into right relationship with each other. It also creates a standard to distinguish harmful behaviors from healthful ones.
- *Peace* is a structure that allows for all people to be heard, and provides reassurance that rights, dignity, and safety will be supported by all.

If Hooker and Czajkowski's model were to be implemented, truth, the first key value in a reconciliation process, would involve churches' acknowledgment that the Christian ministers in the British colonies of North American were responsible for the construction and endorsement of the "sexual savage" stereotype of Native women. This would include admission that this stereotype framed Native women as not-human and not-women, allowing colonial men to assault them without incurring any moral or religious obligations. The US and Canadian governments and the churches that partnered them to oversee Indian reservations and reserves would concede that their assimilationist efforts destroyed the political, economic, and social rights of Native women that had previously protected them from violence within their own societies. Christian churches that controlled residential Indian boarding schools would accept responsibility for investigations into the harms done to Native children in their schools, and would make their findings public. And, the US and Canadian governments would hold themselves accountable for passing legislation requiring the removal of Native children from their families to attend the schools, providing funding to the churches to operate the schools, but failing to address the schools' high rates of malnutrition, disease, and physical and sexual abuse.

The second key value in Hooker and Czajkowski's model, mercy, defined as empathy and the ability to see the "other" as human, has yet to be adopted by the majority society of either country. Consequently, self-forgiveness, the final component of mercy, cannot occur and therefore there is no foundation upon which to adopt and employ justice and peace. Regrettably, lawsuits have been the most successful strategy for eliciting admission of harm done and a commitment to right the wrongs of the past. In the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, an estimated 400 former students shared a $ 166 million settlement after suing the Jesuits' Oregon Province for abuse experienced at the Indian boarding schools in that area (Woodward 2011).

In 1990, thousands of former students filed suit against the Canadian government and the Christian churches that operated 140 residential schools. In 2007, the former students received a $ 1.9 billion settlement and a detailed, sincere, and public apology by Canada's Prime Minister (Perkel 2013). The Presbyterian Church in Canada (20132013) confessed its role in Indian residential schools in 1994, announcing its commitment to walking with Aboriginal people on a journey toward reconciliation and living out the spirit of the confession. Similar apologies were made by the Anglican Church in 1993, the United Church of Canada in 1998, and the Episcopal Church in 2012 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada n.d.a).

In the USA, there has also been only slight movement toward reconciliation. In 2000, the Bureau of Indian Affairs publicly apologized to

Native leaders for its role in harms done to Native children in boarding schools (Gover 2000, pp. 2–3). Ironically, Kevin Gover, the BIA Director making the apology, is himself American Indian (Johnson and Craven 2000). In a 2002 conference presentation on apologies, Hoopa leader Lyle Marshall remarked that Gover's apology was inadequate and offensive because it did not come from the right person, and it was not followed by any action to right the wrongs that were described (Barkan and Karn 2006; Tsosie 2006). In December 2009, President Obama signed a second apology into law, the American Indian Apology Resolution, but again, Native peoples protested, due to its insertion deep within the 2010 Defense Appropriations Act and the absence of any public announcement (Charles 2012; King 2011).

A promising exception is a May 2010 gathering in which priests from two Catholic churches in Wisconsin apologized to Menominee tribal members, confessing the Church's past sins and formally apologizing for the pain and suffering that the tribe's children endured during the boarding school era (Hickok-Wall 2010).

The decolonization process for Native communities requires a social reformation to restore balance through a healing process that communities determine themselves, based on their own cultural traditions. In a report for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation of Canada, Archibald (2006) identified three essential "pillars of healing" (pp. 15–16):

- Reclaiming history, which includes learning about the residential school system, its policy goals and objectives and its impacts on individuals, families, and communities
- Cultural interventions that engage people in a process of recovering and reconnecting with their culture, language, history, spirituality, traditions, and ceremonies within their communities
- Therapeutic healing, which includes traditional therapies, often in combination with Western or alternative therapies, using approaches that are holistic and culturally relevant

Many Native communities have already reestablished ceremonies and cultural practices such as smudging, sweat lodges, the use of the sacred pipe, fasting, visions quests, and naming ceremonies in the interest of reconciliation and healing (Quinn 2007). Churches that once operated boarding schools have the capacity to support the work of Native communities in their healing process through public recognition and celebration of their strengths and capabilities.

Behavioral health and social work practitioners can also be extremely helpful in partnering with traditional healers identified as such by their communities. However, non-Native practitioners must be flexible and accepting of Native peoples' traditional views of wellness and traditional therapies and grief ceremonies, respecting that these are sacred and not opportunities for research or publications. In short, what is needed from the majority society is a "good heart," a desire to partner with Native peoples in reconciliation and healing that is egalitarian, respectful and collaborative in nature.

References

Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission. (1999). Report of the Aboriginal justice inquiry of Manitoba: Chap. 9—The death of Helen Betty Osborne. Retrieved from http://www.ajic.mb.ca/volumeII/Chap.9.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Adams, D. A. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

Alaska Native Epidemiology Center. (2009). Alaska Native health status report. Anchorage AK: Alaska Native Tribal Health Consortium. Retrieved from http://www.anthc.org/chs/epicenter/upload/ANHSR.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Almeida, D. A. (1997). The hidden half: A history of Native American women's education. *Harvard Educational Review, 67*(4), 757–772.

Amnesty International. (2004). Stolen sisters: A human rights response to discrimination and violence against indigenous women in Canada. Retrieved from http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR20/003/2004. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Amnesty International. (2007). Maze of injustice: The failure to protect indigenous women from sexual violence in the USA. Retrieved from http://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/MazeOfInjustice.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Anderson, S. (2000, May). On sacred ground: Commemorating survival and loss at the Carlisle Indian School. *Central Pennsylvania Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.danielnpaul.com/CarlisleIndianSchool.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Archibald, L. (2006). Final report of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Volume III: Promising healing practices in Aboriginal communities. Retrieved from http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/final-report-vol-3.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Artichoker, K. (2008). Tribal issues. In C. Renzetti & J. Edleson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of interpersonal violence*. SAGE. Retrieved from http://knowledge.sage-pub.com/view/violence/n518.xml. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Artichoker, K., Mousseau, M., & Cross, J. (2008, March). Violence against Native women is not traditional. *Thunder Bird House*. Retrieved from http://xene.wordpress.com/2008/03/17/violence-against-women-is-not-traditional/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Assistant Deputy Minister's Committee on Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Youth. (2001). *Sexual exploitation of youth in British Columbia*. Victoria: Ministry of the Attorney General, Ministry for Children and Families, and Ministry of Health. Retriev from http://www.mcf.gov.bc.ca/youth/pdf/sex_exploit.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Axtell, J. (1975). The White Indians of colonial America. *William and Mary Quarterly, 32*(1), 55–88. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1922594. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Bachman, R., Zaykowski, H., Kallmyer, R., Poteyeva, M., & Lanier, C. (2008, August). Violence against American Indian and Alaska Native women and the criminal justice response: What is known? Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/223691.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Barkan, E., & Karn, A. (2006). Group apology as an ethical imperative. In E. Barkin & A. Karn (Eds.), *Taking wrongs seriously: Apologies and reconciliation* (pp. 3–30). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ball, D. P. (2012, 15 June). Missing women inquiry hearings end amid cover-up charges from victims' families. *Indian Country Today*. Retrieved from http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/06/15/missing-women-inquiry-hearings-end-amid-cover-up-charges-from-victims-families-117884. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Balzer, R., James, G., LaPrairie, L., & Olson, T. (1994). *Full circle: Coming back to where we began*. Duluth, MN: Mending the Sacred Hoop.

Becker, S. (2007). Race and violent offender "propensity": Does the intraracial nature of violent crime persist at the local level? *Justice Research & Policy, 9*(2), 53–86.

Bennett, D., Eby, D., Govender, K., & Pacey, K. (2012). *Blueprint for an inquiry: Learning from the failures of the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry*. B.C. Civil Liberties Association, West Coast Women's Legal Education and Action Fund, & Pivot Legal Society. Retrieved from http://bccla.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/20121119-Report-Missing-Women-Inquiry.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Benoit, C. & Millar, A. (2001). *Dispelling myths and understanding realities: Working conditions, health status, and exiting experiences of sex workers*. Victoria, BC: Prostitutes Empowerment, Education, and Resource Society (PEERS). Retrieved from http://www.peers.bc.ca/pubs.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Black, M. C., Basile, K. C., Breiding, M. J., Smith, S. G., Walters, M. L., Merrick, M. T., Stevens, M. R. (2011). *National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010 summary report*. Atlanta, GA: National Center for Injury Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/pdf/NISVS_Report2010-a.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Blackwood, E. (1984). Sexuality and gender in certain Native American tribes: The case of cross-gender females. *Signs, 10*(1), 27–42.

Bonomi, P. U. (1986). *Under the cape of heaven: Religion, society, and politics in colonial America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bonvillain, N. (1989). Gender relations in Native North America. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 13*(2), 1–28.

Bopp, M., Bopp, J., & Lane, P. Jr. (2003). *Aboriginal domestic violence in Canada*. Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/domestic-violence.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Bourgeault, R. (1989). Race, class, and gender: Colonial domination of Indian women. In J. Forts, et al. (Eds.), *Race, class and gender: Bonds and barriers* (2nd ed.). Toronto: Jargoned Press.

Boyer, P. S., Clark, C. E. Jr., Halttunen, K., Kett, J. F., Salisbury, N., Sitkoff, H., & Woloch, N. (2011). *The enduring vision: A history of the American people, Volume I: To 1877*. Boston: Wadsworth.

Brave Heart-Jordan, M. Y. H. (1998). The return to the sac path: Healing from historical trauma and historical unresolved grief among the Lakota. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 68*(3), 287–305.

Brennan, S. (2011). Violent victimization of Aboriginal women in the Canadian provinces. *Juristat*. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2011001/article/11439-eng.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Brown, S. (1996). *Strangers in blood: Fur trade company families in Indian Country*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Bryce, P. H. (1907). *Report on the Indian schools of Manitoba and the North-West territories*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.

Brzozowski, J. A., Taylor-Butts, A., & Johnson, S. (2006). *Victimization and offending among the Aboriginal population in Canada*. Juristat: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection-R/Statcan/85-002-XIE/85-002-XIE2006003.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Bureau of Indian Affairs. (1918, 29 October). Letter of condolence from Superintendent of the Yakima Indian Agency. Washington D.C. Retriev from http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/influenza-epidemic/records-list.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Burgmann, T. (2012, 23 April). 911 operator says police didn't care: inquiry. *The Canadian Press*. Retrieved from http://metronews.ca/news/canada/115354/911-operator-says-police-didnt-care-inquiry/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Burnet, W. G. (1851). The Comanches and other tribes of Texas; and the policy to be pursued respecting them. In H. Schoolcraft (Ed.), *Historical and statistical information respecting the history and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co.

Butler, J. (1990). *Awash in a sea of faith: Christianization of the American people*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Campbell, D. M. (2010, March). *Puritanism in New England. Literary Movements*. Washington State University Department of English. Retrieved from http://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/purdef.htm. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action. (2012). Disappearances and murders of Aboriginal women and girls in Canada: Submission to the United Nations Committee on the elimination of racial discrimination. Retrieved from http://fafia-afai.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/FAFIACERDsubmissionfinalJan252012.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Canadian Save the Children Fund, & National Aboriginal Consultation Project. (2000). *Sacred lives: Canadian aboriginal children and youth speak out about sexual exploitation*. Vancouver, B.C.: National Aboriginal Consultation Project.

Carneiro, R. (2002). Warrior women of the Amazon. Paper presented at the Meetings of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America (SALSA), June 2002, Annapolis, MD.

Carter, S. (1997). *Capturing women: The manipulation of cultural imagery in Canada's Prairie West*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Cave, A. (1996). *The Pequot War*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

CBC/Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2013, 16 February). RCMP questions claim of 600 missing Aboriginal women. *CBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/02/16/rcmp-aboriginal-women.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Charles, M. (2012, 16 and 20 December). A public reading of the apology to Native peoples of the United States. *Reflections from the hogan*. Retrieved from http://wirelesshogan.blogspot.com/2012_12_01_archive.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Child, B. J. (1999). *Boarding school seasons: American Indian families, 1900–1940*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Christ, C. P., & Plaskow, J. (Eds.) (1979). *Woman spirit rising: A feminist reader in religion*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Cler-Cunningham, C., & Christensen, L. (2001). Studying violence to stop it: Canadian research on violence against women in Vancouver's street level sex trade. *Research for Sex Work, 4*, 25–26. Retrieved from http://www.nswp.org/sites/nswp.org/iles/research-for-sex-work-4-english.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Cohen, M., & Maclean. H. (2004). Violence against Canadian women. *Women's Health, 4*(1), S22–S44. Retrieved from http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2096693/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Coleman, M. (1985). *Presbyterian missionary attitudes toward American Indians, 1837–1893*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.

Crime Investigation Network. (2012). *Robert Pickton*. Retrieved from http://www.crimeandinvestigation.co.uk/crime-files/robert-pickton/biography.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Deer, S. (2004). Toward an indigenous jurisprudence of rape. Faculty Scholarship. Paper 79. William Mitchell College of Law. Retrieved from http://open.wmitchell.edu/facsch/79. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Deer, S. (2010). Relocation revisited: Sex trafficking of Native women in the United States. *William Mitchell Law Review, 36*(2), 622–683. Retrieved from http://www.wmitchell.edu/lawreview/documents/8.Deer.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Del Mar, D. P. (1998). *What trouble I have seen: A history of violence against wives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

D'Emilio, J., & Freedman, E. B. (1997). *Intimate matters: A history of sexuality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DeMarban, A. (2010, 7 October). FBI, APD: Sex-trafficking rings target rural girls new to Anchorage. *Alaska Dispatch*. Retrieved from http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/fbi-apd-sex-traficking-rings-target-rural-girls-new-anchorage. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs. (1883). *Rules governing the Court of Indian Offenses*. Retrieved from http://rclinton.files.wordpress.com/2007/11/code-of-indian-offenses.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Dobie, K. (2011, February). Tiny little laws: A plague of sexual violence in Indian Country. *Harper's Magazine*. Retrieved from http://harpers.org/archive/2011/02/tiny-little-laws/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Doka, K. J. (Ed.). (1989). *Disenfranchised grief: Recognizing hidden sorrow*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Dodge, R. I. (1883). *Our wild Indians: Thirty-three years' personal experience among the red men of the great West*. Hartford, CT: A.D. Worthington & Company. Retrieved from http://archive.org/stream/indiansourwildth00dodgrich/indiansourwildth00dodgrich_djvu.txt. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Dominion of Canada. (1899). *Annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs*. Ottawa, ON: Collections Can-

ada. Retriev from http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/001074-119.01-e.php?page_id_nbr=6558PHPSESSID=2a9ndus6aa27ekve5d0ib76250. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Downname, J. (1633). *The Christian warfare against the devil, world, and flesh*. In F. Luttmer. Retrieved from http://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/260down.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Farley, M., & Lynne, J. (2005). Prostitution of indigenous women: Sex inequality and the colonization of Canada's Aboriginal women. *Fourth World Journal, 6*(1), 21–29. Retrieved from http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/learn/resources/prostitution-indigenous-women-sex-inequality-and-colonization-canadas-first-nations-. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Fawcett, J., Starr, K., & Patel, A. (2008, December). *Now that we know: Findings and recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review*. Seattle, WA: Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence. Retriev from http://www.wscadv.org/docs/08_FR_report.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Fear-Segal, J. (n.d.). Map: Remaining buildings of Carlisle Indian School at U.S. Army War College. Retrieved from http://www.uea.ac.uk/~p842/remainingbldgs.htm. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Fischer, K. (2002). *Suspect relations: Sex, race, and resistance in colonial North Carolina*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Fournier, S., & Crey, E. (1997). *Stolen from our embrace: The abduction of First Nations children and the restoration of Aboriginal communities*. Madeira Park, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.

Franklin, C. W. II. (1984). *The changing definition of masculinity*. New York: Plenum.

Frey, C. H. (2001). For(e)knowledge of youth: Malaeska: The Indian wife of the White Hunter. *The Alan Review, 28*(3). Retrieved from http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/ALAN/v28n3/frey.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Fritz, H. E. (1960). The making of Grant's Peace Policy. *Chronicles of Oklahoma, 37*. Retrieved from http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v037/v037p411.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Gilchrist, K. (2010). "Newsworthy" victims? Exploring differences in Canadian local press coverage of missing/murdered Aboriginal and White women (online preprint). *Feminist Media Studies, 10*(4), 373–390. Retrieved from http://ipsmo.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/newsworthy-victims-gilchrist-2010-missing-murdered-aboriginal-women.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Gonzales, J. (1999). Native American survivors. In California Coalition Against Sexual Assault (Ed.), *Support for survivors manual*. Sacramento, CA: California Coalition Against Sexual Assault.

Gover, K. (2000). Remarks of Kevin Gover, Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs: Address to tribal leaders. *Journal of American Indian Education, 39*(2). Retrieved from http://jaie.asu.edu/v39/V39I2A1.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Green, R. (1975). The Pocahontas perplex: The image of Indian women in American culture. *The Massachusetts Review, 16*(4), 698–714.

Greenfeld, L. A., & Smith, S. K. (1999). *American Indians and crime*. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. Retrieved from http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/aic.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Gregg, J. (1844). Chapter 15, Indians of the prairies. In *Commerce of the prairies* (Vol. 2). Retrieved from Kansas Collection Books http://www.kancoll.org/books/gregg/gr_ch15_2.htm. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Grumet, R. S. (1980). Sunksquaws, shamans, and tradeswomen: Middle Atlantic coastal Algonkian women during the 17th and 18th centuries. In M. Etienne & E. Woodcock (Eds.), *Women and colonization: Anthropological perspectives*. New York: Praeger.

Gunn Allen, P. (1992). *The sacred hoop: Recovering the feminine in American Indian traditions*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Gutiérrez, R. (1991). *When Jesus came, the corn mothers went away: Marriage, sexuality, and power in New Mexico, 1500–1846*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hickok-Wall, E. (2010, 30 April). Catholic Church issues apology to Menominees for sins committed during Boarding School Era. *Shawano Leader*. Retrieved from http://www.indianz.com/News/2010/019563.asp. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Hooker, D. A., & Czajkowski, A. P. (2012). *Transforming historical harms*. Coming to the Table: Eastern Mennonite University Center for Justice and Peacebuilding. Retrieved from http://s3.amazonaws.com/cttt/assets/164/CTTT_TransformingHistoricalHarms_manual_web_original.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Hopkins, D. (2002). *The greatest killer: Smallpox in history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hopkins, K. (2010, 2 December). 'I can't get my sister back:' Investigators warn of sex traffickers targeting Natives. *Anchorage Daily News*. Retrieved from http://community.adn.com/adn/node/154636. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Hoxie, F. (1989). *A final promise: The campaign to assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Human Rights Watch. (2013). Those who take us away: Abusive policing and failures in protection of indigenous women and girls in Northern British Columbia, Canada. Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/canada0213webwcover_0.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Hurtado, A. (1988). *Indian survival on the California frontier*. New York: Vail-Ballou Press.

Hyde, L. (Ed.) (2002). *The essays of Henry D. Thoreau: Selected and edited by Lewis Hyde*. New York: North Point Press.

Hyer, S. (1990). *One house, one voice, one heart: Native American education at the Santa Fe Indian School*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

Hylton, J. H. (2002). *Aboriginal sexual offending in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

ICTMN Staff. (2011, 28 October). Halloween horror show: The sexualized Indian maiden, same as she ever was. *Indian Country Today*. Retrieved from http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/gallery/photo/halloween-horror-show%3A-the-sexualized-indian-maiden%2C-same-as-she-ever-was-60177. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Indigenous Peoples Issues & Resources. (2013, 15 April). *On this day: Grant's 'Indian Peace Policy'*. Washington DC: Department of the Interior. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/indigenouspeoplesissues?ref=streamhe_location=timeline. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Institute for Government Research. (1928). *The problem of the Indian Administration*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press. Retrieved from http://tm112.community.uaf.edu/files/2010/09/b_meriam_letter.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Jacoby, K. (2008). Shadows at dawn: A borderlands massacre and the violence of history. Retrieved from http://dl.lib.brown.edu/repository2/repoman.php?verb=render_xsltid=1227634538639017.xml&view=1226416901875000.xsl&colid=55. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Jaimes, M. A., & Halsey, T. (1997). American Indian women: At the center of indigenous resistance in contemporary North America. In A. McClintock, A. Mufti, & E. Shohat (Eds.), *Dangerous liaisons: Gender, nation, and postcolonial perspectives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jensen, D. (2004). *The culture of make believe*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company.

Jezierski, M. B. (2001). Family violence: Helping survivors and abusers—A manual for faith communities. Retrieved from http://www.mincava.edu. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Jiwani, Y. (2009). Symbolic and discursive violence in media representations of Aboriginal missing and murdered women. In D. Weir & M. Guggisberg (Eds.), *Violence in hostile contexts E-Book*. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press. Retrieved from http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/ptb/hhv/vcce/vch7/Jiwani%20paper.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Jiwani, Y., & Young, M. L. (2006). Missing and murdered women: Reproducing marginality in news discourses. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 31*(4), 895–917. Retrieved from http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/viewFile/1825/1932. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Johnson, A. (2012). A perfect storm. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review, 43*(2), 617–710.

Johnson, E., & Craven, J. (2000). Comments by Eugene Johnson (Siletz) and Jim Craven (Blackfoot) from AP report by Matt Kelly, September '00 Indian Affairs head makes 'apology.' Retrieved from http://www.chgs.umn.edu/histories/victims/nativeAmerican/pdf/Revised_Apology.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Johnston, A. (1908). *Myths and facts of the American Revolution: A commentary on United States history as it is written*. Toronto: William Briggs. Retrieved from http://www.archive.org/stream/mythsandfactsam01johngoog/mythsandfactsam01johngoog_djvu.txt. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Joint Committee on Printing. (1909). *The abridgment 1908: Containing the annual message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, 60th Congress, 2nd session* (Vol. 2). Washington DC: Washington Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://google.com/books?id=YcYXAQAAMAAJprintsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Karlsen, C. F. (1998). *The devil in the shape of a woman: Witchcraft in colonial New England*. London: Norton & Company.

Keller, R. H. (1983). *American Protestantism and United States Indian policy, 1869–1882*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

King, L. B. (2011, 3 December). A tree fell in the forest: The U.S. apologized to Native Americans and no one heard a sound. *Indian Country Today*. Retrieved from http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/opinion/a-tree-fell-in-the-forest%3A-the-u.s.-apologized-to-native-americans-and-no-one-heard-a-sound-65750. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Koch, R. G. (2001, Winter). Orasmus Turner. *Crooked Lake Review*. Retrieved from http://www.crookedlakereview.com/authors/turner.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Landis, B. (1996a). Carlisle Indian Industrial School history. Retrieved from http://home.epix.net/~landis/histry.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Landis, B. (1996b). How an Indian girl might tell her own story if she had the chance. Transcribed from *The Indian Helper*, October 18, 1899 to December 20, 1899. Carlisle, PA: Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Unpublished, quoted with permission of the author.

LaPointe, C. (1987). Boarding schools teach violence. *Plainswoman, 10*(4), 3–4.

LaRoque, E. (1990, 5 February). Written presentation to Aboriginal Justice Inquiry Hearings, quoted in Manitoba, Chap. 13: Aboriginal women, *The Justice System and Aboriginal people*. Retrieved from http://www.ajic.mb.ca/volumel/Chap.13.html#3. Accessed 15 May 2013.

LaRoque, E. (1994). *Violence in Aboriginal Communities*. Ottawa, ON: Royal Commissions on Aboriginal Peoples. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/H72-21-100-1994E.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

LaRoque, E. (1996). The colonization of a Native woman scholar. In C. Miller & P. Chuchryk (Eds.), *Women of the First Nations: Power, wisdom, and strength*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Lawson, J. (1709). *A New Voyage to Carolina*. In Documenting the American South. Chapel Hill: Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina (origi-

nally published in 1709, electronic version posted in 2001). Retriev from http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/lawson/lawson.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Levan, M. B. (2003). *Creating a framework for the wisdom of the community: Review of victim services in Nunavut, Northwest and Yukon Territories*. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada. Retriev from http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/rs/rep-rap/2003/rr03_vic3/rr03_vic3.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Lheidli T'enneh First Nation, Carrier Sekani Family Services, Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, Prince George Native Friendship Center, & Prince George Nechako First Nations Employment and Training Association. (2006). The Highway of Tears symposium recommendations report. Retrieved from http://www.ubcic.bc.ca/files/PDF/highwayoftearsfinal.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Library of Congress. (2010). America as a religious refuge: The seventeenth century. *Religion and the founding of the American Republic*. Retrieved from http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Linsey, D. F. (1995). *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877–1923*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Luttmer, F. (1999). *The Devil, history, and Studia humanitatis: Mortar Board last lecture*. Hanover, MA: Hanover College. Retrieved from http://history.hanover.edu/news/llfl99.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Lux, M. (1992). Prairie Indians and the 1918 influenza epidemic. *Native Studies Review, 8*(1), 23–33. Retrieved from http://iportal.usask.ca/docs/Native_studies_review/v8/issue1/pp23-33.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Lynne, J. (1998, August 17). Colonialism and the sexual exploitation of Canada's First Nations women. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association 106th Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA.

MacGillivray, A., & Comaskey, B. (1999). *Black eyes all of the time: Intimate violence, Aboriginal women, and the justice system*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

MacLachlan, M., & Suttles, W. (1999). *Fort Langley journals, 1827–1830* (pp. 189–190). Vancouver, BC: University of Vancouver Press.

MacLeitch, G. (2011). *Imperial entanglements: Iroquois change and persistence on the frontiers of empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Mann, B. (2000). *Iroquoian women: The gantowisas*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Marr, C. J. (2004) Assimilation through education: Indian boarding schools in the Pacific Northwest. Retrieved from http://content.lib.washington.edu/aipnw/marr.html#author. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Matthews, N., Farley, M., Lopez, G., Deer, S., & Stark, C. (2011). *Garden of truth: The prostitution and trafficking of Native women in Minnesota*. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Indian Women's Sexual Assault Coalition and Prostitution Research & Education. Retrieved from http://www.miwsac.org/images/stories/garden%20of%20truth%20final%20project%20web.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Mayer, F. H. (1958). *The buffalo harvest*. Denver: Sage Books.

McBride, R. (Producer). (2011, 3 March). Stones in the backpack: The burden of teenage prostitution, Part 3 [Television broadcast]. Retrieved from http://www.wsbt.com/news/ktuu-stones-in-the-backpack-part-3-030311,0,4547320.story. Accessed 15 May 2013.

McClure, P. F. (1919). *Bishop Hare address at the biennial meeting of the State Historical Society*. Pierre, SD: Hippue Printing Company. Retrieved from (South Dakota Historical Collections). http://www.archive.org/stream/reporthistorical10soutuoft/reporthistorical10soutuoft_djvu.txt. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Media Smarts. (2011). *Common portrayals of Aboriginal people*. Ottawa, ON: Canada's Center for Media and Digital Literacy. Retrieved from http://mediasmarts.ca/diversity-media/aboriginal-people/common-portrayals-aboriginal-people. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Medicine, B. (1983). Warrior women: Sex role alternatives for Plains Indian women. In P. Albers & B. Medicine (Eds.), *The hidden half: Studies of Plains Indian women*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Mies, M. (1998). *Patriarchy and capital accumulation on a world scale: Women in the international division of labor*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Milloy, J. S. (1999). *A national crime: The Canadian government and the residential school system, 1879 to 1986*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Moore, J. (1991). The developmental cycle of Cheyenne polygyny. *American Indian Quarterly, 15*(3), 331.

Morrison, K. M. (1974). That art of coyning Christians: John Eliot and the praying Indians of Massachusetts. *Ethnohistory, 21*(1), 77–92.

Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2010a). Fact sheet: Missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls in Alberta. Retrieved from http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/FACT%20SHEET_AB.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2010b). Fact sheet: Missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls in British Columbia. Retrieved from http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/FACT%20SHEET_BC.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2010c). Fact sheet: Missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls in Manitoba. Retrieved from http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/FACT%20SHEET_MB.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2010d). What their stories tell us: Research findings from the sisters in spirit initiative. Retrieved from http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/2010_NWAC_SIS_Report_EN.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2013, 17 February). NWAC shocked with recent RCMP comments on CBC. Retrieved from http://www.nwac.

ca/press-release-immediate-release-29. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (CFAIA), & University of Miami School of Law Human Rights Clinic. (2012). Missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls in British Columbia, Canada. Briefing paper, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 144th Period of Sessions. Retrieved from http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/IACHR%20Canada%20Briefing%20Paper%20March%2028,%202012.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Noriega, J. (1992). American Indian education in the United States: Indoctrination for subordination to colonialism. In M.A. Jaimes (Ed.), *The state of Native America: Genocide, race, and resistance*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Northrup, J. (1993). *Ditched. Walking the rez road*. Minneapolis: Voyageur Press.

Norton, M. B. (2002). In the devil's snare: The Salem witchcraft crisis of 1692. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Norton, M. B., & Alexander, R. M. (1996). The impact of Christianity on Native women. In R. M. Alexander & M. B. Norton (Eds.), *Major problems in American women's history* (2nd ed., pp. 20–45). Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

O'Brien, S. (1989). *American Indian tribal governments*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

O'Donnell, V., & Wallace, S. (2011). *First Nations, Métis, and Inuit women*. Statistics Canada. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11442-eng.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Parker, W. T. (1918). *Personal experiences among our North American Indians from 1867 to 1885: Supplement*. Northampton, MA: Author. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?id=FuFyAAAAMAAJpg=PA39dq=William+Thornton+Parker&hl=en&sa=X&ei=YPyCUfLnFMS7ygHrpICYCg&ved=0CFAQ6AEwCA. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Parkman, F. (1865). *The Jesuits in North America in the seventeenth century*. Project Gutenberg. Retrieved from http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6933/pg6933.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Pearce, M. (2013, September). An awkward silence: Missing and murdered vulnerable women and the Canadian Justice System (dissertation). Common Law Section, Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa. Retrieved from http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/handle/10393/26299?show=full. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Perkel, C. (2013, 18 February). At least 3,000 aboriginal children died in residential schools, research shows. *The Canadian Press*. Retrieved from http://m.theglobeandmail.colm/news/politics/at-least-3000-aboriginal-children-died-in-residential-schools-research-shows/article8786118/?service=mobile. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Perry S. W. (2004, December). *American Indians and crime—A BJS statistical profile 1992–2002*. Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. Retrieved from http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/aic02.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Perry, S. W. (2012, October). *Tribal crime data collection activities, 2012*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/tcdca12.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Pierce, A. (2009). *Shattered hearts: The commercial sexual exploitation of American Indian women and girls in Minnesota*. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center.

Pierce, A. (2011). American Indian adolescent girls—Vulnerability to sex trafficking. *American Indian/Alaska Native Mental Health Research, 19*(1), 37–56. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/EJ970439.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Plane, A. M. (1993). The examination of Sarah Ahhaton: The politics of adultery in an Indian town of 17th century Massachusetts. In P. Benes (Ed.), *Algonquins of New England past and present* (pp. 1–12). Boston: Boston University Press.

Plane, A. M. (2000). *Colonial intimacies: Indian marriage in early New England*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell.

Poupart, L. (2003). The familiar face of genocide: Internalized oppression among American Indians. *Hypatia, 18*(2), 86–100. Retrieved from http://www.public.asu.edu/~asmfc/18.2poupart.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Pratt, R. (1973). The advantages of mingling Indians with Whites. In F. Prucha (Ed.), *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "friends of the Indian" 1880–1990*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Presbyterian Church in Canada. (2013). Why truth and reconciliation matters to Presbyterians. Retrieved from http://presbyterian.ca/healing/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Proulx, J., & Perrault, S. (2000). *No place for violence*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Fernwood.

Project Coe. (2011). Native Americans in video games: Racism, stereotypes, & the digitized Indian. Retrieved from http://www.projectcoe.com/2011/04/04/native-americans-in-video-games-racism-stereotypes-and-progress/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Prucha, F. P. (1986). *The Great Father: The United States government and the American Indians*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Quinn, A. (2007). Reflections on intergenerational trauma: Healing as a critical intervention. *First Peoples Child & Family Review, 3*(4), 72–82. Retrieved from http://fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/online-journal/vol3num4/Quinn_pp72.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Rahill, P. J. (1953). *The Catholic Indian missions and Grant's Peace Policy 1870–1884*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. Retrieved from http://archive.org/details/catholicindianmi013196mbp. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Ray, C. M. (2013, 7 May). Letters detail alleged Church abuse. *South Dakota Public Broadcasting*. Retrieved from http://listen.sdpb.org/post/letters-detail-alleged-church-sex-abuse. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Rennison, C. M. (2001). *Violent victimization and race, 1993–98*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/vvr98.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Rennison, C. M. (2002). *Hispanic victims of violent crime, 1993–2000*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/hvvc00.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Reuther, R. (1983). *Sexism and God-talk: Toward a feminist theology*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Roach, M. K. (2004). *The Salem witch trials: A day by day chronicle of a community under siege*. Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing.

Roesch Wagner, S. (1986). The untold story of the Iroquois influence on early feminists. *On the Issues (Winter)*. Retrieved from http://www.feminist.com/resources/artspeech/genwom/iroquoisinfluence.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Rolston, A. (2010). Highway of Tears revisited. *Ryerson Review of Journalism, Summer*. Retrieved from http://www.rrj.ca/m8461. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Rowlandson, M. (1682/1974). *A narrative of the captivity and removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. Temecula, CA: Reprint Services Corporation.

Salmon, M. (2000). The limits of independence. In N. F. Cott (Ed.), *No small courage: A history of women in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sands, K. M. (1992). Indian women's personal narrative: Voices past and present. In M. Cully (Ed.), *American Women's Autobiography: Fea[s]ts of memory*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Schatz, D. (2010). Unsettling the politics of exclusion: Aboriginal activism and the Vancouver Downtown Eastside. Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, June 23, Montreal, QC. Retrieved from http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2010/Schatz.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Schereschewsky, J. W. (1913). Trachoma among the Indians. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 61*(13), 1113–1116. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books/about/Journal_of_the_American_Medical_Associat.html?id=dbAhAQAAMAAJ. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Secretary of the Interior (1908). *Reports of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, Administrative reports, Volume II, Indian affairs*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from https://books.google.com/books?id=YUMwAQAAMAAJ&lpg=PA55&ots=6JRr7VNfii&dq=indian%20appropriations%20act%201908&pg=PA55#v=onepage&q=indian%20appropriations%20act%201908&f=false. Accessed 4 Feb 2015.

Sethi, A. (2007). Domestic sex trafficking of Aboriginal girls in Canada: Issues and implications. *First Peoples Child & Family Review, 3*, 57–71. Retrieved from http://www.fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/online-journal/vol3num3/Sethi_57.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Silva, C. (2011). *Miraculous plagues: An epidemiology of early New England narrative*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Simmons, P. (2009). Intraracial crime. In H. Greene & S. Gabbidon (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of race and crime* (pp. 398–400). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. doi:10.4135/9781412971928.n161.

Sisterwatch Project, & Women's Memorial March Committee. (2011). *The tragedy of missing and murdered Aboriginal women in Canada*. Vancouver Police Department. Retrieved from http://vancouver.ca/police/assets/pdf/reports-policies/missing-murdered-aboriginal-women-canada-report.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Slotkin, R. (1973). *Regeneration through violence: The mythology of the American frontier 1600–1860*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Smith, A. (2004). Boarding school abuses, human rights, and reparations. *Social Justice*. Retrieved from http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=136652504. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Smith, A. (2005). *Conquest: Sexual violence and American Indian genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Smith, A. (2007). Soul wound: The legacy of Native American schools. *Amnesty International Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.amnestyusa.org/node/87342. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Smith, A. & Ross, L. (2004). Introduction: Native women and State violence. *Social Justice, 31*(4), 1.

Society of Jesus, LeJeune, P., Thwaites, R. G., & Bolin, S. (2012). *The Jesuit relations and allied documents: Travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France* (Vol. 18). Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books/download/The_Jesuit_relations_and_allied_document.pdf?id=ZD4OAAAAYAAJoutput=pdf & sig=ACfU3U0mQoNlMopuefK8omrehNri6-9pQg. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Sonnichsen, C. L. (1978). *From Hopalong to Hud: Thoughts on Western fiction*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press.

Spencer, H. (1896). *The principles of ethics* (Vol. 1). New York: D. Appleton & Company. Retrieved from http://library.mises.org/books/Herbert%20Spencer/The%20Principles%20of%20Ethics,%20Volume%20I.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Stannard, D. E. (1992). *American holocaust: The conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford

Statistics Canada. (2006). Measuring violence against women: Statistical trends 2006. Retrieved from http://ywcacanada.ca/data/research_docs/00000043.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Statistics Canada. (2008). Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal victims of homicide in Canada, by sex and accused-victim relationship, 1997–2004. Cited in Violence Prevention Initiative. (2009). Violence against Aboriginal persons. Retrieved from http://www.gov.nl.ca/VPI/facts/aboriginal_persons.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Statistics Canada. (2011, 17 May). Study: Violent victimization of Aboriginal women. *The Daily*.

Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quoti-dien/110517/dq110517b-eng.htm. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Tannahill, R. (1982). *Sex in history*. Briarcliff Manor, NY: Stein & Day.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (1998). *Prevalence, incidence, and consequences of violence against women: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retriev from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/172837.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000a). *Extent, nature, and consequences of intimate partner violence*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/181867.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000b). *Full report of the prevalence, incidence, and consequences of violence against women*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdf-files1/nij/183781.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2006). *Extent, nature, and consequences of rape victimization: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey*. Washington DC: National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/210346.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Trainor, C., & Mihorean, K. (Eds.) (2001). *Family violence in Canada: A statistical profile*. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.

Trafzer, C. (Ed.) (2009). *American Indians/American Presidents: A history*. Washington DC: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada. (2001). Hidden from history: The Canadian holocaust. Retrieved from http://canadiangenocide.nativeweb.org/geno-cide.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (n.d.a). Reconciliation. Retrieved from http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=9. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (n.d.b). Residential schools. Retrieved from http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=4. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2012). They came for the children: Canada, Aboriginal peoples, and residential schools. Retrieved from http://www.trc-cvr.ca/. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Tsianina-Lomawaima, K. (1994). *They called it Prairie Light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Tsosie, R. (2006). The BIA's apology to Native Americans: An essay on collective memory and collective conscience. In E. Barkan & A. Karn (Eds.), *Taking wrongs seriously: Apologies and reconciliation* (pp. 185–212). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Turner, O. (1851). *History of the pioneer settlement of Phelps and Gorham's purchase, and Morris' reserve*. Rochester, NY: Lee, Mann & Co. Retriev from http://openlibrary.org/works/OL16720989W/History_of_the_pioneer_settlement_of_Phelps_and_Gorham's_purchase_and_Morris'_reserve. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Tyler, S. L. (1973). *A history of Indian policy*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

United Nations. (1951, 12 January). Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Retrieved from http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/x1cppcg.htm. Accessed 15 May 2013.

U.S. Attorney's Office, District of North Dakota. (2012, 10 April). New Town man found guilty of sex trafficking, sexual abuse, drug trafficking, and witness tampering. U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from http://www.justice.gov/usao/nd/news/2012/04-10-12-Dustin%20Morsette%20Verdict.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

U.S. Senate. (1865). *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians: Report on the conduct of the war, 38 Cong., 2 sess*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?hl=enoutput=acs_help & id=YMIFAAAAQAAJ. Accessed 15 May 2013.

U.S. Senate. (1907). *Rules and regulations governing the Department of the Interior in its various branches, Part 4, Senate documents, 59th Congress, 2D session, December 3, 1906-March 4, 1907(21)*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?id=yuU3AQAAIAAJprintsec=frontcover&dq=Congressional+serial+set+1907hl=en&sa=X&ei=xWAZUrvKO8qLqwGBu4GYAQ&ved=0CC8Q6AEwAA. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Valencia-Weber, G., & Zuni, C. P. (1995). Domestic violence and tribal protection of indigenous women in the United States. *St. John's Law Review, 69*(1), 69–170.

Vaughan, A. T., & Richter, D. K. (1980). Crossing the cultural divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605–1763. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 90*, 23–99.

Waldram, J. B., Herring, D. A., & Young, T. K. (2006). *Aboriginal health in Canada: Historical, cultural, and epidemiological perspectives*. Guelph, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Waselkov, G. A., & Braund, K. E. (1995). *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence. (2012). *Domestic violence fatalities involving Native people in Washington State*. Seattle, WA: Author. Retriev from http://www.wscadv.org/docs/FR-Native-Issues-Brief.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Weber, M. (1930). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Routledge.

White Plume, D. L. (1991). The work of Sina Waken Win Okolakiciye-Sacred Shawl Women's Society. In C. Reyer, B. Medicine, & D. White Plume (Eds.),

Canta Ohitika Win (Brave Hearted Woman): Images of Lakota women from the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press.

Williams, S. C. (1930). *Adair's history of the American Indians*. New York: Promontory Press.

Williams, T. (2012, 22 May). For Native American women, scourge of rape, rare justice. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/23/us/native-americans-struggle-with-high-rate-of-rape.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Wolk, L. E. (1982, June). *Minnesota's American Indian battered women: The cycle of oppression*. St. Paul, MN: Battered Women's Project, St. Paul American Indian Center.

Woodward, S. (2011, 28 July). South Dakota boarding school survivors detail sexual abuse. *Indian Country Today Media Network*. Retrieved from http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/article/south-dakota-boarding-school-survivors-detail-sexual-abuse-42420. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Yellow Horse Brave Heart, M., & DeBruyn, E. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. *American Indian/Alaska Native Mental Health Research, 8*(2), 60–82.

Yu, J. (2009). *Kill the Indian, save the man*. Pennsylvania Book, Pennsylvania State University. Retrieved from http://pabook.libraries.psu.edu/palitmap/CarlisleIndianSchool.html. Accessed 15 May 2013.

Zion, J. W., & Zion, E. B. (1993). *Hozho' Sokee'*—Stay together nicely: Domestic violence under Navajo common law. *Arizona State University Law Journal, 25*(2), 407–426.

Violence Against Women in the Orthodox Jewish Community

Raffi Bilek

Community Profile

In order to understand the dynamics of violence against women in the Orthodox Jewish community, it is necessary to first define and understand what it means to be Jewish and Orthodox. The lives of the Orthodox revolve around their Jewishness. It would be impossible to provide effective counseling within an Orthodox community without at least a basic understanding of the culture and the way religion not only plays into it but even defines it. Perhaps the single most significant tenet of Orthodox Judaism is the belief in *Torah miSinai*—that the Torah[1] was given to the Jewish people by G-d at Mount Sinai some 3000 years ago, and that therefore to observe the Torah is to act in accordance with the will of G-d. A Jew is considered Orthodox by dint of their belief in, and to a lesser extent their obedience to, the Torah system. The comprehensive set of laws spelled out by the Torah is called *halacha*[2] (pl. *halachos*), and indeed there is no aspect of life that is not addressed by it.

However, it would be inaccurate to reduce the concept of "Torah" to nothing more than a legal text. (A cursory reading of the Bible is enough to make clear that it is not merely a lawbook.) The Torah is referred to in various places as "*Toras Chaim*"—instructions for life. It is understood to be a guide for humankind to achieve its highest expression in this world, and as such, it runs much deeper into the human soul than a list of dos and don'ts—so deep, in fact, that it is described in traditional writings as the blueprint of the world. Thus, adherence to the Torah's directives involves much more than ritual behaviors. Being a Torah-observant Jew means to bring oneself in line with the underlying structure of the universe and the will of G-d, and to develop a relationship with Him. This is not accomplished, as some other worldviews propound, via self-effacement; rather, Jewish thought recognizes that G-d created every individual person, every distinct soul with its different characteristics, strengths and weaknesses, likes and dislikes. G-d expects us to use all of these traits in his service. Every human being is unique; every human being has his or her own contribution to make to G-d's creation.

This contribution is sometimes called *tikkun olam*, repairing the world. Some interpret *tikkun olam* as acts of kindness or social justice. These are certainly important values in the Jewish system, but the Orthodox concept of repairing the world is primarily a spiritual one, a concept in which volunteerism and social action play only a small role out of the nearly infinite range of human behavior, all of which can and should

---

[1] "Torah" can refer to a handful of different concepts, such as the Five Books of Moses, or the whole "Old Testament," or even the entire body of Jewish law and philosophy. In this context it refers to the core laws and ideas that form the foundation of the observant Jewish way of life.

[2] "*Halacha*" likewise can refer either to the body of Jewish law or to a single law.

R. Bilek (✉)
Baltimore Therapy Center, Baltimore, MD, USA
e-mail: raffibilek@gmail.com

be done with G-d-consciousness. The job of the human being is to complete the work that G-d began in creating the universe. It is evident that G-d left things in a state of incompletion, because the world is not yet perfect. Having left it incomplete, G-d expects us to finish up the job. (See Genesis 2:3, which is rendered by some as "G-d blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, for on it He ceased all His work that he created to do"— i.e., He created work to be done.)

The work that is expected of the Orthodox Jew is primarily personal: working on his own self and character to purify it and make it as G-dly as possible—after all, what does a person have more control over than his own self? It is axiomatic in Orthodoxy that the way in which we build our relationship with Him is by imitating His attributes: the more similar we are to Him, the more we can relate and connect to Him. Thus, *imitatio Dei* is an important guiding principle for the Orthodox Jew. As the Jerusalem Talmud states (Peah 1:1), "Just as He is merciful and compassionate, so you be merciful and compassionate." Likewise in Leviticus 11:44: "You shall be holy, for I am holy."

Relationships in Orthodox Judaism

Here, we come to the importance of interpersonal relationships in this scheme, for the recipients of your mercy and compassion are none other than the people around you. In fact, this is one understanding of the verse that quotes G-d as saying "it is not good for man to be alone" (Genesis 2:18): for a human being on his own has no one else to give to, no one else to be compassionate towards, and thus has no way to become like G-d. If man could not imitate his creator by becoming a giver, that certainly could not be considered "good." Thus, the ideal "religious" person in Orthodox Judaism is not a monk, a celibate, or an ascetic. Interpersonal relationships are an indispensable part of the system, one of the main avenues through which we build our relationship with G-d. And, like everything else in the life of an Orthodox Jew, interpersonal relationships are governed by numerous *halachos*. These are re-

ferred to as *halachos bein adam l'chaveiro*, laws regarding the interactions among people. Examples range from laws concerning business relationships, loans, and torts to the obligations to honor one's parents, visit the sick, and avoid derogatory speech. Indeed, the famous line, "Love your fellow as yourself" (Leviticus 19:18) is referred to by some as "the entirety of the Torah" (Babylonian Talmud, Shabbos 31a). Note too that over half of the Ten Commandments relate to our dealings with other people.

Naturally, the more close and intimate a relationship, the more one is obligated to do in sustaining and nurturing it. The marital relationship is thus paradigmatic, in many ways, in the eyes of Orthodox Judaism[3]. A person has more responsibilities to his or her spouse than to any other person. A commonly cited *halacha* written in Maimonides' *Code of Laws* (called the *Mishneh Torah*) is that "a man must honor his wife more than himself and love her as his own body" (*Ishus* 15:19). Meanwhile, a wife must "honor her husband to an extreme and respect him…like a king" (*Ishus* 15:20). There are volumes upon volumes written about marital obligations alone; of the four sections of the standard codebook of *halacha* that is the basis for all modern practice, one is devoted entirely to this topic.

The implication of this idea—that marriage is the holiest of interpersonal relationships—is that sexuality is in Jewish thought of paramount significance. Far from a concession to human desires or evil forces, sex is the very heart, the profoundest expression, of the marital relationship. Celibacy is valued only outside of marriage; within the marital context it is considered improper and in some cases grounds for divorce. *Halacha* in fact places an obligation upon a husband to ensure that his wife is sexually satisfied— an obligation upon which he signs in accepting the nuptial contract (called the *ketubah*)—and sets guidelines for the minimum frequency with

---

[3] It is a given in Orthodox Judaism that a romantic relationship happens in the context of a marriage between a man and a woman. Premarital and extramarital liaisons— as well as same-sex marriages—are not considered acceptable for reasons outside the scope of this chapter.

which he must provide intimate encounters based upon various factors.

Specific examples of the importance of sexuality are legion; indeed, as one of the deepest elements of human relationship, it can be seen as underlying the entire construct of Jewish philosophy and theology. Thus, the canonical work Song of Songs, which reads like an erotic letter between lovers, is referred to in the Talmud as the "Holy of Holies," a reference to the most sacred spot on the planet. The Holy of Holies was a specific room in the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, the most internal and sanctified room into which the only person allowed was the High Priest (a position which required one to be married), and even then, only once a year. In this room rested the Ark of the Covenant, upon which sat two golden cherubim—a male and a female—which according to tradition would reflect the status of the relationship between G-d and the Jewish people: when things were rocky and the Jews were disobeying G-d, the cherubim would look away from each other; but when the Jewish people were fulfilling G-d's will, the cherubim were locked in sexual embrace.

Thus, it becomes clear that the spousal relationship is not only vitally important in and of itself, it is also a metaphor for a person's relationship to G-d. Human beings are far more attuned to physical sensations than to spiritual ones (by G-d's intentional design, of course). In order for us to relate to Him properly, "this corresponding to that did G-d create" (Ecclesiastes 7:14)—G-d created a physical world that exactly mirrors the spiritual world. This means that there is a physical counterpart to every spiritual experience, and we are to see every physical experience we have as a metaphor for a spiritual concept. Marriage between man and woman is thus a metaphor for the relationship between G-d and the individual, as expressed in the above examples—the cherubim, the High Priest (to whom a wife in her home is explicitly compared), Song of Songs (which is interpreted by commentators as a love letter not between man and woman but between G-d and the Jewish people), and others.

Gender

Since our relationship with G-d is embodied most significantly in our marital life, it follows that gender roles play an important part in the Orthodox Jewish system. In relationship between human and Divine, for which marriage is the metaphor, G-d generally takes the male role (hence, we generally refer to G-d with the pronoun He) with the Jewish people as His bride[4]. This metaphor is *not* intended to suggest that men are considered superior and women their subordinates (just as it does not mean to say that men are omniscient or that women are in fact made up of hundreds of thousands of people). Rather, its meaning is that there is a specific relationship between the two parties in which each has a defined role. Sometimes, G-d makes a decision, and the Jewish people listen. Other times, the roles are actually reversed, as per the adage that "the righteous person decrees and G-d obeys" (cf. Babylonian Talmud, Moed Katan 16b).

What then *is* the meaning of the male/female distinction in relationships between man and man, and between man and G-d? The simplest answer can be described by once again looking at the sexual aspect of human relationships, in which the male gives forth and the female accepts and receives that which he gives over. Men's role in this act of "creation" is limited to the initial generative input, whereas the woman's is much more extensive: she does not merely receive—she develops, grows, and changes what she has received, turning it into something far more significant. So too the relationship between man and G-d: G-d provided the initial creative input; thereafter, it is in man's domain to develop and elevate that which exists already. Women and men are intended to be partners in their task, just as G-d and humankind are partners in the task of creating and completing the world, each with a different, complimentary role. In G-d's eyes, woman is "*kenegdo*," opposite and equivalent to man (Genesis 2:18); different, but no more or less valuable.

---

[4] G-d's also has a feminine aspect, referred to as the *Shechinah*, which plays a less visible role in Scripture.

Yet, as in any culture, the reality and the ideal do not always match up. Of course there are people in the Orthodox Jewish community who hold sexist beliefs or behave in sexist ways. There is scarcely a group on the planet that does not have the problem of sexism (or racism, or any other form of prejudice) to some degree; few of them, however, formalize it in the ideals they maintain. Orthodox Judaism is no different: though men and women have different roles, both are considered equally important, worthy, and "religious." Men have the role that is more external; women's is more internal. (This again is reflected in the physical world, most bluntly in their very reproductive organs.) Men form the public face of the family unit; women are the motor behind it. The homemaker is accorded tremendous respect in Jewish thought. There is a psalm of praise of the "Woman of Valor" recited every week at the start of the Friday night Sabbath meal, lauding her for the many ways in which she cares for her home and family. (There is no such corresponding psalm for "The Nine-to-Five Man" or "The Diaper-Changing Husband.") The Torah instructs us to value both male and female roles equally.

While this explanation sounds apologetic or just phony to some, the truth is that it is simply a matter of differing worldviews. For example, in our Western societies, individual freedom and expression are paramount values. By contrast, in many Eastern cultures the needs of the group are valued above the needs of the individual. While this perspective may be at odds with our own values, it is not necessarily any better or worse.

Orthodox Judaism also diverges from "Western" beliefs in many ways. In the Western world, "success" is usually defined by professional accomplishment, public recognition, and dollars in the bank; a private, nonremunerative role is considered less-than. If these are the benchmarks for success, then it is true that Orthodox Judaism does not provide equal access to them. But Orthodox Judaism has a different set of values. These, as we have discussed, include holiness, personal development, and relationship with G-d. These goals are indeed equally attainable by all, regardless of gender, and regardless too of race, ethnicity, national origin, socioeconomic status, age, or ability. Thus, in Orthodox Judaism there is nobody who is in the least bit excluded from reaching the top—it is just a question of where one thinks the top is located.

These descriptions of gender roles are, of course, generalizations. There are Orthodox women who spend all day taking care of the home and children, and there are those who work in a variety of professional occupations. Orthodox men are directed by the Torah to help at home with raising and educating the children. As in any ethnic group, there is quite a bit of heterogeneity among people and communities. Orthodoxy comprises many communities which consider themselves widely disparate, even if they can be grouped together under the rubric of Orthodox Judaism—Chassidim, Chareidim, Litvaks, Mizrachis, Modern Orthodox, etc.—and each of these has its own subgroups. By and large, the more "traditional" a community is, the more rigidly these gender roles are maintained, similar to many other groups and communities. The more "progressive" they are, the more variance there is in gender roles.

Perceptions of Men's Violence Against Women

These gender roles obviously have a significant interplay with the phenomenon of violence[5] against women. Men *do* in some ways have more power than women, especially, as noted, when it comes to the public sphere. (As explained above, this does not make them better or preferred, just as men's greater physical power does not indicate their superiority.) This lends itself to possibilities of abuse, as does any form of power, in ways which will be discussed below. Moreover, the values described thus far also contribute to *perceptions* of violence against women in the community, from both within and without.

---

[5] The term "violence" throughout this chapter refers not only to physical violence, but also to any form of aggression, be it physical, emotional, verbal, sexual, or any other kind.

For example, "outsiders," such as therapists, child protective workers, and other professionals who come in contact with the community often perceive Orthodox Jewish practices as explicitly sexist. They notice practices in Judaism that bar women from serving as rabbis or judges, from counting as one of the ten required to form a prayer quorum, and from a number of other practices. They frequently observe women taking the traditional role of mother and housewife, while men go out to work or study in the *beit midrash* (house of learning). They see strict dress codes applied to women but not men. An explanation of these discrepancies is beyond the scope of this chapter. I refer the reader to one of the classic works on this topic, *Jewish Woman in Jewish Law,* by Rabbi Moshe Meiselman (1978).

Furthermore, individuals who do not observe *halacha* often view the entire system as restrictive, even oppressive, especially of women. Indeed, as we stated earlier, there is virtually no aspect of life that is not addressed by *halacha*. A life full of dos and don'ts strikes many as narrow and controlled, rather than meaningful and growth oriented, as it is experienced by its practitioners. Thus, it is not uncommon for family situations to be labeled abusive when the reality is that religious practice might be confusing the issue. (This is not to say that abuse can be excused when it is under the rubric of religious practice; however, family abuse is rarely black and white. There is a spectrum of healthy and unhealthy behavior; religious practices that seem excessive or rigid can make it look like a family with mild problems is actually suffering from problems that are more severe.)

> Miriam's therapist is concerned about her patient's well-being and self-esteem. Miriam has told her that she rarely goes to synagogue, preferring to pray quietly at home. She is a stay-at-home mom and manages the bulk of the childcare on a shoe-string, while her husband earns a meager stipend from the religious institution where he learns Torah full-time. The therapist feels that Miriam is dominated at home and lacks assertiveness. While that might be true, this cannot be inferred by what Miriam has shared so far; in fact, these aspects of Miriam's life are quite normative in the Orthodox community and do not in themselves imply that there is a problem.

Seeing things from a Western perspective, as discussed above, it is not hard to see how the therapist came to her conclusion. Orthodox women do have less access to many of the goals defined by Western culture. However, to measure Orthodoxy by those standards is to judge one culture by the values of another and to posit that one's own way of life is superior. In the framework of the values of Orthodox Judaism, however, no individual is better or worse off than another in the big picture. Notwithstanding the differences between men's and women's roles, both genders are valued equally and are given equal opportunity to reach the goal *as defined by the Torah*. To combat the perception of sexism, it is necessary to become acquainted with the Orthodox way of life and mission (a task which is only begun in this chapter).

Outside perspectives can also work the other way, leading people to miss abusive situations that do in fact exist. In an average consensual relationship, a woman refusing to engage in sexual relations with her partner for half of every month might seem unusual, and a husband pushing for sexual relations might seem understandable (if unrefined). However, in the context of the practice of *niddah*, which prohibits physical contact between husband and wife for two weeks out of the month, the woman's position makes much more sense, and the husband's unwillingness to recognize her religious needs might be problematic. Indeed, forcing their wives to violate the *niddah* restrictions is one tactic that Orthodox abusers commonly use to attack their victims[6] psychologically. Such coercion extends beyond the wife as well, and husbands who decide to use their children as weapons against their wives might force them as well to violate the rules of *halacha*, or he might violate the rules himself in front of them. While this can be a deep source of pain for the victim of abuse, it may go unnoticed by outside parties. (This situation is common in families where abuse is present in cases when

---

[6] For the sake of simplicity, in this chapter victims will be referred to as "she" and abusers as "he." Although there are certainly female abusers and male victims, the reverse is statistically far more common.

child protective services are involved. Child protection workers sometimes overlook religious factors in determining what effect certain behaviors are having on the children.)

Even within the Orthodox world, abuse can be missed or overlooked. A number of factors contribute to such misperceptions. One major cause is the "*shanda* factor," referring to the shame that is brought upon the Jewish people in the eyes of the world at large. Admitting that abuse exists in the Orthodox Jewish world would mean admitting that "the People of the Book" are not really following the Book very well. The reluctance to concede such failings affects the willingness and ability of key players in the Orthodox Jewish community to see abuse when it happens. Even those who do recognize that the Orthodox community is not immune to this problem sometimes shield themselves by asserting that it is "not in my backyard." Community members do not want to believe it about their neighbors, and community leaders do not want to believe it about those for whom and to whom they are responsible.

Religious factors also play into this denial. As noted above, Orthodox Judaism places a very high value on marriage. Although divorce is permitted and much discussed in the *halachic* literature, it is still a departure from the ideal. According to the Talmud, "when a man divorces his first wife, the very altar [in the Holy of Holies] sheds tears over him" (Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 22b). Rabbis, who are required for officiating divorces, may retain imbalanced views of the relative importance of Judaism's various ideals, and may thus tend to minimize instances of domestic violence as a way of keeping a marriage together—even when that is not in anybody's best interests and not the will of G-d.

Another religious value that affects perceptions of violence is the universal call to *teshuva*, repentance, in the Orthodox faith. The literal translation of "*teshuva*" is actually "return," referring to a person's return to the straight and narrow from an errant path. The word for sin in Hebrew, "*chet*" actually means more specifically "miss," as in missing the goal. One who sins has gone astray and must return to the proper path.

Teshuva is a principle that is mentioned thrice daily in the order of prayers (some days more), is celebrated in its own holidays, and is effectively an ongoing obligation for anyone who sins (i.e., everyone). Fundamental and constructive as it is, it can sometimes cause problems too, such as when a religious figure sends an abuser to "do *teshuva*," or becomes convinced that the abuser has already done *teshuva* and should be given a "second chance." Such occurrences have generally led to little progress and much pain. (This approach has also been known to be used with, and to the detriment of, addicts of all shades.)

> Esti finally gathered up the courage to speak to her rabbi about the serious problems in her marriage. Her husband Moshe had a terrible temper and was frequently emotionally abusive to her. In addition, he was very controlling and insisted on having things his way all the time. She could no longer live like that and wanted a divorce. The rabbi tried to calm her down and said he would speak to her husband. He later called her back to his office and assured her that Moshe was very remorseful and had promised to do teshuva. He convinced her that a divorce was an inappropriate solution. Esti was uncomfortable but did not know what else she could do. Moshe's abusive behaviors decreased for a short while, but within a few weeks he was as abusive as he had ever been.

A final point to mention regarding the Orthodox denial of abuse is that part of the reluctance to acknowledge it stems from the historical distrust between the mental health and religious communities. While today these groups often operate together—indeed, it is the aim of this volume to facilitate such collaboration—in the past there has been mutual skepticism and disdain, which have left an impression until today. Psychologists looked down on religion as an unscientific enterprise, a crutch, even a sham. Religious people viewed them as the enemy, as anti-G-d, as destroyers of the faith. Thus, when the mental health community tries to address the issue of abuse among religious groups such as the Orthodox, the latter can sometimes respond as if their faith is under attack (which, in truth, on some occasions it is). As a result, they pull back farther and farther into denial as helpers from the outside push harder and harder to address the issue.

Values that Contribute to Violence

Despite the idea that "love your neighbor as yourself" is intended to be a foundational principle of the Torah, many abusers nonetheless manage to twist the Torah's intent and make it a tool of their violence. As explained above, the Torah comprises much more than a single (if very thick) volume. In fact, Orthodox tradition holds that the Torah was given partly in written form—the thick volume—and partly in oral form, which was transmitted from generation to generation. The oral Torah was intended to clarify and expand on the written Torah, which was deliberately left vague in many instances as a way of ensuring that the oral portion would not be abandoned. However, as time went on, the clarity that the Jewish people once had in the oral Torah faded, and ambiguity crept back into the system.[7] Thus, there are often multiple valid approaches to fulfilling a precept of the Torah; however, this does not mean that *all* approaches are valid. It is in these ambiguous areas that misguided or malevolent people can inject their own perspectives and biases, leading to a distasteful result that appears to have roots in the Torah.

For example, there are a number of teachings that are used to justify male power and control over women. One such famous teaching is G-d's curse to Eve in Genesis 3:16 that "he [your husband] shall rule over you." Some see this as a sanction from G-d for men to have absolute power in the family, to be sole authority in the house, to effectively control women. Many, however, point out that this verse is not a *directive* to Eve, but rather a *curse*.[8] Indeed, we have seen that over the course of human history it is true that men, as the holders of public power, have generally been considered superior and treated preferentially (and to this day women continue

to earn less than their male counterparts). Nonetheless, we recognize that it is not the ideal. A rabbinic adage states that "one who comes to defile—the way is left open for him" (Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 38b). The interpretation of this verse is a case in point: one who wishes to use this as a support for a sinful position has every opportunity to do so.

Another source that is commonly misused to justify men's violence against women is a rabbinic declaration that "a proper woman does the will of her husband."[9] Countless abusive husbands have used this to "prove" to their wives that the wife must do whatever the husband requests. Many women in fact were taught this dictum, perhaps repeatedly, during their education as children and teens. They grew up expecting that they would fulfill this to the fullest extent, believing that their husbands would only be asking them perform acts of pure holiness, or, at worst, quirky requests of personal preference. Rarely do these women envision having to comply with demands that are deviant, distasteful to them, or even forbidden.

> Gittel knew that something was wrong in her marriage, but she believed it was her fault and that she was simply not being a good enough wife. She kept trying harder to please Yosef. When he asked her to do things in bed that she wasn't comfortable with, she suppressed her misgivings and tried to make him happy. When he began to insist on sexual relations even during the niddah period, she assumed that his halachic justifications were authentic. The final straw for her only came once they had a baby, when Yossi punished her for some misdeed by refusing to let her pick up the baby when it was screaming, insisting that she was required to do as he said. The emotional agony of the incident was more than she could bear: she took her child and fled to her mother's house.

In reality, the "proper woman" principle is undisputedly limited when it comes to matters forbid-

---

[7] This is a complex topic that is dealt with in many books and is outside the scope of this chapter.

[8] This interpretation is strongly supported by its context. Few people would suggest that it is a *commandment* for men to sweat while they eat (Genesis 3:19) or that anesthesia is forbidden during childbirth since women are required to bring forth children in pain (Genesis 3:16).

[9] This is commonly quoted, though in fact it does not appear in quite this form anywhere in the extensive Jewish religious literature. The actual quote, which is admittedly similar, is found in *Tanna d'Bei Rabi Eliyahu Rabbah* (Chap. 9), which is not an authoritative legal source but a *midrashic* one, meaning that it is intended to be educational and metaphorical, but not necessarily *halachically* definitive.

den under the law. More importantly, although it is a Jewish value that a wife should try to please her husband as much as possible, the reverse is also true, as cited above in the *Mishneh Torah* above that "a man must honor his wife more than himself and love her as his own body." The message of the "proper woman" quotation is in fact quite vague: the context in which it is presented in the original source is the Biblical story of Yael's defeat of Sisera in Judges 4. One who reads the narrative is hard-pressed to understand what connection it has to the principle people claim it conveys. Nor is this idea mentioned anywhere in codified *halacha*. Regrettably, there are rabbis who will uphold this perspective and will send women back to abusive husbands with instructions to "do her husband's will" even when the situation is abusive or intolerable to the woman (although generally not if he is forcing her to violate a clear *halacha*). Part of this problem can also be attributed to the victim's ability to present her case; it is well-known that victims of domestic violence often have trouble demonstrating the full extent of the abuse in front of a third party; in Orthodox Jewish circles this often means that a victim may be unable to explain to a rabbi that she is being forced to do things that directly contravene *halacha.*

There is, as has been described above, a difference in the way men and women are treated by *halacha*, a difference that nevertheless does not imply the superiority of one over the other (just as a rabbi and a psychologist, for example, each have different requirements before the law, such as those regarding licensure, confidentiality, and others—yet one is not "better" than the other). This is often misconstrued. For instance, the law states that any income earned by a wife automatically belongs to her husband. (Note that this inherently indicates that women are neither assumed nor required to stay in the home and eschew a career, as many critics believe.) The implication is that the husband is the family's default treasurer. This is not a privilege but a responsibility: as a result of his position, he is required by the *halacha* to feed and clothe his wife and children. Now, in a case where the wife is more competent at managing money than

the husband, there is nothing that says he cannot give the job over to her—though he would still be held responsible for making sure the family has its basic needs. More importantly, however, is the point that this ruling has a corollary that is often overlooked. There is another arrangement outlined in *halacha* in which the wife may keep her earnings, and the husband is relieved of his obligation to make sure she is fed and clothed. Crucially, it is the *wife* who gets to make this choice. She may decide whether he is to shoulder the burden of her material needs—in which case her income belongs to him—or she may decide to keep her income—in which case she has no claim on her husband to provide for her (see Meiselman, 1978 for further discussion). This is just one of many examples that appear—not only to outsiders but sometimes even to community members themselves—to condone men's control of women, where further exploration reveals that this is not the case at all.

Some Orthodox practices appear even to promote control of women. One of the most well-known illustrations of this is the *gett*, the Jewish document of divorce (Lamm 1991). *Halacha* dictates that a *gett* must be willingly given by the man to the woman; she cannot unilaterally force a divorce (Mishneh Torah, Geirushin, 1:1). This leads in some cases to the phenomenon of the *agunah*, the chained woman, who cannot get remarried because she is still legally married to a man who refuses to divorce her (Broyde 2001). This topic is very controversial in Orthodox circles; a cursory web search will turn up numerous news stories.

There are many qualifications. A woman may certainly petition for a divorce if she is not happy in the marriage. It is when the man refuses to give a *gett* that the matter becomes more complicated. Even so, in many cases a man *can* be forced to give a *gett* (such as in clear cases of domestic abuse, in fact)—according to some sources, he can even be physically beaten in such cases until he consents. In other cases where it is not so clear, other tactics have been used to dissolve a marriage; however, ultimately there are still cases where women are chained, unable to legally extricate themselves from a marriage.

And there are men who exploit this arrangement to further abuse their wives.

The issue of the *gett* has been a target of Jewish liberals of all stripes for decades as a patriarchal, chauvinistic practice. Even some Orthodox circles have in recent times begun campaigns to change the law. Once again, this issue really comes down to a matter of perspective. In Western society, holding the power of the *gett* indicates a superior position, because, as noted, American society values such things as power and individual choice. In the eyes of one who holds these values, power means control. By contrast, in the eyes of one coming from an Orthodox perspective, power means responsibility. In the case of a marriage, responsibility is being given into the hands of the man. Although some may dispute this, it is not revolutionary to suggest the idea that men have a tougher time with monogamy, whether one sees that as a cultural, biological, or evolutionary phenomenon. By giving the husband the keys to the marital bond, the Torah means to instill in him a sense of obligation and commitment to its continuation. (This is similar to the elementary school ruse of making the bully the hall monitor and thus investing him in the very orderliness he was formerly wont to disturb.) Since he must become the caretaker of this union, only he is empowered to authorize its dissolution.

There is no doubt that this power has been abused by ill-intentioned husbands; however, there is no lack of examples from the world outside Orthodox Judaism in which abuse is perpetrated using one tool or another. No one suggests we should get rid of the concept of parental custody because abusers so often use custody as a weapon against their spouses. There is no evidence that there is any more abuse in the Orthodox world because of the *gett* itself; it is just one of many potential avenues open to those who aim to cause hurt. "One who comes to defile—the way is left open for him"—a nasty person will always find a way to abuse his partner; yet, this is not the intent of Torah law. Again, the words of the *Mishneh Torah* quoted above: "a man must honor his wife more than himself and love her as his own body."

Another more subtle example of Orthodox practice seeming to promote male dominance can be found in the simple, routine practices at home. Before the Sabbath meal, *kiddush* and *hamotzi* (the sanctification of the Sabbath over a cup of wine and the blessing over bread, respectively) must be said. In traditional households, this is generally done by the husband and father. In such homes, when the father is absent (e.g., hospitalized or away on business), the oldest son will often recite these blessings in his stead. This may seem to send the message that men are in control and women are spectators. Indeed, among other streams of Judaism as well as more liberal strains of Orthodoxy, there are families in which the wife is deliberately assigned a portion of the rituals (often the blessing over bread) in order to counter this perspective.

No doubt there are among practitioners of the more traditional approach people who believe that the purpose is indeed to demonstrate male superiority. As discussed, however, this is never the intent of the Torah. Rather, this issue can be seen as another reinforcement of the idea that the man has a responsibility towards his family, and thus, as an expression of this, he is customarily the one to discharge them of their ritual obligations. But it can also be seen as a simple technical matter—for example, the *kiddush* is often sung, and men are prohibited to listen to the singing voice of women to whom they are not related (which is relevant if there are guests or nonimmediate family members). *Tznius*, modesty, is a key value for Orthodox Jewish women, and anything which even hints of pride or showiness is frowned upon; thus, it is considered more proper for a man to lead the blessings than the woman.

Tznius is actually applicable to both men and women; it is just more visibly relevant to women, who have a stricter dress code than men. This is simply because women are far more easily able to attract attention from men with their physical features than the reverse and thus bidden to maintain greater modesty in dress. The practice of *tznius* in dress is another major target of criticism and misunderstanding. Detractors often characterize it as an attempt on the part of men/the rabbis to control women and to restrict their free-

dom. Likewise, the practice of *tznius* in behavior is denounced as a mode of deliberately silencing women's voices, rather than a way of protecting their dignity (which, it is argued by proponents, is at risk when a woman makes herself the center of attention).

The chief textual substantiation of the importance of *tznius* is in Psalms 45:14: "All the glory of the king's daughter is inside." The verse expresses not only the belief that women should not be gadabouts or prominently public figures, but also the idea that Jewish women are to recognize that their greatest value lies within. (Of course, this is true of men too, but as we stated above, women carry greater power in their physique than do men and are thus at greater peril of becoming consumed by its upkeep—a phenomenon that is certainly reflected in today's society in everything from the number of women's magazines published to the male–female ratio of diagnosed eating disorders.) Things that are intrinsically valuable do not need to be decorated. The Mona Lisa sits in a relatively simple frame; human beings, whose greatest value is what they have inside, not what can be seen outside, are similarly expected to focus on their inner, not outer, qualities—and this is more pronounced, as far as dress is concerned, for women.

> Levi would incessantly criticize and insult Ahuva about the way she dressed. He wanted her to look sexy and exciting for him; he claimed all she wore was frumpy old dresses. Ahuva tried different outfits but nothing seemed to help. Finally, he bought her a dress that she considered far too short and too low-cut. She refused to wear it at first, but he berated her so relentlessly that she finally gave in. She wore the dress for the first time when they went out to dinner; when they returned home, she felt so disgusted with herself that she shut herself up in the bathroom and cried for hours.

In parallel fashion, many of the holiest symbols and subjects in Judaism are treated with *tznius*, shielded from public view rather than showily adorned. The Ark of the Covenant, which carried the tablets of the Ten Commandments through the desert, was located in the "inside of insides" in the Tabernacle, screened by a curtain, inside the Tent of Meeting, within the larger complex of the Tabernacle, which was covered by several layers. That which is sacred is not left open to everyone's peering eyes. So too our bodies are kept covered to others except for at those moments of greatest intimacy. And so too do we refrain from speaking about these subjects in public settings. Matters of sexuality are generally passed down in one-to-one situations, from parent to child or rabbi to student.

While this special treatment of the holiest and most intimate topics strengthens the sacredness attributed to them, it can also cause trouble when it is too rigidly cast. For instance, it is certainly necessary for a woman who is a victim of sexual abuse (whether in or out of wedlock) to speak out and seek help. However, victims sometimes adhere to a value that "we don't talk about these things" and remain silent. (Often an abuser will reinforce this message as part of his abuse.) Thus, we see another case of an appropriate Jewish teaching being twisted to further silence victims.

The prohibitions of *lashon hara* and *mesirah* are two further cases in point. *Lashon hara*, translated literally as "evil tongue," refers to any form of negative speech about another person, even, and especially, if the information is in fact true. Orthodox Jews are forbidden to relate anything negative about others unless it serves a constructive purpose. It is this last point that often gets lost. One unfortunate situation in which this issue commonly comes up is when someone in the community is suspected of child molestation: frequently friends and supporters of the accused denounce the whistleblowers with *lashon hara*, as if the victims have committed the sin and not the molester. Whistleblowers are also charged with *mesirah*, a proscription on turning over a fellow Jew to secular authorities. This *halacha* too has many allowances—such as when a person needs protection or where the fellow Jew is a danger to the community—but these are frequently, and puzzlingly, ignored, and victims of abuse are often silenced. Both the prohibitions of *lashon hara* and *mesirah* are meant to protect, not to harm; where they cause harm, they are being misused. An excellent compendium of these and other *halachos* relevant to the issue of abuse can be found in Eidensohn and Shulem (2010). Yet

these principles are unfortunately used some-
times to silence rather than to give voice.

> Leah knew that her husband was touching their
> children inappropriately. She desperately wanted
> to seek help but did not know where to turn. She
> was concerned about her children and about other
> children in the neighborhood and felt she should
> seek help for him; yet the lone friend she had con-
> fided in had warned her that if she told anyone
> else it would be a big chillul Hashem (desecration
> of G-d's name) and that she would be speaking
> lashon hara. She would also be violating the law
> against mesirah if she told the police. Leah felt she
> was powerless to do anything.

Ultimately, in any ethical system there are innu-
merable rules and principles which can be ma-
nipulated to further the aims of the unscrupulous.
The *midrash* quotes G-d telling Moses that the
Torah should be written according to the precise
truth, regardless of how people will take it, and
that "he who wishes to err will err" (*Bereshit Rab-
bah* 8:8). This is the approach of the Orthodox
Jewish abuser: he mistreats his wife and quotes a
Biblical source for doing it. This happens across
the spectrum of abusive behaviors and blurs the
boundaries between piety and extremism. For
example, there are labels that exist for particu-
larly nasty women (and, of course, men as well).
One such case is the *moredes*, the "rebellious
woman." What exactly constitutes rebelliousness
is the subject of some debate; but of course, in the
mind of an abuser, there is no doubt. Whatever
the qualifications are, he is certain that his wife
meets them. Thus, he may be physically violent
with her and claim that he is justified in doing
so because she is a *moredes*. Or he may be ex-
tremely controlling financially, pointing to the
fact that he is *halachically* the owner of all their
money and assets (a topic discussed above)—or
he might be more subtle than that, claiming that
he is providing for all her needs, as he is required
by the *ketubah*, and wants to "relieve her of the
burden" of managing the finances. He may per-
petrate sexual abuse upon her by asserting that
she is obligated by *halacha* to provide for his
sexual needs (in fact, the Torah is quite explicit
in stating that *he* must ensure that *her* sexual
needs are being met), or by heaping guilt upon
her that if she does not comply, he will be driven

to masturbate or seek extramarital liaisons (both
prohibited in *halacha*). He may also force social
isolation upon her by declaring that her friends
and family are not religious enough, that they are
bad influences on the family, and that they must
therefore be distanced.

Another form of abuse that is unique to reli-
gious communities might be termed "spiritual
abuse," in which an abuser, acting as a gatekeep-
er between the victim and G-d, corrupts the spiri-
tual resources that underlie his victim's entire
worldview. His attacks are not physical, nor even
necessarily psychological; they are spiritual.

> Malka and Yisrael had a very ill son; as a way of
> increasing their devoutness and hopefully earning
> Divine favor to save their son, Yisrael decided that
> they had to become more meticulous about the
> observance of the Sabbath. He pressured Malka to
> ensure that she and the children would be ready
> an hour before sundown Friday evening, when the
> Sabbath begins. Finishing preparations by sun-
> down is a challenging enough task; demanding it
> a full hour earlier is a virtual impossibility. When
> Malka inevitably failed to make the new deadline,
> he simply looked at her and said, "Well, I guess if
> you don't care about what G-d wants, He probably
> doesn't care about what we want either."

This man poisoned his wife's relationship with
G-d, burdening her with tremendous religious
guilt and setting the stage for a lifelong distance
from G-d, especially in the unfortunate result
should their child fail to recover.

Healing

Although there are many sources that determined
people can point to in order to support their mis-
deeds, there are many more that demand upright
and moral behavior in all arenas. Scripture is filled
which such fundamental principles as "love your
fellow as yourself" (Leviticus 19:18), "you shall
do that which is upright and good in G-d's eyes"
(Deuteronomy 12:28), "do justice, love mercy,
and walk humbly with your G-d" (Micah 6:8).
The Talmud is explicit on how a man should treat
his wife: "a man should be especially careful not
to cause pain to his wife" (Babylonian Talmud,
Bava Metzia 59b); on taking advice from her,

the Sages say, "if she is short—bend down and listen" (ibid.). And the halachic and philosophic pronouncements written in centuries of rabbinic literature are legion: marital rape is absolutely forbidden (*Mishneh Torah*, *Ishut* 15:17; *Shulchan Aruch, Even haEzer* 25:2; et al.); a man's soul is judged in the next world according to how he treated his wife (*Arizal, Shaarei Kedushah*); and "one who beats his wife…should be afflicted, ostracized, and punished with all kinds of torture and force" (*Rema, Even haEzer* 154:3)[10].

While it is possible to point to individual opinions over the centuries that have taken a more lenient approach to men who are physically violent to their wives, the vast majority of rabbinical verdicts, including virtually all the major halachic codifiers of Jewish history, are categorically against it (some of them powerfully so, as in the citation from the *Rema* above). Arming victims with this knowledge is often an important step in the healing process, especially in cases where the abuser has been afflicting the victim's religious self and beliefs. Reconnecting her to the G-d who loves her can be a powerful avenue to regaining her life and leaving the worldview into which her abuser constrained her, when he tried convincing her that she is worthless, or even hated, in G-d's eyes. For women whose entire lives revolve around their Jewishness—and virtually any woman who is committed to Orthodox Judaism falls under this category—helping them rediscover the beauty in it, and the relationship with G-d that it is meant to cultivate, is a necessary remedy to the resentment and pain with which the abuser has infected it.

Another important source to bring up deals with the issue of speaking out. As described above, victims often feel silenced by rules like *lashon hara* and the social pressure that accompanies them. It is of great significance that the verse that begins, "you shall not go as a talebearer among your people" (Leviticus 19:16)—the scriptural source for the prohibition of *lashon hara*—concludes with "and do not stand idly by

the blood of your fellow." There is a clear indication here that, while speaking negatively about others is frowned upon, it is not to be avoided absolutely at the expense of someone else's suffering. There are multiple considerations that must be taken into account: in the case example of Leah described above, it would be imperative for someone to break the silence about the transgressions of her husband. Despite the pressure she felt from her friend—and probably from her larger social milieu—*the Torah is adamant that we protect the vulnerable*. We are not to stand idly by while someone else is being victimized.

Even more than an intellectual understanding of the Torah's view on the abuse of women, victims need emotional support to recover from their trauma. The primary agent for the religious community in this sense is the rabbi, who must be educated on the topic (many already are) and who must be able to give her the support she needs. This includes a simple understanding of where she is coming from—without judgment, without an attempt to impose solutions upon her—and an assurance that he believes her and is prepared to help. Having someone who believes and supports her is probably the most important external factor in a victim's recovery. In addition to emotional support, the rabbi can also provide material support in whatever ways might become necessary: He can provide financial support (often the rabbi presides over a congregational fund that is meant for charity purposes) to pay for transportation, therapy, even food, and clothes depending on the severity of the situation. He can be an advocate in court and the community for the victim or in the school for the children. He can also help her connect to resources she may require, such as a lawyer, a therapist, or a shelter as needed. All these forms of assistance are tremendously significant when coming from her rabbi as opposed to her friend: Coming from a friend, they are certainly meaningful and helpful; but coming from the rabbi, they express the support of the entire community, the entire religion, and often even G-d Himself. (Although a rabbi is not an intermediary to or messenger from G-d, many people do relate to their congregational rabbi as a representative of the religion as a whole, especially those who

---

[10] The *Shulchan Aruch*, and the *Rema*, which is a gloss supplementing it, constitutes the central legal text of all modern *halachic* observance.

frequently turn to their rabbi for *halachic* or theological guidance. It is for this reason that being rejected by the rabbi can have enormous consequences for the victim, who may subsequently feel distanced even from G-d.)

Ritual is most useful in the healing process as a way of returning to that which is normal and comfortable. Every morning begins with washing one's hands in the designated manner and ends with the recitation of "the *Shma*," a key Biblical passage (Deuteronomy 6). In between are numerous anchoring prayers, utterances, and actions that connect the Orthodox Jew to the Torah and the will of G-d continuously throughout the day (see Grinvald 2000 for a broad compendium of Jewish ritual and law). For many victims, being able to practice these rituals without the influence and control of the abuser is a relieving and empowering experience. Moreover, as a victim comes to experience the warmth and joy of her relationship with G-d, unmediated by a domineering third party, she can begin to undo the harm he has done to her sense of spirituality and her sense of self.

> When Shifra left her husband Dov after 8 years of verbal and emotional abuse, she felt like a complete nobody. She didn't know who she was anymore. But the Jewish observances that had been part of her daily routine for her entire life kept her going, one step at a time. The first time she went grocery shopping without having to call Dov to let him know exactly what she was purchasing and to ask him whether this or that kosher certification was still valid, she felt like a weight had been lifted off her shoulders. She made herself a delicious meal that evening from the groceries she bought; it had been a long time since she said the blessings over food with as much devotion as she said them that night.

While Jewish practice is replete with rituals and observances, few of them are devoted specifically to situations of violence. There are prayers for healing, blessings of gratitude for one's life having been saved, and other practices that can certainly be relevant to victims of violence; but Orthodoxy is a conservative way of life that is very meticulous about the process of change. In other, more liberal streams of Judaism, reinterpreting or redesignating ritual practices is common and encouraged as a way of connecting them to our present situations. In Orthodoxy, the belief is that these practices that have been in place for millennia are already relevant to all situations and do not need to be significantly modified. One can find solace and guidance in the ancient words of the Psalms and practices of our forebears.

This does not mean that a victim has to go it alone. Community is a vital part of the Jewish experience. The classic, millennia-old *Ethics of Our Fathers* instructs us to "acquire for yourself a friend" (*Avot* 1:6) and "do not separate from the community" (ibid. 2:5). When it comes to the trauma of violence in the home, community is a vital part of the healing process. The rabbi, as noted, can be an important part of this; as well, the support of friends and neighbors is of tremendous help (and to this end certainly more community education is called for). Many Jewish communities house family service agencies which, in addition to providing counseling for victims, can offer support groups which are of great value for victims of abuse. These agencies are also likely the places where community education will originate.

Education can also take place on a smaller scale. In Orthodox communities, when men and women get engaged they usually engage the services of a *chassan* (groom) teacher or a *kallah* (bride) teacher to instruct them in the *halachos* relevant to marriage which they have not yet had call to study in depth (such as the laws of *niddah*), and frequently also to convey to them a philosophy of Jewish marriage. Teaching *kallah* teachers about abuse is an important initiative that is beginning to take off in Orthodox communities. These women are taught to recognize signs of abuse in their students, and to teach their students in turn what to look out for and what to do in case their husbands turn to violent behavior.

Similarly, *chassan* teachers should be taught how to discuss abuse with their grooms-to-be, instructing them on how to treat one's wife, to avoid controlling behavior, to express anger, and to deal with conflict. While this may not prevent all cases of abuse, it will certainly help in some

cases where men turn to violent behavior out of ignorance and misunderstanding of Jewish doctrine, and out of lack of better coping and relationship skills.

Educating men obviously needs to begin much earlier. From a young age, Orthodox boys need to be hearing about the esteem in which the Torah and the Sages hold women and about how they are expected to treat women (as well as others in general). As they grow to marriageable age, the subject of violence against women needs to be discussed explicitly: They should be shown the long list of *poskim* (*halachic* decisors) forbidding it, as well as the text of the *ketubah* which obligates the husband to "serve, honor, feed, and provide for" his wife. These are *halachic* obligations, and they are unconditional, meaning, for example, that a husband may not refuse to buy his wife clothes she needs as a way of punishing or controlling her.

Abusive men should be confronted with these same texts, ideally by their own rabbi. Every Orthodox man is ideally to have a single, primary rabbinical mentor (called a *rav*, the Hebrew term for rabbi which specifically denotes the one rabbi who acts as a person's guide), or at the most a handful of rabbis who are his established go-to people for guidance in *halacha* and in life. When a person does have a single *rav* whom he has accepted upon himself, that rabbi is in the best position to reprove and help correct that individual's behavior. Unfortunately, this is often difficult with abusers because it is common for these men to purposefully ignore the responsibility to have a primary rabbi. Instead, they are disparaging of any rabbi who tries to confront them and will jump from rabbi to rabbi as needed so that no one can ever pin him down.

In such a case the best recourse is to seek out a *gadol*, literally a "great man," referring to one of the small number of scholars acknowledged as leaders of the Orthodox world. There are stories of men who had been abusing their wives who after a single, often brief meeting with a *gadol* entirely ceased their abusive behaviors. (Of course, there are many stories as well of men who do not change so easily.) Reaching such a leader is certainly not an easy task, and even then, it is no guarantee; but it is an avenue that can be tried

with abusive men, who are known to be reluctant clients.

Often, community influence is needed to help confront perpetrators. For example, social isolation is a strategy that has helped influence these men; similarly, communities that wish to help address the situation can decide to refuse to give abusers an *aliyah*, the honor of being called to recite blessings over the reading of the Torah in the synagogue. Some synagogues even refuse entrance to known abusers. Such tactics are often used to pressure men who refuse to give their wives a *gett* to complete a divorce. In Israel, the government even has the power to jail them, to freeze their bank accounts, and to pressure them in other ways. (Though there are *halachic* complications to address in using such approaches, they are not insurmountable.) Given the rate at which such powers are used and the rate at which we know domestic violence to occur, it would seem that this approach is not used nearly enough. For more information on this particular issue, see Breitowitz (1993).

Both within and outside of Israel, many sectors of the Orthodox community are still a long way from being ready to execute the tactics at their disposal. Especially in very right-wing communities, the problem of violence against women is hardly recognized and sometimes outright denied—and this even in the manifest cases of physical abuse, to say nothing of the less-visible and less-recognized issues of emotional or psychological abuse. Much education is needed for these communities to be able to grow to a place where they can see and act against abuse. The verse "do not stand idly by the blood of your fellow" is one that needs to be taken out of the cellar and acted upon.

Implications for Professional Practice

The truth is that it is rare for professionals outside the Orthodox Jewish community to find themselves dealing with domestic violence issues in the community. Orthodox victims struggle with all the same hesitations and barriers that other victims do, and they have other considerations to boot, such as concern for how it would re-

flect on the Jewish community as a whole if the abuse were to be discovered, or how the revelation of the abuse would affect the prospects of other family members in *shidduchim*, the matchmaking system that young men and women go through to get married. (In some cases this concern is exaggerated; in others, unfortunately, it is true that siblings or children of abused women— to say nothing of the victim herself—are treated as "damaged goods.") There are also social pressures, as we saw above, not to discuss the issue with anyone, let alone outsiders, and to maintain proper family appearances.

> Ruti had been living with a physically and verbally abusive man for 13 years. One evening he beat her so badly she had to get stitches in two places. She had been seeing a counselor for some time who discussed with her calling the police. She agreed to do so, but only the following week—the annual synagogue dinner was coming up, and she absolutely refused to report him before that: showing up at the dinner without her husband was simply not an option.

Among professionals outside the Orthodox community, the police are the ones most likely to interact with the perpetrators and victims of abuse. Even then, the rate is much lower than one might expect: one precinct in an area with a significant Orthodox population stated that in the past 10 years they had fielded only two calls for a "domestic" involving Jewish residents.

That said, the numbers of Orthodox Jews seeking help, both within and outside of the community, is increasing, largely due to increased awareness and acceptance of the problem. As should be clear from all the above, cultural competence is crucial in dealing with this population, especially for clinicians who wish to build and maintain a relationship with victims. Firstly, a counselor must recognize what it means for a victim to seek help outside the community. If an Orthodox Jewish person is reaching out to non-Jewish resources, it is almost certain that the situation is already very bad, and that the resources in the community have already failed her. She has likely spoken to her rabbi already, a friend in the neighborhood, perhaps a family member, and found them unable or unwilling to help. It

should be noted that it is not necessarily a wariness of the non-Jewish community that holds a victim back from seeking outside help (although that is a possibility); it is just as likely that the thought simply never occurred to her, because, generally speaking, all her needs can be met within the community. The very act of coming to a non-Orthodox professional is an act of courage and resourcefulness.

Counselors who work with victims of domestic violence are generally aware that it is not within their role, or their ability, to "liberate" the victim from her predicament. A key element of the healing process is giving her back her individuality, her self-determination, her independence. When working with the Orthodox population, this idea has another important manifestation: the counselor should also not try to "liberate" the victim from her religious beliefs and rules. This goes not only for issues directly related to the violence and the relationship with her abuser, but also for general issues such as the gender roles described above, or the restrictions of the Sabbath (which can be quite stringent). For example, it is forbidden to use the telephone on the Sabbath. It would not be unusual at all for a woman to refuse to call the police on the Sabbath, unless it was a situation of life and death (in which case virtually all *halachos* can and must be abrogated). It is unlikely that any professional working with such a victim would be able to convince her otherwise, and indeed, it would be counterproductive to try. Work with the victim must proceed within the victim's own framework, in which *halacha* is inviolable except in life-and-death cases.

This is one reason why a counselor working with an Orthodox Jewish victim would be wise to reach out to the victim's rabbi as soon as viable. The counselor must ask her if she has a *rav*, and also whether she would be comfortable with the counselor reaching out to him. If she is not comfortable at first, the question can be brought up again over time as work progresses. Having the rabbi involved at some point is a significant aid to the recovery process, as described above, assuring her that Judaism does not support the abuse she has been suffering, and pointing out specific source material that roots his conten-

tions in *mesorah* (tradition). Furthermore, he can be of decisive assistance should *halachic* questions arise, which they inevitably do in the thorny situations that domestic violence creates. He is also able, as a neutral party, to hear and accept advice and recommendations from the counselor and help pass it along to the victim, who is likely to be much more trusting of her rabbi than of the counselor (at least at first).

The rabbi can also be a critical player in circumstances where a counselor might have reason to challenge the views of the victim. This might come about in a situation where the victim refuses to take the necessary steps to protect her life, citing *halacha* as prohibiting it (for instance, calling the police on the Sabbath when her life *is* in danger), or where the counselor feels that the views being espoused by the victim are untenable and damaging (such as a victim who believes she must do *anything* her husband says since "a proper wife does the will of her husband"). In such cases, the only viable approach is to bring the rabbi into the discussion to help clarify that she *must* call the police if her life is at stake, or that she is *forbidden* to listen to her husband if his demands violate *halacha*. It is doubtful that an Orthodox victim would be able to accept a position set forth by a non-Jewish or even non-Orthodox counselor that contradicts what she believes is the official Orthodox position.

There are some cases, however, where turning to the rabbi might be ineffective. For example, if the counselor feels that the victim's beliefs about gender roles are overly rigid and that she is inappropriately submissive to her husband, the counselor may be unpleasantly surprised to find that the rabbi agrees with the victim's position, despite it being clearly harmful to the victim! These occurrences are happening less and less as education about abuse spreads; however, in the case where this were to happen, the best solution would be to find an Orthodox practitioner to refer the victim to. It is highly unlikely that the counselor will be able to change the victim's perspective on her religion, especially when she has the rabbi supporting her. An Orthodox professional would have a much greater chance of breaking through such a religiously based obsta-

cle. It should be remembered that Orthodox individuals have been observant of the religious code for their entire lives, or else they took it upon themselves willingly after significant contemplation and a major life upheaval; in either case, it is common for them to hold onto their beliefs, whether or not such beliefs are authentically Jewish, at almost any cost.

Looking Forward

If dealing with abuse and violence against women is difficult, it is doubly so when working in an insular, ritually oriented group such as the Orthodox Jewish community. The truth is that little hard data exists about abuse in this community—its prevalence, its manifestations, its differences from abuse in the world at large. This is due to the fact that Orthodox Jews have centuries of institutional history that has ingrained in them the importance of family togetherness, the reluctance to reveal internal problems to the outside world, the aversion to turning a fellow Jew in to the secular authorities, and many other community values which preclude them from discussing the problem openly. Regarding intimate matters specifically, it was noted above how these are considered a matter to be kept as private as possible, sometimes to a fault. Thus, no survey has ever successfully assessed the rate of violence against women in the Orthodox community, and nobody has anything more than anecdotal evidence to make any claims about it (although there is certainly no lack of anecdotal evidence). As the problem of abuse becomes more and more openly acknowledged, perhaps we will see research succeed further where before it has not, so that help can be better targeted to and better designed for those who need it.

In addition to seeking an understanding of the problem, we must also raise awareness of it. It is vital that rabbis and other community leaders be taught about the issue of domestic violence— what it looks like, how it manifests in Orthodox communities, and, most importantly, what their role is in helping victims. This education has been increasingly disseminated in recent years,

but is still much needed, especially in the most insular sectors of the Orthodox community. Community education is also critically needed for all segments of the population.

It is most painful that this problem is so prevalent, in any community. That the problem is so prevalent within the Orthodox community is a particular source of pain to all Orthodox Jews. Regrettably, being a "religious" person does not prevent one from also being a violent person. Addressing this important social issue will take the work of an entire society together—religious and nonreligious, Orthodox and non-Orthodox, rabbis and therapists, victims and bystanders. Let us hope that this chapter is one more step in the right direction.

References

Breitowitz, I. A. (1993). *Between civil and religious law: The plight of the agunah in American society*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Broyde, M. J. (2001). *Marriage, divorce, and the abandoned wife in Jewish law: A conceptual understanding of the agunah problems in America*. Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House.

Eidensohn, D., & Shulem, B. (2010). *Child & domestic abuse: Torah, psychology & law perspectives*. Jerusalem: Emunah Press.

Grinvald, Z. (2000). *Shaarei halachah: A summary of laws for Jewish living*. Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers.

Lamm, M. (1991). *The Jewish way in love and marriage*. Middle Village, N.Y.: Jonathan David Publishers.

Meiselman, M. (1978). *Jewish woman in Jewish law*. New York: KTAV Publishing House.

A Conservative Jewish Approach to Family Violence

7

Elliot N. Dorff

Sex and family life do not always correspond to the ideals described in Jewish sources. Sometimes people's behavior is at the opposite end of the spectrum, where meanness, cruelty, and inhumanity reign. Examples of that are the subjects of this essay—namely, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and verbal abuse of family members.

As a Conservative rabbi, my approach will be that of the Conservative Movement, the middle movement in Judaism that is called Masorti (traditional) outside the USA and Canada. Like the Orthodox to our right, Conservative Judaism holds that Jewish law is binding. Unlike the Orthodox, however, we see Jewish law as evolving over time. That is because, like the Reform movement to the left, Conservative Jews study the Jewish tradition using not only traditional commentaries but also the full panoply of scholarly methods to understand and apply our tradition. These include archaeology, cross-cultural studies, linguistic comparisons, and the like. When one studies Judaism in that way, one finds that from its very earliest sources to our own day, Jewish thought and practice has evolved as Jews lived among a variety of peoples and learned from them, and as conditions changed. The Reform approach, however, emphasizes the autonomy of each individual to decide which elements of the Jewish tradition to adopt, while Conservative Judaism sees that as a communal decision to be determined by the interaction between how rabbis interpret the tradition in each generation and what the people do in their lives. This makes Conservative Judaism harder to describe and define, for instead of just asking its members either to follow traditional practices (the Orthodox way) or decide for themselves what parts of Judaism they want to incorporate in their lives (Reform), Conservative Judaism requires *judgment* about how to integrate tradition and modernity as it embraces both seriously. In doing so, however, it seeks to be historically authentic to that tradition, honest about its past and present, and, ultimately, wise. Thus, in what follows, readers will see a heavy dose of traditional materials intertwined with modern scientific and sociological insights into family violence as well as guidelines on how to prevent it if possible or recognize and respond to it when it happens.

This chapter summarizes a much larger treatment of this topic that began as a rabbinic ruling for the Conservative Movement's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards, adopted in 1995, and then became a chapter in my book, *Love Your Neighbor and Yourself: A Jewish Approach to Modern Personal Ethics* (Dorff 2003, Chap. 5). Readers who want to follow up on any of the topics below should consult that volume.

E. N. Dorff (✉)
American Jewish University, Bel-Air, CA, USA
e-mail: edorff@aju.edu

The Importance of the Conservative Legal Method to These Issues

In some ways, it would seem absolutely obvious that Judaism would not allow individuals to beat others, especially a family member. After all, in its opening chapters the Torah already tells us that we are all created in the image of God (Genesis 1:26–27; 9:6). That fundamental tenet would seem to require that, at a very minimum, we do not physically abuse others. The classical Rabbis of the Jewish tradition certainly understood that to be the case, for they assume that we do not have the right to strike others when they specify five sorts of compensation for personal injuries. Specifically, assailants must pay their victims for their lost capital value, their time lost from work, their pain and suffering, their medical expenses, and the embarrassment they suffered (M. *Bava Kamma* 8:1 and the Talmud thereon). Courts may impose lashes for trespasses of the law, but in doing so even they had to take due care to preserve the dignity of God and of the culprit, who is, still, God's human creature.[1] Nowadays, when Jews live under the jurisdiction of national legal systems that treat Jews as equal citizens and do not carve out separate civil and criminal authority for Jewish courts over Jews, even Jewish courts no longer have the authority to impose corporal punishment; individuals have even less authorization to beat others. Indeed, the Rabbis took the notion of the integrity of the individual so far as to say that those who slander others (and certainly those who cause them physical injury) are as though they had denied the existence of God (Jerusalem Talmud, *Pe'ah* 1:1). Conversely, Rabbi Eliezer said, "Let your fellow's honor be as dear to you as your own" (M. *Avot* 2:15).

Given these underlying principles, one would expect that any family violence that occurred within the Jewish community would be based on misinformation about the Jewish tradition, neglect of it, or simply the foibles of individuals. Surprisingly and unfortunately, when we probe the sources, we find that some rabbis permitted forms of family violence, and some actually encouraged it. Consequently, before I address this subject directly, it is critical to remind readers of a core methodological conviction of Conservative Judaism: *We must understand sources within their historical context and make judgments about when and how to use them that are appropriate to our own time and our moral and theological convictions.*

One other factor must be mentioned at the outset. Jews expect their tradition to give them guidance beyond the demands of civil law, for we aspire to holiness. We certainly cannot interpret Jewish law to allow us to be less moral than what civil law requires.[2] Since civil law in most areas of the Western world now prohibits most forms of family violence, Jews must eschew it for that reason in addition to the grounds afforded by the Jewish tradition.

---

[1] Thus the Torah (Deuteronomy 21:22–23) demands that even someone executed on court order for cause be buried the same day to preserve a degree of respect for God's creation ("for an impaled body is an affront to God"), and the Torah (Deuteronomy 25:3) similarly restricts the number of lashes a court may inflict to forty "lest being flogged further, to excess, your brother be degraded before your eyes." The Rabbis, in fact, diminished the number further on these grounds; cf. M. *Makkot* 3:10–11; B. *Makkot* 22a; M.T. *Sanhedrin,* Chap. 17. For a summary of the use and restrictions of flogging as a penalty, see "Flogging," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 6:1348–1351. Such flogging, though, was restricted to courts and was not given to individuals to impose on others. Since the Enlightenment, Jewish courts in the Diaspora no longer have had the authority to inflict lashes, and the Israeli system of justice does not include such a penalty either.

[2] One might argue that Jews must avoid family violence because we are bound by civil law under the dictum, "the law of the land is the law" (*dina de'malkhuta dina*). That may well be true, but it is not as clear as one might think, for that dictum was usually restricted to commercial matters. For a discussion of the scope and rationales of "the law of the land is the law," see Elliot N. Dorff and Arthur Rosett, *A Living Tree: The Roots and Growth of Jewish Law* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1988), pp. 515–523. For a discussion of sanctification of God's name (and avoiding desecration of God's name) and holiness as reasons to obey Jewish law, see Elliot N. Dorff, *For the Love of God and People: A Philosophy of Jewish Law* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2007), pp. 157–160. For the demand that Jews be at least as moral as non-Jews, see, for example, David Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1983), pp. 90–93; and "Kiddush Ha-Shem," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 10:979–980.

Acknowledging Family Violence Within Our Community

Family violence is not only an unpleasant memory from sources of the past, it afflicts contemporary Jewish families as well. That has not been part of the Jewish community's self-image; it is only in recent years, in fact, that Jewish communal institutions and individual Jews are openly admitting that family violence occurs within our midst. Somehow Jews were supposed to be immune to such behavior; that was, our sources assure us, what non-Jews did, not how Jews behave.

We have no good statistics to know whether Jews engage in family violence to the same degree as do other groups within the general population. The disturbingly frequent cases of family violence brought to Jewish Family Service agencies across North America and to similar institutions in Israel, however, afford good evidence that Jews suffer from all modes of this malady and that the problem is not confined to isolated cases.

Abuse of Husbands, Children, and Parents

This book, and this chapter within it, will focus on violence against women. It should be noted, though, that family violence occurs against other members of the family as well. Spousal abuse against husbands is even less likely to be reported to authorities because of the shame of being battered by a woman, but it is no less real. Children, who seek the support, security, and love of their parents, often think that they are at fault if they are being abused and do not know how to extricate themselves from it until their teens, if then. Elderly parents are often incapable of fending off the abuse of their adult children. Furthermore, as described below with regard to women, the forms of abuse that occur to all these family members are not only physical, but sexual and verbal.

Those interested in these forms of family violence with regard to these other family members should consult Dorff (2003). Suffice it to say

here, however, that, as will be discussed below with regard to women, the duties that Jewish law imposes on us toward those in our family and the protections against assault and insult that it articulates for all people, but most especially the members of our family, make all these forms of family violence prohibited, whoever the victim or perpetrator is.

A) The Types and the Jewish Legal Status of Abuse

Beating Wives

In this area of family violence as in all the areas that I will discuss below, we must be careful to distinguish acceptable forms of physical contact from abuse. Affectionate or supportive forms of touching between spouses are certainly not included in the category of abuse; they are easily differentiated from objectionable behavior by their motive, the willingness and even eagerness of the partner to be touched in that way, and the lack of physical and emotional wounds that normally result from violent behavior. Even a one-time slap in anger, while not pleasant or ideal, does not constitute abuse. When I speak in this section of beating a spouse, then I am referring to repetitive blows delivered out of anger, a desire to control, or some other motive inimical to the welfare of the victim, that often at least temporarily inflict bleeding or a bruise.

Naomi Graetz (1998) wrote a book on rabbinic rulings about wifebeating through the ages. She divides the rulings into five categories:

1. *Acceptance.* This group of rabbis knows that some Jewish husbands beat their wives, and they permit it. They justify such blows either as a means for the husband to educate his wife in proper behavior when she fails to perform the duties required of her by Jewish law or when she violates prohibitions in the law, such as cursing her parents (*Terumat Hadeshen,* Sect. 218). A variation on this approach permitted a husband to beat his wife if she had hurt him, presumably so that after he vents his anger in this way, domestic harmony would

return (M.T. *Laws of Marriage* 21:10; cf. 21:3. Rashba, *Responsa,* Part IV, Sect. 113; Part V, Sect. 264; Part VII, Sect. 477. S.A. *Even Haezer* 154:3 (gloss). See also Moses Isserles, *Darkhei Moshe* to the *Tur, Even Ha-Ezer* 154:15).

2. *Denial.* Some medieval rabbis deny altogether that Jewish husbands beat their wives. One, for example, claims that that "is a Gentile form of behavior," (Isserles, *Darkhei Moshe to the Tur, Even Ha-Ezer 154:15*) and another says of Jews, "I have never heard of women being scourged with a rod" (see his comment on M.T. *Laws of Marriage* 21:10).

3. *Apologetics.* Another group of rabbis seek to defend the honor of the Jewish community by either *marginalizing* the phenomenon, stating that Jews who engage in wifebeating do so less frequently and less violently than non-Jews do, or by *justifying* such behavior, maintaining that Jews who actually engage in such behavior do not really hurt their wives or do so for a good reason. Yet another approach that falls within this rubric is the one of those rabbis who *displace* the blame by shifting it to the surrounding culture (Hertz 1938, p. 935).

4. *Rejection.* These rabbis declare that wifebeating is unconditionally unacceptable. This is the strain of rabbinic rulings most in keeping with our own modern point of view.[3]

5. *Evasiveness.* This group of rabbis recognize that wifebeating is wrong, but they maintain that they are powerless to do anything about it.[4]

In sum, then, the sources are not as unified in their stance against wifebeating as we probably would have expected and certainly would have hoped.

In addition to this variation in historical precedents, there is an important legal institution underlying whatever permission exists in some sources for a husband to beat his wife, namely, that Jewish law assumes that the husband owns his wife. The Mishnah and Talmud went very far to protect the rights of the woman, but, after all is said and done, the very language for betrothal in classical Jewish law is that a man "acquires" (*koneh*) his wife.[5] It is precisely this aspect of Jewish marriage law that Naomi Graetz (1998), Rachel Adler (1998), and others suggest that we change to uproot the underlying legal context that sets the stage for the permission of wife-beating.

Even those Conservative Jews who do not want to go that far in altering institutions from the past no longer think of marriage as the husband's acquisition of the wife, despite the fact that that terminology (*kinyan*) is still used in our marriage rituals. Husbands in our day have no more right to discipline their wives than wives have to discipline their husbands. In our times, then, the opinions of Maimonides and Isserles on this issue, among others, must be set aside as no longer applicable. Instead, relying on opinions like those of the Rabbis Simha, Meir of Rothenburg, and Perez b. Elijah of Corbeil, as well as our own judgment, *the Conservative Movement's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards has unanimously declared that wife-beating is prohibited by Jewish law*. Indeed, in traditional Jewish marital law, when a husband "acquires" his wife, he thereby takes on a number of binding legal and moral obligations to her, and, as the Conservative Movement interprets them, wife-beating is not only inconsistent with, but contrary to those duties.

Moreover, in cases where wife-beating occurs and cannot be corrected through therapy for the husband, the Conservative rabbinate has devised ways consistent with traditional Jewish law to help the woman free herself from the marriage. This includes counseling to help her make the decision to extricate herself from the abusive situation, referrals to Jewish Family Service or other such agencies that can facilitate that process and show her how to protect herself (and her children) from further harassment, guidance (if necessary) in obtaining legal help to dissolve the marriage in civil law, and then appropriate actions within

---

[3] R. Simhah in *Or Zarua, Piskei Bava Kamma,* Sect. 161. Joseph Karo, *Bet Yosef* to the *Tur, Even Ha-Ezer* 154:15. Maharam, *Responsa of the Maharam* (Prague edition), Sect. 81.

[4] Rashba, *Responsa,* Part VII, #477. Radbaz, *Responsa,* Part 3, #447, Part 4, #157.

[5] M. *Kiddushin* 1:1.

Jewish law to dissolve the marriage by a formal Jewish writ of divorce (*get*), if possible, or by an annulment (*hafqa'at kiddushin*), if necessary. A commitment to the life and health of the woman demands no less.

Sexual Abuse

Among adults, sexual abuse is any nonconsensual sexual act or behavior. This definition assumes that we fully acknowledge the well-known ambiguities of some expressions of agreement or refusal, but it asserts that such ambiguity does not affect all or even most expressions of one's desires. Sexual abuse demeans and humiliates, making one feel shameful and exposed.

Some forms of sexual molestation leave physical wounds, including permanent ones that preclude the victim's future ability to procreate. Even those attacks that do not leave such wounds fall under the category of physical abuse, for they represent unwanted and often violent invasions of one's body. Consequently, all of the objections described above to beating a family member or anyone else, for that matter, would also apply to sexual assault.

Sexual violation, however, is objectionable on other grounds as well. First, it represents the exact opposite of the holiness that we are to aspire to achieve. Thus, with regard to sexual abuse of family members, the Torah states unequivocally, "None of you shall come near anyone of his own flesh to uncover nakedness: I am the Lord." After a long list of such forbidden relationships, it then states that such were the abhorrent practices of the nations that occupied the Promised Land before the Israelites. The land thus became defiled and is now spewing them out—almost as if the land had gotten an upset stomach from toxic food. The Israelites themselves may remain in the Holy Land only if they eschew such practices and act as a holy People. Furthermore,

> All who do any of those abhorrent things shall be cut off from their people. You shall keep My charge not to engage in any of the abhorrent practices that were carried on before you, and you shall not defile yourselves through them: I the Lord am your God.[6]

Part of what it means to be a People chosen by God as a model for others, then, is that Jews must not engage in incest or sexual abuse. To do so violates the standards by which a holy People covenanted to God should live and warrants excommunication from the People Israel. Jews are expected to behave better than that.

Why does the Torah speak of incest and sexual abuse as "defilement" and "abomination" in addition to its usual language of transgression? In part, it is because the Promised Land was itself seen as alive and violated by such conduct, but surely the words refer to the human beings involved too. One's bodily integrity is compromised when one is sexually abused. Sexual abuse is experienced not only as an assault upon one's body but also—and usually more devastatingly—as an onslaught upon one's person. One has lost one's integrity—not only in body, but in soul. One no longer feels safe in the world; at any moment, one can be invaded in the most intimate of ways. The abuse is thus indeed a defilement—what was sacred and whole before is now desecrated and broken.[7]

Sexual abuse is also the source of much embarrassment. The Torah makes this exceedingly clear: "If two men get into a fight with each other, and the wife of one comes up to save her husband from his antagonist and puts out her hand and seizes him by his genitals, you shall cut off her hand; show no pity."[8] Despite the special justification the woman had for shaming her husband's assailant, the Torah demands drastic steps in retribution for the degradation she caused—although the Rabbis transformed this to a monetary payment that she must pay.[9] (Incidentally, note that, as the Torah recognized, feelings of shame

---

[7] The Torah's words "abomination" and "defilement" aptly apply to the kind of sexual abuse of which we are speaking. Whether this biblical language applies as aptly—or, for that matter, at all—with regard to its prohibition against homosexuality is, to put it mildly, a matter of dispute. Even those who would permit homosexual relations, though, would definitely apply that language to coercive sex (be it homosexual or heterosexual), and that is the subject here.

[8] Deuteronomy 25:11–12.

[9] *Sifre* on Deuteronomy 25:12; cf. M. *Bava Kamma* 8:1; B. *Bava Kamma* 83a, 86a-b, 28a, etc.

---

[6] The two cited verses are Leviticus 18:6 and 18:29–30.

and embarrassment are experienced by men who are sexually abused just as much as they are by women.) The Talmud, when determining the payment to be exacted for the shame involved whenever one person assaults another, uses this case as the paradigm for what embarrassment means. We are humiliated when we are sexually abused—even just touched in our private parts against our will—for we feel that our sense of self has been invaded, that we are vulnerable even in our most intimate parts, and that our honor has been compromised in the most fundamental way possible.

Verbal Abuse

Verbal abuse of either one's spouse or one's children is not treated as an offense special and apart from the offense of verbally abusing any other person, but it certainly is included within the latter, more general prohibition. By "verbal abuse" we commonly mean comments that degrade a person, especially if they are said constantly. "You never get it right," "You are simply stupid," and "How could anyone like you?" are examples of such abuse. Overly harsh criticism, name calling, and intimidating speech are also included in the category of verbal abuse. (Sexual harassment may include elements of verbal abuse and, in some cases, job discrimination as well.)

Some call this "emotional abuse" or "psychological abuse," and psychological literature includes definitions that point to a number of identifying dysfunctions (e.g., see Briere 1992, pp. 8–12). I hesitate to use either of those terms, however, for fear that some will understand them to include any instance in which someone makes someone else feel bad.

One must also distinguish justifiable rebuke for errors from verbal abuse. Verbal abuse is constant, uncontrolled, and unprovoked, while a warranted reprimand occurs only when an error is made and when the reproach is proportionate to the error. At their best, negative evaluations are also constructive, with appropriate suggestions for change, a factor that is always absent in cases of verbal abuse, which is instead intended to embarrass, humiliate, or harm the other in

some way, perhaps as part of making oneself feel superior.

The Talmud treats verbal abuse under the category of *ona'at devarim,* oppression by means of words.[10] As illustrations of the latter, the Rabbis say that one may not remind repentant sinners of their past sins, or converts of their previous, non-Jewish lives. Similarly, one may not call people by an opprobrious nickname, even if the people so named say they do not mind, and one may not taunt people about their illnesses or the loss of their children.

In addition to these general interdictions of verbal abuse, Jewish sources tell a man to be especially careful not to abuse his wife verbally, "for since she cries easily, it is all too easy to oppress her."[11] Similarly, the Talmud says that a man's wife is given to him so that he might realize life's plan together with her; he certainly does not have the right to vex or grieve her continually and without cause. "Vex her not, for God notes her tears."[12] These commands are derived, in part, from the promise that the man is required to make in the wedding contract to honor his wife. Indeed, "He who loves his wife as himself and honors her more than himself is granted the Scriptural promise, 'You shall know that your tent is in peace.'"[13] Contemporary readers may be justifiably offended by the sexism of some of these remarks, but that modern sensitivity should lead us to argue that wives as well as husbands are duty-bound to avoid verbally abusing their spouses, for husbands, too, can and do feel hurt by such shaming.[14]

---

[10] The Rabbis in B. *Bava Mezia* 58b apply Leviticus 25:14 to monetary oppression and Leviticus 25:17 to verbal oppression.

[11] B. *Bava Mezia* 59a. Literally, "for since her tears are common, her oppression is near." Rav, whose comment this is, does not limit his remark to verbal abuse, but the context is discussing the prohibition of oppressing people by means of words.

[12] B. *Ketubbot* 61a.

[13] B. *Yevamot* 62b; the verse cited is Job 5:24.

[14] Robert Bly is perhaps most well-known for making this point in a number of his books, from *Iron John* on. Whether due to nature or nurture or both, boys and men are, in his analysis, particularly sensitive to shaming, es-

Moreover, the sexism in some of these rabbinic comments should not blind us to the power they gain from the theological basis they explicitly invoke: Verbal abuse violates not only the relationship among the human beings involved but also that between the individual and God, for God commands us not to oppress others. One honors God and the Jewish people (*kiddush ha-Shem*) when one honors others; conversely, one dishonors God and desecrates God's people (*hillul ha-Shem*) when one verbally abuses a human being created in the divine image.

B) Witnesses to the Act or Results of Abuse

The Talmud interprets the Torah's command not to stand idly by the blood of our neighbor (Leviticus 19:16) to mean that we must take positive steps to save people's lives. Furthermore, the Torah's command to come forward with testimony (Leviticus 5:1–6) would make it seem obvious that Jews who witness abuse or its results must testify to it and help people extricate themselves from it. Four commands within Judaism, though, are sometimes misinterpreted to prevent witnesses to abuse from testifying to government officials or to others in authority about an abusive situation: the prohibitions against (1) defaming another human being (*lashon ha-ra*), (2) shaming someone else (*boshet*), (3) handing a Jew over to non-Jewish authorities (*mesirah*), and (4) desecrating God (*hillul ha-Shem*). In addition, (5) some worry that informing the authorities will subject children to the custody of the abusive parent, even if not exclusively.

1. *Defaming another human being*. The Jewish tradition forbids several kinds of speech: lies (*sheker*); truths that it is nobody's business to know (*rekhilut,* or gossip); and truths that, for all their truth, are defamatory (*lashon ha-ra*). It is this last prohibition that some people invoke to claim that Judaism prohibits witnesses to abuse from informing authorities. Because com-

plaints about the abuse, the argument goes, will inevitably defame the abuser, witnesses may not describe to others what is going on.

Defamatory speech is an important thing to avoid as much as possible, but there are some very clear exceptions to the prohibition. One exception occurs when failure to defame the person will result in harm to someone else. Thus, when failure to disclose the abuse to the proper authorities will result in continued abuse, the abused person and anyone who notices the abuse are obliged to reveal the abusive facts. Even though that will inevitably defame the abuser, such action is not only permissible, but mandatory when it is done in an effort to prevent harm to oneself or someone else.[15] As Maimonides writes,

> Anyone who can save [someone's life] and does not do so transgresses "You shall not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor" (Leviticus 19:16). Similarly, if one sees his brother drowning in the sea, accosted by robbers, or attacked by wild animals and can save him personally or can hire others to save him, and does not save him, or he heard non-Jews or informers plotting evil or attempting to entrap another and he does not inform him… transgresses "You shall not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor."[16]

One who has information to report and fails to do so also violates Leviticus 5:1, "If he does not

---

[15] B. *Bava Kamma* 56a; S.A. *Hoshen Mishpat* 28:1, gloss. In B. *Pesahim* 113b, Rav Papa has a man named Zigud punished for testifying alone against another man named Tuvya on the ground that the testimony of a single witness is inadmissible and so Zigud, knowing that he was the only witness, was effectively spreading defamatory information (*motzi shem ra*) about Tuvya. That, however, was when the act had already occurred; the requirement in the sources in B. *Bava Kamma* and in the comment of Isserles cited at the beginning of this note to testify even singly in all cases in which there is a benefit, including preventing another person from sinning, refers to a future gain. See also Hafetz Hayyim, *Laws of Slurs (Lashon Ha-ra)* 6:2–3 and Chap. 10, and Hafetz Hayyim, *Laws of Gossip (Rekhilut)* 9. Both are available at http://torah.org/learning/halashon.html (accessed 9/3/12).

[16] M.T. *Laws of Murder* 1:14. In 1:15, Maimonides adds both affirmative and negative injunctions to this obligation based on Deuteronomy 25:12, "And you shall cut off her hand [being applied here to the abuser]; your eye shall have no pity." See also Rashi, B. *Sanhedrin* 73a, s.v. *lo ta'amod*.

---

pecially when it is done by someone close to the particular male involved and even more when it is done in public.

come forth with his information, then he shall be subject to punishment."[17] In monetary affairs the witness may wait until summoned, but in other matters, such as abuse, the witness must come forward voluntarily in order to "destroy the evil from your midst."[18] For that matter, even *suspicions* of abuse must be reported to the authorities, for Jewish law maintains that Jewish law, including the law against defamation, must be violated even when the threat to someone's life is not certain (*safek nefashot*).[19]

2. *Shaming another.* Similar remarks apply to the issue of shame. Judaism certainly prohibits embarrassing someone else publicly. Indeed, rabbinic statements compare public shaming of a person to killing him or her, for one Hebrew way of saying "shaming another" is *malbin p'nai havero b'rabbim,* literally, "making his friend's face white in public"—just as it becomes white in death. The Torah prohibits even shaming the executed body of a murderer by demanding that we not let it remain unburied overnight.[20] Moreover, as mentioned earlier, one of the remedies for which an assailant must pay is the embarrassment involved in being injured. The Talmud engages in a sophisticated discussion of the nature of shame, asking whether the heart of it is the degradation in the victim's own sense of self-worth, in that of the family, or in the public's esteem.[21] These sources within the tradition that proscribe shaming others are all corollaries to the underlying theological principle of Juda-

ism that human beings are worthy of respect as creatures of God created in the divine image.[22] Some things, though, take priority over this prohibition. Specifically, when shaming another is not done out of meanness or indifference but rather is motivated by a practical or moral necessity, it is justified, permitted, and, in some cases, even required. Identifying an abuser will inevitably cause him or her shame, and we should not do that any more than necessary. We are, however, not only permitted, but required to override our concern for embarrassing the perpetrator to stop the abuse and to get help for the victims.

3. *Informing civil authorities: the issue of mesirah.* Traditional Jewish law forbids *mesirah,* turning Jews over to non-Jewish courts for judgment.[23] This prohibition undoubtedly arose out of two concerns. First, rampant discrimination against Jews in society generally made it unlikely that Jewish litigants would get a fair hearing. On the contrary, a dispute among Jews aired in a gentile court might provide the excuse for punishing both Jewish litigants and perhaps the entire Jewish community. Better that we Jews not call attention to ourselves altogether.

Moreover, rabbis over the generations wanted to make sure that Jewish law remained authoritative. In some times and places and for some purposes, especially in commercial matters, Jews were forced to use non-Jewish law and courts. In all other matters, though, Jews were supposed to use rabbinic courts. How, then, can a Jew in good conscience inform civil authorities about another Jew who is apparently abusing his or her family member, a child, or someone else?

Since the advent of the Enlightenment, a number of rabbis have ruled that the laws of *me-*

---

[17] M.T. Laws of Testimony 1:1.

[18] *Kesef Mishneh* to M.T. *Laws of Testimony* 1:1; *Rosh* to *Makkot,* Chap. 1, #11. "Destroy the evil from your midst" occurs a number of times in the Torah as a general purpose of the law: Deuteronomy 13:6, 17:7, 19:19, 21:21, 22:21, 24:7; cf. also 17:12 and 22:22.

[19] M. *Yoma* 8:6; B. *Yoma* 83a; M.T. *Laws of the Sabbath* 2:1; S.A. *Orah Hayyim* 328:10.

[20] Deuteronomy 21:23.

[21] B. *Bava Mezia* 58b. The legal remedy for embarrassment in personal injury cases is discussed in the Mishnah *Bava Kamma* 8:1 and 8:6 and in the Talmud at B. *Bava Kamma* 86a-b and 91a, where the discussion of the essence of shame also appears.

[22] Genesis 1:27; 5:1. For a discussion of this principle, see Elliot N. Dorff, *Matters of Life and Death: A Jewish Approach to Modern Medical Ethics* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society,1998), pp. 18–20.

[23] B. *Gittin* 88b; M.T. *Laws of Courts (Sanhedrin)* 26:7. See Elliot N. Dorff and Arthur Rosett, *A Living Tree: The Roots and Growth of Jewish Law* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press,1988), pp. 320–324, 515–539. See also Herschel Schachter, "*Dina deMalchusa Dina,*" *Journal of Halacha and Contemporary Society* 1:1, and Simcha Krauss, "Litigation in Secular Courts," *Journal of Halacha and Contemporary Society* 11:1.

sirah no longer apply. Some, like the *Arukh Ha-Shulhan,* have maintained that using non-Jewish courts was prohibited only when they were unfair to Jews (and perhaps to others as well), and when the prosecution of a Jew in a non-Jewish court would be the occasion for persecution of the entire Jewish community. Because neither of these factors characterizes courts in Western democracies nowadays, Jews may use non-Jewish courts.[24]

Even if one maintains that the prohibition of using non-Jewish courts still holds, it would not apply to criminal matters, where Jewish courts have no jurisdiction or power to punish. Furthermore, Rabbi Joseph Karo, author of the *Shulhan Arukh,* an important sixteenth-century code of Jewish law, asserts that when there is a *meitzar ha-tzibbur,* a menace to the community as a whole, *mesirah* is permissible.[25] In our time, that is unfortunately the case, for abusers make people feel unsafe and, if they are Jews, taint the reputation of the entire Jewish community. The Conservative Movement's Committee on Jewish Law and Standards has accordingly ruled that witnesses to abuse should inform the police so that victims can avail themselves of the remedies and protections that civil law affords.[26]

Rabbis who witness abuse present a special case, for American law recognizes a clergy-congregant (usually called "priest-penitent") privilege. Thus, if a Jew in the course of counseling with his/her rabbi disclosed that she/he had engaged in spousal abuse, American law would protect the confidentiality of that disclosure unless the counselee waived that right or indicated his/her intention to engage in future abuse of the same kind. Absent either of those conditions, the rabbi might be successfully sued for breaching the counselee's privacy by reporting the past

abuse to civil authorities.[27] Suffice it to say, then, that the provisions in Jewish law demanding that we save life and limb would require those who know about an abusive situation to report it to the civil authorities so that it might end, and, from the perspective of Jewish law, that would apply to rabbis no less than to any other Jew. Rabbis who become aware of an abusive situation in a counseling setting, however, should consult with an attorney to determine whether civil law in their jurisdiction grants them the right to report the matter in the specific case before them; if not, they should seek to end the abusive situation in some other way.

4. *Defamation of God.* Sometimes Jews' objections to reporting abuse to the civil authorities are based on concerns about *hillul ha-Shem,* the prohibition of defaming the reputation of God and, by extension, of God's chosen people. Even if fair treatment can be assured in the courts of

---

[24] Arukh Ha-Shulhan, Hoshen Mishpat 388:7.

[25] S.A. *Hoshen Mishpat* 388:12, according to the text quoted by *Shakh* at that place, comment #59, and by the Gaon of Vilna (*Gra*), #71.

[26] This was openly declared as its ruling in my responsum, "Family Violence," validated unanimously in 1995, on which much of this chapter is based, and reprinted in Dorff (2003), *Love Your Neighbor and Yourself,* Chap. 5.

[27] The exception to the clergy/client privilege was established in the case of *Tarasoff vs. Board of Regents of the University of California* 529 P. 2d 553 (Cal. 1974); modified 551 P. 2d 334 (1976), which also affirmed the general privilege itself. The California Evidence Code, Article 8, Sect. 1033, states: "Subject to Section 912, a penitent, whether or not a party [i.e., litigant in the case before the court], has a privilege to refuse to disclose, and to prevent another from disclosing, a penitential communication if he claims the privilege"; and Sect. 1034 states: "Subject to Section 912, a clergyman, whether or not a party, has a privilege to refuse to disclose a penitential communication if he claims the privilege." The parallel Arkansas statute, for another example, reads: "No minister of the gospel or priest of any denomination shall be compelled to testify in relation to any confession made to him in his professional character, in the course of discipline by the rule of practice of such denomination." New York and Michigan, like California, substitute "allowed" for "compelled," thus giving the penitent the right to prevent the clergyperson from revealing the confession made in his or her capacity as a member of the clergy. This "seal of the confessional" has been generally recognized by the civil courts even in those states that do not have such a privilege written into their evidence codes, even though common law does not consider confessions privileged from disclosure. New York is possibly the first of all English-speaking states from the time of the Reformation to grant this protection, for it is documented in a decision De Witt Clinton made in June, 1813. See Louisell, Kaplan, and Waltz, *Cases and Materials on Evidence*, 3rd edition (Mineola, NY: Foundation Press, 1976), pp. 666–667. I would like to thank Rabbi Ben Zion Bergman for these references.

modern, Western democracies, the argument goes, reporting to governmental authorities that some Jews abuse their family members and thus making that fact public reflects poorly on the entire Jewish community and may even become the excuse for acts of anti-Semitism.

Hillul ha-Shem, though, cuts both ways. The Mishnah already cautions us that attempting to sequester a *hillul ha-Shem* will always be unsuccessful: "Whoever desecrates the name of Heaven in private will ultimately be punished in public; whether the desecration was committed unintentionally or intentionally, it is all the same when God's name is profaned."[28] That is especially so when civil law requires reporting abuse, for then Jews trying to hide the abuse will be correctly perceived as engaged in illegal, cover-up activities as well as unwise and uncaring conduct. This would be an even greater defamation of God's reputation (*hillul ha-Shem*) and, in addition, a threat to the welfare of the community (*meitzar ha-tzibbur*).

The Jewish community, like all other human communities, is not perfect. What gains respect is the honesty, sensitivity, and energy that a community shows in squarely facing instances of abuse within its midst by making sure that justice is done and that safety is assured within a context of human healing and repair for all concerned.

5. *Custody of the children.* Some worry about informing authorities because they may award custody of the children to the abusive parent at least part of the time without the other parent present to protect them. Custody of children, however, is not automatically a parental right in Jewish law. It depends upon the welfare of the child.[29] In our case, if the child is in any danger of physical or sexual abuse, the welfare of the child would certainly supersede any parental

claim to custody. The same is true in American law. Witnesses to abuse need to trust that governmental authorities will do their job in setting the custody arrangements with the protection of the children in mind.

The upshot of this section, then, is that Jews must report both abuse of themselves and of others to the civil authorities. None of the concerns for failing to do that stands up under legal examination, for saving one's own life and safety and those of others supersedes all of these concerns and requires that we report the abuse of ourselves or others so as to extricate victims from life-threatening situations.

C) The Abused Party: Making One's Way Out of an Abusive Situation

Victims of abuse in large percentages keep the abuse to themselves. With both women and children, several factors make this happen. Often they are economically dependent upon their abusers and therefore worry that they will not be able to sustain themselves if they take steps to leave an abusive husband and father. Many times they feel attached to the abuser and therefore hope that their lives together can continue but without the abuse. Sometimes they feel at least partly to blame for the abuse themselves, however unwarranted that feeling may be.

Although all these reasons for remaining in an abusive situation are understandable, the abused party has an even stronger duty in Jewish law to disclose the abuse than other people do. "Avoiding danger is a stronger obligation than any prohibition," the Talmud says.[30] As I have noted, saving a life supersedes all commandments save the prohibitions against murder, idolatry, and incest or adultery; saving your own life is even more compulsory, for if you can save only your own life or that of someone else, the Talmud rules that "your life takes precedence."[31] This imperative

---

[28] M. Avot (Ethics of the Fathers) 4:5.

[29] See Eliav Schochetman, "On the Nature of the Rules Governing Custody of Children in Jewish Law," *The Jewish Law Annual,* Vol. X (Philadelphia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), pp. 115–158; Michael J. Broyde, "Child Custody in Jewish Law: A Pure Law Analysis," *Jewish Law Association Studies VII: The Paris Conference Volume,* S. M. Passamaneck and M. Finley, eds. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), pp. 1–20.

[30] B. *Hullin* 10a; see S.A. *Orah Hayyim* 173:2; *Yoreh De'ah* 116:5 gloss.

[31] The three exceptions of murder, idolatry, and adultery/incest, for which you are supposed to sacrifice your own

to extricate oneself from abuse applies even to cases where the issue is not physical or sexual harm, but the victim is constantly subjected to verbal abuse.[32]

These Jewish legal principles together mean that abused adults have a positive obligation to ignore all the issues discussed in the previous section—the prohibitions of defaming or shaming another, of handing someone over to governmental authorities, and of desecrating God—in order to save their own lives. Indeed, their duty to report an abuser to save their own lives is even greater than their responsibility to help others suffering abuse.

D) The Abuser

Investigating an Allegation of Abuse

Until now, we have assumed that it is clear that a given person has abused another. Although physical evidence and/or admission by the culprit make that so in many cases, the claim is not always undisputed.

In Jewish law, even more than in American law, a person is innocent until proven guilty. Thus, while American law accepts confession as proof in all matters, in Jewish law self-incrimination is "like a hundred witnesses" in civil matters,[33] but in criminal matters it is not accepted as a ground

for court action.[34] Furthermore, falsely accusing someone brings severe penalties.[35]

When people come forward with claims of abuse, probably the key things for rabbis and other Jewish professionals to understand is that they should *not* immediately assume a legal posture and endeavor to determine whether the claim is true or not, and they definitely should *not* deny the claim outright or become defensive. *Without prejudging the accuracy of the person's claims,* then, the rabbi, family member, teacher, counselor, or friend is better advised to accept the accusation at face value, leaving it to the legal authorities to determine its truth later, and immediately help the person extricate herself or himself from the abuse. In diagnosing abuse and in discerning an appropriate response, Jewish Family Service and other such agencies with expertise in these matters can be of immense help.

Making Amends

When a fair hearing determines that there is sufficient evidence that a given person has abused another, in addition to whatever civil or criminal penalties apply, Jewish families and communities need to take steps to ensure that the offender cannot continue the abuse. This may mean, for a woman or family, moving out of the quarters occupied by the abuser or forcing him to move out of theirs, and it may even mean ostracizing the abuser from the community.

At the same time, the Jewish tradition puts great faith in the ability of those who do wrong to make amends and correct their behavior. It never expects us to be perfect: Jewish liturgy, after all, has us say three times each day, "Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned," and at the close of

---

life rather than commit these acts, are specified in B. *Sanhedrin* 74a. That saving your own life takes precedence over saving the lives of others is established in B. *Bava Mezia* 62a.

[32] B. *Kiddushin* 31b; M.T. *Laws of Rebels* 6:10. Radbaz on that passage points out that this may be best for the parent, for the child is forbidden from striking the parent, but others may do so if that is in the parent's best interests, "for there are incidents every day" in which striking persons can retrieve them from their insanity (or, presumably, at least from the behavioral effects of it).

[33] B. *Kiddushin* 65b; B. *Bava Mezia* 3b; etc.

[34] B. *Sanhedrin* 9b, 10a, 25a; B. *Ketubbot* 18b; B. *Yevamot* 25b. See also T. *Sanhedrin* 11:1; B. *Ketubbot* 27a; B. *Bava Kamma* 72b. Cf. Aaron Kirschenbaum, *Self-Incrimination in Jewish Law* (New York: Burning Bush Press, 1970); and "Confession," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 5:877–878.

[35] B. *Bava Kamma* 46a. See, for example, how the following use this authority in our case: R. Asher b. Jehiel ("ROSH"), *Responsa,* #101. *Hoshen Mishpat* 420:38.

every Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) we know full well that next year we will be back trying to cleanse our souls once again. The date is already scheduled! This does not mean, however, that efforts to improve oneself are fruitless and that we therefore have no duty to try. Quite the contrary, Judaism imposes a positive obligation on us to do *teshuvah,* to take steps to return to the proper path, and it assumes that we can do so if we really try.

What are those steps? Although I describe them in some detail elsewhere, together with the philosophical and moral rationales for *teshuvah,* suffice it to say here that the process includes: (1) acknowledgment of the wrong, (2) remorse, (3) public confession, (4) asking for forgiveness from the aggrieved party, (5) restitution to the extent that that is possible, and (6) refraining from committing the wrongful act the next time the opportunity arises (Dorff 2003, Chap. 6). The famous 12-step programs used to help people with addictions of various sorts have strong echoes with these traditional steps in Judaism; that is why Jewish forms of those programs have quite naturally emerged.[36]

It is critical for synagogues to accept the steps of *teshuvah* as making the person worthy of reinstatement into the community as a whole. *Teshuvah,* after all, is very difficult, especially when it involves deeply rooted behavior patterns such as the ones we are discussing. No wonder, then, that the Talmud says that fully righteous people (*zaddikim*) cannot stand in the same place as those who have repented, for the strength needed to repent is much greater than the strength needed to be good in the first place.[37]

If one succeeds in reversing a history of abuse, one attains the status of a person who has re-

turned (*ba'al teshuvah*). The law in many American states makes convicts who have served their sentence indicate their criminal past on all sorts of documents, and such people often continue to be denied voting privileges, the right to apply for a government job, etc. Jewish law requires us to trust the process of return (*teshuvah*) much more strongly. It mandates that Jews not even mention the person's past violations, let alone bar him or her from full participation in society. Such recounting of the person's wrongful deeds is categorized as verbal abuse (*ona'at devarim*) itself. Moreover, it puts obstacles in the way of those who try to do better, a violation of the biblical command, "Before a blind person you may not put an obstacle."[38] Thus the Jewish tradition strongly encourages abusers to seek help to control their abusive drives, promising full restitution in legal, social, and theological status if they succeed.

The abuser, however, must go through all these steps to be accorded the renewed status of good standing within the community. Punishment by the civil authorities is not sufficient, for some people maintain that they were wrongly convicted, despite being guilty of the offense, and thus they never take the very first step in the process of *teshuvah*—namely, acknowledging that they have done something wrong. Moreover, abusers often make promises to change but then either will not or cannot stop their abusive behavior; such promises do not count as *teshuvah,* for, as indicated above, *teshuvah* requires change in behavior and not just good intentions.

Furthermore, although one may not routinely remind the offender or anyone else of his or her past offense, one both may and should invoke that information in making decisions about the

---

[36] For an explicit application of Jewish sources to the 12-step programs, see Rabbi Kerry M. Olitzky and Stuart A. Copans, M.D., *Twelve Jewish Steps to Recovery* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights 1991).

[37] B. *Sanhedrin* 99a, and see Rashi's comment there. See Graetz, *Silence Is Deadly* for further discussion of when and how the safety of the synagogue can be helpful for airing matters of human intimacy, including areas of vulnerability such as being a victim or perpetrator of abuse.

[38] One of the specific examples of *ona'at devarim* given in B. *Bava Mezia* 58a is reminding a person of past violations of the law. The verse forbidding putting a stumbling block before the blind (Leviticus 19:14) is probably talking in its plain meaning about physically blind people and physical stumbling blocks, but the classical Rabbis applied it also—indeed, more often—to intellectual and characterological stumbling blocks put before those who are blind in those areas. See, for example, B. *Mo'ed Katan* 17a; B. *Bava Metzi'a* 75b; B. *Avodah Zarah* 6b.

ways in which that person is permitted to interact with others. People may do full *teshuvah* and yet continue to be sorely tempted to repeat their offense if the opportunity arises. In the case of such people, it is a favor neither to the offender nor to the people she or he may harm to put the culprit in the position where such temptation exists; that would be "putting an obstacle before the blind."[39]

As a result, it may well be that, for some abusers, full *teshuvah* may not be possible. For its own protection and for the sake of the abuser too, the community may not afford the abuser the opportunity to complete the last stage of *teshuvah,* where the sinner confronts the same situation in which he or she previously sinned and acts differently. In such cases, the community, recognizing that that is the case not because of a failure in the abuser's resolve to do *teshuvah* but rather because of its own decision, may reinstate the abuser into the community, despite his or her failure to complete the process of *teshuvah,* for all purposes except for functioning in situations where she or he was previously abusive. The process of *teshuvah,* as described in the sources, may not be possible or appropriate for all cases, and the community's norms must respond accordingly.[40]

The Role of Rabbis, Educators, and Lay Leaders in Preventing Abuse and in Repairing Its Consequences

What can rabbis and Jewish educators do to prevent abuse or at least alleviate its consequences? The Clergy Advisory Board of the California Department of Social Services has produced a brief pamphlet that was distributed to clergy of all religions throughout the state.[41] It focuses on

child abuse, but its recommendations can easily be adapted to spousal or parental abuse as well. In the paragraphs below, I will paraphrase and embellish upon the pamphlet's instructions, generalizing them to apply to spousal abuse as well as child abuse, to jurisdictions outside California, to educators and lay leaders as well as rabbis, and to specifically Jewish concerns and contexts:

1. *Learn to recognize abuse.* If you fail to recognize the signs of abuse in your congregation, school, camp, or youth group the abuse will undoubtedly continue. The opportunity to protect people from future abuse is often lost due to ignorance, denial, or fear of interference. Professional schools should mandate training for their students, and professional organizations should provide continuing education for their members in how to discern potentially abusive situations, take family histories that include instances of abuse, provide religious counseling for abusers and their victims, and know which other professionals within the community should be called upon to help in both preventive and curative efforts.

2. *Do not assume that you can handle the situation alone.* Although clergy can be critical in helping victims and perpetrators of abuse in the ways explained below, they should not try to do this alone. If abuse is going to be stopped and its effects ameliorated, professionals of various sorts must be called upon.

3. *Know and obey your government's requirements to report abuse to legal authorities.* Many states, provinces, and cities have enacted laws that require clergy and teachers, as well as physicians, to report child abuse to legal authorities. Exactly what must be reported, and to whom, varies. Laws do not generally require reporting spousal abuse, but victims and witnesses have a moral duty, if not a legal one, to report such abuse, generally to the police, and then to get help in extricating victims from the abusive situation.

---

[39] See *ibid.* for the meaning of this expression in Jewish law.

[40] I would like to thank Rabbi Joel Rembaum for pointing out this aspect of the situation and its implications for the process of *teshuvah.*

[41] *Protecting Our Children: Information for Clergy Members about Child Abuse and Neglect,* a publication of the Clergy Advisory Board of the California Consortium to Prevent Child Abuse, in collaboration with The Office of Child Abuse Prevention of the California Department of

Social Services, 1600 Sacramento Inn Way, Suite 123, Sacramento, CA 95815. Copies can be ordered by calling (800)-405-KIDS.

Sometimes clergy become aware of abuse through the confession of a congregant in a private counseling setting, and that raises questions of confidentiality. The law of most jurisdictions follows the California Supreme Court's *Tarasoff* case in recognizing this right to confidentiality with regard to past actions but specifically requiring professionals to break professional-client confidentiality when the congregant reveals plans to threaten the safety or physical welfare of anyone *in the future,* and it protects professionals from lawsuits complaining of such a breach of confidentiality in such cases.

Failure to respond to abuse appropriately may subject rabbis personally, as well as the religious or educational institution for which they work, to both civil and criminal prosecution. Insurance companies are increasingly restricting their coverage so that they can avoid liability for such suits, thus making the institutions and their personnel all the more legally exposed.[42]

4. *Protect your congregation or school from potential abusers.* Synagogues and other Jewish institutions should formulate a policy for responding to cases of abuse within the institution and also within families associated with the institution. In addition, synagogues and other institutions should, as part of their hiring policies and procedures, take measures to screen out those likely to molest children or adults through careful background checks.

5. *The abuser may be a colleague.* Rabbis, cantors, and Jewish educators as well as clergy of other faiths have unfortunately been involved in some highly publicized cases of abuse of various sorts. Due process, of course, must be applied in any investigation of such allegations, and the presumption of innocence must be preserved. If child, spousal, or other abuse by a rabbi, cantor, or educator is confirmed, however, other Jewish professionals on the

staff and in the vicinity must be prepared to respond openly and forthrightly to the scandal and the public outrage. As the California pamphlet puts it, "While the needs of the victim are primary, compassion needs to be extended to the injured religious community and the perpetrator as well." In addition, steps must be taken to heal the community, help it to avoid such incidents in the future, and bring the perpetrator both to justice and to the process of *teshuvah*.

6. *Clergy and educators can take specific steps to prevent and alleviate this problem.* In addition to the steps described above, the California booklet mentions the following:

a. *Provide child and spousal abuse services, and support other communal efforts to do the same.* To quote the California booklet, with additions for the case of spousal abuse,

Anything that your community of faith does to strengthen families is child [and spousal] abuse prevention. For some at-risk families, participation in religious services is their only real support system. You can reach out to families in isolation and turmoil by addressing parenting [and spousal] issues through sermons, study groups, or by sponsoring public forums.

Such discussions may well center on Chap. 3 of my book, *Love Your Neighbor and Yourself,* entitled "'This Is My Beloved, This Is My Friend': A Rabbinic Letter on Intimate Relations," because that material provides a safe forum for opening people up to talking about all issues of human intimacy, including these troubling ones where it becomes abusive, and it does so in the context of Jewish conceptions, laws, and values. In addition, periodic discussions of this topic in sermons, bulletin articles, special readings, or forums will inform and remind people of Judaism's stance on spousal abuse.

In addition, synagogues and Jewish federations should support efforts, typically by Jewish Family Service agencies, to establish safe houses with kosher facilities for victims of abuse. As a joint effort of synagogues and Jewish Family Service, synagogue services should be made available to residents in such facilities, and, conversely, experts in this area from Jewish Family

---

[42] See *Tempest in the Temple: Jewish Communities and Child Sex Scandals,* Amy Neustein, ed. (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2009), for a discussion of proper and improper ways to respond to reports of abuse. That book is about child abuse, but similar lessons apply to reports of spousal abuse.

Service should be called upon for preventive and educational programs within our synagogues and educational institutions.

b. *Use the power of the religion and the community to deter abuse*. Rabbi Simhah, one of the medieval authorities who strongly condemned wife-beating, speaks of excommunicating a wife-beater from the congregation. Others might argue that there is a better chance that continued membership within the community will more likely bring a change in behavior. If a synagogue follows the latter course, it can and should still express its disgust for abuse by, for example, refusing to give honors or positions of leadership to those known to be physically or verbally abusive to others. Rabbis should not hesitate to use theological language in explaining to abusers that such behavior is not only a violation of Jewish communal norms, but a transgression of God's will as embedded in Jewish law and values.

c. *Counsel adult survivors of abuse*. Adults who abuse others were often abused themselves as children. If they are going to be able to break the cycle of abuse, they will need considerable counseling, instruction in good patterns of family interactions (for, by hypothesis, while growing up they never saw firsthand how families can handle their tensions in a healthy way), and positive reinforcement for dealing with problems in non-abusive ways. Synagogues can, for example, sponsor programs of preparation for marriage that, among other things, teach couples how to argue without violence, still stay married, and create a healthy family life; Jewish Family Service may be of aid in establishing and staffing such groups.

d. *Address the spiritual aspect of healing*. Rabbis and other Jews all too often underestimate the role of religious conviction in aiding the healing process. Virtually all of the 12-step programs place heavy reliance on faith in God, not only because historically such programs emerged from Christian faith communities but also because healing is assisted greatly when a person feels aided not only by other people who have the same problem but also by God. We Jews need to cease to be embarrassed by such religious language. We should unselfconsciously invoke the religious tenets of our tradition to help people who have been abused to heal the wounds of the past and to reconstruct and redirect their lives.

Reconnecting With God's Image Within Us

The Jewish responses to family violence that we have discussed above are all deeply rooted in Jewish views of God and humanity. In secular systems of thought, abuse is problematic because it violates the Golden Rule and more generous, humanitarian concerns. When the topic is abuse within the family, further matters arise, including the resultant inability of the family to provide the safety, warmth, and education on which society depends and the inherent violation of the sanctity of the family. Judaism shares all of these concerns, but it has more, for abuse of another represents a denial of God's image in every human being.

In conceiving of the situation in that way, Judaism also can provide a real source of strength for abused people struggling to escape from their situation and to rebuild their lives. No matter how much someone else has diminished your self-image, Judaism is telling you that you were created in the image of God. Among other things, that means that like God, you have inherent worth, regardless of what anyone else says or does. This divine value represents a challenge, for we must all strive throughout our lives to realize the divine within us. It is a challenge, though, that gives life meaning and hope.

The following reprint from the 1992 High Holy Day Message of the Jewish Theological Seminary summarizes these themes nicely. It was also published in *Newsweek, The New York Times,* and *The Wall Street Journal*:[43]

---

[43] Reprinted from the 1992 High Holy Day Message of the Jewish Theological Seminary with the permission of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Also published in *Newsweek,* September 28, 1992, in selected regions, in *The New York Times,* October 1, 1992, and *The Wall Street*

Know whom you put to shame, for in the likeness of God is (s)he made. (*Genesis Rabbah* 24:8)

Some people who are reading this were beaten yesterday, or terrorized, or kept in isolation.
Some who tormented them are reading this now.
And they are not strangers to each other; they are family.
Intimates. People like us. Us.

Home should be a haven, the place where you can count on being valued and protected.
If instead it is a place where the people closest to you beat you up, or keep you on edge with threats, or isolate and demean you—then what is safe?

Violence in the family is not love; it is not discipline; it is not deserved.
It is an abuse of power, and it is wrong—

because decent people don't behave that way;
because it is against the law, and for one more reason:
we are all made in the image of God.
To lash out in violence—
especially against someone whose life is linked with yours—
is to violate a likeness of God, and to degrade that likeness in yourself.

Are you being hurt or humiliated by the person you are closest to?
Believe that you do not deserve the abuse.
No one has the right to tell you that you are worthless: your worth comes from God.
Have you been taking out your anger and frustration against the people who depend on you?
Know that you are better than that; you are made in the image of God. You have the power to stop hurting and belittling them. God gives it to you.

Journal on the same date. The bold print and italics indicated here are as they appeared in the published message.

To all who read this, we ask:

- Look at yourself, at your partner, at your elderly parents, at your children, as images of God. Treat each of them with the respect which that demands.
- Make your home a haven. Instead of raising your hand or your voice, raise your own dignity and the self-esteem of the people who turn to you for love. You may not be able to perfect the world, but this much you can do.
- Help your religious community to face the fact of domestic violence and to offer active support to those who have been enduring abuse, threats, and humiliation. A house of God should be a place for teaching restraint, decency, and reverence; make yours that place.
- *Behave as though God made you worthy; it is true. Behave as though the world depends on your humanity and decency. It does.*

"…for the sin which we have committed before Thee, openly and in secret…" High Holy Day Liturgy

References

Adler, R. (1998). *Engendering Judaism: An inclusive theology and ethics*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Briere, J. (1992). *Child abuse trauma*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dorff, E. (2003). *Love your neighbor and yourself: A Jewish approach to modern personal ethics*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Graetz, N. (1998). *Silence is deadly: Judaism confronts wifebeating*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Hertz, J. (1938). *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs*. London: Soncino.

Intimate Partner Violence Within Church Communities of African Ancestry

<div style="text-align:right">**8**</div>

Tricia Bent-Goodley and Kesslyn Brade Stennis

Churches within communities of African ancestry provide an array of supports to their members and those around them. These churches have supported the growth and development of communities. They have been centers for social and economic justice by advocating for civil and basic human rights. They are hubs for concrete services such as food, shelter, and clothing. The role of African and African American churches has been highlighted as valued and important from an historical and contemporary perspective. So, while at the core, the church focuses on spiritual uplift, it is also a source of economic, spiritual, physical, and social empowerment for people of African ancestry. The notion of the role of churches in African ancestry is virtually summarized in this quote by Bishop Desmond Tutu—"*my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in what is yours*" (Tutu 1999, p. 34). Essentially, the church in communities of African ancestry is a place where community members can be viewed and served as comprehensive, whole beings. It is the place where one can find salvation and receive those critical items necessary for day-to-day survival in the same place. Thus, the church is not limited in scope to saving souls; instead, its purview includes ensuring the sustenance of the flock and serving as a place of resolution, possibility, and healing. Yet, on the issue of domestic violence, too many churches of African ancestry have been silent, condoning or minimizing violence under the guise of religious doctrine. They are desperately needed to help create solutions to address men's violence against women. Regardless of ethnic background, domestic violence is pervasive among communities of African ancestry. The World Health Organization (WHO) (2005) study on health and violence against women found that domestic violence is a global phenomenon. For example, the study found that 71 % of women in Ethiopia reported physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime and that 17 % of women in rural Tanzania reported that their first sexual experience was forced. In the USA, African American and Caribbean American women have one of the highest victimization levels compared to other groups of women (Bent-Goodley 2012; Lucea et al. 2013). They also experience the highest rates of fatality due to domestic violence (Bent-Goodley in press 1). The problem, then, is that rigid notions of men and women's roles, and the right of men to use violence against women and treat women as property is an international phenomenon that disparagingly impacts women of African ancestry (WHO 2005). The ideology then becomes promulgated through the church, making it a difficult place to receive refuge and support for victims of men's violence against women.

T. Bent-Goodley (✉)
School of Social Work, Howard University,
Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: tbent-goodley@howard.edu

K. Brade Stennis
Department of Social Work, Coppin State University,
Washington, DC, USA

While faith-based communities have done great work in the area of civil rights (Billingsley 2003), the church has been slow to bring its social justice focus to the prevention and intervention of domestic violence. While historical accounts have revealed that the African American church once directly addressed and held men accountable for violence against women (Bent-Goodley 2012), the current church has been less known for its willingness to get into "family business" (Brade 2009). Being much more comfortable with letting the individuals resolve the problem and not addressing domestic violence as a public issue warranting a systemic response, the church has relegated its authority on this issue to social service, criminal justice, and health institutions. Despite limited effort to address this issue, church members still turn to the church for its support on this issue, particularly African Americans (Gillum et al. 2006; Miles 2011). This chapter will examine how churches of African ancestry in the USA use religious and spiritual practices when responding to men's violence against women.

Diversity of Communities of African Ancestry

When many talk about the African American community, it is often from a monolithic stance. Rarely is there understanding and discussion of the heterogeneity within communities of African ancestry. There is great diversity among and between ethnic and cultural groups, including differences around geographic location, gender, and spiritual traditions. Not recognizing this diversity can result in the lack of the ability to understand and respond to domestic violence within these communities. It is not realistic to identify each group, but this chapter will provide an overview of some of the groups of African ancestry within the USA and how they utilize and experience church differently. For this reason, the role of church in responding to men's violence against women in communities of African ancestry is profoundly important to understand.

Africans in America

Africans—that is persons migrating to the USA from the continent of Africa—make up 2% of Blacks in America, which are approximately 1.6 million people. They come from diverse African nations but primarily from the countries of Nigeria, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt, Somalia, South Africa, and Ghana (US Census Bureau 2009). Each of these countries has its own unique histories, culture, and traditions. Yet, many of the circumstances for women are the same. The abuse of women across African borders should be noted. While this chapter focuses on domestic violence, it is important to note multilevel violence that women experience, including sexual assault and rape, female genital mutilation, human trafficking, and the violence that derives from poverty, institutional disenfranchisement, refugee and migration status, and war. Human trafficking takes place both within and across African borders and can include slave labor, domestic servitude, and prostitution (Onuoha 2011). The majority (80%) of those that are trafficked are women and girls (Fayemi 2009). The high levels of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and sociopolitical issues fuels the prevalence of human trafficking in these nations resulting in many women and girls committing suicide, dying of disease, and feeding into a cycle of trauma (Fayemi 2009; Lutya 2009; Onuoha 2011). What follows is a brief overview of the experiences of women in each of these African nations to provide further context to how the church responds to domestic violence for these women even within the USA.

Nigeria has the highest population in Africa composed of 155 million citizens. Between one half and two thirds of Nigerian women experience domestic violence (Taylor 2012). They can be beaten, raped, and even murdered for things such as not having a meal prepared on time or visiting family members without permission. They are expected to be obedient to their spouse, available for sexual acts, and accepting of abusive treatment. Should they not meet these expectations, they can be corrected by their spouse, and they may be stigmatized for revealing the abuse

to others. There are no laws in place to protect these women from such atrocities.

Ghanian women face similar challenges. One third of Ghanian women experience domestic violence (Cantalupo et al. 2006), and nearly one out of 30 women experiences sexual abuse. Women cannot own land, have their own credit, and are excluded from decision making. Thus, when faced with domestic violence, if they report the abuse, they face isolation from the family and hard economic circumstances. Forced sex is higher across different cultural groups in Ghana. For example, traditionalists are less likely to experience domestic violence when compared to Christians (Tenkorang and Owusu 2013).

Ethiopia is one of the world's poorest countries. Like Ghanian women, Ethiopian women have no ability to own land. They have no access to legal aid. They experience early marriage without choice (Boyden et al. 2012) and often before the age of 15 (Erulkar 2013). There is a cultural taboo of women to organize, and they are expected to have a subservient role to their husband and their mother-in-law, ultimately suffering in silence (Kedir and Admasachew 2010). Rape and wife inheritance continue to be acceptable practices. Ethiopian women also experience forced genital mutilation (FGM). FGM is when all or part of the external female genitals are removed. In some countries, FGM is viewed as rites of passage for girls. Yet, in the 30 countries for which it is conducted, it is most often forced and has long-term physical, mental, and trauma-related consequences (Utz-Billing and Kentenich 2008).

The Eritrean government was ratified in 1997 after many years of struggle with Ethiopia. Women played a critical role in the liberation of Eritrea fighting side-by-side with male soldiers. Despite policies put in place to support equal opportunities for women, Eritrea women are often circumcised at an early age, denied education with few attending school past fifth grade, and most experiencing arranged marriages that include economic dependence on the male due to high illiteracy rates among women (Krosch 2005).

Egyptian women experience similar challenges. Yet, in this African nation, women's rights are viewed as detrimental to society. Women are confronted with organized sexual violence whereby women can be gang-raped and physically assaulted regardless of age or religion (Solovieva 2013). In addition to experiencing forced FGM (Anis et al. 2012), nearly one out of every three Egyptian women experience some form of physical violence from a mate (Yount and Li 2010). Close to 15 % had experienced some form of severe violence from a mate, including strangulation, being physically attacked, or threatened to kill with a weapon. The same study found that Egyptian women with lower and higher education are at greatest risk which is unique to Egypt.

The circumstances of women in Somalia are especially dire. Somalia has the fourth-highest ranking of gender inequality globally according to the Gender Inequality Index (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2013). In fact, girls ages 4 to 11 experience the most severe forms of FGM. Somalia has been engulfed in conflict for over 20 years causing over 1.4 million people to be displaced, severe drought, and famine. As a result, women are often victims of rape and physical assault with no opportunity to obtain treatment. These assaults are not just by their partners but also other men, including men in the military. For example, one study found that in one camp in the month of September 2012 there were 277 Somalian women that were raped (UNDP 2013).

South African women are also fiercely susceptible to experience different forms of violence. While FGM does not occur as often as in some of the other countries referenced, nearly one third of South African women experience abuse by a spouse (Bendall 2010), the majority (64 %) are threatened with weapons, and one out of six are regularly assaulted (Usdin et al. 2005). Half of South African women will experience rape in their lifetime with a South African woman being raped every 26 seconds (Lutya 2009). Four women are killed each day in South Africa by an intimate partner (Lutya 2009). These women experience other forms of violence, such as rape murders,

sexual serial killings, witch burnings, forced prostitution, and human trafficking too (Usdin et al. 2005).

Understanding this backdrop, the dynamics of churches among Africans living in America is different from African American churches. Churches in African communities are often chosen based on ethnicity, not denomination (Olupona and Gemignani 2007). This selection is done because the need to stay connected with those from the same ethnic group is a part of the survival of the group. Worshipping with others from their ethnic group allows the services to be held in their native language, with respect to their own traditions and culture, and it allows for support building that cannot be done in other places within the community. Therefore, these particular churches tend to have multiple denominations within one church. Services often focus on prayer and worship. Prayer and worship is connected back to praying for change within the country of origin, such as praying for resolution and peace in civil wars and political conflict. As such, these churches focus on the homeland and issues associated with immigration (Alex-Assensoh 2009). As a result, the issue of domestic violence is not viewed as a primary issue. The focus of the church community is primarily on survival, adaptation to live in the USA, maintaining a connectedness to the important issues from the homeland, and trying to ensure that the culture of the native community survives despite living in the USA. The result is that ideas about manhood, womanhood, and other issues, such as domestic violence, are maintained from the country of origin although they are living in the USA. Notions about men and women, how they interact and function, are preserved through the cultural entities within church communities.

Caribbean Americans

The Caribbean community composes 60% of the 4% of persons of African ancestry that live in America. The Caribbean community in the USA is very diverse. More than 90% of Caribbean immigrants come from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Haiti, and Trinidad and Tobago (McCabe 2011). It is important to note that one half of the Caribbean population is Spanish speaking. Thus, there are a number of factors to consider with this population. There are different ethnic groups, cultural experiences, languages, and dialects within this community. Some of those within this population are also of Latino descent. It is important to recognize this delineation. Some may have roots within the White community, many have roots within African ancestry, and others may have a mixture of both. Therefore, when examining men's violence against women within this population, one must consider the diversity of perceptions of the roles of men and women from within these different countries and cultural experiences. Yet, while there is great diversity, there are also some similarities. There tends to be a rigid perspective of the roles of men and women from Caribbean communities (GuPaul-McNicol 1993). Simultaneously, there is also diversity between what African Americans and what Caribbean Americans look for in intimate relationships. For example, one study found that Caribbean Americans focused on socioeconomic status when selecting a mate, while African Americans focused on the nature of the person's parenting capability (Lincoln et al. 2008). Both provide a context for understanding women's choices around mate selection and even why they may continue to stay in an abusive relationship. Caribbean American women may not have the financial resources or immigration status to walk away from an abusive relationship. She may be financially dependent on her partner. She may also be receiving messages from persons "back home" not to be overtaken by US culture and to maintain her Caribbean heritage and way of life. Both African American and Caribbean American women are more likely than men to report the use of religion to cope in stressful life situations (Chatters et al. 2008). Financial difficulties, associated with high debt, have negative consequences on relationships within the Caribbean American and African American communities (Bryant et al. 2008).

Thus, the role of the church from within these communities is also centered on cultural pres-

ervation and to manage stressful life situations, especially those connected with financial challenges, workplace issues, and assimilation within the USA. Caribbean Americans tend to live in pockets of places, particularly within Florida and New York (McCabe 2011). Thus, church communities provide a familiar place to growth and nurture cultural continuity within the Caribbean community. However, these groups are also integrated into the life of the larger Black community. The church has been slow to respond to domestic violence and often reverts back to ideas of men, women, and the nature of domestic violence from their native country. As opposed to adopting notions of equity in relationships, many of the churches view domestic violence as an issue that should be addressed within the family and not outside of it. When these issues are brought to light, the role of family members back home becomes that much more involved in stopping the woman from seeking further assistance or making further noise about the issue. Therefore, it is vital to understand that the church, while meaningful in the Caribbean American community, is not necessarily viewed as a space to go to get help for men's violence against women.

African Americans

The first act that enslaved Africans did in America was to establish a faith-based organization. The Free African Society functioned in many ways as a faith-based institution whose pronounced role was more so that of a social service organization (Hope Franklin and Higginbotham 2010). Yet, the ideas of these organizations were centered on faith. Much of the history of African Americans focuses on experiences of transcending slavery, addressing civil and moral rights violations through the 1960s, continuing to address racism, discrimination, and serving as a source of social justice and place of morality in the USA. African Americans have a history of church utilization to advance and move past familial, communal, and societal challenges (Martin and Martin 2003). Thus, the role of the church in the African American community is multifaceted.

The church is viewed as a place of refuge from the discriminatory treatment and racism of the world around it. It is a place of worship and social uplift. It is a place of spiritual nourishment and concrete sustenance. The church is viewed as a moral center and also a place of shared understanding. As a result, the church plays a complex role in the lives of African Americans. Despite its role as a victor in the fight for social justice, the African American church has been slow to fully integrate and support the leadership of women within its higher ranks. The church has also been viewed as having rigid perspectives on the role of men and women, and continuing to purport that within church congregations often at the expense of women (West 1999). In addition, the church is a space for Black males to ascend to leadership and to take on the leading role within their families and communities. In some ways, countering the negative perceptions of African American males in society, the church becomes a place for these men to have power, influence, and to transcend, in many ways, the discrimination they face outside of the church and within their own communities. Consequently, Black churches have not been as quick to embrace their role as addressing men's violence against women. The idea of having a Black man be turned over, to what is perceived as a racist justice system, counters the role of the church and the nature of how Black men are viewed within the church. Churches are viewed as a place of solace and protection. Therefore, the church may not feel comfortable turning men of color over to the justice system or to social service providers if they feel that they are not culturally competent. Unfortunately, there are many service providers that do not understand the history or the contemporary context associated with racial oppression, and, as a result, do not provide culturally competent services. This gap feeds into the decision not to engage the service community. These providers often do not understand how negative stereotypes of Black males as lazy, disengaged, and inherently violent, go unchecked and are pervasive in both the justice and the service system. In addition, issues of violence against women are often relegated just to women.

There is an absence of understanding that men are also impacted and affected by domestic violence. Men often find themselves ignored by domestic violence advocates. Yet, they may have witnessed domestic violence as a child and been adversely impacted by this experience. They also may have a family member that is experiencing domestic violence, and they are feeling a sense of disempowerment, not knowing how to respond to the violence. These men are important to engage in order to support them as witnesses and bystanders of abuse. They are also important allies to further the eradication of violence against women. Consequently, addressing men's violence against women becomes very complicated within churches of African ancestry, but full of opportunity for those who understand and can respond to the complexity of the experience.

Spiritual Practices, Religious Rituals, and Sacred Texts

For centuries, theologians, scholars, politicians, and world leaders have sought to gather an understanding of culture, the elements that are within one's culture, and the influence of culture on one's daily operations. Feminist African theologian Mercy Amba Oduyoye defines culture as "a people's world-view, way of life, values, philosophy of life, the psychology that governs behavior, their sociology, and social arrangements, all that they have carved and cultured out of their environment to differentiate their style of life from other peoples" (2004, p. 23). In the context of Africans and people of African ancestry, culture provides more than a framework by which one operates in life: Culture *is* life. Pui-lan (2004), a Chinese theologian, says that culture is "the foundation of their (Africans') identity, their historical path to salvation, and the best African vehicle for their gospel" (p. 9).

It has been noted by scholars and theologians that God has been and is an inextricable component of African culture (Bent-Goodley 2005; Maxwell 2006). Unlike many Western cultures, God in African cultures is the divine force that operates in a "spirit realm" and a "human realm."

In this culture, God is acknowledged in every aspect of one's life and influences human operations and well-being, even when those operations may seem at odds with one's own perspective and perceived well-being. Oduyoye (1997, p. 494–495) explains that "God is experienced as an all-pervading reality…. The African view of the world is nourished by a cosmology that is founded on a Source Being the Supreme God, and other divine beings that are associated with God. As God is the foundation of life, so nothing happens without God."

One's personal cultural identity and beliefs about God are often captured in a form of religion. While religion is often conceptualized by Westerners as an institutionalized system of shared beliefs and practices related to God, Ellis and Ter Haar (2004) suggest that religion from the social and ethnic context of Africans and those from African ancestry incorporates direct communication from the spirit realm which shapes who the person is and directs his/her actions more than any other construct, being, or belief. Oduyoye (1997) notes that religion has been ever present in the culture and world view of African people, and that African history and religiosity are inextricably connected. Whether experienced through traditional or primal African religions, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Hinduism, or other traditions, God (the spirit realm) has always been a significant element of the religious traditions and cultural norms of Africa. Religion has been a vital component of the rich African culture that has shaped one's collective and personal identity; it has also been used to shape the views and control the roles that members in the African and African American society assume; more directly, those roles associated with gender. Specifically related to Christianity, Oduyoye (1995) notes that African churches utilize the Biblical text to remind women of their subjugated position:

> African churches, with their many variations, have not produced a body of official dogmatics hewn from the African context; however, they have developed a theology of folktalk on what God requires of women. Instead of promoting a new style of life appropriate to a people who are living with God, "who has made all things new," the church in Africa continues to use the Hebrew

> Scriptures and the epistles of St. Paul to reinforce the norms of traditional religion and culture. In the same way that the folktalk of Akan proverbs delineates cultural norms for women, so the theology of "the bible says" defined accepted norms for African Christian women (p. 480).

Although speaking specifically of African Christianity in the aforementioned quote, other theologians and scholars (Brade 2009; Kanyoro 2002; Oduyoye 2001) acknowledge that many religions throughout the world have supported the role delineation and subjugation of women which has prompted many women to accept a personal religious identity of irrelevance, impotence, and subordination.

So, while the uniqueness of each group must be recognized and respected, it is also important to note that each group shares numerous similarities related to spiritual practices, religious rituals, and sacred texts. Some of these commonalities include recognition and reliance upon God, the horizontal and vertical nature of spirituality, the significance of community, and the traditional view surrounding gender roles. Integrated through each is the use of sacred text. These religious practices and integration of sacred text can be used to fuel the decision to stay in an abusive relationship.

One of the strengths in African, African Caribbean, and African American traditions is their recognition and reliance upon a Divine Being who is, to varying degrees, responsible for the "operation" of the world. Each group seems to include spiritual and religious practices and rituals such as gathering in designated structures for prayer, meditation, and sharing. These gatherings recognize that God has been present in their past, is able to impact their current situations, and is in control of the future. While some believe that God operates independently and others believe that God and humans operate in tandem, all groups recognize that influence and impact of God. God has the ability to deliver people from their sins, is all-powerful and all-knowing, and can make the impossible possible. While a person may not attend church, this idea of belief in God's power exists. God makes no mistakes and is the one perfect being. Going to the secu-lar world shows lack of faith in these ideas and belief in God to have power over all things. The idea that "we all have a cross to bear" is also supported by this concept. One must be able to use faith to get through hard moments. When that does not happen, then the person can be faced with the prospect that they lack faith.

This recognition and reliance upon a Divine Being has been beneficial for many abuse and trauma survivors, particularly those from African descent. Several scholars have noted the benefits of recognizing the power and presence of God through prayer and meditation as effective tools in coping with difficult situations (Chatters et al. 2008; Ellison and Taylor 1996). While noting the benefits of prayer, it should also be noted that the use of prayer may also have an inverse relationship with the use of other self-care practices. Some Africans, Caribbeans, and African Americans rely solely on prayer in lieu of other services such as professional counseling or medication. The use of these practices may be perceived by them as demonstrating a lack of faith in a God who can heal without the use of other resources. Additionally, instead of using prayer as a means of receiving power to extricate oneself from an abusive situation, some African, Caribbean, and African American women may use prayer as a tool to cope with the abuse which may be perceived as God's will or God's punishment. "Stay and Pray" is a thought that has been transmitted by some elders in these communities to survivors of domestic violence. Such thought is rooted in the belief that God will deliver without her personal activism, which suggests that God delivers when we are patient and passive. It also suggests that the survivors will be strengthened through prayer while enduring abuse. Such a perspective is apparent in songs such as one Negro spiritual that reads "Lord, don't move this mountain but give me the strength to climb it." Nonetheless, the benefits of prayer are apparent and duly noted, and could be used to empower survivors to connect with a God who provides wisdom and guidance to one's self and other professional helpers.

Similarly, all of the diverse groups recognize the horizontal and vertical nature of spirituality. Members of the diverse faith communities acknowledge that there is a need for relationship with one who is divinely "higher" than them (horizontal) and with those who are humanly "like" them (vertical). Historically, the horizontal relationship affects the vertical relationship. For example, one may pray to God for help with human relationships or requests that God intervene in policies and practices that affect human interactions. One may also read holy texts that guide one's horizontal and vertical relationships. Recognizing that one's self is the link between the horizontal and vertical, the emphasis for resolution, change, and growth must also include a level of personal introspection related to horizontal and vertical relationships. Here rests the idea that the ultimate reverence belongs to God, but that humans work to some degree in collaboration with God, and human relationships are influenced by our connection to God. One must recognize that as people ascribe to be devout in the practice of their faith, they are called to model the behavior of Jesus Christ.

This concept can be beneficial to survivors of domestic violence. As one's relationship develops with a God who promotes justice, the survivors may eventually recognize that domestic violence is not of or from God, and that it was not a "part of God's plan for their lives" (Banks and Parks 2004, p. 25). However, oftentimes reaching this "conclusion" for survivors and those clergy in positions of power is a process that involves processing other paradoxical theological beliefs (Brade 2009). For example, many survivors are challenged to process the paradox surrounding a God who empowers us to seek justice and a God who calls all to be merciful, humble, and forgiving. Instead of holding a male perpetrator accountable for his abusive behavior, she and others may feel required by God to forgive and exonerate the perpetrator for his abusive behavior. This principle of forgiveness manifests in the idea that the woman should forgive the man for his transgressions, which can trap women in abusive relationships.

An additional challenge related to this vertical and horizontal paradigm of spirituality is that it may inaccurately be perceived that the victim is completely responsible for her state of being. Survivors may say, "If I pray more and act better, then I won't be mistreated by others." While the use of the horizontal and vertical perspective of spirituality does recognize that people have individual agency which connects them with God and other humans, and has been used to "blame the victim," it can more productively be used by practitioners, religious leaders, and members of the support network to empower the survivors and help them embrace a God who values everyone equally, "wishing that none should perish" (2 Peter 3:9).

The significance of community is also a factor that is shared between Africans, Caribbean Americans, and African Americans (Bent-Goodley 2005; Martin and Martin 2003). Within the framework of religion, "community" includes those who share spiritual practices, religious rituals, and sacred text. Community is much more dynamic than a geographic location shared by a number of people; rather, it is a sense of being connected to those who share expressions of love, care, concern, and hope for oneself and others. There is a reliance on the community for finding one's spiritual sense, such as knowing one's purpose in life, and formally expressing one's relationship with God through religious rituals, such as communal worship. The concept of communal existence and dependence upon others is foundational in many of the cultures' religious and spiritual practices, such as Bible study, Saturday or Sunday worship services and ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals. In many African, Caribbean, and African American faith communities, it is through these shared experiences, which often include meals and the sharing of oral history and narratives, that attendees learn about their collective ethnic and spiritual heritage. Such activities are specifically designed to include members of the community who reflect upon God, convey individual and community worth, and encourage others to fulfill God's vision for the future. In addition to collective Bible study being an activity that fosters learning about the Bible and mean-

ing of Bible passages, Bible studies and worship services collectively and individually remind attendees of God's faithfulness to them and provide opportunity for God and their culture to be celebrated. By providing community events, the religious group influences collective thoughts about a number of topics including the importance of relationships.

This process of influencing collective thought has significant benefits, but also can present seemingly insurmountable challenges, particularly for members of more conservative or smaller groups who have more specified practices. The community's overt and covert pressure for its members to maintain a specific core of beliefs and related actions can influence a person to make certain decisions. Those who may waiver from those beliefs and expected behaviors may be socially or physically ostracized from the community. In relation to intimate partnerships, many African, Caribbean, and African American religious groups, particularly those smaller in size and more conservative in thought, strongly support the institution of marriage; and thus, oppose divorce or separation for any reason. Although a person in an intimate relationship may be experiencing violence, they may rather choose to remain and live in the violent relationship than risk the possibility of separation from their ethnic, spiritual, and perhaps geographic community.

A final similarity between Africans, Caribbean Americans, and African Americans is the belief in traditional views surrounding gender roles. These views are often deduced from one's belief surrounding sacred text. While contemporary perspectives surrounding male roles and female roles may be changing, there is still a broadly accepted belief that women should be submissive to men, especially in marriage. This patriarchal view impacts everything from how one worships God to how much a person is paid. Needless to say, it also impacts how women are treated in relationships and can lead to the existence of violence against women. The home is the place where Black men can have control and influence. Narrow interpretations of Scripture can create false notions of what power looks like in a relationship. Unfortunately, there are sev-

eral accounts from parishioners and clergy about how beliefs concerning gender roles and the submission of women have been propagated from many African American, African, and Caribbean pulpits. Several studies with African American clergy note that the subordination of women is preached from the pulpit, practiced in the church, and expected in the home (Brade 2009; Dyer 2010) without the fear that such messages could directly lead to the abasement and abuse of women or regard for her safety and that of her children. While some clergy have acknowledged being challenged to wrestle with paradoxes surrounding equality and gender roles (Brade 2009), others have lived out their beliefs about gender roles in a more public display of domestic violence (Dewan 2007).

The Religious Response to Men's Violence Against Women

To illustrate how men's violence against women manifests within faith-based communities for women of African ancestry, the following story of an African American who was visiting an African country is offered:

> A few years ago, I had the wonderful opportunity to travel to Africa with a group of African American lay people who were building a library for a local school. On the trip, I met Lisa (whose name and certain details have been changed here to maintain her anonymity). While sitting in a local African eatery, we began to share our personal stories and it was then that I learned that this 50 year-old mother of 4 children was also part of the one in four women who had been a victim of interpersonal violence. While her entire story of survival was compelling, there were two components that troubled me greatly. First was her rationale for staying with the father of her children. She was trying to be obedient to the teachings that she had learned in church which said that women stay in the relationship "no matter what." Yes, she loved him, but she stayed for years because she loved God more and wanted to be obedient to her religious teachings. The second component that caused even greater uneasiness for me was her story of departure from the relationship. One evening after her children's father had placed a gun in her mouth and threatened to pull the trigger if she ever left him, she decided that it was time to pack up her chil-

dren and permanently escape the relationship. She fled while he was away from the home and went to the safest place that she knew of: the church. When she arrived at the church with her children in tow, she was filled with fear about telling her "secret," but chose to convey everything that had happened to her pastor. After listening to her story, he made a statement that was almost more difficult to live with than the abuse that she had suffered. The male pastor told her that she had been living in sin (in relationship and unmarried to her children's father), that God did not bless sin, and that he could not pray for her and her children because of the sin. Devastated, but determined to protect her children and not to return to the abusive relationship, she decided that she would pray to God for herself and seek refuge elsewhere. Her trip to Africa was a celebration of that decision made and the life of freedom from abuse that God had given her almost 25 years prior to the trip.

Unfortunately, Lisa's story is all too familiar. While Lisa's choices and the clergyman's responses may seem simple, they both are reminders of the complexity surrounding intimate partner violence, culture, cultural identity, religion, personal religious identity, and choice. Furthermore, we are reminded that the interchange of these dynamics must be considered when seeking to conceptualize violence against women, especially within communities of people of African ancestry.

The complexity surrounding culture, cultural identity, religion, personal religious identity and choice inform how clergy conceptualize violence against women and how women conceptualize their options surrounding survival. While one may believe that the pastor should be applauded for maintaining his belief in the sanctity of marriage and the abhorrence of sin, it should also be understood that a different response could have been employed which would not have challenged his beliefs and still provided help for Lisa, her children, and their father. A "good Samaritan" approach which included meeting the immediate needs of the victim of crime despite ethnic, cultural, and religious differences would have been a more effective option. Ensuring the safety and basic needs of the victim and her children should have been a first step, followed by referring to another resource (i.e., shelter, emergency room, safe house, police department, etc.) that could provide ongoing care. Providing a referral would

have ensured that the victim would be cared for while the clergyman's personal beliefs were not compromised. Following these two simple steps would not have compromised his perception of "sin" or validated his perspective that she was "living in sin"; however, it would have demonstrated that she, her children, and even her intimate partner are valuable to God and that help from God through God's people is available.

Common Views of Clergy that Impact Men's Violence Against Women

There is an evolving body of literature which provides insight on commonly held views of African and African American clergy regarding violence against women (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006; Bent-Goodley et al. 2012; Brade 2009; Brade and Bent-Goodley 2009; Dyer 2010; Williams and Tubbs 2002). Much of this literature centers on African American experiences but has relevance to other groups of African ancestry.

Brade (2009) conducted one of the largest studies of African American clergy to explore their perceptions and experiences of domestic violence. Using a mixed-methods approach, there were 149 survey respondents and 19 focus group participants over four focus group sessions. These clergy were asked questions to better understand their perceptions and experiences surrounding intimate partner violence. Participants represented 15 denominations and ranged in age from 21 to 70 years old. Approximately 63 % of the participants in the quantitative component of the study were African American females and 37 % were African American males. It was found that African American clergy acknowledge the following: (1) Intimate partner violence does exist in faith-based communities, (2) there is a need for more training and preparation of clergy in the area of intimate partner violence; and (3) there is a need for greater resource availability that is sensitive to spiritual and religious paradigms. The qualitative study engaged eight men ($n=8$) and eleven women ($n=11$) in a focus group to ascertain more details surrounding their perceptions

and experiences surrounding intimate partner violence. Findings from the qualitative component of the study revealed the following themes about clergy's perceptions: (1) The participants did not necessarily define domestic violence in the same way as domestic violence advocates; (2) differences existed between the two gender groups surrounding gender roles and gender-based approaches to intervention; (3) theological paradoxes existed surrounding the expectancy of clergy to support others while maintaining secrecy surrounding their own personal experiences; (4) introspection exists surrounding why clergy identify with the same-gender victim/perpetrator in the intimate partner relationship; and (5) education and resources need to be made available to clergy to heighten their awareness surrounding intimate partner issues (Brade and Bent-Goodley 2009). Summarily, the research suggests that clergy need more education and training about domestic violence and how they can respond. It is important that the training include a focus on the unique needs and dynamics within communities of African ancestry if they are to be effective in their response.

An additional study examined how clergy and church members perceive and understand domestic violence as it relates to religious and spiritual abuse (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006). In this study, 13 women and 6 men, some of whom were clergy and all active members of their faith-based communities, participated in three focus groups within three diverse communities of faith in an African American community. The themes that emerged from this study were as follows: (a) The participants raised concerns about how to define and articulate what happens when abuse tactics are used to control women's spirituality and the idea that formal service providers may try to quantify the meaning of spirituality in order to control the survivors; (b) identification of methods used by the abuser to influence the women's spirituality and religious practices; (c) the use of spirituality and religion by others, such as faith-based leaders, to perpetuate abuse; and (d) the spiritual impact of abuse on the survivor. In the concluding remarks, the authors note that there is a need for additional research which considers issues of spirituality and religion within the context of domestic violence and abuse.

Dyer's qualitative study (2010) utilized a single-interview template with nine African American clergy to ascertain their perspectives of African American clergy regarding violence against women. A number of internal and external conflicts surfaced for African American clergy surrounding interpersonal violence and violence against women. According to Dyer, clergy face a number of juxtapositions in addressing this issue including the following: (1) Their desire to promote and maintain healthy congregants and healthy families, and their reticence to work collaboratively with social support agencies, especially those that do not share their religious beliefs; (2) their concern about nurturing personal and professional relationships with their congregants, and their hesitance to deliver a sermon on taboo issues like interpersonal violence which will impact their relationships; and (3) their knowledge of how African American church culture relates to domestic violence which challenges them to find creative ways to speak out against this social issue while recognizing how oppression impacts different groups.

An additional study addresses gender differences among clergy and domestic violence. Gustafson (2005) examined the effects of sex-role attitudes, the belief in a just world, and formal seminary training surrounding domestic violence with 34 male and 17 female seminarians who represented seven denominations: Catholic, Assemblies of God, American Baptist, Lutheran, Reform Judaism, Pentecostal, and Christian faith identifications. Similar to other studies, most of the clergy participants had not been formally trained to understand or address domestic violence. Of those who had engaged in some domestic violence training in seminary, no significant relationship existed between domestic violence education and victim blaming. However, there was an increased positive correlation between sex-role traditionalism and victim blaming, and a decreased likelihood to support or endorse the ordination of women for those who hold conservative religious and political views. Among

Gustafson's several recommendations was the admonition to clergy to become more introspective regarding how their own beliefs about women are steeped in patriarchal philosophies which may impact the nature of their intervention with those who have experienced domestic violence (Gustafson 2005).

Perspectives on Spirituality and Religion

There are varied spiritual and religious perspectives associated with men's violence against women. In order to better understand these perspectives from the vantage of African American Bible believers, it is necessary for one to explore the meaning and evolution of theology surrounding related issues such as power, control, and gender. Theology is understood to be the study of God and God's relationship with human beings and the world, which shapes our perspectives, world view, and behaviors in daily life (Gernet 2000; Guthrie 1994; Jackson 2007). Guthrie suggested almost 20 years ago that the goal of theologians was to "understand a particular view of God, human beings, and the world, the content and nature" (1994, p. 7), but that theology is also framed by personal biases, language, history, culture, and other factors. Furthermore, theology substantively influences one's views and personal religious identity.

Bible believers' perspectives surrounding women and, subsequently, violence against women emanates from one's theology surrounding the introduction of "sin." Generally, Bible believers attribute the lower status of women to an act by "Eve," believed to be the female progenitor of the earth. The Bible conveys that, while outside of the physical presence of her husband "Adam," "Eve" was naively deceived by an ill-intentioned snake, believed to be "Satan," who represented one seeking to usurp power and control from the supreme God. Upon returning to her husband after being deceived, she convinced him to act in a contrary manner to that which God had ordered, thus introducing "sin" and fostering "the fall of man." Because of her role in this intro-

duction of evil, many believe that "Eve," and all women to follow, were to be submissive to men, allowing men to have authority over them.

While the aforementioned may be the generally accepted perspective about the Biblically supported male domination over women, other scholars suggest that this commonly held belief is based on a misinterpretation of Scriptures (Kroeger and Nason-Clark 2010; Miles 2011; West 1999). There are increasingly alternative theological positions, based on the original language, social context, and historical interpretations of Scripture (Bellis 2007; Gernet 2000; Trible 1973).

Gernet (2000) makes the following correlation between theology, perspectives, and behaviors surrounding violence against women.

> Abuse is dysfunctional through its employment of power for control rather than for empowerment of the partners. Control is a form of behavior that manipulates relationship in order to meet needs of self-gratification. Abuse constitutes an attitude of rape. It is the opposite of self-giving, by seeking to serve the self's own purpose rather than to serve the relationship with the partner in relationship to God. It represents a form of power antithetical to that exhibited in Christ. It takes from the other what does not belong to the abusive partner and in so doing profanes the presence of God that is active in preserving covenant, sanctifying life, and creating life as sacred. (p. 28, 29)

Other scholars, including those who have published surrounding this topic within the last two decades, have noted the impact of this controlling theological position on women. Weems (1995) discussed the impact of this dysfunctional theology and other Biblical accounts of battered, mutilated, and raped women on contemporary women who have been victims of rape, battery, trafficking, and the threat of abuse. McCullen (2003) asserted that the church, over the generations, has become a part of the dysfunctional theology that asserts male domination and control of women which introduces other difficult theological and care concerns including "patriarchy, the sacramental nature of marriage (especially its indissolubility), male headship, and the confidentiality of the confessional" (p. 198). Kienzle and Nienhuis

(2005), note that the "complex theology" sur-rounding violence against women presents chal-lenges surrounding suffering obedience and own-ership. Furthermore, Brade (2009) suggests that a theological position which correlates power and control over women produces an atmosphere that could deny, minimize, condone, justify, and pro-mote abuse as well as silence female victims of violence.

In response to this theological position which greatly influences perspectives and behaviors that promote the submission of women, it has been suggested that Bible believers of color and lead-ers of faith communities of color reconsider their thoughts and teachings surrounding relationships and violence in relationships. Additionally, there is a growing cadre of articles related to domestic violence that sampled African American clergy specifically and queried their perspectives or experiences related to domestic violence (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006; Brade 2009; Brade and Bent-Goodley 2009; Dyer 2010). While more empirical work is needed which explores theological position, and perspectives and behav-iors surrounding intimate partner violence, we must continue to develop our resource base for those Bible believers who are perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence.

Implications

There are several implications for improving our research and practice related to men's violence against women among Bible believing women of African ancestry. First, many of the religious and spiritual resources for survivors and male per-petrators of African ancestry are lacking. While there have been efforts to identify evidence-based practices in the field, there are few that are specific to this population. The Black Church Against Domestic Violence and the Institute on Domestic Violence in the African American Community both provide places where one can acquire additional information and resources on culturally specific responses to domestic vio-lence and working with the faith-based commu-

nity. A specific intervention designed for African Americans to address domestic violence within the faith-based community is called In Circle. In Circle was designed to reduce exposure to do-mestic violence, increase safer sex practices to prevent HIV, and improve awareness of healthy relationship indicators (Bent-Goodley in press 2). This 7 week intervention has been pilot test-ed among African American couples, African American and Caribbean American women, and African American men and found to be effective. The Faith-Based Community Domestic Violence Intervention (FBCDVI) provides a resource to faith-based communities that want to provide education about domestic violence within their churches using a faith-based perspective. This four-session intervention was pilot tested with four African American churches of diverse de-nominations in an effort to create awareness about domestic violence and the role of the African American faith-based community in responding to domestic violence (Bent-Goodley 2006).

While they have not been tested with the broad spectrum of diversity within all commu-nities of African ancestry, the provide resource information to further approaches and inform understanding of how to address men's violence against women. It is vital to ascertain what di-versity looks like within service communities in an effort to respond to the needs of this popula-tion. A one-size-fits-all approach is simply inad-equate and can further distance populations from viewing services and service providers as viable sources of assistance.

There is a need for increased science-based approaches and interventions for these popula-tions that are designed from the onset to meet their unique needs, challenges, historical and contemporary realities. More information is needed on the experience of women from Afri-can and Caribbean American cultures to inform intervention development. These interventions are key to creating approaches that are responsive and able to address the dynamics of abuse within these communities.

Targeted training is needed for clergy to im-prove their responses to men's violence against

women. Such trainings are needed in seminaries, schools of divinity and theology, and through continuing education not only to provide content knowledge but to also challenge myths and negative stereotypes associated with domestic violence and violence against women. More information is needed on what these religious persons can do, including bystander intervention for faith-based leaders, scriptural messaging, and sermons that empower victims, Bible study and Sunday School education templates, and identification of local resources to build partnerships.

The service community, specifically domestic violence-serving organizations, need to build and grow relationships with faith-based providers that are rooted in partnership and respectful sharing of power. These agencies should be willing to share information and strengthen their faith-based knowledge. The relationship should be mutually beneficial and authentic to be viable and effective.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are similarities and differences to consider when addressing domestic violence among women of African ancestry that are Bible believing. While they are often relegated to a simplistic examination of African Americans, communities of African ancestry require differing approaches based on knowledge and awareness of ethnic and cultural group variation as well as knowledge of migration patterns and religious denomination. While each group connects with their respective communities of faith, there are differences in how they are organized, utilized, and structured. Understanding how and why these networks are utilized becomes crucial to building social justice efforts that can more broadly address violence against women and individually respond to women in need. Through a commitment to embracing differences and honoring similarities, providers can be effective in addressing the needs of this diverse community.

References

Alex-Assensoh, Y. M. (2009). African immigrants and African Americans: An analysis of voluntary African immigration and the evolution of Black ethnic politics in America. *African & Asian Studies, 8*, 89–124.

Anis, T. H., Gheit, S., Awad, H., & Saied, H. S. (2012). Effects of female genital cutting on the sexual function of Egyptian women: A cross-sectional study. *Journal of Sexual Medicine, 9*, 2682–2692.

Banks, J., & Parks, L. (2004). It's all sacred: African American women's perspectives on spirituality. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 25*, 25–46.

Bellis, A. (2007). *Helpmates, harlots, and heroes: Women's stories in the Hebrew bible*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press.

Bendall, C. (2010). The domestic violence epidemic in South Africa: Legal and practical remedies. *Women's Studies, 39*, 100–118.

Bent-Goodley, T. B. (2005). An African centered approach to domestic violence. *Families in Society, 86*, 197–206.

Bent-Goodley, T. B. (2006). Domestic violence and the Black church: Challenging abuse one soul at a time. In R. L. Hampton & T. P. Gullotta (Eds.), *Interpersonal violence in the African-American community: Evidence-based prevention and treatment practices* (pp. 107–119). New York: Springer.

Bent-Goodley, T. B. (2012). *The ultimate betrayal: A renewed look at intimate partner violence*. Washington, DC: NASW Press.

Bent-Goodley, T. B. (in press 1). Domestic violence fatality reviews and the African American community. *Homicide Studies*.

Bent-Goodley, T. B. (in press 2). In circle: A healthy relationship, domestic violence and HIV prevention intervention for African American couples. *Journal of Human Behavior and the Social Environment*.

Bent-Goodley, T., & Fowler, D. (2006). Spiritual and religious abuse. *Affilia: Journal of women & Social Work, 21*, 282–295.

Bent-Goodley T., St. Vil, N., & Hubbert, P. (2012) A spirit unbroken: The Black Church's evolving response to domestic violence. *Social Work & Christianity, 39*, 52–65.

Billingsley, A. (2003). *Mighty like a river: The Black church and social reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Boyden, J., Pankhurst, A., & Tafere, Y. (2012). Child protection and harmful traditional practices: Female early marriage and genital modification in Ethiopia. *Development in Practice, 22*, 510–522.

Brade, K. (2009). Let the church stop saying "Amen": Domestic violence perceptions and experiences from a cohort of African American clergy in divinity school (Doctoral dissertation). Howard University, Social work. DAI-A 70/03, p. 178.

Brade, K., & Bent-Goodley, T. (2009). Refuge for my soul: Examining African American clergy's percep-

tions related to domestic violence awareness and engagement in faith community initiatives. *Social Work & Christianity, 36*, 430–448.

Bryant, C. M., Taylor, R. J., Lincoln, K. D., & Jackson, J. S. (2008). Marital satisfaction among African Americans and Black Caribbean's: Findings from the National Survey of American Life. *Family Relations, 57*, 239–253.

Cantalupo, N., Martin, L. V., Kay, P., & Shin, S. (2006). Domestic violence in Ghana: The open secret. *Georgetown Journal of Gender & the Law, 7*, 531–597.

Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., Jackson, J. S., & Lincoln, K. D. (2008). Religious coping among African Americans, Caribbean Blacks, and Non-Hispanic Whites. *Journal of Community Psychology, 36*, 371–386.

Dewan, S. A. (2007). A minister's public lesson on domestic violence. The New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/20/us/20preacher.html?pagewanted=all. Accessed 15 July 2012.

Dyer, J. (2010). Challenging assumptions: Clergy perspectives and practices regarding intimate partner violence. *Journal of Religion and Spirituality: Social Thought, 29*, 33–48.

Ellis, S., & Ter Harr, G. (2004). *Worlds of power: Religious thought and political practice in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ellison, C. G., & Taylor, R. J. (1996). Turning to prayer: Social and situational antecedents of religious coping among African Americans. *Review of Religious Research, 28*, 111–132.

Erulkar, A. (2013). Early marriage, marital relations, and intimate partner violence in Ethiopia. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 39*, 6–13.

Fayemi, A. K. (2009). The challenges of prostitution and female trafficking Africa: An African Ethico-feminist perspective. *The Journal of Pan African Studies, 3*, 200–213.

Gernet, M. O. (2000). Pentecost confronts abuse. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology, 17*, 117–130.

Gillum, T. L., Sullivan, C. M., & Bybee, D. I. (2006). The importance of spirituality in the lives of domestic violence survivors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 28*, 240–250.

GuPaul-McNicol, S. A. (1993). *Working with West Indian families*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Gustafson, A. L. (2005). *Seminarians' response to domestic violence: Sex-role attitudes, just world beliefs, and formal training*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Alliant International University, Los Angeles, Sciences and engineering (1-B, vol. 66, p. 615).

Guthrie, S. (1994). *Christian doctrine*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Know Press.

Hope Franklin, J., & Higginbotham, E. (2010). *From slavery to freedom* (9th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

Jackson, E. (2007). *The illustrated dictionary of culture*. Detroit, MI: Lotus Press.

Kanyoro, M. (2002). *Introduction to feminist cultural hermeneutics: A key to African women's liberation theology*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Kedir, A., & Admasachew, L. (2010). Violence against women in Ethiopia. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography, 17*, 437–452.

Kienzle, B., & Nienhuis, N. (2005). Historical and contemporary responses to battering. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 7*, 81–98.

Kroeger, C., & Nason-Clark, N. (2010). *No place for abuse: Biblical and practice resources to counteract domestic violence*. Nottingham, England: InterVarsity Press.

Krosch, S. L. (2005). "A new race of women": The challenge of reintegrating Eritera's demobilized female combatants. http://sarakrosch.tripod.com/sitebuildercontent/sitebuilderfiles/new_race_of_women.pdf. Accessed 20 April 2013.

Lincoln, K. D., Taylor, R. J., & Jackson, J. (2008). Romantic relationships among unmarried African American from the National Survey of American Life. *Family Relations, 57*, 254–266.

Lucea, M. B., Stockman, J. K., Mana-Ay, M., Bertrand, D., Callwood, G. B.,…, & Campbell, J. C. (2013). Factors influencing resource use by African American and African Caribbean women disclosing intimate partner violence. *Journal Of Interpersonal Violence, 28*(8), 1617–1641. doi:10.1177/0886260512468326.

Lutya, T. M. (2009). Epi-criminological responses to human trafficking of young women and girls for involuntary prostitution in South Africa. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention, 10*, 59–78.

Martin, E., & Martin, J. (2003). *Spirituality and the black helping tradition*. Washington, D.C.: NASW Press.

Maxwell, D. (2006). Writing the history of African Christianity: Reflection of an editor. *Journal of Religion in Africa, 36*, 379–399.

McCabe, K. (2011). Caribbean immigrants in the United States. Migration Policy Institute. http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=834. Accessed 17 July 2012.

McCullen, C. (2003). One day I went to a theological consultation on domestic violence. *Feminist Theology, 11*, 197–202.

Miles, A. (2011). *Domestic violence: What every pastor needs to know*. New York: Fortress Press.

Oduyoye, M. A. (1995). *Daughter of Anowa: African women and patriarchy*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Brooks.

Oduyoye, M. (1997). The African experience of God through the eyes of an Akan woman. *Cross Currents, 47*(4), 493–504. (The quote from this material is reproduced with permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.).

Oduyoye, M. A. (2001). *Introducing African women's theology*. Sheffield, NY: Sheffield Academic Press.

Oduyoye, M. A. (2004). Beads and strands: Reflections of an African woman on Christianity in Africa. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

Olupona, J. K., & Gemignani, R. (2007). *African immigrant religions in America*. New York: University Press.

Onuoha, B. (2011). The state of human trafficking and human rights issues in Africa. *Contemporary Justice Review, 14*, 149–166.

Pui-lan, K. (2004). Mercy Amba Oduyoye: An African women's theology. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion, 20*, 7–22.

Solovieva, D. (2013). Egyptian women's revolution interrupted: Sexual violence against women accompanies political upheaval in Cairo. International Business Times. http://www.ibtimes.com/egyptian-womens-revolution-interrupted-sexual-violence-against-women-accompanies-political-upheaval. Accessed 15 July 2013.

Taylor, L. (2012). Domestic violence: The problem pervading Nigeria. Think Africa Press. http://thinkafricapress.com/nigeria/domestic-violence-problem-pervading. Accessed 1 Sept. 2013.

Tenkorang, E., & Owusu, Y. (2013). Coerced first sexual intercourse among women in Ghana: Evidence from the demographic and health survey. *Sexuality & Culture, 17*, 167–184.

Trible, P. (1973). Depatriachalizing in biblical interpretation. *Journal of African American Religion, 41*, 35.

Tutu, D. (1999). *No future without forgiveness*. New York: Random House.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2013). *Gender in Somalia*. New York: Author.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2009). American Community Survey: African immigrants. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/africanmigrationus.pdf. Accessed 15 July 2013.

Usdin, S., Scheepers, E., Goldstein, S., & Japhet, G. (2005). Achieving social change on gender-based violence: A report on the impact evaluation of Soul City's fourth series. *Social Science & Medicine, 61*, 2434–2445.

Utz-Billing, I., & Kentenich, H. (2008). Female genital mutilation: An injury, physical and mental harm. *Journal of Psychosomatic Obstetrics & Gynecology, 29*, 225–229.

Weems, R. J. (1995). *Battered love: Marriage, sex, and violence in the Hebrew prophets*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

West, T. (1999). *Wounds of the spirit: Black women, violence, and resistance ethics*. NY: New York University Press.

Williams, O. J., & Tubbs, C. Y. (2002). *Community insights on domestic violence among African Americans*. St. Paul, MN: Institute on Domestic Violence in the African American Community.

World Health Organization (WHO). (2005). *WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women: Summary report of initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. Geneva: Author.

Yount, K. M., & Li, L. (2010). Domestic violence against married women in Egypt. *Sex Roles, 63*, 332–347.

Latino Protestants: Religion, Culture, and Violence Against Women

Natalie Ames and Leslie F. Ware

Latinos: A Brief Overview

Generations of Latinos have come to the USA, with or without documentation, seeking a better life for themselves and their families. Many came to improve their families' economic status, others to escape oppression in their home countries. Latinos value close relationships with their immediate and extended family members, relationships they sacrifice when they immigrate (Martinez et al. 2012). As they adjust to a new culture, many face the stresses of poverty and unstable employment and find themselves the targets of prejudice and oppression in everyday life (Cunradi et al. 2002; Pew Hispanic Center 2007).

The U.S. Census Bureau (2011) currently designates as Hispanic or Latino people "of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race" ("Understanding Hispanic origin data" text box). Although Latinos are often viewed by non-Latinos as a single ethnic or minority group, Latinos may identify themselves as White, Black, Asian, American Indian, and various combinations of these racial identities (Qian and Cobas 2004). In the 2010 census, 53% of Latinos identified themselves as "white." The next largest groups were the 36.7% who classified themselves as "some other race" and 6% who identified as "two or more races" (U.S. Census Bureau 2011, Table 6).

Latinos are the largest minority group in the USA, comprising 16% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). This simple statement belies the complexity of understanding and discussing the diversity among Latinos. Individuals who are categorized as Latino or Hispanic differ in national origin, racial identity, immigration history and status, length of time they have resided in the USA, and socioeconomic status. Even the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" have been open to debate, interpretation, and change. In 1978, the US Government designated "Hispanic" as the official term to represent a racial category. In 1997, it changed the term to "Hispanic or Latino" and the definition from race to ethnicity (OMB 1997).

Latinos share a history of conquest and colonization in Latin America (Flores-Ortiz 2000; Tammelleo 2011). The Spanish and Portuguese colonists enslaved the indigenous people and raped the women, creating "a new race called 'mestizo' which…was despised as inferior to the pure Spanish race" (Lozano 2007, p. 120).[1] The Spanish and Portuguese also brought African slaves to their Latin American colonies, adding yet another component to the diverse ethnicity and culture of Latin America (Ramos et al. 2010; Tammelleo 2011). To explain the diversity

N. Ames (✉)
Department of Social Work, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC, USA
e-mail: natalie_ames@ncsu.edu

L. F. Ware
Social Work Practitioner, Raleigh, NC, USA

---

[1] Quotes from Lozano (2007) used by permission of Wipf and Stock Publishers, www.wipfandstock.com.

that exists today among Latino subgroups in the USA, we provide a brief overview of their unique historical experiences.

Mexicans

After the Mexican–American War (1846–1848), Mexico surrendered to the USA the territory that comprises Texas, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, California, and part of Colorado. The Mexicans who lived there lost their land and their political rights and were discriminated against in a variety of ways (Tammelleo 2011). Rapid economic growth in the USA in the mid-nineteenth century led to recruitment of Mexican workers and their continuing migration for economic opportunities (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000). Mexican immigrants are the largest Latino group in the USA. Despite high levels of labor force participation, most are poor, working class, and have low educational attainment (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000; Guarnaccia et al. 2007).

Puerto Ricans

Unlike other Latinos, all Puerto Ricans are American citizens by law because Puerto Rico is a commonwealth of the USA. Puerto Rico became a US possession in 1898 at the end of the Spanish–American War. Subsequent widespread unemployment motivated many Puerto Ricans to migrate to the US mainland (Tammelleo 2011). After World War II, high unemployment and inexpensive travel between Puerto Rico and the mainland spurred increases in migration, primarily to New York City, but also to the Northeast and parts of the Midwest. Most of the blue-collar jobs that brought Puerto Ricans to the mainland have disappeared leaving them, as a group, more economically disadvantaged than Mexicans and Cubans (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000).

Cubans

Cubans did not arrive in the USA in large numbers until after Fidel Castro's ascension in 1959. The first Cuban immigrants had been economically well-off and politically powerful in Cuba; those who followed were less well-off. Cubans were the only group to receive economic assistance from the US Government to help them resettle and reestablish themselves in this country (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000). They have the highest incomes, highest educational attainment, and lowest poverty rates of all major Latino subgroups. However, unlike other Latinos, they cannot freely travel back to their home country (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000; Guarnaccia et al. 2007).

Central Americans and Dominicans

The US Government classifies as "other Latino" Central Americans and Dominicans (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). Central Americans, specifically Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans, began migrating to the USA in the mid-1970s, motivated by economic and political instability in their home countries (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000; Tammelleo 2011). The majority live in southern California and a high percentage are undocumented. As a group, Central Americans have low rates of educational attainment, often speak little English, and generally hold low-wage jobs (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000).

The migration of significant numbers of Dominicans began in the 1960s. These families were considered well educated and middle class in the Dominican Republic but were often unable to maintain that status once in the USA. Most settled and reside in New York City where many live in poverty (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000).

The Evolution of a Pan-ethnic Latino Identity

Tammelleo (2011) suggests that the arrival of successive waves of Latino immigrants has been a key factor in the development of a pan-ethnic

Latino identity. Once in the USA, these immigrant populations were united by their common language and by the fact that people in the USA viewed them, regardless of their country of origin, as members of one homogeneous group. Both immigrant and native-born Latinos have experienced—and continue to experience - prejudice and racial discrimination (Pew Hispanic Center 2007). Women bear the added burden of sexism originating in their traditionally subordinate role in Latino cultures, a role that continues in the USA (Lozano 2007; Ramos et al. 2010).

The complicated histories that influence the ways in which contemporary Latinos define themselves, and are defined by others, form the backdrop for our discussion of Latino Protestants and violence against women. In addition to recognizing that each individual and family is unique, it is important for practitioners to remember that some aspects of violence against women are universal (e.g., men exerting power and control over their intimate partners) while others may be specific to the gender socialization and cultural values we will discuss later in this chapter (Gorton and Van Hightower 1999; Low and Organista 2000). Finally, we should note that much of the research on Latinos focuses on people of Mexican origin; thus, we must be cautious when applying the results to other Latino subgroups.

Latino Protestantism

It is difficult to track the rise and spread of Protestantism among Latinos in the USA because it is not well documented (Martinez 2007). Its roots go back to nineteenth-century missionaries who sought to convert the conquered Mexicans in the southwestern USA and who traveled to Latin America to evangelize (Martinez 2011b). Modern-day Latino Protestant churches, congregations, and movements in the USA are as diverse as Latinos themselves. Some mainstream English-speaking churches maintain Latino ministries. Other Latino Protestants have founded their own denominations and groups of churches. There are denominations and groups of churches that originated in Latin America and a

growing number of independent Latino Protestant churches (Martinez and Scott 2009). These small, independent churches are evidence "that when Latinos do not feel welcome in the mainline churches, they will leave and start their own" (Urrabazo 2000, p. 218).

According to the Pew Research Center (2007), 68 % of Latinos in this country are Catholic, 15 % are evangelical Protestants, and 8 % percent have no religious affiliation. Five percent identify as mainline Protestants. The majority (73 %) of those affiliated with mainline denominations speak English; 70 % have at least a high school diploma. Among Latino evangelicals, 63 % are primarily English-speakers or bilingual (Pew Research Center 2007).

Nearly one in five Latinos reports having changed their religious affiliation with those born in the USA more likely to convert than immigrants (Pew Research Center 2007). Latino Protestants represent all countries of origin although Puerto Ricans are the most likely to identify as evangelical Protestants (Pew Research Center 2007). Ninety percent of evangelical converts report leaving Catholicism as part of a spiritual quest for "a more direct, personal experience with God" (Pew Research Center 2007, p. 42) and describe their church services as more exciting and animated than Catholic masses (Diamant 2007; Pew Research Center 2007). For Latinos who migrate from rural areas to cities, small evangelical churches can be "a means of recreating a religious and family support system amidst the urban amorality that they perceive in their new American environment" (Welland and Ribner 2008, p. 56–57).

Latinos and Violence Against Women

The literature uses the terms domestic violence, intimate partner violence, and interpersonal violence to describe violence between married, unmarried, and separated couples. Domestic violence is most often used by Latinos themselves (Ames et al. 2008; M. Flores, personal communication, February 28, 2013). We have used both intimate partner violence and domestic violence,

depending on the context. In discussing women who have experienced violence in their personal relationships, we have used survivor, which is favored by professionals, and victim, the term most often used in the Latino community (Ames et al. 2008; M. Flores, personal communication, February 28, 2013).

The actual incidence of intimate partner violence among Latinos is difficult to estimate because the research on this population is limited (Carlson 2003), and existing research results are inconclusive (Bonomi et al. 2009; Ingram 2007). Research is also hampered by a scarcity of culturally competent, Spanish-language survey instruments (Cuevas et al. 2012). In one national survey of 2000 Latino women living in the USA, 53.6 % reported at least one incident of child or adult victimization "by a variety of perpetrators" (p. 377), with two-thirds of those women reporting multiple incidents (Cuevas et al. 2012).

As is true for women of all ethnicities, young, low-income Latino women with low educational attainment are at higher risk for relationship violence (Hazen and Soriano 2007; Vidales 2010). Perpetrator substance abuse, while not a cause of abuse, is associated with physical violence (Hazen and Soriano 2007). Additional factors that increase Latino women's risk include psychological stress, witnessing domestic violence as a child, and experiencing childhood victimization (Kaufman Kantor and Jasinski 2002). Jealousy, a need for control, unemployment, and occupational stress increase the risk that Latino men will abuse their female partners (Ramos et al. 2010).

Latino Personal, Religious, and Cultural Identity

Gender Roles

Despite the ethnic, cultural, and economic differences among Latinos, they share some similar values and behavioral norms (Fong and Furuto 2001; Kasturirangan and Williams 2003). One commonality is the sharp contrast between gender-role expectations for women and men. The female ideal of *marianismo* emphasizes being submissive, chaste, and dependent and making sacrifices for one's family (Edelson et al. 2007; Perilla et al. 1994; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). It incorporates the assumption of a gender-based hierarchy in the family that places men at the top (Duffey 2000). "Women are expected to dedicate themselves to the home, to serve the man and the children, and to pass on cultural values to the next generation" (Welland and Ribner 2008, p. 62).

The concept of *marianismo* originated in the Catholic worship of the Virgin Mary but is generally accepted as a cultural expectation for all Latino women (Lozano 2007). It defines motherhood as sacred and makes women responsible for keeping the home peaceful and free of conflict (Low and Organista 2000). Lozano (2007)[2] captures the stresses Latino women face in attempting to live up to the ideal of *marianismo*:

> Women are expected to be like the Virgin: submissive, docile, passive, sacrificial, patient, and pure. These characteristics, while frequently positive, in many cases turn oppressive when they are abused. If a woman does not manage to fulfill this ideal, she is quickly identified…[as] the traitorous, evil, and sinful temptress…neither model is a good option for the Hispanic woman since neither presents her as a real human being, with virtues and defects, struggling to be the whole woman God calls her to be. (p. 207)

In contrast, the male ideal of *machismo* is defined as being dominant, aggressive, sexual, and independent as well as strong and stoic in the face of pain and adversity (Perilla 1999; Welland and Ribner 2008). Some studies suggest it can also include heavy drinking and promiscuity (Perilla 1999; Wolfinger et al. 2009–2010). *Machismo* incorporates positive characteristics as well. It calls for men to be honorable, responsible, respectful, and courageous (Perilla 1999) and

> …to protect and provide for the family, to work hard and yet have time for the wife and kids; to be responsible in all dealings within and without the family; to be a good role model for the children, a tower of strength for his sons, and a compassionate heart for his daughters. (Urrabazo 2000, p. 220)

---

[2] Quotes from Lozano (2007) used by permission of Wipf and Stock Publishers, www.wipfandstock.com.

Living up to *machismo*'s behavioral expectations can be stressful for Latino men, especially for immigrants who are coping with the dual pressures of conforming to their ethnic cultural roles and adapting to the demands of acculturation. These stresses are compounded for immigrant Latino men who work in dirty, dangerous, exhausting jobs and may sometimes result in anger and violence that they direct at family members (Kugel et al. 2009).

Immigration exacerbates the stresses on Latino families and challenges traditional gender role expectations. It is often easier for Latino women to find work in low-wage cleaning, cooking, and other service jobs than for their male partners. Immigrant women who begin working outside the home are not conforming to traditional gender roles, which changes the balance of power within the family. These factors can combine to threaten the male role of dominant, assertive provider for the family, and may result in aggression, threats, and violence toward others, especially romantic partners (Bacigalupe 2000; Ramos et al. 2010). Some research indicates that the more a woman contributes to the family's income, the greater her risk of abuse (Ellison et al. 1999; Ramos et al. 2010).

Sexuality

Traditional Latino gender roles include specific, distinct expectations for male and female sexual behavior (Bourdeau et al. 2008; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). Men are expected to be sexually active, knowledgeable, and confident while women are supposed to remain virgins until marriage and to learn about sex from their male partners (Faulkner and Mansfield 2002; Gonzalez-Lopez 2004; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). The expectation that men should be powerful and in control of relationships can be especially damaging if it is interpreted to mean that men have the right to control their female partners' sexuality. The ultimate expression of men's control, according to Perilla (1999), is a "disturbingly high" (p. 121) incidence of marital rape among Latinos.

In traditional Latino homes, parents enforce strict gender role expectations but do not talk openly about sexual matters (Bourdeau et al. 2008; Faulkner and Mansfield 2002; Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). Although acculturation appears to affect parental expectations, even acculturated Latino parents are more protective of their daughters than their sons. This includes imposing stricter dating rules on girls and generally allowing boys more freedom than girls outside the home (Raffaelli and Ontai 2004). Young unmarried Latino women who are sexually active must reconcile their behavior with explicit cultural expectations of chastity and innocence. In order to be seen as "moral" by family members, friends, partners, and others in the community, they must find a way to "reduce dissonance between cultural messages about proper sexual behavior and actual sexual experiences" (Faulkner and Mansfield 2002, p. 317).

Parental emphasis on virginity for girls can be influenced by environmental challenges. A study of Mexican-origin immigrant fathers found that they were less concerned about preserving their daughters' virginity than about protecting them from "pregnancy out of wedlock, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual violence, casual sex and promiscuity, and sexual dangers associated with drugs, alcohol use, and gang violence, among other risks" (Gonzalez-Lopez 2004, p. 1127). These fathers' willingness to compromise a traditional cultural value speaks to the magnitude of the social-environmental challenges many Latino families face.

For adolescents, religiosity may play a role in sexual behavior. Data from a large national survey indicate that Latino adolescents with traditional attitudes who attend church regularly are less sexually active, begin sexual activity later, and have fewer partners (Edwards et al. 2008). Acculturation also influences adolescents' sexual behavior with those born outside the USA less likely to be sexually active than those born here (Afable-Munsuz and Brindis 2006; Edwards et al. 2008).

Personal and Relational Health

The Latino value of *familismo* emphasizes the collective good of the nuclear and extended family. Immigrants, however, are separated from their extended families. Thus, immigrant Latino women who experience intimate partner violence are likely to be without the assistance and support family members could offer (Adames and Campbell 2005; Hancock and Ames 2008; Vidales 2010). At the same time, cultural beliefs about the privacy and sanctity of the family, traditional beliefs about marriage, and respect for authority may discourage women from seeking help or reporting intimate partner violence (Ahrens et al. 2010; Edelson et al. 2007; Marrs-Fuchsel et al. 2012).

For undocumented women, fear of deportation and losing their children is a constant concern that makes them wary of seeking formal help (Aguilar-Hass et al. 2000; Ingram 2007; Vidales 2010). These women may be unaware that the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) affords survivors of domestic violence some legal rights regardless of their immigration status (Vidales 2010). VAWA allows abused immigrant women "both legal and unauthorized" (Immigration Policy Center 2012, "Why are female immigrants uniquely vulnerable?" para. 2) to apply for residency for themselves and their children. In order to qualify, women must be married to US citizens or legal permanent residents (U.S. Department of Homeland Security n.d.) The law is complicated. Before a woman applies, she should ask an immigration attorney, a domestic violence agency, or an immigration organization for help. It is important for those serving the Latino community to investigate the options available to immigrant victims of domestic violence as these will vary over time and locality and may shift as the political climate changes.

Familismo does more than emphasize the needs of the family over the individual; it requires men to be responsible for the care of their families and to protect them from external harm (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000; Welland and Ribner 2008). However, although both women and men

value *familismo*, women are more explicitly socialized to accept "respect for patriarchal authority, interdependence with other family members, [and] sacrifice in the service of the family…" (Flores-Ortiz 2000, p. 62). Both *familismo and marianismo* encourage women to sacrifice their own well-being for the benefit of their families.

The value of *simpatico* reinforces the ideals of *familismo* and *marianismo*. It stresses the importance of establishing and maintaining harmonious personal relationships (Holloway 2006; Vidales 2010). All of these cultural values relegate women to a subordinate position in the family and may discourage Latino women from revealing abuse or leaving violent partners (Ahrens et al. 2010; Vidales 2010). Some women interpret these values to mean that their husbands have the right to harm them (Vidales 2010).

Latino women whose partners abuse them are often more willing to disclose the abuse to informal networks, such as family members and friends, than to seek help from formal sources (Brabeck and Guzman 2008; Ingram 2007; Sabina et al. 2012). The lack of culturally and linguistically competent community services may be one reason Latino women more often turn to informal sources (Sabina et al. 2012; Sorenson 1996). Some research indicates that abused women of color, including Latino women, are more likely to turn to the church for assistance than to health or social service agencies (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006; Brabeck and Guzman 2008). Undocumented women, in particular, may view the church as their only safe source of help (Hancock and Ames 2008).

Given the cultural diversity and individual differences among Latino women, it is difficult to generalize about their experience of and response to intimate partner violence (Low and Organista 2000). The length of time a woman has lived in the USA, her level of acculturation, and her educational attainment can affect her views of appropriate male-female roles and her response to violence (Acevedo 2000; Harris et al. 2005; Sabina et al. 2012). One commonality Perilla, Serrata, Weinberg, and Lippy (2012) have identified from more than 20 years of working with battered

Latino women is that "what most of the women wanted was for the violence to stop, not to leave their partners, with whom many of them continued to live" (p. 95). As we will discuss in the last section of this chapter, this suggests a need for interventions that incorporate both women and men.

Ideals and Values that Contribute to Unhealthy, Violent Relationships

Cultural definitions of appropriate male and female roles and behavior, as well as other cultural ideals that support hierarchical relationships, have the potential to contribute to the development of intimate partner violence. Latino women often cite *machismo* as the cause of or trigger for violence although research results on *machismo's* effects on family life and the incidence of intimate partner violence are inconclusive (Welland and Ribner 2008). Because *machismo* discourages men from revealing the anxiety, confusion, or uncertainty prompted by changes in the family's power structure, some men may respond by becoming more authoritarian and using violence or threats to maintain control over their partners (Bacigalupe 2000).

Latino men have historically held the most power in families, and the concept of *respeto* supports deference to those with power. *Respeto* has broader connotations in Spanish than the English word "respect," incorporating an obligation to defer to those who hold power whether that power is based on age, social or economic status, or gender (Welland and Ribner 2008). Children owe respeto to their elders; wives owe it to their husbands. Thus, demonstrating *respeto* supports men's superiority and dominance in the family.

Latino men are socialized to be dominant and to expect women to defer to them. At the same time, Latino men are often disparaged and disrespected in the world outside their homes where many face poverty, racism, and discrimination (Bacigalupe 2000; Klevens et al. 2007). The gap between the cultural expectation of dominance and leadership within the family and a social reality of powerlessness outside the family may increase the likelihood that Latino men will feel threatened by women who challenge them or want equal status. If they feel threatened, they may react with violence as a way to control the situation (Klevens et al. 2007; Morash et al. 2000). Latino women who have been socialized to respect their husbands' authority, put the good of the family ahead of their own welfare, and preserve the family unit may see few options other than submitting to the abuse.

How Religion and Spirituality Contribute to Men's Violence Against Women

Faith and religion can be sources of support for battered Latino women (Acevedo 2000; Brabeck and Guzman 2008; Ellison et al. 2007; Ellison et al. 2010). Churches can provide emotional comfort for women experiencing abuse, but they can also do harm if they encourage women to remain silent about their abuse (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Pyles 2007). Protestant theologian A. E. Martinez (2011a) alleges that Latino clergy who "read into the Bible their own biases and predispositions" (p. 146) contribute to the marginalization, discrimination, and abuse of power against women and other oppressed groups.

Evangelical churches, in particular, stress doctrines that require women to be submissive to their husbands' authority (Brown and Parker 1989; Dobash and Dobash 1979; Nason-Clark 1997; Shannon-Lewy and Dull 2005). The message of submission may be reinforced by telling women they were meant to suffer and that "suffering is a Christian virtue" (Heggen 1996, p. 22). An abuser may use the doctrine of wifely submission to justify his violent behavior, accusing his wife of failing to be submissive enough. "This assertion is the language that hooks other Christians and keeps them from questioning him" (Fleming 1996, p. 178).

Among Latino Protestants, a patriarchal religious tradition reinforces patriarchal cultural

values. Pastoral responses that uphold the supremacy of the husband and father, regardless of his behavior, perpetuate the message victims hear from their abusers (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006; Hancock and Ames 2008). The doctrine of male authority may be construed by clergy as grounds for ignoring or minimizing violence against women (Drumm et al. 2006; Shannon-Lewy and Dull 2005). It can also be the basis for pastoral responses that blame the victim and fail to hold perpetrators accountable for their abusive behavior (Nason-Clark 2004, Shannon-Lewy and Dull 2005). Some research suggests that Latino church leaders may place the responsibility for stopping the violence specifically on abused women (Ames et al. 2011; Behnke et al. 2012; Perilla 1999).

Clergy who tell abused women that they have a Christian duty to remain married, to forgive and forget the abuse, and to stay with their partners "for better or worse" place more value on preserving the marital relationship than on the abused woman's safety. They also fail to take into account that "domestic violence violates not only the victim, but damages and destroys the covenant of marriage itself and impacts the whole community in negative terms" (Frederick 2004, p. 12). Pressuring a woman "to quickly 'forgive and forget' excuses the abuser from being accountable for his actions and can be life threatening for the victim." (Nason-Clark 2004, p. 304).

One structural reality abused Latino women face is that their pastors are usually male. Although there are Latino women who are ordained ministers and lay ministers, patriarchal cultural and religious traditions have made it difficult for women to enter the ministry in most Latino churches and denominations (Lozano 2007). The absence of women in leadership positions may convey to abused women that the church does not value them or their concerns (Gillett 1996). At the same time, evangelical groups that ordain women must contend with the paradox of allowing women authority in the church at the same time that church doctrine calls for women to

"submit to their husbands…as the heads of the household" (Lozano 2007, p. 135).[3]

It does appear that women who are very religious may be less likely to leave their abusers. They may want the abuse to stop but will not terminate the relationship in order to stop it (Nason-Clark 2004). The importance of family for many Latinos can result in little support for an abused woman who does choose to leave her partner. This lack of support is compounded when church leaders or members accuse women who leave their abusers of being the sinners and defend the men as "the true victims of an unjust separation from their partners" (Fleming 1996, p. 181). If clergy respond by offering couples counseling in order to preserve the marriage, they silence the victim, who will be unable to speak freely in front of her abuser, and leave "the perpetrator satisfied that the problem is not his" (Frederick 2004, p. 10).

Religious and Spiritual Resources for Helping Survivors

Faith is a source of strength for Latino individuals, families, and communities (Urrabazo 2000). Although religious doctrine has been used to silence women and keep them in violent relationships, the Bible is rich with text that encourages love, respect, nonviolent family relationships, and repentance for sins committed against others, as we illustrate below.

Scripture Supports Respectful, Nonviolent Marital Relationships

> So husbands ought to love their own wives as their own bodies; he who loves his wife loves himself, for no one ever hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, just as the Lord does the church… let each one of you in particular so love his own wife as himself, and let the wife see that she respect her husband. (Ephesians 5:28–33)

---

[3] Quotes from Lozano (2007) used by permission of Wipf and Stock Publishers, www.wipfandstock.com.

In addition to the above quote, Ephesians 5:25, Colossians 3:19, and 1 Peter 3:7 call for respect between partners. These passages allow survivors of intimate partner violence to see the abuse as a violation of God's will rather than as something they must accept as the submissive partner in the relationship.

Scripture Calls for Nonviolent Expressions of Anger

> But now you must rid yourselves of all such things as these: anger, rage, malice, slander, and filthy language from your lips. (Colossians3:8)

Proverbs 15:1, Proverbs 19:11, Ephesians 4:26, Ecclesiastes 7:9, and the quoted Colossians verses all decry the use of violence as an expression of anger and call for calmer, more peaceful forms of communication. This helps to reinforce to victims that acts of verbal or physical abuse are not appropriate ways for their partners to express emotions, regardless of the reason for the anger. This is particularly important in cases where victims blame themselves for the abuse because "I made him so angry."

Scripture Describes Caring for the Physical Body as the "Temple" of the Lord

> Or do you not know that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have from God, and you are not your own? You were bought at a price; therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's. (1 Corinthians 6:19–20)

The previous quote, along with 2 Corinthians 6:16, highlights the idea that one's body is God's temple and should be treated with respect. Therefore, harming one's own body or that of another person is harming God's temple and a sin against God. This makes the act of abuse a sinful act. However, it is important to remember that a woman in an abusive situation may not blame the abuser for the abuse; she may instead turn that blame inward. A survivor of abuse who blames herself may use this scripture to further reinforce this blame, believing that "it's my fault that this temple of my body is abused."

Scripture Advises Acknowledging Sins, Asking for Forgiveness, and Making Restitution

> He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy. (Proverbs 28:13)

Psalms 38:18, Numbers 5: 7, Psalm 41: 4, Isaiah 1:18, Mark 11:25–26, and Ephesians 4:32 also call on those who sin to speak of that sin and confess it to others. These, too, can be tricky passages to use with victims, as they call not only for the confession of sins, but for the forgiveness of sins. Many victims are told their faith requires them to forgive their abusers, while the abusers are not called on to stop the abuse. However, Acts 26:20 calls for sinners to "repent and turn to God, performing deeds in keeping with their repentance." It is important to emphasize, therefore, that forgiveness is not based solely on the abuser's confession of his sins. Only those who confess their sins *and* who demonstrate true repentance by changing their sinful behavior are forgiven, not those who hide their sins.

Intimate partner violence affects survivors' spirituality and religious practices (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006), which gives churches a stake in confronting it. Churches can take action in a variety of ways. Rather than remaining silent, they can acknowledge the existence of intimate partner violence in their congregations and make challenging it part of their spiritual calling. Clergy can address it in their sermons and sponsor family activities that incorporate education on intimate partner violence (Ames et al. 2011). Churches can create policy statements, action plans, or educational training programs to teach clergy, laity, and staff about domestic violence and how to constructively address it (Frederick 2004; Jones et al. 2005). These steps communicate that the church is a safe place for survivors to seek assistance and that abusive behavior is unacceptable.

Religious and Spiritual Resources for Addressing Men's Needs

Much of the literature on intimate partner violence focuses on healing the victim. However, if churches are to heal families suffering from abuse, they must assist abusers as well as victims. Failing to address the abuser "reinforce[s] his grip of power in an abusive situation" (Fleming 1996, p. 175). This means that churches must address the abusers' accountability for the violence (Fleming 1996; Hancock and Siu 2009). Because many Latino men face very real and painful injustices in their daily lives, those who work with abusers must acknowledge and emphasize that oppression is not an excuse for abusive behavior (Flores-Ortiz 2000; Hancock and Siu 2009).

The scriptures cited earlier in this chapter that support survivors can also be used to counsel abusive men. They provide a biblical basis for mutually respectful and loving relationships and condemn violent expressions of anger. They emphasize that abuse is wrong and that stopping it is the perpetrator's responsibility, not the victim's. Abusers and church leaders who use Ephesians 5:22 as justification for enforcing wives' subservient position (Fleming 1996) should note:

> The root of the problem across the spectrum of Christian and biblical counseling is the fundamentalist biblical belief that wives must be under submission to their husbands, taking the statement in Ephesians 5:22 "Wives, be subject to your husbands" out of its context in verse 21: "Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ." (Cooper-White 2011, p. 6)

Pastoral counselors can clarify that while the Bible acknowledges that people feel anger, it does not condone violence. In Malachi 2:16, God declares, "I hate a man's covering himself with violence." Many additional passages recognize anger as a human emotion but admonish against expressing it in destructive or violent ways. For example:

- Ephesians 4:26—"Be angry and do not sin. Do not let the sun go down on your anger."
- Psalm 37:8—"Refrain from anger and forsake wrath."

- Proverbs 15:1—"A soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger."
- Ephesians 4:31—"Get rid of all bitterness, rage and anger, brawling and slander, along with every form of malice."
- James 1:19–20—"My dear brothers and sisters, take note of this: Everyone should be quick to listen, slow to speak and slow to become angry because human anger does not produce the righteousness that God desires."

Men can be counseled to demonstrate their love for their wives by giving them physical, emotional, and spiritual comfort and security just as Christ sacrificed his life to demonstrate his love for the church. The Bible commands wives to respect their husbands (Ephesians 5:33), but Colossians 3:19 also advises, "Husbands love your wives and do not be harsh with them." In 1 Peter 3:7 husbands are told to: "…be considerate as you live with your wives, and treat them with respect as the weaker partner and as heirs with you of the gracious gift of life, so that nothing will hinder your prayers."

Implications for Professional Practice and Future Research

Latinos often turn to turn to their religious communities rather than seek help from mental health, social service, or health care providers (Bent-Goodley and Fowler 2006; Nason-Clark 2004; Urrabazo 2000). Unfortunately, there is little research on how Latino Protestant churches and clergy address intimate partner violence. Existing research indicates that clergy of all backgrounds, denominations, and faiths have little or no formal training on intimate partner violence (Behnke et al. 2012; Hancock et al. in press; Shannon-Lewy and Dull 2005). One study of Latino church leaders found that the majority desired training and information to learn how to respond constructively to church members experiencing intimate partner violence (Hancock and Ames 2008).

There is much to be gained from expanding the resources for intervention. Latino women with a lifetime history of intimate partner violence have

significantly worse mental and physical health status compared to non-abused women (Bonomi et al. 2009). This, in addition to cultural factors and scarce community resources, contributes to the difficulties abused Latino women experience when they seek help (Ahrens et al. 2010). Latino churches could ease these difficulties if church leaders had the necessary knowledge, attitudes, and skills to assist women struggling with intimate partner violence (Rotunda et al. 2004; Shannon-Lewy and Dull 2005; Ware et al. 2004).

Culturally sensitive interventions, whether religious or secular, must take into account the wishes of Latino women who choose to remain in their relationships (Hancock and Siu 2009; Perilla et al. 2012). At the same time, interventions for Latino men must specifically address their responsibility for the violence and find ways to stop it without challenging or condemning traditional cultural values (Hancock and Siu 2009; Perilla and Perez 2002).

Existing services for abusive men often fail to accommodate the needs of Latinos. Many states require men to demonstrate accountability for their intimate partner violence by regularly attending batterers' groups for which they must pay a fee. These fees, as well as the location of the groups, can be barriers to Latino men who have limited resources. Easing access by locating programs in Latino neighborhoods and addressing economic inequality by providing alternatives to paying a fee, such as community service, could mitigate these barriers (Bacigalupe 2000).

Latino churches could play a role in creating attainable and affordable alternatives to existing services for Latino women and men. One role for social workers and other human service professionals could be to offer church leaders training and consultation (Behnke et al. 2012; Hancock and Ames 2008; Hancock et al., in press). Such efforts should involve members of the Latino community because churches with undocumented clergy or congregation members are likely to be suspicious of outsiders' motives for offering to work with them (Hancock et al., in press).

There is still much to be learned about men's violence against women among Latino Protestants. Most research on intimate partner violence

focuses on Latinos of Mexican origin and does not examine the role of religious beliefs and practices. Additional research on other Latino subgroups could identify significant similarities and differences and provide information on how ethnicity and religion affect the use of and response to violence against women. Researchers might also examine the strengths within Latino Protestant communities that helping professionals could build upon to help clergy and families address intimate partner violence.

References

Acevedo, M. J. (2000). Battered immigrant Mexican women's perspectives regarding abuse and help-seeking. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work, 8*(3/4), 243–282. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J285v08n03_04

Adames, S.B., & Campbell, R. (2005). Immigrant Latinas' conceptualizations of intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women, 11*, 1341–1364. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801205280191

Afable-Munsuz, A., & Brindis, C. D. (2006). Acculturation and the sexual and reproductive health of Latino youth in the United States: A literature review. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 38*(4), 208–219. http://dx.doi.org/10.1363/3820806

Aguilar-Hass, G., Dutton, M. A., & Orloff, L.E. (2000). Lifetime prevalence of violence against Latina immigrants: legal and policy implications. *International Review of Victimology, 7*, 93–113. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/026975800000700306

Ahrens, C. E., Isas, L., Rios-Mandel, L.C., & Lopez, M.C. (2010). Talking about interpersonal violence: Cultural influences on Latinas' identification and disclosure of sexual assault and intimate partner violence. *Psychological Trauma: Theory. Research, Practice, and Policy, 2*(4), 284–295. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0018605

Ames, N., Hancock, T. U., & Behnke, A. O. (2008). [Preventing and reducing domestic violence in the Latino community: The role of lay ministers]. Unpublished raw data.

Ames, N., Hancock, T.U., & Behnke, A.O. (2011). Latino church leaders and domestic violence: Attitudes and knowledge. *Families in Society, 92*(2), 161–167. http://dx.doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.4093

Baca Zinn, M., & Wells, B. (2000) Diversity within Latino Families: New lessons for family social science. In D. H. Demo, K. R. Allen, & M. A. Fine (Eds.), *Handbook of family diversity* (pp. 252–273). New York, NY: OxfordUniversity Press.

Bacigalupe, G. (2000). El Latino: Trangressing the macho. In M. T. Flores & G. Carey (Eds.), *Family therapy*

with Hispanics (pp. 29–57). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Behnke, A.O., Ames, N., & Hancock, T. (2012). What would they do? Latino church leaders and domestic violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 27*(7), 1259–1275. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260511425246

Bent-Goodley, T., & Fowler, D. N. (2006). Spiritual and religious abuse: Expanding what is known about domestic violence. *Journal of Women and Social Work, 2*, 282–295. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886109906288901

Bonomi, A. E., Anderson, M. L., Cannon, E. A., Slesnick, N., & Rodriguez, M. (2009). Intimate partner violence in Latina and non-Latina women. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 36*(1), 43–48. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2008.09.027

Bourdeau, B., Volker, K. T., & Long, J. K. (2008). Latino sexual styles: Developing a nuanced understanding of risk. *Journal of Sex Research, 45*(1), 71–81. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224490701845185

Brabeck, K. M., & Guzman, M. R. (2008). Frequency and perceived effectiveness of strategies to survive abuse employed by battered Mexican-origin women. *Violence Against Women, 14*(11), 1274–1294. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801208325087

Brown, J.C., & Parker, R. (1989). For God so loved the world? In J.C. Brown & C.R Bohn (Eds.), *Christianity, patriarchy, and abuse* (pp. 1–30). New York: The Pilgrim Press.

Carlson, B. E. (2003). Violence against women: Synthesis of research for service providers. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U. S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from: https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/199578.pdf. Accessed 11 Feb 2012

Cooper-White, P. (2011). Intimate violence against women: Trajectories for pastoral care in a new millennium. *Pastoral Psychology, 60*, 809–855. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11089-011-0354–7

Cuevas, C.A., Sabina, C., & Milloshi, R. (2012). Interpersonal victimization among a national sample of Latino women. *Violence Against Women*, 18(4), 377–403. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801212452413

Cunradi, C. B., Caetano, R., & Schafer, J. (2002). Socioeconomic predictors of intimate partner violence among White, Black, and Hispanic couples in the United States. *Journal of Family Violence, 17*, 377–338. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1020374617328

Diamant, J. (2007). Latinos moving away from Catholicism. *Christian Century, 124*(2), 12.

Dobash, R.E., & Dobash, R.P. (1979). *Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy*. New York: Free Press.

Drumm, R., McBride, D., Hopkins, G., Thayer, J., Popescu, M., & Wrenn, J. (2006). Intimate partner violence in a conservative Christian denomination: Prevalence and types. *Social Work and Christianity, 33(3)*, 233–251.

Duffey, T. H. (2000). The Hispanic couple in therapy. In M. T. Flores & G. Carey (Eds.), *Family therapy with Hispanics* (pp. 167–183). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Edelson, M. G., Hokoda, A., & Ramos-Lira, L. (2007). Differences in effects of domestic violence between Latina and non-Latina women. *Journal of Family Violence, 22*, 1–10. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10896-006-9051–1

Edwards, L. M., Fehring, R. J., Jarrett, K. M., & Haglund, K. A. (2008). The influence of religiosity, gender, and language preference acculturation on sexual activity among Latino/a adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 30*, 447–462. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986308322912

Ellison, C. G., Bartkowski, J. P., & Anderson, K. L. (1999). Are there religious variations in domestic violence? *Journal of Family Issues, 20*, 87–113. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/019251399020001005

Ellison, C. G., Trinitapoli, J. A., Anderson, K. L., & Johnson, B. R. (2007). Race/ethnicity, religious involvement, and domestic violence. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 1094–1112. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801207308259

Ellison, C. G., Burdette, A. M., & Wilcox, W. B. (2010). The couple that prays together: Race and ethnicity, religion, and relationship quality among working-age adults. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*, 963–975. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741–3737.2010.00742.x

Faulkner, S. L., & Mansfield, P. K. (2002). Reconciling messages: The process of sexual talk for Latinos. *Qualitative Health Research, 12*, 310–328. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/104973202129119919

Fleming, S. R. (1996). Competent Christian intervention with men who batter. In C. C. Kroeger & J. R. Beck (Eds.), *Women, abuse, and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Fong, R., & Furuto, S. (Eds). (2001). *Culturally competent social work practice: Skills, interventions and evaluation*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Flores-Ortiz, Y. G. (2000). Injustice in Latino families: Considerations for family therapists. In M. T. Flores & G. Carey (Eds.), *Family therapy with Hispanics* (pp. 251–263). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Frederick, K. E. (2004). Clinging to the threshold of hope. *Journal of Religion and Abuse, 6*(1), 5–13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J154v06n01_02

Gillett, S. (1996). No church to call home. In C. C. Kroeger & J. R. Beck (Eds.), *Women, abuse, and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Gonzalez-Lopez, G. (2004). Fathering Latina sexualities: Mexican men and the virginity of their daughters. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*, 1118–1130. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0022–2445.2004.00082.x

Gorton, J., & Van Hightower. N. (1999). Intimate victimization of Latina farmworkers: A research summary. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21*, 502–507. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986399214008

Guarnaccia, P. J., Pincay, I. M., Alegría, M., Shrout, P. E., Lewis-Fernández, R., & Canino, G. J. (2007). Assessing diversity among Latinos: Results from the NLAAS. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 29*(4), 510–534. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986307308110

Hancock, T.U., & Ames, N. (2008). Toward a model for engaging Latino lay ministers in domestic violence intervention. *Families in Society, 89*(4), 623–630.

Hancock, T. U., & Siu, K. (2009). A culturally sensitive intervention with domestically violent Latino immigrant men. *Journal of Family Violence, 24*, 123–132. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10896-008-9217–0

Hancock, T. U., Ames, N., & Behnke, A. O. (In press). Protecting rural church-going immigrant women from family violence. *Journal of Family Violence*.

Harris, R. J., Firestone, J. M., & Vega, W. A. (2005). The interaction of country of origin, acculturation, and gender role ideology on wife abuse. *Social Science Quarterly, 86*(2), 463–483. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0038–4941.2005.00313.x

Hazen, A. L., & Soriano, F. I. (2007). Experiences with intimate partner violence among Latina women. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 562–582. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801207301558

Heggen, C. H. (1996). Religious beliefs and abuse: How scripture can be used to hurt or heal. In C. C. Kroeger & J. R. Beck (Eds.), *Women, abuse, and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Holloway, R. E. (2006). *Evidence for a simpatico self-schema in studies comparing Hispanics and Whites*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from: https://dspace.uta.edu/bitstream/handle/10106/486/umi-uta-1461.pdf?sequence=1

Immigration Policy Center, American Immigration Council. (2012). Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) Provides Protections for Immigrant Women and Victims of Crime. Retrieved March 20, 2012 from: http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/violence-against-women-act-vawa-provides-protections-immigrant-women-and-victims-crime

Ingram, E. M. (2007). A comparison of help seeking between Latino and non-Latino victims of intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women, 13*(2), 159–171. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801206296981

Jones, A. S., Fowler, T. S., Farmer, D. F., Anderson, R. T., & Richmond, D. W. (2005). Description and evaluation of a faith community-based domestic violence pilot program in Forsyth county, NC. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 7*(4), 55–87. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J154v07n04_05

Kasturirangan, A., & Williams, A. M. (2003). Counseling Latina battered women: A qualitative study of the Latina perspective. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 31*(3), 162–178. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.2161–1912.2003.tb00541.x

Kaufman Kantor, G., & J. Jasinski, J. (2002) Risk marker analysis of wife assault in Latino families. *Violence Against Women, 8* (4) 429–454.

Klevens, J., Shelley, G., Clavel-Arcas, C., Barney, D. D., Tobar, C.,…, & Esparza, J. (2007). Latinos' perspectives and experiences with intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women, 13*(2), 141–158. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801206296980

Knickmeyer, N., Levitt, H. M., Horne, S. G., & Bayer G. (2010). Putting on Sunday's best: The silencing of battered women within Christian faith communities. *Feminism and Psychology, 20*, 94–113. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959353509347470

Kugel, C., Retzlaff, C., Hopfer, S., Lawson, D.M., Daley, E.,…, & Freedman, S. (2009). Families con Voz: Community survey results from an Intimate Partner Prevention Project with migrant workers. *Journal of Family Violence, 24*, 649–660. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10896-009-9263–2

Low, G., & Organista, K. C. (2000). Latinas and sexual assault: Towards culturally sensitive assessment and intervention. In D. De Anda, *Violence: Diverse populations and communities* (pp. 131–157). Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press.

Lozano, N. (2007). Faithful in the struggle: A historical perspective on Hispanic Protestant women in the United States. In J. F. Martínez, & L. Scott (Eds.). *Los Evangelicos: Portraits of Latino Protestantism in the United States* (pp. 118–138). Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Marrs-Fuchsel, C. L., Murphy, S. B., & Dufresne, R. (2012). Domestic violence, culture, and relationship dynamics among immigrant Mexican women. *Affilia, 27*(3), 263–274. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886109912452403

Martinez, J. F. (2007). Introduction: Portraits of Latino Protestantism in the United States. In J. F. Martínez, & L. Scott (Eds.). *Los Evangelicos: Portraits of Latino Protestantism in the United States* (pp. xix-xxiii). Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Martinez, A. E. (2011a). U.S. Hispanic/Latino biblical interpretation: A critique from within. *Theology Today, 68*, 134–148. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0040573611405881

Martínez, J. F. (2011b). *Los Protestantes: An introduction to Latino Protestantism in the United States* [ebook]. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Martínez, J. F., & Scott, L. (2009). Introduction. In J.F. Martinez & L. Scott (Eds.). *Los Evangelicos: Portraits of Latino Protestantism in the United States*, (pp. xix-xxiii). Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Martinez, S., Torres, V., White, L. W., Medrano, C. I., Robledo, A. L., & Hernandez, E. (2012). The influence of family dynamics on ethnic identity among adult Latinas. *Journal of Adult Development, 19*(4), 190–200. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10804-012-9146–2

Morash, M., Bui, H. N., & Santiago. A. M. (2000). Cultural-specific gender ideology and wife abuse in Mexican-descent families. *International Review of Victimology, 7*(1–3), 67–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/026975800000700305

Nason-Clark, N. (1997). *The battered wife: How Christians confront family violence*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Nason-Clark, N. (2004). When terror strikes at home: The interface between religion and domestic violence. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 43*, 303–310. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468–5906.2004.00236.x

Office of Management and Budget (OMB). (1997). Directive 15: Revisions to the Standards for the Classifica-

tion of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity. Retrieved 1-10-13 from: http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg_1997standards/

Perilla, J. L. (1999). Domestic violence as a human rights issue: The case of immigrant Latinos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21*(2), 107–133. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986399212001

Perilla, J. L., & Perez, F. (2002). A program for immigrant Latino men who batter within the context of a comprehensive family intervention. In E. Aldarondo & F. Mederos (Eds.), *Working with men who batter: Intervention and prevention strategies for a diverse society*. New York, NY: Civic Research Institute.

Perilla, J.L., Bakeman, R., & Norris, F. (1994). Culture and domestic violence: The ecology of abused Latinas. *Violence and Victims, 9*(4), 125–140.

Perilla, J. L., Serrata, J. V., Weinberg, J., & Lippy, C. A. (2012). Integrating women's voices and theory: A comprehensive domestic violence intervention for Latinas. *Women & Therapy, 35*(1–2), 93–105. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2012.634731

Pew Hispanic Center. (2007). *2 0 07NationalsurveyofL a tinos:Asillegalimmigr a tionissueheatsup, Hispanicsfeela c hill*. Washington, DC, December2007. Retrieved 1-14-13 from: http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/84.pdf

Pew Research Center. (2007). *Changing faiths: Latinos and the transformation of American religion*. Washington, DC. Retrieved 1-14-13 from: http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedfiles/Topics/Demographics/hispanics-religion-07-final-mar08.pdf

Pyles, L. (2007). The complexities of the religious response to domestic violence: Implications for faith-based initiatives. *Affilia, 22*(3), 281–291. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886109907302271

Qian, Z., & Cobas, J. A. (2004). Latinos' mate selection: national origin, racial, and nativity differences. *Social Science Research*, 33(2), 225–247. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089×(03)00055–3

Raffaelli, M., & Ontai, L. L. (2004). Gender socialization in Latino/a families: Results from two retrospective studies. *Sex Roles, 50*(5/6), 287–299. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000018886.58945.06

Ramos, B., Carlson, B., & Kulkarni, S. (2010). Culturally competent practice with Latinas. In L. L. Lockhart & F. S. Danis (Eds.), *Domestic violence mosaic: Culturally competent practice with diverse populations*. New York: ColumbiaUniversity Press.

Rotunda, R., Williamson, G., & Penfold, M. (2004). Clergy response to domestic violence: A preliminary survey of clergy members, victims, and batterers. *Pastoral Psychology, 52*, 353–365. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:PASP.0000016939.21284.a3

Sabina, C., Cuevas, C. A., & Schally, J. L. (2012). Help-seeking in a national sample of victimized Latino women: The influence of victimization types. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 27*, 40–61. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260511416460

Shannon-Lewy, C., & Dull, V. T. (2005). The response of Christian clergy to domestic violence: Help or hindrance? *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 10*, 647–659. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2005.02.004

Sorenson, S. (1996). Violence against women: Examining ethnic differences and commonalities. *Evaluation Review, 20*(2), 123–145. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0193841×9602000201

Tammelleo, S. (2011). Continuity and change in Hispanic identity. *Ethnicities, 11*, 536–554. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1468796811419058

Urrabazo, R. (2000). Therapeutic sensitivity to the Latino spiritual soul. In M. T. Flores & G. Carey (Eds.), *Family therapy with Hispanics* (pp. 205–227). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

U.S. Census Bureau. (May, 2011). The Hispanic population 2010. Retrieved 1-11-13 from: http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (n.d.) *Immigration options for victims of crimes: Violence Against Women Act* (*VAWA*). Retrieved 3-15-13 from: http://www.dhs.gov/immigration-options-victims-crimes

Vidales, G.T. (2010). Arrested justice: The multifaceted plight of immigrant Latinas who faced domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence, 25*, 535–544. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10896-010-9309-5

Ware, K. N., Levitt, H. M., & Bayer G. (2004) May God help you: Faith leaders' perspectives of intimate partner violence within their communities. *Journal of Religion and Abuse, 5*, 29–54. http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J154v05n02_04

Welland, C., & Ribner, N. (2008). *Healing from violence: Latino men's journey to a new masculinity*. New York, NY: Springer.

Wolfinger, N. H., Wilcox, W. B., & Hernandez, E. I. (2009–2010). Bendito amor ('blessed love'): Religion and relationships among married and unmarried Latinos in urban America. *Journal of Latino-Latin American Studies, 3*, 171–188.

Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Men's Violence Against Women

10

Elizabeth A. Gassin

Men's violence against women can take many forms: physical, sexual, emotional, or financial. In order to keep this chapter to a manageable length, I will focus mostly on physical and/or sexual violence within the context of intimate, romantic relationships. I choose this arena because it is much easier to define than emotional or financial abuse, and historically within Christianity, it is the context in which violence has gray overtones. Few would argue that beating or raping an unknown woman is a legitimate act. However, given the prevalence of the idea of the husband's headship in the family both in scripture and the Eastern Church fathers, the question becomes, does Eastern Orthodoxy endorse a form of headship that can include violence—especially physical violence—against a woman?

At the outset, I wish to define my standing with regard to Eastern Orthodoxy. I am a professor of psychology who joined the Orthodox Church about 15 years ago and am relatively familiar with the Russian tradition in particular. I speak Russian and therefore will incorporate some Russian-language resources into this chapter. I do not speak any other language from a traditionally Orthodox culture, nor do I know the ancient languages of the early Church fathers. This means I am accessing many materials in

translation and likely missing some resources altogether. The reader should keep in mind these limitations while reading this chapter.

Eastern Orthodox Christianity

In this section, I review Eastern Orthodoxy's basic approach to faith and its demographic standing in English-speaking countries. Then I turn to rates of men's intimate partner violence (MIPV) in orthodox groups. Throughout this section, I also introduce clinically relevant issues related to cultural identity.

Overview

Eastern Orthodox Christianity has some commonalities with Western Christian traditions, such as seeing the Bible as authoritative and practicing communion, but it has many unique aspects as well. The tradition has its theological and liturgical foundations in the decisions of the ecumenical councils and the corpus of teachings of holy fathers and mothers from the Eastern part of the Roman Empire (Egypt, Syria, etc.). Whereas the Western Christian tradition tends to use legal or forensic metaphors for salvation, Eastern Orthodoxy relies more on medical images, seeing salvation as a healing process. Some Christian approaches may see salvation in relatively black-and-white terms: one will be in heaven, located with God, or in hell without Him.

E. A. Gassin (✉)
Department of Psychology, Olivet Nazarene University, Bourbonnais, IL, USA
e-mail: lgassin@olivet.edu

However, the Orthodox view of this theological concept is more process-oriented and relationally oriented, where salvation is the eternal process of transforming negative impulses (passions) within oneself into godly impulses, which is effected by and results in a closer union with both the Triune God, Who *is* relationship within Himself, and with others. Individuals in the West interested in learning more about Orthodox theology often consult the works of Ware (1993, 1995).

In the West, Eastern Orthodoxy is typically organized into jurisdictions. These are often nationally or ethnically based (Greek, Russian, etc.) and represent the fruits of various missionary efforts of the Church from the country of origin. Each jurisdiction is headed "on-site" by a senior bishop. These jurisdictions are administrative units and should not be considered denominations, as they are united theologically and sacramentally. An exception to this is the Oriental (as opposed to Eastern) Orthodox Churches, which are churches that do not accept the decisions of ecumenical councils beginning with Chalcedon in 451 AD. The Ethiopian, Coptic, and Armenian Orthodox Churches are some of the major Oriental traditions. Despite some theological divergences between the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox, their traditions are similar enough that there have been pockets of rapprochement in the recent history of Eastern Orthodoxy. Although many of the dynamics may apply to both forms of Orthodoxy, most of the content of this chapter can be more reliably applied to Eastern, rather than Oriental, traditions.

Demographics in English-Speaking Countries

According to Krindatch (2010), there are about 1,043,000 Orthodox Christians in the USA. Approximately 800,000 are affiliated with Eastern Orthodox Churches, and the remainder with Oriental Orthodox Churches. By far, the most populous jurisdiction in the USA is the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America (GOAA), followed at some distance by the Orthodox Church in America (OCA), which is historically related

to the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). Another daughter of the Russian tradition, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, is the fifth largest jurisdiction in the USA, making the Greek and Russian traditions the most prevalent Orthodox traditions in the USA. Twenty-eight percent of those identifying as Orthodox Christians in the USA attend church on a weekly basis.

A 2001 survey in Canada (reported in Wigglesworth 2010) found approximately 430,000 Orthodox Christians in that nation, about half of whom identified with the Greek tradition. The next most populous tradition, with approximately 33,000 adherents, was Ukrainian Orthodox. Work by Brierley (personal communication, August 22, 2012) suggests that there are about 330,000 Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Christians in the UK, about 70 % of whom identify with the Greek tradition. Australia's 2011 census revealed about 560,000 Orthodox Christians (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). While data were not provided on how many adherents each Orthodox tradition has, given the relatively large Greek population in Australia and the fact that no other traditionally Orthodox nationality is listed in the top ten ancestry groups, it is likely the majority of Orthodox there are Greek. Data from the 2006 census in New Zealand shows about 13,000 adherents, most of whom did not specify a particular jurisdiction. Of those who did, most are either Greek or Russian (Statistics New Zealand 2006).

In all these cases, the percentage of a country's population that claims to be Eastern Orthodox is very small, usually on the order of 0.5 to 2.5 %. However, at least in the USA, such a statistic obscures major geographic variation, and therapists and pastors in certain metropolitan areas may be working with populations that proportionally are far more likely to be Orthodox than these numbers suggest.

Prevalence Data

When discussing the prevalence of MIPV in Orthodox communities, there are at least two different contexts that should be taken into account. One context is the rate of MIPV in Orthodox com-

munities in the West. Although some members of these communities are immigrants from traditional Orthodox lands, most are either converts to Orthodoxy or people of traditionally Orthodox ethnic backgrounds born and raised in the West. Individuals from both of these latter groups usually are at least familiar with, if not fully accepting of, a Western value system with its emphasis on individual free choice; tolerance of perspectives and traditions that differ from one's own; and equality of all individuals regardless of race, gender, or other demographic category. Another context of note is that of traditionally Orthodox lands. Recent immigrants from these areas may not be familiar with or endorse Western cultural norms. As discussed below, cultural differences between these two environments probably make a difference in the rate of MIPV and the way in which a human service professional would approach the issue with clients. Working with a client raised in the West may require different skills than working with a recent immigrant from a traditional Orthodox country, a topic explored when we discuss implications for practitioners.

A search of PsycINFO, SocAbstracts, and the ATLA Religion database revealed no studies on the prevalence of MIPV among Orthodox Christians in the West. Given how little attention is paid to Eastern Christianity in the West, this is not surprising. A mental health professional who works for a philanthropic organization connected with the Greek Orthodox Archdioceses in America and has extensive experience in working with families experiencing abuse estimates that the rate of MIPV in Orthodox communities in the USA is probably similar to the population at large (Geanacopoulos, personal communication, September 13, 2012).

Some data does exist on MIPV prevalence in traditionally Orthodox countries. For example, estimates of MIPV rates in Greece range from occurring "at a rate similar to other countries" (Antonopoulou 1999) to a claim that up to 83 % of Greek women have been abused in their homes and 55 % experience long-term abuse (Greek Helsinki Monitor & OMCT 2002). At least one study demonstrates adherence to Orthodoxy to be a protective factor against MIPV (Tzamalouka

et al. 2007), but analysis of the Greek Church's impact on domestic violence notes it contributes to a cultural tradition that tends to protect male headship and family unity at all cost (Chatzifotiou 2003; Papdakaki et al. 2009).

MIPV is also of major concern in Russia. Since the fall of the USSR, research conducted in Russia suggests that rates of domestic violence against women, as well as murders of women by a male intimate, are probably several times the rates in the West (Johnson 2005). A myriad of cultural factors likely contribute to this, including a history of patriarchy, economic instability, alcohol use and abuse, and even folk sayings that endorse MIPV (e.g., "if he beats you, it means he loves you") (e.g., Cubbins and Vanoy 2005; Horne 1999; Stickley et al. 2008).

Although these cultures may be considered traditionally Orthodox, given the modern history of these lands—which includes domination by Islamic and Communist forces that often did not allow the Church to educate its children fully—one may question how deeply an Orthodox ethos has penetrated such societies. In addition, there are many other variables, such as recent experience of major economic change in these countries, which confound interpretation of such data.

Eastern Orthodoxy and Contributors to MIPV

When distorted, certain aspects of global Orthodoxy, as well as specifics of the cultures in which Eastern Christianity has taken root, may contribute to men's violence against women. In this section, I review details related to these themes.

Religious Tradition

Eastern Orthodoxy shares the scriptural inheritance of Western Christendom, as well as acknowledging deuterocanonical books as part of scripture and the importance of the Church fathers in interpreting and applying scripture. An important question, therefore, is how does the Eastern Patristic tradition view scriptural ideas

about relationships between men and women? While in the West Augustine is arguably the most influential early writer, his works have not been very influential in the East. To make our task of reviewing the patristic tradition manageable and rely on a foundation representative of Orthodox spirituality, our focus here will be on the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers (St. Basil of Caesarea, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus) and St. John Chrysostom. These Eastern fathers lived in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

As we will note below, these fathers generally support a type of equality between men and women based in sharing God's image and being of equal worth (Harrison 1990). However, they also tend to maintain the traditional idea that the man is the head of the woman (Kapsalis 2004; Karras 1991). This value is also expressed in the ecclesial context in that only men are ordained to the priesthood or episcopacy in the Orthodox Church, and in most places, only men are allowed to assist in the altar during services. This raises the question of whether MIPV falls under the umbrella of a husband's authority over his wife, or more generally of man's authority over woman. To my knowledge, these Church fathers never endorse violence against women, but there are places where some encourage wives subjected to violence at the hands of their husbands to endure it (e.g., Basil of Caesarea, trans. 1955, trans. 1963; John Chrysostom, trans. 1889a). This directive is usually based on scripture permitting divorce only in the case of adultery and/or on the idea that "turning the other cheek" in the face of abuse somehow contributes to the woman's spiritual development. (We will see that St. John Chrysostom, however, in some places suggests it is acceptable for a woman to leave an abusive husband; for an extended discussion of Chrysostom's views, see Schroeder 2004.) Orthodox priests today sometimes also maintain a woman must stay with a husband engaging in MIPV (Fitzgerald 2007; Nikolaev 2012), although such advice may be more common in traditional Orthodox lands than in Western cultures. In addition, at least one traditionally Orthodox culture, Russia, historically altered this passive stance

vis-à-vis MIPV into a more active endorsement of physical violence against women.

A major early modern publication in Russia, *The Domostroi*, served as both a basic theological treatise for the Orthodox laity and a directive about how to structure one's domestic life (Pouncy 1994). We can translate the document's title roughly as "domestic structure." According to tradition, *The Domostroi* was written in the sixteenth century by an Orthodox priest as a guide to life for his son. It is perhaps the most well-known document from an Orthodox culture that permits the male of a household to inflict physical injury on his wife. The text directs the husband of a wife who does not follow the instructions of *The Domostroi* to "[b]eat her when you are alone together; then forgive her and remonstrate with her" (Pouncy 1994, p. 143). In all fairness, much of the rest of the document seems to honor the talents of women, albeit in the traditional domain of the home: It assigns the wife a very important and even powerful position in the household and requires her husband to consult with her in certain instances. In addition, it prohibits beatings in anger and with instruments that can cause severe physical damage, as well as threatens the husband who does not follow the document with God's judgment. Despite these qualifications, we cannot ignore the fact that *The Domostroi* clearly mandates MIPV in certain circumstances, and does so in the context of describing a theologically based Orthodox lifestyle. In addition, it clearly places the husband above the wife in authority in the home, leaving the door open for nonphysical forms of domination. And despite the fact that the publication is centuries old, it is my experience that Russians who are active in the Orthodox Church today are aware of its general content and in some cases, choose to follow it in their family lives to one degree or another.

The Role of Local Culture

One variable that must also be taken into consideration by mental health professionals is that of local culture. To its credit, Eastern Orthodoxy has a long tradition of attempting to integrate with the

indigenous context in which it finds itself. For example, unlike some Christian traditions, Eastern Orthodox missionaries have almost always translated scripture and other Church-related texts into local languages. Russian missionaries to Alaska attempted to integrate native practices into the Orthodox tradition, such as affirming a positive role for the local shaman and translating the Lord's prayer as "give us this day our daily fish" (Oleska 2001; Senyk 2001). This cultural sensitivity, however, can have a negative side, in that Eastern Christian believers sometimes have difficulty discerning the difference between universal Orthodox tradition that must be maintained and local custom that is not mandatory. For our purposes, an important aspect of the influence of local culture is the fact that most traditionally Orthodox cultures, being located in the Middle East, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Eastern Europe, are part of relatively collectivistic cultures that also qualify as cultures of honor (Chatzifotiou & Dobash 2001; Gilmore 1987; Kollman 1999).

In a culture of honor (also referred to as cultures of shame), women protect their own honor and that of their family via sexual purity and family loyalty. In addition, because men maintain their honor in such contexts by demonstrating virility and strength, and because masculine identity seems more tenuous than feminine identity and is therefore more easily threatened by others' behavior (Vandello & Bosson 2012), "shameful" behavior by a daughter, sister, wife, or even mother is more likely to elicit violent behavior from a male than in cultures that do not emphasize honor (Mosquera et al. 2002; Vandello & Cohen 2003). In Latino cultures, this emphasis on women's purity, loyalty, obedience, and spiritual nature that can and must endure suffering, falls under the idea of *marianismo*, a value system based on the virtues of the Virgin Mary (referred to as *Theotokos*, or Mother of God, in Eastern Orthodoxy) (Castillo et al. 2010; Stevens 1973). Although marianismo is based on a Roman Catholic Mariology, which differs somewhat from an Orthodox understanding of the Theotokos, the Eastern Church does honor Mary as ever-virgin and emphasizes her obedience to God. Therefore, it is possible that this more traditional Mariology

may contribute to the development of purity and obedience norms for women, especially in cultures of honor where gender differences and hierarchy tends to be stressed.

While elements of a culture of honor may have existed in the West at some time, movements such as the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the Reformation in Western Europe moved the culture in that geographic area (as well as those cultures that sprung from that area, such as North America) towards valuing individualism, tolerance, and human rights. It is important to note that the lands where Orthodox Christianity has been the dominant faith did not experience those movements to the degree that neighbors to the West and/or North did. Therefore, the language and concepts that we might typically use to argue against MIPV may not make sense to persons raised in a traditionally Orthodox culture.

Eastern Orthodoxy and Prevention of/Intervention in MIPV

Despite its hierarchical and conservative nature, there is some movement within global Orthodoxy against MIPV. Within the last few decades many Orthodox jurisdictions have spoken out through formal channels against men's abusive behavior. In addition, the ancient writings of the Eastern fathers and recent pastoral care and theological scholarship, although they do not emphasize abuse within the family, at least provide some foothold for the struggle against MIPV and care for the women experiencing it. We now turn to these topics, as well as a brief list of concrete institutions that can offer assistance to survivors.

Recent Movements Within the Orthodox Church

In the recent past, Orthodox jurisdictions in the West have made strides in making formal proclamations and providing materials to dissuade MIPV and to assist survivors. The GOAA is probably one of the most advanced in this area. Several formal statements by clergy members

(Demos 1999; Joanides, n.d.), posted on the jurisdiction's website, make clear statements about the inadmissibility of MIPV and the need to report incidents. In addition, the philanthropic arm of the jurisdiction has produced a very practical manual for helping clergy and parishioners to understand, identify, and appropriately respond to domestic violence (Geanacopoulos 2012). This manual can be downloaded free of charge at www.philoptochos.org. Several other major Orthodox jurisdictions in the USA have at least made statements about the unacceptability of MIPV and caution clergy and laity against using the permanence of marriage and male headship as excuses for allowing abuse to happen (e.g., Holy Synod 1992; Randolph 2011).

In working with persons more rooted in traditional, non-Western Orthodox cultures, it may be helpful to note that even in such contexts, there is movement within the Church against MIPV. For example, despite the questionable influence of *The Domostroi*, the ROC is now taking active steps to fight domestic violence. At the end of 2011, the Russian Church developed a formal committee to address family issues, and at about the same time, a round table discussion of domestic violence took place in Moscow with leaders from the ROC and other confessions (*Obraschenie* 2011). Unfortunately, a synopsis of the first major meeting of the formal committee, taking place in April 2012, did not seem to resurrect the topic (*Pervoe* 2012). It remains to be seen what concrete effects this movement will have. Aside from Russia, a social worker who regularly visits Romania reported that the Romanian Orthodox Church is involved in supporting organizations that minister to those at risk of or exposed to MIPV (Hockensmith, personal communication, October 9, 2012). The Romanian Orthodox Church's website (http://www.patriarhia.ro/en/scurta_prezentare_en.html) seems to confirm this. While Church-sponsored movement against MIPV may be developing more slowly in these traditional lands than it has here in the West, there *is* movement. This fact may be enough to help survivors from "the old country" to reevaluate whether or not the abuse they have endured is really consistent with Orthodox practice.

Theological Work

Eastern pastoral and theological works also provide a foundation for helping reshape acceptance of MIPV. Although the early fathers maintain a perspective on gender that today may be perceived as overly conservative, they insist on a fundamental equality between the sexes and that marriage is an institution based on love. For example, although he believes a husband is the head of the family, St. Gregory Nazianzen does not seem to see this in absolute terms. He praised his mother for being the spiritual leader of their home (trans. 1955a), refers to his sister as of equal honor to men (or perhaps to priests, in particular) (trans. 1955b), and calls husbands and wives to mutual respect (trans. 1955c). St. Gregory of Nyssa (trans. 1954) characterized the ideal marriage as involving "…deep affection, the very best that each can think of the other, that sweet rivalry of each wishing to surpass the other in loving…" (p. 345).

The fathers are also clear that physical violence against women is not acceptable. Perhaps the most practical of the fathers included here is St. John Chrysostom and therefore it is no surprise that we find the clearest statements about MIPV in his homilies. In his homily on Ephesians 5:22–33, he elaborates on the parallel between Christ's love for the Church and a husband's love for his wife:

> In the same way, then, as He honored [the Church] by putting at His feet one who turned her back on Him, who hated, rejected, and disdained Him, as He accomplished this not with threats, or violence, or terror, or anything else like that, but through His untiring love; so also you should behave towards your wife. (John Chrysostom, trans. 1986, p. 46)

Later, in the same sermon, he notes:

> What kind of marriage can there be when the wife is afraid of her husband? What sort of satisfaction could a husband himself have, if he lives with his wife as if she were a slave, and not with a woman by her own free will? Suffer anything for her sake, but never disgrace her, for Christ never did this with the Church. (p. 47)

And finally, again in the same work, he emphasizes that no matter the behavior of the wife, the husband "must never exercise his authority by

insulting and abusing her" (p. 60). Although he supports male headship, and although he rarely discusses abusive behavior in a marriage, St. John is clear that physical abuse is not a husband's prerogative.

It is also of note that St. John also speaks out against emotional abuse. For example, he commands husbands to avoid criticism and demandingness about their wives' outward appearance (John Chrysostom, trans. 1889b). As mentioned above, St. John also writes in at least one place that it is acceptable for a woman to leave an abusing husband, at least in context where he is an "unbelieving spouse" and is fighting with her about faith-related issues (John Chrysostom, trans. 1889c). In general, St. John's subtlety of thought on family issues, especially considering he was an unmarried bishop of the fifth century, is impressive.

The Cappadocians wrote much about theological and philosophical issues and therefore do not address issues of daily living as often as St. John Chrysostom. However, even they take a stand against certain forms of violence. For example, St. Basil writes that one incurs the guilt of willful murder if he kills his own wife, demonstrating that at least the most extreme form of MIPV does not fall under the umbrella of male headship (Basil of Caesaria, trans. 1955). In another place, he reprimands the violent husband, writing

> Will you not put aside the roughness and cruelty of your soul through reverence for the union [of marriage]? (Basil of Caesaria, trans. 1963, p. 114)

A clergy member or mental health practitioner might encourage reverence for the union of marriage in such men by taking a closer look with them at orthodox resources on marriage, some of which are described below.

Much of Orthodox theological work on gender in the last 50 years or so has been focused on elaborating an Orthodox understanding of male headship and of women in general, as well as developing an Orthodox response to the feminist movement (e.g., Behr-Sigel 1990; Fitzgerald 1999; Hopko 1983, 1991). As a review of this literature is beyond the scope of this project, it must suffice to say that this literature affirms an inherent equality between men and women, expresses value for women's gifts, in some cases challenges views of women presented in the liturgical tradition and elaborates an understanding of Orthodox approaches to women's ordination. Pastors and scholars have not mentioned MIPV in much of their work, and that may be because on a practical level, Orthodox jurisdictions in the West have made clear statements about the sinfulness of MIPV.

An exception to the relative dearth of modern theological commentary on MIPV is Mamalakis' (2007) brief treatise, emphasizing the idea that such violence is ultimately an assault against the image of Christ and demonstrates a lack of love for God, given that in loving others, we love God. This latter argument is commonly found in the Eastern Christian tradition, which—as it stresses the relationship between the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity—also stresses a trinity of self, other, and God (see also Gassin 2001). Within this latter trinity, none of the dyadic relationship is independent of the others, meaning the implications of my love for another for my love for God are just as profound as the implications my love of God have for my love of others. In addition, Mamalakis draws on an Eastern Christian theology of marriage, stressing the sacramental union's role in salvation. While an elaboration of the Orthodox understanding of marriage is beyond the scope of this chapter, interested readers can find more information in Evdokimov (2011) and Meyendorff (1975).

Recent theological work (e.g., Evdokimov 1994; Pereira 2009) has also highlighted a more balanced understanding of the Most Holy Theotokos Mary. I noted above that Eastern versions of marianismo may contribute to MIPV in cases where a woman is supposedly not living up to the model that Mary provides. While much of Eastern Mariology indeed stresses her purity and submission, it is also important to acknowledge that there are central aspects of an Eastern Mariology that actually empower women and should inspire the deepest respect for women by men. For example, Mary is seen as a crucial part of the salvation of the world, as it was her freely given "yes" to God that provided for the coming of Christ in the

flesh. In Orthodox hermeneutics, hymnography, and icons, she is sometimes portrayed in power. For example, she is called "Queen of Heaven," based on the interpretation that she is the regal woman described in Revelation 12. The icon of The Inexhaustible Chalice shows the Most Holy Theotokos in the position of an Orthodox priest or bishop consecrating the chalice at the altar. An image of Christ is in the chalice, emphasizing the fact that Mary made the first provision of Christ to the Church, and in a manner qualitatively different than and absolutely fundamental to the way the clergy does today. We refer to her as "more honorable than the Cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the Seraphim," declaring the Orthodox belief that God made her the first to bear the honor of the incarnation that lifted humanity to a rank higher than the heavenly hosts. A balanced Mariology directs us to deep reverence for, not derision of, women, and has even led one Orthodox theologian to write, "…the giving birth of the *Theotokos, without a human father*,…announces the end of…Patriarchy" (Evdokimov 1994, p. 203, emphasis in original).

If one were to object that basing an entire argument for deeply respecting women on Mariology is unrealistic, given Mary's life-long pure heart and obedience, it is enough to note that the Orthodox Church has canonized many other women who clearly were not perfect in their earthly lives. St. Mary of Egypt, for example, had been a prostitute. The New Martyrs Alexandra and Elizabeth of Russia, who were sisters, seem to have had a falling out near the end of their earthly lives (Mager 1998). The Orthodox faithful now venerate these and other women as saints, demonstrating that even the most humble woman with human foibles is worthy of respect.

Institutions Available to Assist

These practical and theological movements should help clergy and mental health professionals educate laity and survivors in particular about the fact that MIPV does not fit an Orthodox worldview. There is also the rare Orthodox social service/mental health institution that can

offer assistance in situations where a woman is at risk. For example, Philoptochos, the social service arm of the GOAA, works closely with the Orthodox in the New York City area but in many cases can offer some forms of help to those in other regions of the USA. Contact information is available at www.philoptochos.org. The diocesan headquarters of any Orthodox jurisdiction may be able to provide assistance in identifying similar resources in other geographic areas.

Eastern Orthodoxy and Working with Men

Although the emphasis of the previous section is educating the Orthodox clergy and laity in general, as well as helping survivors of abuse in particular, much of the information presented there can also be useful in working with abusers. For example, the movement against MIPV in modern Orthodox jurisdictions and the clear statements of St. John Chrysostom may be useful in altering a man's belief that he has the right and/or responsibility to "discipline" his wife. The statements of St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Gregory of Nyssa that describe the core equality of the sexes and set an ideal for marriage may inspire a husband to see and relate to his wife in a new way. The social service agencies mentioned can also provide information—and sometimes services—for men who engage in MIPV.

Participation in the Sacramental Community

In addition to the above, there are multiple other resources in the Eastern Church for helping men who are abusers. Among those that hold the most promise for helping an abuser heal his soul are participation in the sacraments and remaining in close contact with a spiritual father or mother. The Orthodox Church usually refers to sacraments as *mysteries*, and while it acknowledges the same seven sacraments that the Roman Catholic Church affirms, the Orthodox concept of mystery tends to be broader, encompassing other

aspects of ecclesial life, such as monasticism and burial, as well as the Church itself. The mysteries are ways that God reveals Himself to us and through which we enter into union with Him and with one another.

Among those actions commonly considered sacramental, confession stands out as the one perhaps most psychologically relevant to helping an offender chose nonhurtful behavior with women. Eastern Christianity views confession more from a medical than legal perspective. In other words, we participate in this mystery for the progressive healing of our soul rather than to be declared "not guilty" before a judge. While there is some variation in the actual practice of confession, often it can include a time of conversation with the priest, focused on the specific nature of our sins and which concrete steps we can take to repent of them. The emphasis is not only on changing behavior, but peeling away and healing the layers of spiritual and psychological factors that contribute to the behavior. Towards this end, a priest will sometimes assign a penance to the person. This is not seen as punishment but as medicine that will more quickly provide needed therapy to the soul.

Participation in the other mysteries should also be an important part of an Orthodox Christian's struggle against abusive behaviors. Clearly, being directly united with Christ in Holy Communion and undergoing Holy Unction (anointing with blessed oil) for the healing of soul and body can be powerful remedies for a damaged soul. In addition, in cases where an abuser is married, exploration of the Orthodox theology of marriage and why it is considered a sacrament may open his eyes to more appropriate ways to treat his spouse. Resources relating to the Eastern Christian view of marriage were referenced in the previous section.

Eastern Orthodox spirituality includes a tradition of voluntarily submitting oneself to the guidance of a spiritual elder (Chryssavgis 2000; Hausherr 1990). While this person is often a member of the clergy, he or she may be a nonordained monastic or a lay person. In the ideal situation, a man wishing to overcome abusive tendencies who finds a spiritual elder becomes a patient of a doctor of souls. In this relationship, it is the spiritual child's responsibility to open his soul as deeply as possible to the spiritual elder, who then offers encouragement, advice, and correction. As Chryssavgis (2000) writes:

> In opening up to a spiritual elder, one allows the divine Other into the whole of one's life. One cannot achieve this alone. It is necessary to allow at least one other into the deepest recesses of the heart and mind, sharing ever thought, emotion, insight, and wound. (p. 55)

In other words, from an Eastern Christian perspective, this relationship has a sacramental character to it, being a concrete means by which the healing grace of God infuses the person. In turn, the penitent becomes more capable of leading his life in a manner consistent with the fruit of the spirit (Galatians 5:22–23), including being loving, patient, kind, gentle, and self-controlled.

To this point, an Eastern Orthodox spiritual understanding of these disciplines is centered on how God's presence more and more fully indwells the individual who practices them. On a psychological level, the above approaches—confession, living the sacramental life of the Church, and being accountable to a spiritual elder—make use of principles of social support, mentoring, accountability, and using concrete ritual to affirm changes one wishes to make.

Spiritual Disciplines at Home

In addition to the above resources, the man struggling against MIPV may practice certain spiritual disciplines at home that may be helpful. Eastern Orthodox prayer books contain general prayer rules for morning and evening. These prayers revolve around the themes of personal repentance and entreating God's help for spiritual growth. Some prayer books include extra material, such as prayers against anger. Another tradition includes reading the Psalms, keeping in mind that the ubiquitous language about "enemies" found therein can be applied to spiritual enemies: our own distorted desires and habits, as well as the temptations hurled at us from the evil one. In the Russian tradition, short prayer services called

akathists are abundant and often found in English translation. (Eastern Christians from non-Russian jurisdictions may not be aware of the numerous akathists generated in that tradition.) Some of them are particularly relevant to repenting from abuse. For example, akathists to married saints, such as Adrian and Natalia, Peter and Fevronia, or Cyril and Maria may teach a recovering abuser about what holiness of family life looks like and help them entreat the assistance of these saints in creating such a lifestyle. When an entire akathist cannot be found, a canon (a series of eight prayers), an individual short prayer, or hymns in the saints' honor, may be available. It also goes without saying that general akathists, canons, hymns, and prayers to the Lord, even though they do not address family life directly, are foundational for repentance. The same is true for those texts dedicated to the Most Holy Theotokos Mary, whom Orthodox Christians consider a unique and powerful intercessor. In addition, prayer texts dedicated to one's guardian angel may sharpen one's perception of the spiritual warfare inherent in repenting from MIPV.

At the beginning of this section, I noted that much of the information in the previous section, which addressed working with and on behalf of survivors, was also relevant to working with abusers. As I close this section, I note that many of the ideas elaborated in it—the importance of sacraments and spiritual guidance, the inspiration and solace derived from prayer—are applicable to work with survivors of abuse as well. While a recovering abuser and a survivor of abuse may need different things from the prayerful, sacramental life of the Church, the path of Eastern Orthodoxy is designed to provide what is missing spiritually for each individual Orthodox Christian in the specific context of his or her life.

Implications for Professional Practice

While the information presented above provides resources and ideas for those working with Orthodox individuals and families exposed to MIPV, further thoughts on these and other practical moments may help the social service professional serve Orthodox clients even more adequately.

Mental health workers assisting an Orthodox individual with issues related to MIPV would do well to include some assessment of cultural identity in their initial meetings with the person. This assessment should take into consideration ethnic, national, and religious identity. I have already mentioned that Eastern Christian believers from "the old country" may not adhere to a Western values system. It is possible that a Western-born Orthodox Christian may also reject some or all such principles. In such cases, working with the person from the vantage point of honor and family loyalty, rather than individual rights, may be important. Because religious identity can be so closely tied to general cultural identity for many such persons, a working familiarity with Eastern Orthodox traditions and theology would be useful as well, although the mental health worker should not attempt to become a spiritual mentor. As noted earlier, Ware's books (1993, 1995) are a common place to start one's education about Orthodoxy.

Some Western-born Orthodox Christians have converted to the faith in adulthood as a result of disillusionment with the faith system of their childhood and/or as a reaction against secular society. A subset of these converts can be fairly unyielding in listening only to the most conservative, rigid voices within Orthodoxy. With such clients, a helper will likely gain some credence by having a working knowledge of and showing deep respect for the Eastern Christian tradition. In addition, it may be helpful for the professional to consult with one or more Orthodox clergy members about how to approach such persons. Finally, I note it is also possible that both Western-born and non-Western Orthodox clients will have little knowledge of their religious tradition and may maintain an essentially secular value system.

In addition to consulting the recent works by Ware, the practitioner working with an Orthodox client may also benefit from familiarity with the works of St. John Chrysostom. We noted above that he is one of the most practical of the early Church fathers, often writing about how to apply faith in the contexts of daily life. Fortunately, tomes of his letters and sermons survive, and many have been translated into English. Those working with the population in question may

find St. John's homilies to be relevant. Roth and Anderson (John Chrysostom, trans. 1986) compiled a small volume with several relevant sermons. For those who are interested in reading more broadly, Homily 19 and Homilies 26–37 on First Corinthians and Homilies 14–24 on Ephesians are pertinent (see edited volumes, cited in John Chrysostom 1889a–1889c). These sermons address MIPV directly, as well as related issues, such as coping with anger. Access to St. John's work allows a mental health professional to demonstrate to a client that despite what they may have heard, from the Orthodox perspective being abusive is not acceptable and/or unquestionably remaining in a violent relationship is not universally mandated. While it is important to remember that in the Eastern Christian tradition, the writings of one Church Father alone do not constitute an absolute authority, it is also of note that St. John holds a special place in the Orthodox life. Many of his writings have survived for centuries, the liturgy held most Sundays and Feast Days is attributed to him, and the occasional parish church is named in his honor. Therefore, many Eastern Orthodox Christians will be familiar with and respect his name, although they may not know much about his corpus of work.

Although I have provided basic information on how the Orthodox spiritual life might contribute to a survivor's healing and an abuser's repentance, it is important that the mental health professional not put themselves in the place of a spiritual elder and actively assign spiritual disciplines to a client. In the Orthodox tradition, not even every clergy member is graced to serve in this capacity, and the most capable spiritual mentors rarely (if ever) appoint themselves to the position. However, it would seem appropriate for a helper to suggest a client speak with his priest or spiritual father/mother about specific practices and to debrief with a client how those practices affect him and what stands in the way of following through on them. In addition, given that some clergy may not speak out forcefully against MIPV or may even consider it a husband's right, it is probably wise to get client permission to speak with the priest or spiritual elder before actively seeking to integrate the psychotherapeutic work of the client with the spiritual-sacramental possibilities within the Church. In the case where a client's priest does not maintain a firm stance against MIPV, the mental health professional is placed in a difficult position, for attempting to persuade the client to find another spiritual mentor might jeopardize the therapist–client relationship and even be considered unethical. Perhaps it is wise for the culturally sensitive therapist to know in advance one or more Orthodox priests who can be considered allies in the struggle against domestic violence and consult with them if such a situation arises, of course maintaining client confidentiality in the process.

Conclusion

Eastern Orthodox Christianity, like many faith traditions, can inspire believers to strive towards a loving, compassionate, gentle way of being. Unfortunately, as with other religions, there are theological, historical, and cultural aspects of it that have contributed to men perpetrating various forms of violence against women, and to clergy and laity (sometimes including survivors of abuse themselves) remaining passive in such contexts. Fortunately, various jurisdictions within the Eastern Christian tradition are beginning to speak with a unified voice against MIPV. Therapists who work with Orthodox clients in such situations has a variety of helps at their disposal, ranging from ancient and modern theological statements to the sacramental life of the Church to the spiritual disciplines practiced at home. Applying these salves in the context of respect for a client's national and religious culture will allow professionals to walk the journey of healing with those affected by abuse.

References

Antonopoulou, C. (1999). Domestic violence in Greece. *American Psychologist, 54*, 63–64.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011). *Cultural diversity in Australia: Reflecting a nation, stories from the 2011 census*. Retrieved from www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/2071.0. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Basil of Caesaria. (1955). Letter 188 to Amphilochius concerning the canons. In J. Deferrari (Ed.), *The fathers of the Church: A new translation* (Vol. 28, pp. 4–24). New York, NY: Fathers of the Church, Inc.

Basil of Caesaria. (1963). On the hexaemeron. In J. Deferrari (Ed.), *The fathers of the Church: A new translation*. (Vol. 46, pp. 105–116). Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press.

Behr-Sigel, E. (1990). *The ministry of women in the Church*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Castillo, L. G., Perez, F. V., Castillo, R., & Gosheh, M.R. (2010). Construction and initial validation of the Marianismo Beliefs Scale. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 23*, 163–175.

Chatzifotiou, S. (2003). Violence against women and institutional responses: the case of Greece. *European Journal of Social Work, 6*, 241–256.

Chatzifotiou, S., & Dobash, R. (2001). Seeking informal support: Marital violence against women in Greece. *Violence Against Women, 7*, 1024–1050.

Chrysostom, J. (1986). Homily 20 on Ephesians 5:22–23. In C. P. Roth & D. Anderson (Eds., Trans.), *St John Chrysostom on marriage and family life, popular patristics series no. 7*. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Chrysostom, J. (1889a). Homily XXVI on First Corinthians. In P. Schaff (Ed.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church* (Vol XII, pp. 148–157). New York, NY: Christian Literature Company.

Chrysostom, J. (1889b). Homily XX on Ephesians. In P. Schaff (Ed.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church* (Vol XIII, pp. 143–152). New York, NY: Christian Literature Company.

Chrysostom, J. (1889c). Homily XIX on First Corinthians. In P. Schaff (Ed.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church* (Vol XII, pp. 105–111). New York, NY: Christian Literature Company.

Chryssavgis, J. (2000). *Soul mending: The art of spiritual direction*. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press.

Cubbins, L., & Vanoy, D. (2005). Socioeconomic resources, gender traditionalism, and wife abuse in urban Russian couples. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 71*, 37–52.

Demos, A. (1999). *Clergy perspectives on domestic violence*. Retrieved from http://www.philoptochos.org/socialservices/factsheetsresources/clergyperspectivesdv. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Evdokimov, P. (1994). *Woman and the salvation of the world* (A.P. Gythiel, Trans.). Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Evdokimov, P. (2011). *The sacrament of love*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Fitzgerald, K. K. (1999). Sexism as sin: Essential spiritual considerations. In K. K. Fitzgerald (Ed.), *Orthodox women speak* (pp. 190–199). Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press.

Fitzgerald, K. K. (2007). Domestic violence at home: Cursory observations. In E. Clapsis (Ed.), *Violence and Christian spirituality: An ecumenical conversation* (pp. 155–165). Geneva, Switzerland: WCC Publications.

Gassin, E. A. (2001). Interpersonal forgiveness from an Eastern Orthodox perspective. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 29*, 187–200.

Gilmore, D. D. (Ed.) (1987). *Honor, shame, and the unity of the Mediterranean*. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Geanacopoulos, P. (2012). *Domestic violence: Identifying and responding to domestic violence in the Greek Orthodox community* (Revised ed.). New York, NY: Greek Orthodox Ladies Philoptochos Society, Inc.

Greek Helsinki Monitor and OMCT. (2002). *Violence against women in Greece*. Glyka Nera, Greece: Greek Helsinki Monitor. Retrieved from www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/reports. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Gregory of Nazianzen. (1955a). Funeral oration on his father, in the presence of St. Basil. In P. Schaff & H. Wace (Eds.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church. Second series* (Vol. VII, pp. 255–269). Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Gregory of Nazianzen. (1955b). Letter CXCVII: A letter of condolence of the death of his sister, Theosebia. In P. Schaff & H. Wace (Eds.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church. Second series* (Vol. VII, pp. 461–462). Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Gregory of Nazianzen. (1955c). Oration XXXVII: On St. Matthew XIX:I. In P. Schaff & H. Wace (Eds.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church. Second series* (Vol. VII, pp. 338–344). Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Gregory of Nyssa. (1954). On virginity. In P. Schaff & H. Wace, (Eds.), *A select library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church: Second Series* (Vol. V, pp. 343–371). Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Harrison, V. E. F. (1990). Male and female in Cappadocian theology. *Journal of Theological Studies, 41*, 441–471.

Hausherr, I. (1990). *Spiritual direction in the early Christian East*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications.

Holy Synod of Bishops of the Orthodox Church in America. (1992). Synodal affirmations on marriage, family, sexuality, and the sanctity of life. Retrieved from http://oca.org/holy-synod/statements/holy-synod/. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Hopko, T. (1983). *Women and the priesthood* (revised ed.). Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Hopko, T. (1991). Galatians 3:28: An Orthodox interpretation. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly, 35*, 169–186.

Horne, S. (1999). Domestic violence in Russia. *American Psychologist, 54*, 55–61.

Joanides, C. (n.d.). Orthodox patristic tradition and wife abuse. Retrieved from www.goarch.org/archdiocese/departments/marriage. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Johnson, J. E. (2005). Violence against women in Russia. In W. A. Pridemore (Ed.), *Ruling Russia: Law, crime, and justice in a changing society* (pp. 147–166). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Kapsalis, M. F. P. (2004). St. John's interpretation of *kephale* in 1 Corinthians 11: 3–16. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review, 49*, 321–356.

Karras, V. (1991). Male domination of woman in the writings of St. John Chrysostom. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review, 36*, 131–139.

Krindatch, A. (2010, October). *Orthodox Christian Churches in US religious landscape*. Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the Religious Research Association, Milwaukee WI. Retrieved from www.rcms2010.org/reports_analyses.php. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Kollman, N. S. (1999). *By honor bound: State and society in early modern Russia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mager, H. (1998). *Elizabeth, Grand Duchess of Russia: A biography*. New York, NY: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Mamalakis, P. (2007). Domestic violence: Orthodox pastoral perspectives. In E. Clapsis (Ed.), *Violence and Christian spirituality: An ecumenical conversation* (pp. 148–156). Geneva, Switzerland: WCC Publications.

Meyendorff, J. (1975). *Marriage: An Orthodox perspective*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Mosquera, P. M., Manstead, A. S. R, & Fischer, A. H. (2002). Honor in the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 33*, 16–36.

Nikolaev, S. (2012, May/June). Za sovetom k batushke [Appealing to Father for advice]. *Slavianka, 3*(39), 48–49.

Obraschenie mitropolita Volokolamskogo Ilariona k uchastnikam kruglogo stola po problemam domashnego nasilija [The appeal of Metropolitan Hilaron of Volokolamsk to participants of the round table on problems of domestic violence]. (2011, December 22). Retrieved from www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1846546.html. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Oleska, M. J. (2001). The Orthodox Church and Orthodox Christian mission from an Alaskan perspective. *International Review of Missions, 90*, 280–288.

Pereira, M. J. (2009). The Virgin Mary and asceticism. In J. M. Lasser (Ed.), *Women in the Orthodox Church: Past roles, future paradigms* (pp. 80–95). New York, NY: Theotokos Press.

Pouncy, C. (1994). *The Domostroi: Rules for Russian households in the time of Ivan the Terrible*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Papdakaki, M., Tzamalouka, G. S., Chatzifotiou, S., & Chliaoutakis, J. (2009). Seeking for risk factors of intimate partner violence (IPV) in a Greek national sample: The role of self-esteem. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 24*, 732–750.

Pervoe zasedanie patriarshei komissii po voprosam sem'i i zaschity materinstva. Kommentarij chlena komissii protoiereja L'va Makhno [The first meeting of the Patriarch's commission on issues of the family and defense of motherhood. Commentary of Archpriest Lev Makhno, commission member]. (2012, April 11). Retrieved from www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/2154304.html. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Randolph, D. (2011). Domestic violence: Where are the well-meaning men? *The Word, 55*(4), 4–5.

Schroeder, J. A. (2004). John Chrysostom's critique of spousal violence. *Journal of Early Christian Studies, 12*, 413–442.

Senyk, S. (2001). Search for holiness and pastoral care: Metropolitan Innocent of Moscow. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly, 45*, 265–83.

Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Religious affiliation* (Excel file). Retrieved from www.stats.govt.nz. Accessed 15 Feb 2013.

Stevens, E. P. (1973). Machismo and marianismo. *Society, 10*, 57–63.

Stickley, A., Kislitsyna, O., Timofeeva, I., & Vagero, D. (2008). Attitudes toward intimate partner violence against women in Moscow, Russia. *Journal of Family Violence, 23*, 447–456.

Tzamalouka, G.S., Parlalis, S.K., Soultatou, P., Papadakaki, M., & Chliaoutakis, J. (2007). Applying the concept of lifestyle in association with aggression and violence in Greek cohabitating couples. *Aggressive Behavior, 33*, 73–85.

Vandello, J. A. & Bosson, J. K. (2012). Hard won and easily lost: A review and synthesis of theory and research on precarious manhood. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1037/a0029826.

Vandello, J. A, & Cohen, D. (2003). Male honor and female fidelity: Implicit cultural scripts that perpetuate domestic violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*, 997–1010.

Ware, K. (1993). *The Orthodox Church* (New edition). New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Ware, K. (1995). *The Orthodox way*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Wigglesworth, K. (2010). Statistics of Orthodox Christianity in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Orthodox Christianity, 5*, 28–48.

The Roman Catholic Church and Violence Against Women

11

A. Denise Starkey

At a recent presentation to social workers on survivors' experiences of spiritual homelessness a clinician asked, "What do I say to the woman I am working with who feels that she has lost God?" What does one say to a Catholic survivor? Is the loss of God necessary? These are critical questions for anyone committed to walking with survivors toward healing. For many survivors, the violations of violence are bodily, psychological, and *spiritual*. Survivors may respond in a number of ways in their search for healing.

Many women find themselves simply *bereft* if they lack alternative understandings to explain the violence they have experienced. If teachings do not offer nuanced understandings of sin and suffering, some women may feel compelled to walk away from their religious faith and communities. If God is only seen through the masculine metaphors that echo the power and privilege of men, women who experienced violence from their fathers or male partners may find it difficult to see God as a resource for healing. Yet, many survivors turn to the religious traditions that they know looking for hope and healing, although this turn may lead to embracing a rigid religiosity that condones silence and impedes healing. Is it possible to find healing within the Catholic Church? The answer is complex.

The Roman Catholic Church presents a paradox when it comes to addressing the needed healing and protection of women victims of gender-based violence. On the one hand, the church grounds its understanding of persons in the idea of sacramentality—the view that the divine exists "in and through all things" (McBrien 1994, p. 15). The inherent goodness of persons created in the image and likeness of God is promoted, and God is understood to be in solidarity with suffering humanity. The church is both a *global* institution and a *local* community where women and men of faith enact the best understandings of the Christian tradition.

However, and especially as seen in recent history, the actions of the church's leadership, as well as some of its ministers, often contradicts its best core principles. In San Diego, a woman who taught at a Catholic School for 14 years was fired because her abusive ex-husband violated a restraining order (Luke 2013). In Brazil, when a 9-year-old girl received an abortion after becoming pregnant with twins due to incest by her stepfather, her mother and doctor were excommunicated; there were no sanctions for the stepfather (Downie 2009). Another woman was killed when she left her husband after years of abuse when he threw their 1-year-old child across the room. The local parish priest refused to allow her funeral in a Catholic church because she had filed for divorce (Fortune 2001, pp. 123–4).

Catholicism sometimes contradicts its teachings regarding compassion, mercy, and the fundamental value of persons by an overarching em-

A. D. Starkey (✉)
Department of Theology and Religious Studies,
The College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, MN, USA
e-mail: dstarkey@css.edu

phasis on obedience to the law. This may be the reason that the church is more often associated with rules and public protests regarding sexuality and reproduction, and less known for its deep history of solidarity on the front lines of social justice working for change in church and society. While the pomp and circumstance of popes and power holds sway in the media, the church has long been a place of refuge for the poor and the immigrant. Sister Marilyn Lacey notes,

> Faith can give people tremendous strength and endurance and hope about moving out. On the other hand, religion can be used to keep women in abusive situations in places where the church is not enlightened. It depends on the level of integrity with which the gospel is interpreted (Casa 2001, p. 6).

History and Structure

The Roman Catholic Church traces its unbroken history and tradition to the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth in ancient Israel. In the decades following Jesus' death by crucifixion, a new religion emerged founded upon the life and teachings of an itinerant peasant who challenged religious legalism and embraced the marginalized in society. Over a period of six centuries, Jesus' teachings and practices evolved into a religion distinct from Judaism that spread throughout the Middle East, Africa, and Europe. Christianity emerged amidst waves of persecution from the Roman Empire, as well as in the work of early theologians to understand how Christianity was distinct from Judaism and Greek and Roman philosophy.

Christian responses to martyrdom shaped the understanding of discipleship as an imitation of the suffering of Christ. The emphasis on imitation meant that practice was a central component for a follower of Christ and early Christians were known throughout the Roman Empire for their care of the sick and needy. An egalitarian spirit, modeled on Jesus' treatment of women and the marginalized, distinguished the earliest communities. As Christianity evolved, women's roles were diminished and disappeared. The loss of

this early practice of equality meant that women became scapegoats for sin and sexuality, leading to a devastating history of violence against women and children.[1]

In the fourth century, Emperor Constantine ended persecutions and made Christianity legal. Constantine called the first council of bishops (synod) at Nicaea in 325 CE to address theological battles over conflicting interpretations of the nature of Jesus as both human and divine. The council produced the Nicene Creed, a statement of belief that defines orthodoxy for many to the present. A further result of Constantine's eventual conversion was the elevation of Christianity from a persecuted minority to the state religion. The church adopted a monarchical structure in which the pope serves as an absolute monarch, the representative of Christ the King on earth, and cardinals as princes of the church. For nearly a thousand years, the Roman Catholic Church was the locus of both temporal and spiritual power in the West.

A disturbing outcome of the adoption of a hierarchical structure was that the oppression of the powerless by the powerful carried no consequences. The institutional church reversed the model embodied by Jesus where "God stands at the bottom. And any who would serve God and meet God must do so at the bottom, not the top" (Gonzalez 2001, p. 64). In the gospel understanding, sins that take place against the powerless and the disenfranchised are considered more serious than sins against the powerful.

The Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, and the Protestant Reformation presented challenges to the church's role as the mediator and protector of dogma (revealed truths). A particularly difficult period in the church was the rejection of modernity, which lasted from 1910 until 1967, and required all priests, pastors, and professors to take a negative oath against modernism

---

[1] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (1994a) argues that a careful reading of New Testament texts reveals a complex picture of women's active participation in worship and in church leadership, a picture at odds with the standard portrayals of women only minimally involved in the ministries of Jesus and Paul.

because it rejected the human capacity to examine supernatural claims with the "objective criteria of truth" (McBrien 1994, p. 49). The rejection of modernity included a suspicion of the field of psychology, perhaps a key factor in the church's difficulty in facing the evil of pedophilia.

The history and thought of the church is long and complex, with cycles of reform and scandal; soaring philosophical and theological understandings; and periods of the violent enforcement of orthodoxy. One of the most significant sea changes occurred in the church when Pope John XXIII opened the Second Vatican Council in 1962, inaugurating a wave of renewal and reform. The council used the term *aggiornamento*, an Italian phrase meaning bringing up to date, to depict the church's opening to the modern world. The reforms inaugurated at the council changed the face of the church as it reclaimed an understanding of church as the "people of God," called for increased involvement of laypersons, and affirmed plurality and dialogue with other Christian churches and other religions.

Distinguishing Characteristics

Catholicism is characterized by a radical openness to all truth (McBrien 1994, p. 15). In theory, it is not bound to any one culture or nation. It is possible to walk into a Roman Catholic Church anywhere in the world and experience similar prayers and ritual structures, though offered in a multitude of languages and with distinctive practices that reflect the particularities of local cultures. Although the Western and the European influence on the church has been significant, even that is changing with the election of Francis I, the first pope from the Global South. Unity in diversity is a striking feature of Catholicism that speaks to a communitarian focus on the social and relational nature of persons and creation. At its best, Catholicism is marked by a both/and rather than an either/or approach. "It is not nature or grace, but graced nature; not reason or faith, but reason illumined by faith; not law or Gospel, but law inspired by the Gospel" (McBrien 1994, p. 16).

For most people, the common place of encounter with the Church is at the local level of the parish, where the daily ordinariness of life and significant rites of passage, from birth to death, are ritualized and celebrated. Catholic Christianity is distinct among the Christian churches for its emphases on three key ideas: mediation, communion, and sacramentality. Mediation asserts that experiences "not only contain, reflect, or embody the presence of God, they make that presence spiritually effective for those who avail themselves of these sacred realities" (McBrien 1994, p. 14). Encounters with God do not occur solely in the inwardness of conscience or in the inner recesses of consciousness. Instead, the encounter with the Divine is mediated through experience rooted in the historical, and "affirmed as real by the critical judgment that God is truly present and active here or there, in this event or that, in this person or in that, in this object or that" (McBrien 1994, p. 15).

Communion speaks to the belief that we are not isolated individuals, no matter what our experiences may suggest. Here we see an example of the both/and reality of Catholic thought. Although encounters with the divine may be personal and intimate, they are also communal. The whole community of faith offers a plethora ways of experiencing and encountering God. The community itself can mediate God's presence, grace, and compassion. Seeing the priest or the pope as the *only* mediator between God and humanity misses the richness of this understanding of communion.

Sandra Schneiders (2012), biblical scholar and theologian, sums up well the Catholic understanding of community:

> The Church is a unique kind of community, the union of those baptized into Christ… It is a community in which there is no slave or master, no national or ethnic superiorities, no gender domination, no inequality that is theologically or spiritually significant except holiness, and in which even distinctions of role and function are not titles to power but differences, which must serve the unity of the whole. It is a community in which all vie for the lowest place, wash one another's feet, lift rather than impose burdens, and dwell among their sisters and brothers as those who serve. (p. 4)

Schneiders' description highlights the unique wisdom found from women and men of conscience

who comprise the church. Communion names the ways in which women and men work to call the church to embrace its most life-giving and holistic understandings as a reflection of the God of the poor and dispossessed that Jesus practiced.

Sacramentality, at its best, celebrates the balance between the transcendent and the immanent in human experience. Sacramentality affirms that all reality reveals the presence of the divine, the ultimate mystery made known through all lived experience. "A sacramental perspective is one that "sees" the divine in the human, the infinite in the finite, the spiritual in the material, the transcendent in the immanent, the eternal in the historical" (McBrien 1994, p. 13). It recognizes that human beings are meaning makers. Cooke and Macy observe that we are symbol-making beings.

> We humans exist symbolically because we are embodied spirits… Though we are primarily spiritual beings, persons who think and imagine and desire and choose, we can act in this spiritual and personal way only because our bodiliness places us in time and space and allows us to communicate with one another, translating into word and gesture our inner states of consciousness. (Cooke and Macy 2005, p. 21)

Communion, mediation, and sacramentality provide insights for honoring the experience of suffering and suggest ways to transcend the impact of violence by envisioning the possibility of flourishing. The emphasis on community is a resource for survivors who feel alone and isolated due to separation from their family of origin or partner. A parish community may be very attractive and even a necessary resource. Communion and mediation speaks to the ways in which all members of a local parish, not only ordained members, may be sources of support and solidarity who mediate God's presence, grace, and compassion. Sacramentality may help survivors move beyond turns to shame and a sense of worthlessness to ways of reimagining experience by reclaiming or creating symbols to express the significance of their suffering.[2]

---

[2] For an understanding of the way that shame and theological ideas of sin impact survivors, see *The shame that lingers: A survivor-centered critique of Catholic sin-talk* by Starkey (2009).

A nuanced discussion of these characteristics is essential, as the ideal is not always the reality. The inclusiveness at the root of Catholic practice is sometimes difficult to see. Local parishes might be places of great welcoming as well as very isolated places where individuals come together without forming a welcoming community. When an awareness of the evolving roles of women in society, as well as revised theological understandings, are not acknowledged from the pulpit, nor in the church's norms and teachings, globally or locally, survivors remain unaware that there have *always been* plural ways to imagine and encounter God beyond dominant metaphors that suggest parental obedience, blame, or exclusion.

Perpetuation of Violence

The Second Vatican Council reverberates 50 years later in both positive and negative ways. Although no women participated in the Council, shifts in the awareness of women's absence were reflected in Belgian Cardinal Leo Jozef Suenens' question to the gathered bishops: "Why are we even discussing the reality of the church when half of the church is not even represented here?" (Tobin 1986). The Pastoral Constitution *The Church in the Modern World* states, "With respect to the fundamental rights of the person, every type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on sex, race, color, social condition, language or religion, is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent" (Paul VI 1965, No. 29). Sister Mary Luke Tobin (1986) notes that the Council resulted in:

> a new way of setting value on the human person, within the context of faith and the world. Recent psychological, sociological and philosophical insights had influenced this concept. That perception led to an emphasis on the priority of persons over institutions, the value of each person's full participation in decisions affecting her and, flowing from this, each person's responsibility to seek justice in the world.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the teaching office of the church acknowledged the changes in women's roles in society and some in the church recognized the second-class sta-

tus consigned to women in church and society. The papacy of John Paul II, one of the longest in history, was marked by important teachings that affirmed the rights of women and at first glance seemed to redress injustices toward women. For instance, on the eve of the UN's Fourth Beijing Conference on Women, Pope John Paul II (1997) issued a letter to women that called for "real equality" and indirectly apologized for the oppression of women. Sounding a feminist tone, he wrote:

> Then too, when we look at one of the most sensitive aspects of the situation of women in the world, how can we not mention the long and degrading history, albeit often an 'underground' history, of violence against women in the area of sexuality?… The time has come to condemn vigorously the types of *sexual violence* which frequently have women for their object and to pass laws which effectively defend them from such violence (para. 49).

The changes implemented by Vatican II led to an increase in women's participation in lay ministry and theological study. It resulted in women's access to sacred spaces usually reserved to men. For the first time, girls as well as boys were altar servers. Women were able to read the scriptures in liturgy as lectors and serve as communion ministers. However, in recent years, a movement from Rome to dial back the changes of Vatican II has led to the undoing of these changes in many US parishes. Women may not read the Gospel during liturgy; girls are unable to be altar servers. In some dioceses, the ritual washing of feet during Holy Week is restricted to men. Women religious have come under fire for their emphasis on poverty and other forms of social justice activity and their less than vocal support for the church's single-minded focus on abortion and contraception.

    In spite of incremental progress in the church's understanding of women, recent pronouncements have offered an inaccurate characterization of feminism. "A first tendency is to emphasize strongly conditions of subordination in order to give rise to antagonism: women, in order to be themselves, must make themselves the adversaries of men. Faced with the abuse of power, the answer for women is to seek power" (John Paul II 2004, par. 2). This assertion fails to understand

that the feminist emphasis on subordination challenges teachings and practices that promote women's second-class status. Nor is there an understanding that a different model of power is promoted by feminists, namely one of *power with* instead of *power over*. Mary Hunt (2013), commenting on the papal election process, aptly notes:

> The explicit—not just implicit, but explicit—message is that men are in charge: men confect the sacred mysteries, men decide whom to elect, men pray, men reflect the divine, men have it all under their control. This carries over into the larger culture as well. It is no wonder violence against women is epidemic. (par. 2)

Tracing the Roots

Women remain powerless in many aspects of church and society in part because of the deep roots of exclusion found within the Roman Catholic Church. Tracing these roots reveals ancient and modern interpretations that privilege male experience and justify the control of women. As is true in all Christian churches, the Roman Catholic Church considers the Bible an authoritative source of wisdom, but does not read the Bible literally. The church recognizes the historical and cultural contexts in which these texts were written and encourages discovering the intentions of the authors by taking into account

> the conditions of their time and culture, the literary genres in use at that time, and the modes of feeling, speaking and narrating then current. 'For the fact is that truth is differently presented and expressed in the various types of historical writing, in prophetical and poetical texts, and in other forms of literary expression'. (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1994, par. 110)

The church's acknowledgment of the historical and cultural contexts for the biblical and theological tradition is not widely understood. This leads to a mistaken belief that challenging male-centered gender norms is an attack on the church, when in fact they are meant to call for authentic interpretations that do not lead to the subjugation of women. Patriarchal understandings originated in ancient societies where

political and cultural systems were based on a belief in male dominance that came to define humanity and God. Passing these ideas from generation to generation, first orally and later in written texts, led to their becoming understood as eternal divine norms. Interpretations of God and humanity based solely on male experience led to the disappearing of women's experience from sacred texts and the tradition. The fact that the Bible and the majority of theological tradition was written by men reflects masculine assumptions, experiences, and priorities. Taking the lead from Neo-Platonist thought, men were given a privileged role by their association with the mind and spirit—since God is spirit, men are considered closer to the divine in a gendered hierarchy. On the other hand, women were associated with the body and matter, based on their reproductive capacity, which were less valued and further removed from the divine.

Examples from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures demonstrate the way these interpretations have perpetuated violence against women. The story of Tamar describes the rape of Tamar by her brother Amnon and the later murder of Amnon by their brother Absalom (2 Samuel 13, New Revised Standard Version). The father of all three, King David, does not punish Amnon when he learns of the rape "because he loved" his firstborn son. The biblical narrative actually portrays Amnon as the victim because of his inconsolable love-sickness for his sister. "Amnon was so tormented that he made himself ill because of his sister Tamar, for she was a virgin and it seemed impossible to Amnon to do anything to her" (v. 2). Once he raped his sister, Amnon was consumed with loathing, "indeed, his loathing was even greater than the lust he had felt for her" (v. 15). Tamar is banished by Amnon and then told by her brother Absalom to keep the assault secret and not to feel bad.

The narrative captures well what we have come to understand about sexual assault: it is about power, not desire. Power drives the actions of the brothers. The violence against Tamar is a backstory to explain Absalom's action against his brother. Tamar does not exist as a subject in her own right in the narrative; instead, the violence

against her is a mere plot point that advances the story of King David (Hertzberg 1964). Tamar's story is remarkable for its similarity to the experience of women today. Tamar is assaulted by someone she knows; she says no and is not heard; once raped she is no longer valued and is discarded; she is silenced and any resolution of the violence is taken away from her (Cooper-White 2012).

Narratives of rape, incest, and domestic violence recur often in the Hebrew Scriptures. Although they were not intended to be prescriptive, these biblical narratives both reflect and contribute to the low status of women. The absence of women's perspectives leads to a one-sided story of God's relationship with humanity. Weems (1995) notes that the troubled relation between God and Israel, a common theme in the Hebrew Scriptures, is often depicted in metaphors of rape, prostitution, adultery, and female powerlessness. She argues that these metaphors not only hurt, but "[i]f metaphors are what we live by, and if they help us to imagine who God is, then we run the risk of making ourselves into the image of the deity who threatens, mutilates, and destroys" (p. 106).

Gender norms that reflect male superiority are prevalent in New Testament texts as well. A number of texts, which continue to be proclaimed in uncritical ways, assert that women should be submissive, should not teach men, and should remain silent. Ephesians 5:22 instructs women in their role as wives: "Wives, be subject to your husbands as you are to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife just as Christ is the head of the church." The scapegoating of women for the fall of humanity in the Garden of Eden is evident in I Timothy 2:11–15:

> Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet woman will be saved through bearing children, if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.

The hierarchal model evident in these texts places men closer to Christ and promotes subordinated roles for women. While the texts also talk

about mutual submission between husband and wife, in practice the *interpretations* of these texts have governed gender roles in church and society. At the same time, a competing understanding of equality in the New Testament declares that there are no gendered hierarchies: "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28).

How do we make sense of such contradictory texts? It is important to note that the Catholic Church does not interpret scripture literally. As mentioned previously, the church recognizes that historical and cultural contexts influenced these texts. Fiorenza (1994a) reads texts such as Ephesians 5:22 as a reflection of the political and cultural norms of Greco-Roman household codes that were both patriarchal and hierarchical. She argues that the presence of these codes in the New Testament depart from original Christian practices of equality and reflect attempts to relieve the hostility local Christian communities were experiencing from the surrounding culture. Fiorenza coined the term *kyriarchy*, "rule by a lord," to define social systems erected on domination, oppression, and submission. The term captures the "interacting, and self-extending systems of domination and submission, in which a single individual might be oppressed in some relationships and privileged in others" (Fiorenza 1994b, p. 14).

Understanding the long and complex genealogies of these ideas is the best way to insure that the fundamental dignity and equality at the heart of the gospels is proclaimed responsibly. Theological analysis highlights the incompleteness of understandings of God and humanity and sheds light on the ways that kyriarchal interpretations inform Catholic understandings of the roles of women that perpetuate practices of power and control.

The Genius of Women

The church exerts an incredible amount of power and control of women through an almost single-minded focus on reproduction and sexuality. John

Paul II (1988) promoted these views by teaching that the "feminine genius" of women resides in their capacity for motherhood or their preservation of virginity. Mary, the mother of Jesus, is considered the premier role model for women because

> [v]irginity and motherhood co-exist in her: they do not mutually exclude each other or place limits on each other. Indeed, the person of the Mother of God helps everyone—especially women—to see how these two dimensions, these two paths in the vocation of women as persons, explain and complete each other (John Paul II 1988, par. 17).

This idea perpetuates a view of women as ordained by God to self-denial and sacrifice results in the view that suffering is God's calling and something women must endure rather than resist.

The expectations for this "genius" are evident in the promotion of Maria Goretti as a symbol of purity and the patron saint of youth. The 12-year-old Italian girl was stabbed to death in 1902 after she resisted the sexual assault of a neighbor boy. She was canonized and celebrated for her willingness to die rather than lose her virginity. At her canonization in 1950, Pope Pius XII described her rape as "worthy of heaven" since "from Maria's story carefree children and young people with their zest for life can learn not to be led astray by attractive pleasures which are not only ephemeral and empty, but also sinful" (Second Vatican Ecumenical Council 1975, p. 1526). Fifty-two years later, John Paul II (2002), in preparation for World Youth Day, proclaimed

> St Maria Goretti was a girl whom God's Spirit endowed with the courage to stay faithful to her Christian vocation even to the point of making the supreme sacrifice of her life… What a shining example for young people! The non-committal mindset of much of our society and culture today sometimes has a struggle to understand the beauty and value of chastity (par. 1, 3).

The canonization and promotion of Maria as the patron saint of youth and purity places responsibility for the sin of rape on the victim. The implied assumption is that Maria chose death over impure desires. The emphasis on Maria's voluntary sacrifice indicates that it is better to die rather than endure the shame and humiliation of the loss of her virginity. The message given to

women is that the trauma of rape is a betrayal of God who considers a woman's purity more valuable than her life. The evil of the perpetrator is not addressed. Obedience takes precedence over protecting the dignity, safety and healing of victims and survivors, demonstrating the church's incomprehension of the harm done to a child of God.

Messina-Dysert (2012) explains the harm:

> Sexual violence targets the core of the woman's nature and is an attack on one's basic human rights. It is a form of violence that transcends all boundaries causing destructive consequences to not only the physical but also the spiritual health of women. Because of the taboo nature of rape as well as the societal [and church] response induced by the assault, rape is especially harmful and results in the wounding of the woman's interiority damaging her connection with her true self and leading to continuous suffering (p. 121).

The failed responses of the church to the sexual assault of women and children too often replicates the experiences of shame, violation, power and control that women experience in a range of forms of violence. It suggests that the oppression of the powerless by the powerful has no consequence and leads to a failure to protect the "least of these" (Matt. 25). The structural emphasis on the sin of the faithful, found in liturgical and teaching contexts, and the privileged position of the church in reconciling sin, actually promotes further sin. Perilla (2010) notes the outcome of this failure for immigrant Latinas. Instead of

> offering the comfort of God's unwavering love and the teachings about the importance of respect and equality within a couple, abused Latinas are often told that they must not do things to anger their spouse so he will not respond with violence. Instead of holding the batterer accountable for the violence he has committed against the woman he has promised to love, Latina survivors are reminded of the permanence of marriage, and the need to "bear their cross" for the good of their children and their family. (Perilla 2010, p. 2)

These responses make it difficult to argue with Ruether's (2008) argument that the church has "a problem with women" (p. 184). One example for her argument is the announcement of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines to deny baptism, communion, confirmation, weddings,

and burials to all who support or use contraception. The prevalence of power and control over women is undeniable in the requirement that Filipino girls over the age of 15 complete an 8-week course on Catholic sexual teachings. Upon completion, the girls are given a card that they can use to prove they are eligible to receive the sacraments. While these tactics will not succeed in the USA, the bishops have focused on the complete rejection of healthcare reform because it does not conform to the church's teachings on contraception. Although American Catholics have largely rejected the church's ban on contraception, many bishops promote the refusal of the sacraments to Catholic politicians who do not vote in accordance with the church's stance on reproductive issues.

The rigidity of the bishops is striking when their failures regarding the sexual abuse of children are considered. A priest found to have abused children had the remedy of confession—a confidential option for reconciling with God. Confession relies on the belief that a priest amends his will and receives absolution (forgiveness) based on his promise to sin no more. Once the remedy of reconciliation is effected the case is considered closed with no concern or care for the victim. Instead, the church's enormous resources have been directed to avoiding scandal—often by moving priests to another parish where more children have been abused. The process for "reforming" the priest focuses solely on the offender—the main concern is that the priest has broken the vows of celibacy. If the victims are considered at all, at times it has been to scapegoat them for leading the priest into the violation of the Sixth Commandment (re: adultery).

Although much attention has been paid to pedophilia by priests and bishops, a much larger epidemic of domestic and sexual violence of women is ignored. The long practice of associating women's sexuality and reproduction to sin and death contributes to the invisibility of victims. In 2012, the Vatican issued revised rules for priests found guilty of sexual abuse. Many were stunned when the church not only included women's ordination in the document, but also equated the ordination of women with the evil of pedophilia. Both

women and men have been excommunicated for opposing the church's ban on women's inclusion in priestly ministry. Women who have had abortions as well as those who have supported abortion to save the life of the woman have been excommunicated. We frequently learn about another bishop or cardinal who has protected priests rather than children, yet rarely have priests who sexually abused *girls and boys* or bishops who enabled the abuse been excommunicated or removed from the priesthood.

The power and control evident in the defining of women's dignity and purpose in motherhood and virginity impedes pastoral responses to women. Marie Fortune, the founder of the Faith-Trust Institute, calls the Catholic Church to adopt a justice-making agenda versus an institutional protection agenda. A justice-making agenda is rooted in the teaching of the church and uses scripture

> to confront the sin and lift up victims, e.g., 'It would be better for you if a millstone were hung around your neck and you were thrown into the sea than for you to cause one of these little ones to stumble.' A justice-making agenda uses language to clarify: 'This is sexual abuse of the most vulnerable by the powerful. It is a sin and a crime' (Cozzens, Schipper, Longwood, Fortune, and Graham 2004, p. 18).

Religious and Spiritual Resources

This chapter began by asking whether it is possible for women survivors to find healing within the Catholic Church. I believe the answer to that question is a cautionary yes. The "yes" is based on the awareness that a greater depth of resources exist within the Catholic spiritual tradition than many may know. Many women who object to the Church's stances on women continue to be Catholic because they affirm that church—the people of God—transcends institutional structures. For those able to remain it is an affirmation of the relevance of gospel notions of love.

> The key sign of being church is commitment to conversion to that sort of relationship by which we treat each other with respect as fellow human

beings, made in the image of God and called to community with each other in God's grace. (Ruether 2011, p. 33)

Foundational principles, including the understanding that women are fully human and created in the image of God, transcend limited human interpretations. Both scripture and tradition offer understandings of God and persons that promote wholeness. The long history of Catholicism contains alternative wisdom and hope that honor women's experiences.

Scripture

Although biblical interpretations have been used to subjugate women throughout the centuries, scripture is increasingly becoming a resource for reclaiming understandings of fundamental human worth and God's preferential concern for the oppressed. God's concern for the widows, the poor, and the stranger is a pervasive theme throughout the Hebrew Scriptures (often referred to as the Old Testament).

> You shall not oppress the poor or vulnerable. God will hear their cry (Exodus 22:20–26). A portion of the harvest is set aside for the poor and the stranger (Leviticus 19:9-10). The Lord hears the cry of the poor (Job 34:20-28). Speak out in defense of the poor (Proverbs 31:8-9). Don't delay giving to those in need (Sirach 4:1-10). God is a refuge for the poor (Isaiah 25:4-5). True worship is to work for justice and care for the poor and oppressed (Isaiah 58:5-7).

These themes reappear in the New Testament in Jesus' identification with the marginalized. While there are countless examples of this focus in Jesus' ministry, Matthew 25:34–40 eloquently sums up the teaching:

> 'Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me. 'Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and gave you food, or thirsty and gave you something to drink? And when was it that we saw you a stranger and welcomed you, or naked and gave

you clothing? And when was it that we saw you sick or in prison and visited you?' And [God] will answer them, 'Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.'

The concern for justice and compassion found in these texts does not point to an otherworldly, afterlife resolution to current suffering and oppression. Rather, it issues a call to action in the here and now to work for the conditions for flourishing. Concern for the poor and vulnerable is not merely a concern for economic poverty, but also recognizes multiple forms of poverty that result in dehumanizing suffering. The biblical imperatives of justice are a key resource for shifting the cultural and religious views that perpetuate notions of gender that lead to violence and subjugation.

Church Teachings

Gaudium et Spes (Paul VI 1965), the pastoral constitution from Vatican II draws on biblical understanding to describe the interconnectedness of all persons. "The joys and hopes, the grief and anguish of the people of our time, especially those who are poor and afflicted, are the joys and hopes, the grief and anguish of the followers of Christ as well. Nothing that is genuinely human fails to find an echo in their heart" (par. 1). This prioritization of relationships is a strong thread in the Church's teachings on social justice and evident in the US Bishops 1992 pastoral letter on domestic violence. In "When I Call for Help: A Pastoral Response to Domestic Violence against Women" (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2002), the bishops recognize the harmful ways that Scripture is used to condone domestic violence. They condemn any use of the Bible to justify such abuse.

> As bishops, we condemn the use of the Bible to support abusive behavior in any form. A correct reading of Scripture leads people to an understanding of the equal dignity of men and women and to relationships based on mutuality and love. Beginning with Genesis, Scripture teaches that women and men are created in God's image. Jesus himself always respected the human dignity of women. Pope John Paul II reminds us that 'Christ's way

of acting, the Gospel of his words and deeds, is a consistent protest against whatever offends the dignity of women' (par. 3).

The bishops call instead for a reading of scripture that "leads people to an understanding of the equal dignity of men and women and to relationships based on mutuality and love." They rightly challenge beliefs that view violence as "just punishment" or "part of God's plan for my life" or "God's way of teaching me a lesson" (par. 6). A significant contribution of the document is the clear statement that "no person is expected to stay in an abusive marriage." The bishops counter widely held beliefs by women and men that the teachings of marriage as a permanent state means they must remain in violent situations (par. 7).

The pastoral response found in "When I Call for Help" is an important resource for victim-survivors and ministers. It points to the need for continual development in responsible teaching by pastors as well as further training for lay ministers and members of congregations. The reason many women believe that they may not leave abusive marriages is that they are taught this by pastors and other ministers. The institutional church's public emphasis on the indissolubility of marriage is engrained in many people from an early age through religious education.

The church's more nuanced understanding of the reality of marriage is less known by many people in the pews. Latina immigrant women, for example, are usually cradle Catholics. The priority of family and marriage is valued so strongly in their cultures that when they do ask for help, Catholic teachings regarding marriage are given instead of the needed support and intervention by their family and friends as well as some ministers. Clear statements denouncing violence and abuse must receive more pulpit time. They also need to be front and center in premarital counseling as well as emphasized in seminary and lay minister training. Religious formation must teach Catholics from an early age that women's subordination to men is not sanctioned.

Many people believe that leaving a marriage means automatic exclusion from participation in the sacraments—this is not the case. However, the actual exclusion of divorced and remarried

women from participation in the sacraments, unless they receive an annulment, may result in feeling punished for having survived. An annulment is a complex process that requires petitioning a church tribunal to declare a marriage sacramentally invalid. In addition to the costs that may be associated with the process, the annulment process does not address the immediate reality for many women leaving unsafe homes, often with children, nor reflect an understanding of the process of healing from trauma. Since the sacramental life of the church represents the presence of God and community in a person's life, the fear of exclusion from the sacraments may lead to a separation from the healing experience offered by the local community. Or it may contribute to a woman believing that she has no other options. The church must continue to develop its understanding of the ways in which liturgical and sacramental norms can be a greater resource for survival and healing.

Alternative Wisdom

A key distinction between Catholicism and other Christian expressions is the inclusion of thinking that occurs outside of and in collaboration with biblical writings. These include the works of early theologians, councils, and papal teachings. They also include the writings of women and men throughout the centuries whose devotion to the search for truth produced remarkable works that often challenged mainstream interpretations of their day. A great deal of wisdom and insight has been recovered from the past 2 millennia that mediate plural metaphors and understandings of God and humans.

Julian of Norwich, a fourteenth century English mystic, wrote a series of revelations following a near-fatal illness that challenged traditional notions of God as wrathful. She wrote at a time when the Black Death had "exacerbated feelings of guilt and fear of eternal punishment" (Nuth 1991, p. 117–18). Julian of Norwich's (1978) writing recenters the conversation in Christianity from a focus on sin to a focus on God's solidarity with humanity. Instead of condemnation

or blame, Julian receives comfort and comes to believe that God's love for her is much stronger than the powers of evil. She understands that even in the face of suffering she can trust God. In one of her most eloquent metaphors, Julian describes how vulnerability is kept and carried by God's love:

> And in this [Jesus] showed me something small, no bigger than a hazelnut, lying in the palm of my hand, as it seemed to me and it was as round as a ball. I looked at it with the eye of my understanding and thought, 'What can this be?'… And I was answered in my understanding: It lasts and always will, because God loves it; and thus everything has being through the love of God. In this little thing I saw three properties. The first is that God made it, the second is that God loves it, the third is that God preserves it (p. 183).

Julian's reimagining of God as Maker, Keeper, and Lover is a great source of comfort because she emphasizes healing and solidarity. The obsession with sin and wrath is countered: "I saw that only pain blames and punishes, and our courteous Lord comforts and succors, and always he is kindly disposed to the soul, loving and longing to bring us to his bliss" (p. 271). Julian is one of *many wellsprings* for richer notions of God, suffering, and wholeness. She is one of many women who have been unearthed from the tradition whose understanding of God offers metaphors and wisdom that emphasize women's wisdom and dignity.[3]

Another resource for survivors is groups of Catholic believers that have developed alternative communities and rituals alongside the church. The Women-Church movement of the past 30 years has offered women a place to experience "a discipleship of equals" oriented to the creation of justice-seeking communities (Hunt 2009, p. 85). These communities play a key role in "an emerging sense of ritual empowerment on the part of women who are able to draw on old traditions as well as new ideas to combine symbols and rituals that remember, celebrate, and

---

[3] For further insight into Julian, see Grace Jantsen's (2000) *Julian of Norwich: Mystic and Theologian* and Beverly Lanzetta's (2005) *Radical Wisdom: A Feminist Mystical Theology.*

lament the lives of those who have been forgotten" (Ross 2002, p. 225). Many of these rituals attend to the particular experiences of women, including celebrations for female rites of passage such as menstruation, childbirth, and menopause. Rituals have been created to address other experiences that have no precedent in the ritual life of the church, such as sexual assault, divorce, or same-sex commitment (Ross 2002). These rituals challenge the deep Christian roots of renunciation of the body and the association of women with the material world while associating the divine and men with mind and spirit. The spirituality that women encounter in these ritual experiences "unify the tension between mind and heart, body and soul and inner and outer life… [it] is the awareness of the oneness that underlies duality and difference, as each outward action reveals the interconnected presence of the holy," (Lanzetta 2005, p. 29).

Enlightened Parishes

It is difficult to overemphasize the impact that enlightened local pastors and communities can have on survivors. Many abused women or victims of sexual assault remain silent and invisible out of fear of judgment and shame. They often do not have the language to name the violence experienced or may be trapped in the private hell of trauma and suffering with no real awareness of alternatives. The pulpit, where scripture and its meanings are proclaimed, can be one of the most powerful resources for women if the topic of domestic violence is addressed.[4]

When Father Chuck Dahm, the associate pastor at St. Pius V in Chicago, became aware of the violence women were experiencing in his parish he began to preach about domestic violence. Once the parish was recognized as an ally, many women came forward seeking help. Today, the parish has six full-time counselors and the larg-

est parish-based domestic violence program in the country. Dahm (2011) reports that 200 new women and 225 new children arrive each year. At the request of women, the parish began an intervention program aimed at men who have been abusers but are not currently violent.

The work begun at St. Pius led to the creation of the Archdiocesan Committee on Domestic Violence to invite other parishes to respond to the survivors in their own communities. The program trains parishes to preach about domestic violence; establish support groups for victims; and promote awareness of domestic violence throughout the parish community. As Dahm (2011) notes, the women who have received support and been liberated from domestic violence "have been transformed from hidden and marginal members to active ministers" of the parish community "who inspire others by their courage, faith, perseverance and hope" (p. 29).

Addressing Men

When parishes and church teachings end the silence that surrounds violence against women, a powerful message is sent to abusive men that they can no longer use scripture and tradition to justify their violence against women. It also interrupts the batterer's religious coercion of women to forgive them. Ending the silence is only a first step. For actively abusing men, outside resources are required. Catholic Charities and other social service agencies cooperate with the courts and offer treatment programs for men. These programs can be helpful in offering abusive men opportunities to own their assumptions regarding power over and control of women.[5] However, success in ending violence against women calls for more than

---

[4] See Perilla and Fortune (2006) for more information. Also, listen to a Sermon by Rev Charles W. Dahm O.P., Archdiocese of Chicago, Director of DV at http://stpiusvparish.org/en/cchd (Dahm n.d.).

[5] See the section "Ending Violence Against Women" by Heise, Ellsberg, and Gottemoeller (1999) in the *Archdiocese of Chicago Domestic Violence Outreach Manual*. This guidebook is written for members of the faith community: clergy and others who work in religious and spiritual care. It is designed to help clergy and other spiritual leaders recognize and respond more effectively to members of their congregations who are at risk for, or are affected by, domestic violence.

treatment groups. The male leaders of the Catholic Church must take responsibility for the role the church plays in promoting ideas about gender norms and roles that lead to oppressive behavior. There are three key areas for focus: formation of boys and men regarding assumptions about gender roles, attention to accountability, and a preferential option for women and children.

First, regarding formation, what message is sent to boys and men when the only persons in leadership roles within the church are men? What are young boys and girls taught in religious education about the dignity and equality of men and women? If boys see that the only way that women can be involved or valued is through their roles as self-sacrificing mothers or chaste virgins, an important assumption regarding roles is perpetuated. When the church only focuses on issues of sexuality related to reproduction, contraception and abortion, boys and girls inherit unhealthy understandings of sexuality. Older understandings of purity and the connection of sexuality with sin must be removed from religious education. Instead, sexuality should be promoted as the gift that it is.

Second, one of the most important issues in ending violence against women is the responsible use of accountability and repentance. We know that batterers often progress through a cycle of violence that includes pleas for forgiveness and promises of reform. The local parish must be careful not to enable the avoidance of accountability, particularly through the sacrament of confession. While repentance is important, it is empty and even dangerous if there is not a genuine transformation in behavior, and this often requires psychological as well as spiritual resources. Confession can be misused as a quick remedy that offers consolation for the abusive man. Confession offers the abuser the opportunity to receive absolution from the church without addressing pathological behaviors or addressing the harm done to his family. The church needs to help its members understand that the confidentiality of the confessional is not a place to hide.

There is an ongoing need for the church to provide a more nuanced understanding of sin. There are too many cases where Catholic women

that have been sexually assaulted or battered go to confession. The church's teaching emphasizes that sex outside of marriage is sinful. Victims believe not only that they have sinned but that they are responsible for the assault and go to confession looking for solace. A longstanding association of sex with sin in traditional Catholic theology as well as the emphasis on sin as a betrayal of God leads many women who have experienced violence to view themselves, or to be viewed by others, as sinful. The church needs to promote teachings that clearly distinguish between the sinner and the sinned-against. Victims need to be assured that they did not betray God. Rather, they were betrayed by the violence they have experienced and need to know that God sees and cares about their betrayal. Discussions of sin and violence that do not clearly name the sin of the perpetrator and the suffering of the victim may be retraumatizing and impede healing. Priests must be trained to refer victims and perpetrators to proper forms of counseling. Men must be taught that they have sinned, as well as committed a crime, and that a confidential confession alone is not sufficient to right the wrongs of sexual assault or intimate partner violence.

Third, if the church is to live up to its teachings and understandings about persons and God's compassion for the oppressed, a preferential option for women and children, grounded in biblical understandings, is needed. This includes providing training and resources on how to provide safe responses and alternatives to the dangerous home. When women report they have been battered they must be believed. The focus should not be on the preservation of marriage, but on the safety and the immediate needs of women. Parish staff and ministers need to understand that the danger escalates when a woman breaks the secrecy of domestic violence by asking for help or leaving the home. Parishes need to have trained first-responders readily available to talk with women—being put off by the need to make an appointment risks the woman will not ask for help again. It is also important for ministers to recognize red flags, to talk to women alone instead of with their husbands, and to ask specific questions about their experiences. Most importantly, since

many survivors turn to their religious communities for support, it is critical that their experiences of suffering are heard and validated rather than explained away or minimized.

In addition to appropriate practical and pastoral support for women and children, there is a longer term need for parishes and dioceses to deepen their understandings of the systems, theological ideas, and pastoral responses that help perpetuate violence. The entire parish staff and community must be trained on bystander issues. As Catholic Charities of Buffalo, New York asserts,

> men's violence against women will end when the entire community recognizes that it is a men's issue, a human rights and social justice issue, and is not an individual mental health, substance/alcohol abuse, anger management, or relational problem. We also believe it is essential that communities, institutions, agencies, and individuals demonstrate zero tolerance for men's violence against women. (Catholic Charities, n.d.)

Specific Suggestions for Practice

Many survivors of violence turn to faith communities for support, solace, and the hope that it will be a safe place. In a meta-analysis of studies on trauma and spirituality; Peres et al. (2007) report that spirituality plays a key role in resilience for survivors of trauma:

> Spiritual or religious beliefs and practices are important components of almost all cultures. Religiosity and spirituality are strongly based on a personal quest to understand ultimate questions about life, meaning, and relationships with the sacred or transcendent. Religious frameworks and practices may have an important influence on how people interpret and cope with traumatic events (p. 346).

While there are numerous studies suggesting the benefits of religious involvement, there are also studies that show the common negative religious beliefs of victims—including wondering "whether God had abandoned me," or questioning "God's love for me," or believing that "the devil made this happen"—can "increase mortality and the development of trauma symptoms" (Peres et al. 2007, p. 347).

Therapists and counselors must be careful in how they affirm or discourage survivors' involvement with faith communities as the survivor may receive either affirmation of God's love and presence or messages related to sin and blame. Many of the studies on the relationship between spirituality and recovery do not offer a nuanced understanding of the impact of theological and pastoral messages on survivors. In my view, it is risky to recommend that survivors engage in the local Catholic parish if it is not known whether the pastor and community are prepared to serve as a healing resource.

The local and global nature of the Roman Catholic Church leads to great diversity and a deep tradition of commitment to social justice. When it comes to understanding violence against women and children, parishes, pastors, and laypersons range from *informed and equipped* to support survivors to *totally uninformed and unequipped*. The more uninformed local pastors and laypersons are the more likely survivors are to encounter teachings, practices, advice, and even blame that will impede healing.

Often, the only way to determine the safety of a local parish is with the help of persons who can provide a guided trek into Catholicism. Some priests understand domestic violence and are able to offer pastoral support and referrals, however, priests are not the only ministers in the Catholic Church. While women are not ordained in the Church, the shortage of priests means women now serve as pastoral administrators in parishes and some may fall into the category of enlightened witnesses (Miller 1997).

Referrals to spiritual directors may be a great way to support survivors struggling with the loss of God and faith. Spiritual directors often bring knowledge about helpful resources available in the deeper tradition. Women religious (sisters) have been on the forefront of the domestic violence movement and many orders run shelters and transitional programs for women and children. Many sisters have also become licensed spiritual directors.

It is helpful if clinical professionals understand the stance that the Catholic Bishops have taken on domestic violence. Just because the

Bishops have offered a teaching it does not mean that local ministers have a very deep understanding since their seminary training mostly focused on the doctrines and rituals of the Church. It is also important to note whether survivors participate in confession; survivors may need help in unpacking the understandings of blame and responsibility received, especially when an uninformed priest absolves her of her "sin" of sexual assault or other violence. As with parish staff, survivors also need help understanding the difference between sin and the sinned-against.

The faculty in the theology and women's studies departments at local Catholic colleges and universities can be a great resource. Faculty members are aware of the climate within a particular parish or diocese and may have suggestions for "safe" parishes and ministers. They are also key resources for helping steer advocates and survivors to the alternative wisdom available in the tradition.

Another recommendation for practice oriented to prevention is to build relationships with the local Catholic diocese as well as individual parishes. A stronger collaboration with members of the psychological community has occurred in the past decade as local and national church leaders have finally owned the gaps in their understandings of sexual and domestic violence. Recovery for survivors, as well as prevention efforts, depends on partnerships between psychological and religious professionals.

It may be daunting to figure out where to begin and who to talk with, but the centralized organization of the Catholic Church can be a benefit. Most local dioceses have a Catholic Charities organization where there is often great awareness and networking on critical social issues, including domestic violence. The staff members at Catholic Charities are a good resource for finding connections to allies. In addition, most diocesan offices have a person responsible for the promotion and organization of social justice and education programs within the diocese. They are great resources for learning about the different cultures at local parishes and can help make connections.

Lay ministers may also be interested in educational opportunities for themselves as the focus for most lay ministers is finding ways to help the community live their faith with integrity. They are also able to help with connections to the local association of priests, which may offer additional opportunities for education. In my view, most pastors and lay ministers care deeply about their parishioners, and are in need of additional resources so that they can do the right thing when someone reaches out for help.

An important point to keep in mind in making connections and working with the local parish or diocese is the common ground that exists between clinical professionals and ministers—care and concern for the survivor. Identifying shared common ground can help to offset any resistance and wariness that may be present. Because of the church's deep tradition of marrying belief to practice, there is actually a greater openness to the social sciences and helping professions. In the same way that the sciences are beginning to study the role of religion and spirituality in healing, many theologians and pastoral workers are pursuing the relationship between theology and psychology with the understanding that all knowledge serves the ultimate principles of human dignity. While there is much work to be done in building these partnerships, much progress has been made in the past decade.

Understanding the historical development, organization, and teachings of the Catholic Church offer survivors and their advocates an understanding of the care needed in recommending that survivors turn to their local parishes for support. The good news is that the depth and breadth of the Catholic tradition contains resources that mediate understandings of God and the person that do not make the loss of God a necessity for survival.

References

Casa, K. (2001). Violence at home: Faith community new frontline for aiding abused women. *National Catholic Reporter, 37*, 3–6.

Catholic Charities. (n.d.). Domestic Violence Program for Men. Retrieved from http://ccwny.org/Services/tabid/59/cid/52/cat/Domestic%20Violence%20Program%20for%20Men/Default.aspx. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Cooke, B. and Macy, G. (2005). *Christian symbol and ritual: an introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Cooper-White, P. (2012). *The cry of Tamar: Violence against women and the church's response* (2nd Ed.). Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Cozzens, D., Schipper, W., Longwood, M., Fortune, M. & Graham E. (2004). Clergy sexual abuse: Theological and gender perspectives. *Journal of Religion and Abuse, 6*, 3–29.

Dahm, C. (2011). Let's stop ignoring domestic violence. *U.S. Catholic, 76*(10), 27–29.

Dahm, C. (n.d.). Let's reach out to victims of domestic violence as Jesus would. Online sermon. Retrieved from http://stpiusvparish.org/en/cchd. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Downie, A. (2009). Nine-year-old's abortion outrages Brazil's Catholic Church. *Time World*. Retrieved from http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1883598,00.html. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Fiorenza, E. S. (1994a). *In memory of her: A feminist theological reconstruction of Christian origins* (10th ed.). New York: Crossroads.

Fiorenza, E. S. (1994b). *Jesus: Miriam's child, Sophia's prophet: Critical issues in feminist Christology*. New York: Continuum.

Fortune, M. (2001). The conundrum of sin, sex, violence and theodicy. In A. S. Park & S. L. Nelson (Eds.), *The other side of sin: Woundedness from the perspective of the sinned-against* (pp. 123–142). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Gonzalez, J. (2001). The alienation of alienation. In A. S. Park and S. L. Nelson (Eds.), *The other side of sin: Woundedness from the perspective of the sinned-against* (pp. 61–70). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Heise, L., Ellsberg, M. & Gottemoeller, M. (1999). Ending violence against women. In Archdiocese of Chicago. *The archdiocese of Chicago domestic violence outreach manual*. Retrieved from http://www.family-ministries.org/files/DomesticViolenceOutreachManual2013.pdf. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Hertzberg, H. W. (1964). *I and II Samuel: A commentary*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Hunt, M. E. (2009). Women-Church: Feminist concept, religious commitment, women's movement. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion, 25*, 85–98.

Hunt, M. E. (2013, February 14). Smoke gets in their eyes. *Feminist studies in religion*. Retrieved from http://www.fsrinc.org/blog/smoke-gets-your-eyes. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Jantsen, G. (2000). *Julian of Norwich: Mystic and theologian*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press.

John Paul II (1988). *Mulieris Dignitatem: On the dignity and vocation of women*. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_15081988_mulieris-dignitatem_en.html. Accessed 19 Aug 2013. © Libreria Editrice Vaticana

John Paul II (1997). Letter to women. In *Pope John Paul II on the genius of women* (pp. 45–58). Washington: United States Catholic Conference Publication. © Libreria itrice Vaticana.

John Paul II (2002, July 6). Message to the Bishop of Albano for the centenary of the death of St. Maria Goretti. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/2002/july/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20020708_santa-maria-goretti_en.html. Accessed 19 Aug 2013. © Libreria Editrice Vaticana

John Paul II (2004). Letter to the bishops of the Catholic Church on the collaboration of men and women in the church and the world. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20040731_collaboration_en.html. Accessed 19 Aug 2013. © Libreria Editrice Vaticana

Julian of Norwich (1978). *Showings*. E. Colledge and J. Walsh (Trans.). New York: Paulist Press.

Lanzetta, B. (2005). *Radical wisdom: A feminist mystical theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Luke, S. (2013, June 13). San Diego domestic violence victim fired from teaching [video file]. Retrieved from http://www.nbcsandiego.com/news/local/holy-trinity-school-el-cajon-san-diego-teacher-fired-211244611.html#ixzz2aqC4dHSQ. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

McBrien, R. (1994). *Catholicism: An introduction*. New York: HarperCollins.

Messina-Dysert, G. (2012). Rape and spiritual death. *Feminist Theology: The journal of the Britain and Ireland School of Feminist Theology, 20*(2), 120–132.

Miller, A. (1997). The essential role of an enlightened witness in society. Retrieved from http://www.alice-miller.com/index_en.php?page=2. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Nuth, J. (1991). *Wisdom's daughter: The theology of Julian of Norwich*. New York: Crossroad.

Paul VI. (1965). *Pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern world—Gaudium et Spes*. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html. Accessed 19 Aug 2013. © Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

Peres, J. F. P., Moreira-Almeida, A., Nasello, A. G. & Koenig, H. G. (2007). Spirituality and resilience in trauma victims. *Journal of Religion & Health, 46*, 343–350. DOI 10.1007/s10943-006-9103-0.

Perilla, J. L. (2010). Domestic violence, Catholic realities, and immigrant Latinos. FaithTrust Institute. http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/articles/DV-Catholic-Realities-Immigrant-Latinos.pdf. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Perilla, J. & Fortune, M. (2006). The role of Churches in preventing domestic violence: Can Churches really do anything about domestic violence? http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/articles/Role-of-Churches.pdf. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Ross, S.A. (2002). Church and sacrament—Community and worship. In S. F. Parsons (Ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Feminist Theology*, (pp. 224–242). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ruether, R. R. (2008). Women, reproductive rights and the Catholic Church. *Feminist Theology: The Journal*

of the Britain & Ireland School of Feminist Theology,
16(2), 184–193.

Ruether, R. R. (2011). Resisting the silence: Reflections
on Joan Chittister's decision to speak. *Conscience:*
The news journal of Catholic opinion, Commemora-
tive Edition: Rosemary Radford Ruether, 33–35.

Schneiders, S. (10 August 2012). LCWR leadership award
acceptance address. Unpublished address. https://lcwr.
org/sites/default/files/calendar/   attachments/sandra_
schneiders_ihm_-_august_10_2012.pdf. Accessed 19
Aug 2013.

Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. (1975). *The liturgy*
of the hours: According to the Roman rite (Vol. 3).
New York: Catholic Book Publishing.

Starkey, A.D. (2009). *The shame that lingers: A survivor-*
centered critique of Catholic sin-talk. New York: Peter
Lang Publishing.

Tobin, M. L. (1986). Women in the church since Vatican
II. *America Magazine*. http://americamagazine.org/
issue/100/women-church-vatican-ii. Accessed 19 Aug
2013.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (1994).
Catechism of the Catholic Church (2nd ed.). Vatican
City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (2002).
When I call for help: A pastoral response to domestic
violence against women (10th anniversary ed.). http://
www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/marriage-and-fam-
ily/marriage/domestic-violence/when-i-call-for-help.
cfm. Accessed 19 Aug 2013.

Weems, R. (1995). *Battered love (Overtures to biblical*
theology). Minneaoplis: Fortress Press.

Is There Peace Within Our Walls? Intimate Partner Violence and White Mainline Protestant Churches in North America

Ron Clark

As an individual who works with intimate partner violence (IPV) (hereafter referred to as IPV) from many angles, I understand the impact that it has on individuals, families, and communities. First, I am a minister who has not only been the preaching minister for a larger church but my wife and I lead a new church plant in downtown Portland as well as mentoring other church plant couples starting new congregations in our area. All of our staff and interns are trained domestic violence advocates from our county and city agencies. As a minister and author of articles and books on theology and IPV, I also teach seminary students, as well as local clergy and community advocates, how to address IPV in their churches and communities from a faith-based perspective.

Second, as a leader in the community I have been trained as both a victim's advocate and one who works with batterers by our county agencies. I have been active on committees at the local and state government levels which are addressing gendered violence in many communities. My wife leads various victims/survivors groups and has helped many women address the spiritual issues that they face in their healing. Our church has also begun to work with women and young boys trapped within the sex industry as well as

the care providers who serve the victims and provide resources in the community. Our ministers partner with the service providers to teach and offer aid in the community. Most recently our county "Johns School" (a mandatory training for males convicted of soliciting prostitution) has invited us to help them in their training by addressing misogyny and offering resources to the men, their spouses/partners, and their children.

In light of these two roles we find ourselves caught in the tension between community advocates and faith communities, as well as their leaders. More specifically I am familiar with mainline Protestant churches which wrestle theologically with sacred textual interpretation, outreach into their community, and separation between "church and state." While this potentially can be the best of both worlds, unfortunately it is a view in the ugly reality of both spiritual hypocrisy and abuse. While faith community leaders have been sought by most women for help, they many times have become ineffective, by community advocate's standards, as advocates for victims and have been accused of either colluding with the oppressor or further oppressing those seeking safety, shelter, and refuge. This is evident from research indicating that the most common resource victims in IPV situations, in the USA, Canada, and Australia, sought for help were clergy (Adams 1994; Clark 2010b; Nason-Clark 1997). In June 2014 Sojourners released a report stating that, while 81% of clergy indicated that they would be willing to address IPV if they had the resources; few speak

R. Clark (✉)
Agape Church of Christ, Portland, OR, USA
e-mail: rclark@agapecoc.com

George Fox Evangelical Seminary, Portland, OR, USA

out against this sin in sermons, their counseling, or their personal contact with victims, while most still see couples together for counseling when suspecting abuse (Vedral and Esworthy 2014). I am presenting this research not just as an abuse advocate in my community, but as a prophet who believes that there is something broken in all of my communities.

Issues Facing Victims in the Spiritual Community

I will use the term "Mainline Protestant Churches" to describe the section of the Christian churches that represent: (1) Protestant churches which trace their origins to the religious groups in Europe during the Middle Ages that left or "protested" the Roman Catholic churches and which comprised the majority of Christians in the USA during the twentieth century; and (2) mainline as those who are distinct from fundamentalist, evangelical, and charismatic churches. The mainline Protestant churches have continued to struggle with Biblical issues such as the authority of the sacred texts; the roles of males and females in the church; the presumed "attack on the family" from modern culture; worship and outreach to the community; emerging, missional, and emergent movements; social justice and the role of the church, as well as the decline of Christianity in the USA. As "unaffiliated" now becomes the major identifying denominational label for young Americans attending church; mainline Protestant denominations are forced to re-evaluate their role in the ever changing environment of American Christianity (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2008).

IPV continues to be a major issue facing churches today. IPV involves the use of power and control over individuals to force compliance to the desires of the individual abusing their power. Those who abuse others use verbal, emotional, sexual, physical, and other tactics to engender fear and coerce others into subordination (Office of Disease Prevention and Epidemiology 2004). IPV also involves the neglect of physical, emotional, and personal rights of an individual

either directly or by the manipulation of the victim to abdicate their own well-being. Additionally, IPV can be present institutionally through the use of cultural constructs and organizations that oppress others or manipulate them into sacrificing their basic emotional, physical, spiritual, or personal needs to their detriment (Clark 2005; Clark 2010b). However, it is not only the need to address IPV; it involves issues of misogyny, the family, females and churches, masculinity, and marriage. Misogyny is, however, one of the major forces driving IPV and creating a struggle for the church to overthrow a cultural view of masculinity and oppression of women.

Misogyny Creates an Environment Where Females Are Continually Oppressed

The Greek word misogyny means, "a hatred of women/feminine." While this literal translation may be offensive to some, or an over exaggeration of its application, misogyny is manifested in general attitudes one takes toward femininity. Jacob Anderson-Minshall (2008, p. 35) suggests that, "The fact that men can't be feminine without being punished by our society is proof that we still don't value femininity: It's treated as reprehensible—at least when it appears in men and boys."

First, the object of misogyny may not be limited to females. While females are typically the focus of misogyny it can also apply to human characteristics, such as when *gyne* (feminine) is compared to *aner/andros* (masculine). Harris (2001) has suggested that *aner/andros*, in Greco-Roman culture, not only represented males but male behaviors. *Aner/Andros* referred to active/aggressive behavior that was (and still is) culturally attributed to "real men." *Aner* behavior was typically an aggressive and oppressive use of power over others. Males were expected to display this power and control as a form of oppression where the victims would then be considered feminine (*gyne*). Those who were victims were considered women/passive/non-males/*gyne*. *Gyne*, therefore, would represent the opposite

or "passive" behaviors culturally ascribed to females and "non-males." Non-males represent those in a culture labeled as men who have "slipped" out of the "male role" to become feminine, also labeled "gender slippage" (see Conway 2008, pp. 9–15 for more information). In the ancient world, this class of people also represented the poor, elderly, disabled, immigrants, slaves, and children. This did not represent a third gender of human but one located in the *gyne* zones of society. Misogyny, therefore, can affect both females and those labeled "non-males." Therefore, it is imperative that churches confront misogyny not just for what it does to women/females, but for what it does to all of those who are victims in our communities.

Second, the word involves more than "hatred." Often in IPV trainings, males indicate to me that they do not "hate" women; however, I suggest that they are still unconsciously part of complex systems which continue to oppress *gyne* and exalt *andros*. These systems exist to separate masculinity and femininity and make one submissive to the other.[1] This becomes evident even at the level where a father tells his small son, when he is hurt and cries, to stop acting like a girl, man up, or stop being a sissy. At this early age boys learn that showing weakness or emotion is not only unacceptable for manhood, but it is a sign of femininity—something he is told to ignore, neglect, and push down. He learns also to "despise" females and those who show emotion as they are not good enough to be "men."

Misogyny occurs when *gyne* is directly oppressed, devalued, and degraded for the enhancement of masculinity. Misogyny also supports institutions and cultural views which aid others in creating a climate of oppression where behaviors which are deemed "feminine" are labeled negatively. Misogyny involves reinforcing behaviors which prevent femininity from being empowered and viewed as a valuable partner in the development of *andros* (Clark 2010a; Dykstra

et al. 2007). As Anderson-Minshall (2008, p. 35) states, "Until being called pussy, girl, fag, and pansy isn't the worst thing in the world, we won't eliminate misogyny."

Misogyny is present in white mainline churches. This seems evident in the American evangelical tradition where authors and popular preachers encourage men to leave "femininity" and embrace Jesus' call to "be a real man." Books such as *Wild at Heart*, *The Feminization of Christianity*, and *Why Men Don't Go to Church* suggest that the problem with Christianity is that it feminizes men. Authors and speakers such as John Eldredge (2001), David Murrow (2005), Brandon O'Brien (2008), and Leon Podles (1999) indicate that the problem with the church is "feminized men." Murrow (2005) suggests that the church has become boring to men, condemns the masculine spirit, and is out of touch with what men really want. Podles (1999) seems to believe that the church is effeminate because clergy, church doctrine, the overwhelming presence of women, and image of Jesus constructed by the feminine church is not appealing to men. The mission of the church seems to call men to embrace a nature that they have been taught to reject. For these authors the church does not reach men because it is feminine and concerned with "womanly" matters. One of the most popular Christian male books, *Wild at Heart* (by John Eldredge) suggests that our culture encourages males to be "effeminate" and blames our society for oppressing males (Eldredge 2001, pp. 6–7). However, *Wild at Heart* does little to honestly address the overwhelming problem in American culture with male privilege, violence against women and children, and misogyny that exist both within the culture and the church.

The solution, according to these authors, seems to be to return to a more masculine form of Christianity. This is also a plea from popular speakers in the Christian men's movement. While many suggest that men need to focus on being good husbands, fathers, and work hard, the emphasis on avoiding "femininity" indicates that a major fear of many is "*gyne*" or the appearance of "*gyne*." Feminine terms are not used out of respect but to call men to change.

---

[1] Anderson-Minshall (2008, p. 33) also indicates that misogyny exists even in female to male transpeople. Those becoming "male" find power in oppressing their female partners, even though as "trans" they once identified as female.

As a male coach may yell at his boys and say, "OK ladies, it's time to start playing like men," so some authors and speakers believe that feminine terms can shame men into being "masculine Christians." Tom Krattenmaker (2010) has also indicated that much of this "muscular Christianity" has influenced American sports and many of the issues that affect IPV (see also Ladd and Mathisen 1999).

Results of Misogyny

This misogynistic presence in the faith community cultivates an environment that can encourage violence against women. First, a major emphasis in the mainline church of America concerns women's roles in both the congregation and local community. The move for men to become "real men" comes with a price for women; they have to be feminine, or the opposite of men (Katz 2006). Men are also affected in that they are expected to collude with and support the cultural view of masculinity and its objectification of women. Questions concerning women's roles in the church, women in the workforce, and leadership in their faith communities have become a negative issue for many congregations. Since cultural masculinity calls for males to be aggressive, have a powerful public presence, and use power over others; women are expected to be the opposite. This is especially prevalent in the media where women who are corporate leaders or aggressive in their occupations are portrayed as highly sexual, and more like "males" than "females," and labeled "bitchy." Therefore, females are discouraged by many faith communities from being in leadership or showing assertive behavior in either the church or the "marketplace." The term "submissive" is a term that is placed upon female Christians and expected to be embraced. Many women we work with struggle to find a way to be leaders in their community while displaying an appearance of "submissiveness" in their churches.

Second, women's control over their own bodies has also been a major theological issue for these congregations. The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), while including women's choices concerning their bodies—including pregnancy, has become a battlefield for conservative Christianity. Supporting political action against IPV is many times resisted since it includes women's rights concerning birth control and pregnancy or supporting what is considered a more liberal political stance. Some churches have also begun to participate in issues related to the health and beauty industries, which have their own histories of misogyny. Women are expected to shave, tear, rip, and reduce their bodies to fit in a very small space. Weight loss programs target females as well who live in a world where male body space is allowed to expand while female body space continues to shrink. Faith communities have begun to embrace this practice by emphasizing spiritually based weight loss programs comprised mostly of females. This literature concerning body image, size, weight loss, and eating issues targets women in the faith community. As a result women have become the target of control and oppression both spiritually and physically.

In addition, the emphasis by mainline churches addressing or preventing "gay rights/same sex marriages" also seems to stem from a position of misogyny. Since misogynists fear/resent *gyne*, men who do not embrace the cultural view of masculinity become suspect of being "gay" or effeminate. Males who may adopt a "feminist view" can also be categorized as "gay," "male-bashing," or "feminine." Same sex marriages also threaten a traditional view that children must have both father and mother in order to develop emotionally and spiritually. As with single parenting and divorce, the male's contribution to the development of children and family is challenged not because males have been absent, but because so many females have had to raise their children without the help of fathers.

Third, emphasis on "absent fathers" may seem to be a good issue for the faith community, however calling men to be present sometimes suggests that they "take charge" of their family. Little is written concerning the courage of single mothers who struggle to raise their children below the poverty level and provide support for their families. A movie released in 2012, *Coura-*

geous, while a great attempt to call Christian men to be good fathers and husbands, communicates that men need to "step up and take back leadership in their families." While many males have abdicated their supportive role as husband and father, little emphasis in the movie is devoted to honoring the females who provide partnership and leadership in their homes as well. Single mothers also suffer as faith-based research claims that children need "fathers" and "two parents." While there is value in two parent homes and it is true that single mothers do have a more difficult time raising children without a partner; a cloud of shame still surrounds the single mother who may have chosen to leave her abusive or addicted spouse so that her children can have a peaceful environment. Bancroft (2004) summarizes the literature on the well-being of children by noting that children fare better living peacefully with their mothers than they do being around an abusive father, another abusive male, or even in living situations with parents who frequently fight and argue without abuse. What children need is a loving and safe environment with adequate economic resources (Bancroft 2004).

Research in Sweden and other European countries does suggest that single parents can effectively raise healthy children (Köhler 1988, 1990; Lassbo 1988). Children can develop normally in a single-parent home, but parenting will be difficult (Köhler 1988). In dysfunctional families (those with alcoholism, drug abuse, pornography, abuse, etc.), the continued exposure to these behaviors is more damaging than removing the children from the home. In the past, pro-family advocates have presented statistics suggesting that children in single-parent homes are more prone to self-destructive behavior than those in two-parent homes. While these statistics are compelling, they do not take into consideration the following: (1) the exposure of the children to the dysfunctional behavior of the divorced parent, (2) the destructive and manipulative behavior of the divorced parents on the children and each other, (3) the counseling or lack of counseling given to the children, and (4) the effects of *parentification* on the oldest child. These issues have a greater effect on the behavioral develop-

ment of children than divorce, and they can also be present in a two-parent family. In addition to this, little has been written concerning single fathers, while single mothers continue to bear the brunt of sin.

Fourth, the "anti-divorce" stance held by many mainline churches does not take seriously the fact that IPV violates a marriage covenant. One of the reasons Yahweh divorced the nation of Israel (Jer. 3:8) was due to violence against and social injustices against other people. As a member of a group within mainline Protestant churches that focuses on marriage and family ministry, I have noticed that a continued struggle over the issues of divorce, remarriage, and healthy marriages continues. Domestic violence presents a "problem" to clergy and churches trying to avoid divorce and uphold the sanctity of marriage. I have found that many victims, and batterers, have encountered clergy who discourage the victim from leaving the relationship for fear of divorce, marital unfaithfulness, or the structure of the family. Clergy who attend our trainings, read my publications, or register for my seminary classes indicate that they feel bound by the sacred texts to uphold marriage, even if it endangers a victim. They too wrestle with Biblical texts and their interpretation.

Is God Anti-Divorce?

In Mal 2:16 *Yahweh* states: "I hate divorce," says *Yahweh* the God of Israel, "and one who covers themselves with violence," says *Yahweh* of hosts.[2] Many, especially clergy and abusers, have used this text to tell victims that God does not approve of divorce. Therefore, victims have no other option but to stay in the relationship, accept the abuse, and hope for change. The text seems to be difficult to reconcile if we take the view that God is opposed to any divorce. But is the text

---

[2] There is an alternate translation of this verse suggested by other language versions of the Hebrew text. Some versions read, "If you hate her, divorce her." For more information on the validity of this translation one can consult Berlin and Brettler (2004, p. 1272).

meant to enslave spouses in violent and unsafe relationships?

The setting of the book of Malachi suggests that the nation of Judah had returned from Babylonian/Persian captivity. As time passed, they began to return to the ways of their former generations by neglecting the sacrifices and practicing idolatry (Mal 1:1–6). While *Yahweh* was the offended husband in Hosea, *Yahweh* became the offended wife in Mal 2:11–16.[3] Israel had married a foreigner and begun to practice injustice, the same behavior that caused the previous divorce. How was God to respond to this behavior? "Judah has acted treacherously/faithlessly in Israel and Jerusalem. Judah has profaned what was holy to *Yahweh* and loved the daughter of a foreign God" (Mal 2:11).

First, *God practiced divorce against those who profaned the holy covenant* (Isa 50:1; 54:6–7; Jer 3:8). In Ezra 10:11, Ezra and the Jewish leaders encouraged the Jewish men, who were married to foreign women, to divorce their foreign wives. If Mal 2:11 suggests that the Jewish men may have been married to foreign wives, then what are the implications of this text?[4] In Mal 2:16 God was displeased with divorce. However, this does not suggest that God was not willing to practice it.

Second, *the Malachi text may not be discussing literal marriages*.[5] The term covenant was used throughout Malachi to refer to the Jewish nation's relationship to *Yahweh*.

1:2   I have loved you
2:4   Warning about breaking the covenant with Levi

2:5   Covenant of life and peace, Levi respected me
2:8   You have turned from me
2:10   Why do you profane my covenant?
2:11   Judah has broken faith and married the daughter of a foreign God
2:12   The Lord will cut him (Judah) off
2:14   False tears, remember the wife of your youth (Yahweh)Broken faith with your wife (Yahweh)
2:10   One God made them both
2:16   I hate divorce so do not break faith

These texts indicate that the Jews were dishonoring their master, father, and wife.[6] The wife of their youth was to be *Yahweh*. Judah had left *Yahweh* and cleaved to another woman or God (probably the Goddess Asherah).[7] *Yahweh* was challenging Judah in court, like an angry hurt wife, and warning Israel that they were about to be divorced, something God did not wish to do. The final statement was: "Guard yourself in your spirit and *do not break faith*" (Mal 2:15b). This interpretation is more in line with God's view of divorce (a strong action to protect the sanctity of covenant), but it does not suggest that God will not allow divorce.

Another interesting point in this text is found in Mal 2:16. "I hate divorce," says *Yahweh* the God of Israel, "and one clothing/covering themselves with violence/lawlessness—guard yourself in your spirit, and do not break faith." While God may not wish to divorce the people, God equally hates violent/lawless individuals. Malachi indicates that the Jews were showing partiality in the law (2:9), committing injustices (2:17), oppressing the poor (3:5), and practicing evil (3:15). Many abusive men have failed to read

---

[3] For texts that suggest God as mother/wife/female see Isaiah 42:14; 46:3; 66:9–13. While John 4 suggests that God is spirit, female imagery is used of God as well as male imagery (Smith 2001b, p. 90).

[4] Mal 2:11 states, "Judah has married the daughter of a foreign god." This can have two interpretations. First, the text can suggest that the Jewish men were married to foreign women. Second, the text can mean that the Jewish nation is again involved in idolatry. Biblical scholars support both interpretations.

[5] For further discussion on this debate see: Glazier-McDonald (1987, pp. 603−611); Hill (1998, pp. 422−443); Jones (1990, pp. 683−685); Peterson (1995, pp. 195−206). Against this interpretation, see Hugenberger (1998, pp. 27−47).

[6] In some cases, Yahweh is referred to as the female partner. See Peterson (1995, p. 203); and Smith (2001a, pp. 97–103). In Proverbs, wisdom is seen as feminine and is also the first creation of God (Prov 8–9).

[7] In Jer 44, the Jews who were left after the third Babylonian captivity turned from God to worship the Queen of Heaven (Asherah). It seems that the Jews in Malachi's day are again returning to this deity (Keel and Uehlinger 1998, pp. 294−295; Smith 2001a, pp. 109−110). O'Brien (2004, pp. 300−302) also believes that the Jews have again been involved in idolatry to Asherah.

these sections of the text. In my work with abusers and survivors, this text is commonly used to control victims and promote that God is angry with the wives for leaving, divorcing, and filing a restraining order. Few abusive men, however, admit that God would be angry with them for their violence, controlling behavior, and oppression.

Mal 2:16 does not suggest that God is angry with divorced people. The text also does not suggest that people cannot divorce their abusive spouses. The text is a warning to those who are unfaithful *and violent* in their relationships with *Yahweh* and *other humans*. The text also suggests that *Yahweh* calls for relationships to promote peace, respect, and honor for both parties.

Submission and Marriage: Ephesians 5

One concept in the Biblical texts is that God seeks to develop relationship with humans. I find that in domestic violence, the victim, usually the woman, is blamed for causing the marriage to fail. Faith communities suggest that she must keep the marriage together by forgiving and enduring the abuse and oppression her husband manifests. She may also believe that she can "change his heart" by becoming more submissive. Many churches and leaders pressure the victim because they feel that the burden falls on her. This is a misunderstanding of covenant.

Covenant responsibility would place the emphasis on the abusive husband. One passage that seems to illustrate this is Eph 5:21–33, which is built around this fundamental principle: submit to one another out of fear/respect for Christ. Christian marriage involves shared power. Both partners respect and submit to one another because they have a deep love for each other. However, the text is used by abusive men as well as some male church leaders who suggest that a woman has no option but to submit to her husband—regardless of his oppression. "Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the savior. As the church submits to Christ, so wives

should submit to their husbands in everything" (Eph 5:22–24). The text does not support abuse or oppression in a marriage. First, this text was written to the women, therefore it should not be quoted by husbands toward their wives. It is likely that this is a short section because women in the first century were typically submitting to their husbands. However, in light of evidence concerning Roman women, the plea only suggests that the wives continue to respect their husbands (See Winter 2003, pp. 17–30 for more information).

This does not teach that women are doormats; it suggests that men and women mutually submit to each other (5:21). Additionally, the Spirit (1 Cor 14:32) is submissive to the prophets. God's Spirit can be controlled and silenced by human beings. This does not indicate that the Spirit or God is less than human beings. Submission says nothing about status; it is only an act of giving, support, and encouragement. Women and men submit to each other (Eph 5:21) in the ways God has shown them through love, peace, compassion, and joy.

> Husbands love your wives as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her to make her holy, cleansing her by the washing with water through the word, and to present her to himself as a radiant church, without stain or wrinkle or any other blemish but holy and blameless. In this same way, husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. After all, no one ever hated his own body, but he feeds and cares for it, just as Christ does the church—for we are members of his body. For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh. This is a profound mystery—but I am talking about Christ and the church. However, each one of you also must love his wife as he loves himself, and the wife must respect her husband. (Eph 5:25–33)

This longer section was written to husbands. In IPV one problem we face is that husbands are not acting like Jesus or God. A man, who hits, humiliates, rapes, or verbally abuses his wife is acting contrary to the God who created him. When talking with men, we use this passage of scripture and discuss their behavior as compared to Jesus. In the early church, God/Jesus was the model

for husbands and fathers. It should be the same today. Husbands should initiate love and practice compassion toward their wives. They should not use Biblical texts to subordinate their wives; rather men should serve their spouses. Since God initiates covenant and seeks to bless those in covenant, husbands must reflect this nature in their covenants, marriages, and relationships. The church needs to call these men to repentance and accountability. God does not maintain a relationship through force, coercion, or control but by love, persuasion, and forgiveness. Men must practice love, compassion, honor, and mercy in their relationships with others, especially their partners (Exod 34:6–8).

The city of Ephesus also had as its "head" Artemis, a hybrid Goddess whose worshippers focused on her fertility blessings. Jesus as "head" was one who united Jews and Gentiles (Eph 2:11–20; 3:4); the cosmos (1:10); the Church (1:22); husband and wife (5:32); nurtures the body (3:15; 5:29); and gives himself up for others (5:2, 25). This sacrificial, unifying, and nurturing nature of Jesus seems to be parallel to Artemis the head and great mother of Ephesus. Likewise husbands were also challenged to imitate this maternal nature of Jesus as they also nurtured their wives and children (5:29; 6:4). Abusive and controlling men are called by the text to treat their wives with respect, honor, and gentleness. Men, like Artemis and Jesus, are expected to be concerned for women and children and do not demand submission from them.

Maintaining a relationship means that men and husbands should act righteously. To oppress the poor and weak is a sign of unrighteousness. Marriage involves empowerment and respect rather than power and control. In I Pet. 3:7, the text states that husbands who are not considerate with their wives may not have their prayers heard. Marriage should help both partners become better and feel better about themselves. "If mutuality is one of the aims of love between adults, then people need to ask themselves how their own acts of self-sacrificing love either further mutuality or reinforce roles and structures of domination and subordination." (Gill-Austern 1996, pp. 317−3 18).

In addition to misogyny, women's rights, absent fathers, and divorce being barriers to victims; neglecting to list IPV as a social justice issue prevents victims and abusers from seeing this as a societal problem. IPV is the result of power, oppression, and control. Victims face similar barriers that oppressed ethnic groups face; however, IPV and other forms of abuse do not seem to be listed with the current social justice evils because many view them as domestic issues. Labeling IPV as a social justice issue suggests that individuals, families, communities, and the fabric of all societies are all affected by this form of oppression. It also suggests that family violence plays a key role in community, social, and gendered violence. In our work with IPV, sexual assault, sibling sexual abuse, the sex industry, and pornography we have found that power and control are predominantly the major causes of all of these societal issues.

Myths Concerning Domestic Abuse

While these issues are present in the mainline churches it is important that some of the myths of IPV in faith communities be addressed.

IPV Is More Prevalent in Patriarchal Belief Systems While this seems logical my experiences in communities of faith and research suggests that IPV is present in every faith community and every denomination. Battaglia (2001) has suggested that rates are similar across denominations. My research suggests that abusive people use sacred texts to abuse others and peaceful people use sacred texts to live in harmony with others (Clark 2010a, pp. 77–79; 2010c, p. 96; 2012, pp. 152–153). It is tempting to associate IPV with a community's belief system, and in many ways the system can encourage abuse or empowerment, however IPV happens when an individual uses power and control over another.

Women Are as Violent as Males While there has been an increase in the number of male victims and female perpetrators in society, the percentage of males who are abusive to females is

still overwhelmingly in favor of males (Clark 2010b, pp. xiii–xiv). Males are typically larger and have more ability to use their power over females. In addition, males live in a culture where females are objectified regularly through the media, advertising, and in our communities.

IPV Does not Happen to Us Susan Weitzman (2000) suggests that abuse continues in wealthy American homes because the family system is built upon the abuser's source of income. Women in this environment are "prevented from leaving" due to their standard of living and status that accompanies higher income neighborhoods. Carol Goodman Kaufman (2003) indicates, in her book concerning abuse in the Jewish religious community, that IPV is kept secret due to the community's fear of being seen as an immoral minority group in the community. The point of both authors is that many communities keep IPV a secret due to the shame of admission and the fear of being viewed as immoral. Faith community members, likewise, keep IPV secret due to shame, fear of being judged, and fear of the oppressor. In addition, the belief that "we are not as immoral as the outsiders" prevents faith community leaders from admitting that our congregations will reflect many of the issues of our community. Clergy, like the prophets, must accept that their faith community consists of community members who will continue their actions even in the church. However, clergy also have the opportunity to speak out concerning these issues and offer healing, something that is also missing in some of our communities.

How Can Faith Communities Respond?

First, *congregations can focus on developing healthy relationship and marriages in their community*. The faith community has taken a strong stance "against divorce" which places victims in a vulnerable position and the oppressive males in a position of privilege. Mainline churches, while attempting to build healthy marriages, have used terms such as "preventing divorce," "divorce busting," and "God hates divorce," which sug-

gests to women in abuse that they have no option but to stay in the relationship. However, the Association of Marriage and Family Ministry, of which I colead a team for abuse and healing, has been stressing the need to emphasize healthy marriages and become more understanding of divorce and those seeking to heal after divorce. In addition, while admitting that abuse is an acceptable reason for divorce, faith-based counselors are seeking to explore the dynamics of power, control, and abuse and its effect on relationships.

Second, *single parents need affirmation in their relationships and growth*. Many single parents (especially females) struggle financially as their spouse many times does not offer them support financially and emotionally. In the case of IPV, the abuser continues to manipulate the children and the ex-spouse rather than aid them in becoming safe and secure. Statistics suggesting that children of single-parent homes are at risk of "bad behavior" and in danger of leaving the faith also create a sense of dependence upon the single parent. Skewed research suggesting that children are healthiest when living in a two parent home (male and female) also prevents women from leaving their abusive partners. The pressure to "reunite" by clergy and the manipulative offender can add further stress on the single parent. Children are also used to suggest to the parent that they should return to their abuser. However, research indicates that children are healthiest when they are in an environment of peace, security, trust, and nurturing. This environment can occur with one parent. In addition having an abusive or unhealthy adult living in the same home with the children has a more damaging effect than being raised by a single loving parent.

Finally, *the faith community must redefine masculinity in a world that objectifies and oppresses females*. Rather than borrowing from a cultural masculinity that further oppresses those who represent the *gyne* of society, the faith community must practice compassion, mercy, and empower the weak. For males, this is a call to become "counter cultural." Churches have a powerful opportunity to develop men through men's groups, young males in youth ministries, and with boys and girls in classroom situations. Having

men model caring relationships and healthy sexuality provides a great opportunity for men, as leaders, to help heal the many father wounds existing in young males and females. Confronting pornography, the sex industry, and the objectification of females and other gender stereotypes creates a safe environment for all people in church. Offering sexual addictions groups for men also provides a safe space for men to address their unhealthy views of women, themselves, and others. Clergy also have an opportunity to reach males by using time in the pulpit to discuss these issues as well. Males and females need to hear from their male and female pastors concerning social justice problems, which include IPV, sexually exploiting humans, and misogyny.

Resources exist throughout the faith community to address domestic, sexual, and gendered violence. The RAVE Project (www.raveproject. org) has provided a website which offers online education for clergy, members, and the community concerning abuse, the Bible, and healing. The project also provides contact information for shelters, support groups, and advocacy resources throughout the USA. This online resource is also updated with current literature, online information, and sermons that address domestic abuse, the faith community, and local aid.

The Agape Church of Christ (www.agapecoc. com/tapeinos) continues to offer trainings, resources, and support group information for those seeking help for IPV, sexual addiction, the sex industry, and help for Johns and their families.

Future Research

With the increase of pornography and its detrimental effects on males, females, and families, there will need to be continued research on the connections between pornography, misogyny, and gendered violence. Faith communities must also address these issues as societal issues and confront the power structures that oppress women, children, and vulnerable others (Clark 2005). Faith communities must engage their communities to address these societal forms of evil and create safe and sacred spaces where all humans

can live in relationship, which consists of safety, peace, respect, and support (Woodward 2012).

Implications for Mental Health Professionals

Often I am asked to speak to groups who work directly with survivors, victims, or batterers as well as mental health professionals and therapists. One of the major issues they face is a lack of understanding of the Sacred Texts that are used by abusers and clergy to keep victims in IPV. This is a common issue that they face for all religious bodies. Many are frustrated by their experiences in trying to help individuals and become bitter toward faith community leaders, communities, and the texts themselves. Here are some helpful suggestions in working with individuals whether they are victims, survivors, family members, or offenders.

First, we must operate with the belief that Sacred Texts are meant for peace. Violent people use Sacred Texts to justify violence; peaceful people use Sacred Texts to justify peace. As healers and helpers we must approach the texts as providing peace rather than violence. Regardless of our view of religion, scholars will indicate that holiness and peace are synonymous terms.

Second, oppressive individuals can be manipulative. They will use texts, clergy advice, and personal experience to justify their behavior. It is best for us to avoid following a path of scriptural manipulation and debate to prove a point. Healers must refrain from being caught in the trap of quoting scriptures and call clients to face their destructive behavior. Clients need to see relationships as mutually beneficial and only then can they understand the sacred texts. Many nonfaith-based advocates have shared with me that they ask, "How is your faith working for you now?" to offenders. These clients need to be challenged to face the reality that restraining orders, jail time, mandatory group attendance, and the flight of their families are realities that suggest their behavior is not parallel with the God of peace.

Third, victims and survivors are typically caught in an oppressive view of the texts. They

have been taught that submission to evil will eventually bring about good and that the "Beauty" will win the "Beast" if she is patient and loving enough. Asking them how they see the text in light of peace, comfort, and healing can empower them to express their fears and doubts. Asking them how they feel about their experiences is important because you will be empowering them to understand the text, rather than deny their feelings. It is also important to let them understand that the God who opposes oppression opposes their oppression as well.

For those wishing to use a scriptural paradigm for healing I have found tremendous help in the story of the Exodus. In this story we understand:

1. God opposes, confronts, and hardens the heart of the oppressor (Pharoah).
2. Pharoah is simply evil. His behavior, not his heart, places him as the enemy of God.
3. God protects the slaves. In the wilderness wandering God is leading them out to freedom, to meet their God, and to peace. They struggle with wanting to return to their abuser, distrusting God, and fear (as all victims tend to do). However, in the end their God provides community for their healing.

In treating couples where abuse is suspected, healers can aid them by providing a safe place for them. First, couples where abuse is suspected should never be seen in a session together. Those skilled at addressing IPV may do this in a limited number of special circumstances and even then only after advanced preparation but typically we ask for the individuals to be seen separate. Second, women can be referred to women's resource centers and males to specialized programs for men. In the case of same sex relationships both can be referred to their gender specific agency. The counselors in these agencies are skilled at determining if one is using controlling behavior and if another is a victim. Visits with each individually helps to have accountability for each one but both need to be in counseling to address their struggles. Finally, if in premarital, marital, or individual counseling there is disclosed a history of abuse, we must understand that this affects their view of life, relationships, intimacy, and faith. Referring clients enhances our skills

as professionals and also introduces us to other professionals who need our help as well.

It is important that we address our victimization or oppression if we wish to lead healthy lives in the future. It is also important that we address these if we wish to become spiritually healthy individuals and leaders.

References

Adams, C. J. (1994). *Woman-Battering*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress.

Anderson-Minshall, J. (2008). The enemy within: On becoming a straight white guy. In S. Tarrant (Ed.), *Men speak out: Views on gender, sex, and power*. New York: Routledge.

Bancroft, L. (2004). *When dad hurts mom: Helping your children heal the wounds of witnessing abuse*. New York: Putnam's Sons.

Battaglia, L. J. (2001). Conservative protestant ideology and wife abuse: Reflections on the discrepancy between theory and data. *Journal of Religion and Abuse, 2*(4), 31–46.

Berlin, A., & Brettler, M. Z. (Eds.). (2004). *The jewish study Bible: Tanakh translation*. New York: Oxford University press.

Clark, R. (2005). *Setting the captives free: A Christian theology for domestic violence*. Eugene, OR: Cascade.

Clark, R. (2010a). *Am I sleeping with the enemy?* Eugene, OR: Cascade.

Clark, R. (2010b). *Freeing the oppressed: A call to Christians concerning domestic violence*. Eugene, OR: Cascade.

Clark, R. (2010c). Submit or else: Biblical texts used by batterers in intimate partner violence. In D. Daschke & A. Kille (Eds.), *A cry instead of justice: The Bible and cultures of violence in psychological perspective*. New York: T and T Clark International.

Clark, R. (2012). *The God of second chances: Finding hope through the prophets of exile*. Eugene, OR: Cascade.

Conway, C. M. (2008). *Behold the man: Jesus and Greco-Roman masculinity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dykstra, R. C., Cole, A. H., & Capps, D. (2007). *Losers, loners, and rebels: The spiritual struggles of boys*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Eldredge, J. (2001). *Wild at heart: Discovering the secret of a man's soul*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

Gill-Austern, B. L. (1996). Love understood as self-sacrifice and self-denial: What does it do to women? In J. Stevenson Moessner (Ed.), *Through the eyes of women: Insights for pastoral care*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress.

Glazier-McDonald, B. (1987). Intermarriage, divorce, and the *Bat-'el Nekar*: Insights into Mal 2:10–16. *Journal of Biblical Literature, 106*, 603–11.

Harris, W. V. (2001). *Restraining rage:The ideology of anger control in classical antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hill, A. E. (1998). *Malachi: A new translation with introduction and commentary*. New York: Doubleday.

Hugenberger, G. P. (1998). *Marriage as a covenant: Biblical law and ethics as developed from Malachi*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Jones, D. C. (1990). A note on the LXX of Malachi 2:16. *Journal of Biblical Literature, 109*(4), 683–85.

Katz, J. (2006). *The macho paradox: Why some men hurt women and how all men can help*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks.

Kaufman, C. G. (2003). *Sins of omission: The Jewish community's reaction to domestic violence*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Keel, O., & Uehlinger, C. (1998). *Gods, Goddesses, and images of God in ancient Israel*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress.

Köhler, E. M. (1988). *Hur mycket ska egentligen ett barn behöva tåla: För att tillfredsställa de vuxnas behov?* Stockholm: Carlsson.

Köhler, L. (1990). *Barn och Barnfamiljer I Norden*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Krattenmaker, T. (2010). *Onward Christian athletes: Turning ballparks into pulpits and players into preachers*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Ladd, T, & Mathisen, J. A. (1999). *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the development of American sport*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Lassbo, G. (1988). *Mamma-(pappa)-barn: En utvecklingsekologisk studie av socialisation i olika familjetyper*. Göteborg. Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Murrow, D. (2005). *Why men hate going to church*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

Nason-Clark, N. (1997). *The battered wife: How Christians confront family violence*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox.

O'Brien, J. M. (2004). *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon.

O'Brien, B. (2008, April). A Jesus for real men. *Christianity Today*. http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2008/april/27.48.html/. Accessed 21 July 2013.

Office of Disease Prevention and Epidemiology. (2004). Intimate partner violence in Oregon: Findings from the Oregon Women's health and safety survey. Salem, OR: Oregon Department of Human Services.

Peterson, D. (1995). *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A commentary*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox.

Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. (2008). *U.S. religious landscape survey religious affiliation: Diverse and dynamic*. http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf. Accessed 21 July 2013.

Podles, L. J. (1999). *The church impotent: The feminization of Christianity*. Dallas: Spence.

Smith, M. (2001a). *The early history of God* . Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Smith, M. (2001b). *The origins of biblical monotheism: Israel's polytheistic background and the Ugaritic texts*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vedral, J., & Esworthy, E. (2014, June). *Broken silence: A call for churches to speak out: Protestant pastors survey on sexual and domestic violence*. http://www.imaworldhealth.org/images/stories/technical-publications/PastorsSurveyReport_final.pdf. Accessed 21 July 2013.

Weitzman, S. (2000). *Not to people like us: Hidden abuse in upscale marriage*. New York: Basic Books.

Winter, B. (2003). *Roman wives, Roman widows: The appearance of new women and the Pauline communities*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Woodward, J. R. (2012). *Creating a missional culture: Equipping the church for the sake of the world*. Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in White Evangelical and Fundamentalist Churches

13

Rachel L. Stephens and Donald F. Walker

As long as the church is quiet in a world which resonates with the cries of abused women, it is failing in its ministry of reconciliation. It is simply functioning as a sounding brass, and a clanging cymbal…. The church is called to bind up the bruises of women who have suffered not only from the violence of their spouses, but from all the passive violence of a church which has failed to recognize their situation and intervene on their behalf.
Battered into Submission: The Tragedy of Wife Abuse in the Christian Home (Alsdurf and Alsdurf 1998, p. 224).

In this chapter, we discuss issues involved in white Evangelical and Fundamentalist men's violence against women. To begin, we provide a brief history of white Evangelical and Fundamentalist churches, followed by a discussion of religious values that foster violent, unhealthy relationships. Next, we discuss spiritual resources that can be used to support women in recovering from IPV. Afterward, we review religious resources for confronting white Evangelical and Christian men's violence against women. We conclude by discussing implications for professional practice and research with white Fundamentalist and Evangelical men and women involved in abusive relationships.

R. L. Stephens (✉)
Department of Psychology, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, USA
e-mail: rachha5@regent.edu

D. F. Walker
Child Trauma Institute, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, USA
e-mail: dfwalker@regent.edu

Brief History and Description of White Evangelical and Fundamentalist Churches

Though sometimes considered synonymous by people outside of their own religious traditions, Evangelicals and Fundamentalists consider themselves religiously distinct. However, members of both religious traditions consider their religion to be foundational to their lives. As Kyle (2006) points out, "evangelion" is the Greek word for "good news"—this is typically translated "gospel" in English Bibles. Kyle explains that, for Evangelical Christians, this "good news" is the person of Jesus Christ, His death and resurrection, and His ultimate rule over humanity. In distinguishing Fundamentalists from Evangelicals, Marsden (1990) notes that in the twentieth century, Fundamentalists in America were Evangelicals who vigorously opposed modernism in theology and cultural changes consistent with modernist theology. As a result, Kyle points out that Fundamentalists are most centrally distinguished from broader Evangelical groups on their insistence on the inerrancy of Christian Scripture not only with respect to faith and practice but also on science and history. Along with their commitment to the inerrancy of Scripture,

Fundamentalists refuse to cooperate with other religious groups and insist on cultural separation from the broader American culture.

Evangelicalism is a broader umbrella for a range of more specific religious denominations within the USA. In reviewing Evangelicalism, Stiehler-Thurston (2000) pointed out that Evangelical branches of Christianity include Presbyterians, the Evangelical Covenant, Quakers, Mennonites, Congregationalists, Churches of Christ, the Church of the Nazerene, the Christian Missionary Alliance, some Baptist congregations, as well as a number of nondenominational churches that consider themselves Evangelical but do not belong to a specific denomination. Across specific religious denominations, Evangelicals adhere broadly to a core set of religious values. According to Collins (2005), these values include (1) value placed on the authority of Scripture in matters of faith and practice, (2) belief in the atonement of Jesus the Christ for one's personal sins, (3) the necessity of conversion for salvation, and (4) the importance of evangelism, or spreading of the good news of Jesus Christ.

A brief review of some of the more prominent Fundamentalist and Evangelical leaders, their ministries, their personal religious views and values, and their comments about women illustrates some of the differences between these two groups. In the first two decades of the early twentieth century, William Ashley "Billy" Sunday was a former baseball player who became a prominent fundamentalist evangelist. Sunday believed in biblical inerrancy, the atonement and resurrection of Christ, and a literal heaven and hell. Sunday held large revivals during the first two decades of the twentieth century, illustrating a Fundamentalist and Evangelical emphasis on bringing people to Christ. However, a famous quote attributed to Sunday also demonstrates an underlying motivation of many Fundamentalists to this day:

> Listen, I'm against sin. I'll kick it as long as I've got a foot, I'll fight it as long as I've got a fist, I'll butt it as long as I've got a head, and I'll bite it as long as I've got a tooth. And when I'm old, fistless, footless, and toothless, I'll gum it till I go home to glory and it goes home to perdition. (Amen Corner 2012, p. 8)

Chronologically, Charles E. Fuller was the next major Evangelical figure of the twentieth century (see Marsden 1987, for a review of Fuller's life and ministry). Fuller started a weekly radio program *The Old Fashioned Revival Hour* that aired from 1937 to 1968. In addition, Fuller founded Fuller Theological Seminary in 1947, describing it as "the Caltech of the Evangelical world." He originally imagined that the seminary would reform Fundamentalism from separatist and anti-intellectualist views of the earlier twentieth century. In the 1950s and 1960s, many Fuller faculty members began adhering to a belief in the infallibility rather than literal inerrancy of the Bible. Proponents of biblical inerrancy believe that the Bible is inerrant with respect to everything in it, including historical aspects of the Bible that may appear to contradict in different places. Adherents of biblical infallibility believe that the Bible was not intended to be a historical or scientific document, but is instead infallible in its purpose as a guide to Christian faith and practice. Christians' position on this specific issue differentiates them as Fundamentalists or Evangelicals, as Fundamentalists adhere to biblical inerrancy, and Evangelicals believe in biblical infallibility.

Toward the middle of the twentieth century, Billy Graham founded the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in 1950. He conducted over 400 crusades in over 185 countries, highlighting Evangelical Christianity's focus on spreading "the good news." His position as an Evangelical rather than a Fundamentalist is highlighted by Fundamentalist opposition to his Christian ecumenism (Long 2008).

In 1960, M. G. "Pat" Robertson founded the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) in Virginia Beach, Virginia. An Evangelical Christian, his focus on evangelism is demonstrated in CBN now being seen in over 200 countries (www.cbn.com). Robertson also founded CBN University in 1977. It was renamed Regent University in 1989. The university offers graduate degrees in psychology and counseling, law, government, business, theology, education, and communications. Robertson's choice of degree programs and professional training at the university reflects his Evangelical commitment to train professionals in

prominent professions so that they might influence those professions for Christianity.

In the late 1970s, Jerry Falwell, a leading proponent of Fundamentalism, founded the Moral Majority and Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia. As a movement, the Moral Majority supported censorship of media outlets that opposed traditional family views, opposed abortion and homosexuality, and opposed the Equal Rights Amendment for women. These foci illustrate fundamentalism's relative separation from larger secular culture as well as its tendency to define itself as being in opposition to specific beliefs and practices rather than endorsing specific virtues.

Evangelical Christians vary widely with respect to their individual views of personal and relational health. Broadly speaking, with respect to spirituality, healthy Christians are those who orient their lives toward becoming like Christ (Moon and Benner 2004; Willard 1999). As a result, Evangelicals are typically thought to be spiritually healthy when they engage in spiritual practices designed to assist them in this goal, namely personal prayer and Bible study, as well as regular church attendance. Evangelicals, compared to Fundamentalists, participate more fully in American culture. However, both Evangelicals and Fundamentalists oppose gay and lesbian marriage, abortion, divorce, premarital and extramarital sex, and the personal use of pornography. As a result, within their religious traditions, Evangelicals and Fundamentalists consider themselves to be functioning in a healthy fashion relationally when they are celibate before marriage and faithful to their spouses.

Fundamentalists and Evangelicals differ somewhat with respect to their endorsement of traditional gender roles between men and women. Fundamentalist gender roles are decidedly patriarchal. Patriarchal beliefs stem from literalist interpretations of several places in the Bible. In the book of Genesis, Eve is described as being created after Adam and being created as a "helper for him" (Gen. 2:18, NIV). Furthermore, Fundamentalists tend to interpret several passages from the New Testament as being supportive of patriarchal gender roles. For example, Ephesians 5:22–24 (KJV), says:

> Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything.

Many Evangelicals also endorse patriarchal gender roles on the basis of these and similar biblical passages. However, some have argued that Evangelicals practice a "symbolic traditionalism and pragmatic egalitarianism" (Gallagher and Smith 1999, p. 211). That is, some couples and their families function by providing husbands with a symbolic headship within their families that is supplemented by deliberate choices to engage in egalitarian gender roles in various areas of their lives. Conversely, some Evangelicals explicitly interpret biblical passages to focus on egalitarian marriages (for additional information, see the website for Christians for Biblical Equality, found at http://www.cbinternational.org). For example, Galatians 3:28 (KJV) states: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." In a related vein, some Evangelicals have interpreted the passage in Ephesians Chap. 5 by noting that the Apostle Paul's instructions to women should be placed in the larger context of this passage. This chapter begins by stating, "Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ" (Ephesians 5:21, NIV). It then continues by stating:

> Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as you do to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Savior. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything. Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her to make her holy, cleansing her by the washing with water through the word, and to present her to himself as a radiant church, without stain or wrinkle or any other blemish, but holy and blameless. In this same way, husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. After all, no one ever hated their own body, but they feed and care for their body, just as Christ does the church—for we are members of his body. For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh. (Ephesians 5:22–31, NIV)

As a result, Evangelicals sometimes interpret the command in Ephesians 5:22 for wives to submit to their husbands in the broader context of the beginning of the chapter for husbands and wives to submit to one another out of reverence for Christ.

Both Fundamentalist and Evangelical leaders have promoted attitudes about women that have created controversy over the years. These illustrate the tension between Fundamentalist and Evangelical men's attempts to exercise leadership in their churches and their homes while simultaneously honoring and valuing women.

Unhealthy Values Contributing to IPV Among Evangelicals and Fundamentalists

Within the values and beliefs of many Evangelical and Fundamentalist religious communities, there is a high value placed on love for others and love for God. These beliefs can result in respect and kindness toward the family and also the broader community. As referenced in the previous section, Ephesians Chap. 5 is a passage that is sometimes debated as to its intent in creating a marital structure for Christian families. Regardless of whether one adheres to a "headship" model of marriage in which the husband is the spiritual leader of the marriage or an egalitarian model of marriage, when the charge to submit to one's husband is not accompanied by the command to love one's wife, it can result in an environment that advocates for patriarchal family structure with a powerful head of the family and a submissive partner. In this section, we briefly review ways in which conservative religious ideology and beliefs about patriarchal gender roles may interact in the perpetration of IPV.

Beliefs and Practices Regarding Submission

Some studies have found that biblical principles related to female submission and male headship are often espoused by perpetrators as a way to justify the occurrence of IPV (Drumm et al. 2009;

Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Pyles 2007; Ringel and Park 2008; Teaster et al. 2006). This included asserting dominance as the head of the family, claiming that they possessed total authority within the family, utilizing isolation tactics, and trying to control the actions of the spouse such as controlling income (Drumm et al. 2009; Senter and Caldwell 2002; Teaster et al. 2006).

A study conducted by Levitt et al. (2008) illustrates some of the dynamics involved in perpetrators' religious justification of IPV. Levitt et al. interviewed 12 religious perpetrators of IPV, and found that half of the participants endorsed traditional religious teachings that put the male as head of the house and the leader of the family. Certain participants saw IPV as a way to assert this masculinity in the relationship. Ten of the 12 men did not believe that God approved of IPV but were not aware of any religious support or strategies for assisting them in resolving conflict and asserting leadership in a nonviolent manner. These participants feared being blamed or judged for the abuse by their religious leaders, and some were frustrated by the models of conflict resolution that they had encountered.

Although these beliefs are often held by the perpetrator and used to assert authority within the relationship, beliefs regarding submission can also be held by the survivor and serve to maintain the cycle of abuse. Religious women may believe that their husbands have a rightful place as head of the house and that it is their responsibility as wives to submit to him (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Popescu et al. 2009; Ringel and Park 2008; Wang et al. 2009).

When economic and social opportunities are withheld from a survivor of abuse, it can often lead to a strong feeling of powerlessness, which also enforces the headship of the perpetrator within the relationship (Beaulaurier et al. 2008). Survivors of IPV may feel that they have a responsibility and duty to remain obedient to the perpetrator, regardless of the presence of abuse (Beaulaurier et al. 2008; Knickmeyer et al. 2010), which may be reinforced by clergy, husbands, Christian friends, and family members (Copel 2008; Popescu et al. 2009).

Beliefs and Practices Regarding Divorce

Many Fundamentalist and Evangelical Christian denominations place a high value on the sanctity of marriage. This can be a difficult belief to reconcile with the presence of abuse within Christian marriages. Abuse can often leave the survivor with a sense of incongruence between the presence of abuse and the religious value that divorce is not an option. The survivor may believe that divorce constitutes sinning against God, and may feel that Christian marriages are essentially happy (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Popescu et al. 2009; Pyles 2007). If the survivor holds the stereotype that Christian marriages should be happy and do not contain abuse, it may prevent her from viewing violence perpetrated by her husband as "abuse" (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Popescu et al. 2009; Senter and Caldwell 2002). This context may leave the survivor feeling that her experience of abuse is an anomaly that does not justify leaving the marriage.

Beaulaurier et al. (2008) found that many respondents who had experienced IPV believed that their only option was to continue enduring the abuse, termed by the authors as a sense of hopelessness. This sense of hopelessness may translate into a resigned commitment to the marriage even in the face of abuse. The high value placed on the sanctity of marriage may imply that maintenance of the marriage is more important than safety for the survivor or change within the relationship (Beaulaurier et al. 2008; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Popescu et al. 2009; Pyles 2007), making it difficult for the survivor to place her worth and value as a person ahead of the relative worth of the marriage.

Belief in the sanctity of marriage above the safety and worth of the individual may be reinforced by clergy members sought out by survivors for assistance, resulting in pressure to maintain the relationship with the perpetrator (Copel 2008). As a result, clergy members may respond in a manner which acknowledges difficulties in the marriage, but minimizes the danger present to the victim (Copel 2008; Knickmeyer et al. 2010). Responses such as this can serve to minimize and ignore the survivor's experience

of abuse and reinforce her feelings of religious duty to remain in the relationship. Clergy members themselves may struggle with how to protect and advocate for their female congregants while still supporting the sanctity of marriage (Levitt and Ware 2006). However, discouragement to divorce can also come from church members, husbands, and family members (Popescu et al. 2009; Wang et al. 2009). This social pressure to maintain the marriage may also contribute to the stereotype that Christian marriage should be happy, encouraging the survivor to maintain an image of the "ideal" Christian family and avoid addressing the reality of the abuse (Popescu et al. 2009). This social pressure is subtle but complex for therapists to address. It involves double standards in churches for women. On one hand, the abusive spouse is at fault, but if the abused woman confronts him about it, then she is seen as the person breaking the happiness or harmony of the home. The resulting idea is often that the idea of maintaining the image of a happy home is more important than having a healthy marriage (Johnson and Van Vonderen 1991).

Beliefs and Practices Regarding Forgiveness

Forgiveness is a key tenet for many Evangelical and Fundamentalist groups. While forgiveness can enrich many relationships and provide opportunities for healing and growth (see Worthington et al. 2010, for a review), it can also be used to maintain cycles of abuse and prevent survivors from seeking assistance when distorted (Katerndahl and Obregan 2007; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Ringel and Park 2008). When forgiveness is applied in this manner, it serves to perpetuate IPV. Katerndahl and Obregan (2007) found that women who were involved in abusive marriages often held higher personal values related to personal forgiveness when compared to their husbands. Interestingly, these women also had lower perceived sense of closeness to God compared to their husbands. For the women involved in this study, it appears that obeying God's command to forgive did not result in feeling close to God or

a positive effect on their spiritual life. However, these women still felt compelled to forgive the abusive acts perpetrated by their husbands. The authors postulated that this high value placed in forgiveness among female survivors of IPV serves to maintain the relationship, but results in decreased intimacy with God. At the same time, choosing to forgive the abuser may also contribute to feelings of judgment from family members as well as members of the broader religious community (Katerndahl and Obregan 2007).

Along with feeling a religious obligation to forgive (Ringel and Park 2008), women may feel confident that their husband will not become abusive again, increasing their willingness to forgive the perpetrator (Knickmeyer et al. 2010). Forgiveness may also imply that the survivor should not report the abuse and therefore bring up an offense which she had previously forgiven (Ringel and Park 2008). On the other hand, if the survivor does not feel capable of forgiving the perpetrator, she may feel that she is acting in an "un-Christian" manner, contributing to feelings of guilt or shame (Copel 2008).

Beliefs About Feared Judgment in Christian Communities

Some studies have found that survivors often felt shame and self-blame regarding the abuse, especially within the context of a long-term relationship (Beaulaurier et al. 2008; Katerndahl and Obregan 2007; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Ringel and Park 2008). This sense of shame prevented the survivors from feeling confident in seeking out assistance to end the abuse, and effectively removed social support that might otherwise provide encouragement to the women. Women may believe that they are the ones ultimately responsible when discord or unrest is present within the home, increasing the amount of blame experienced when abuse is present (Beaulaurier et al. 2008). Additionally, among community members who had not personally experienced IPV, Beaulaurier et al. (2008) found that men and women who had not experienced IPV tended to place blame for the abuse on the survivor.

Attributions of blame may also come from clergy members who may believe that the survivor holds complicit blame for the abuse by not taking action against the abusive situation (Levitt and Ware 2006). This suggests that the personal blame that some survivors feel for the abuse may result from their personal interactions with others along with their beliefs regarding the role of women within the family. These personal attributions of blame may make it difficult for survivors of abuse to seek outside resources and assistance for ending the abuse, and result in a reluctance to share their experiences with others (Beaulaurier et al. 2008; Katerndahl and Obregan 2007; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Ringel and Park 2008). Survivors of abuse may fear that they will be blamed for the abuse, seen in a negative light by others, or that their experiences will not be believed at all (Copel 2008; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Ringel and Park 2008; Senter and Caldwell 2002). Unsupportive responses may come from relatives or clergy members who may deny that the abuse is present, or strongly react against breaking apart the family (Beaulaurier et al. 2008; Copel 2008; Popescu et al. 2009).

Religious and Spiritual Resources to Support Survivors of IPV

Even in situations where religious beliefs or values may have been used to facilitate the maintenance of an abusive relationship, religion and spirituality can still serve as coping mechanisms and effective ways of providing social support, instilling worth and value of the individual, and assisting in the healing and restoration process. Many survivors of IPV experience feelings of shame and guilt regarding the abuse, especially if divorce was involved in separating from the abuser. However, after being given the space to process these feelings with God and other trusted individuals, many survivors may come to the realization that God did not desire for them to be abused, allowing them to see their situation in a new light with reduced feelings of blame (Giesbrecht and Sevcik 2000; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Sharp 2010; Wang et al. 2009). Therefore, it is important for pastors and mental health profession-

als to be comfortable around the expression of guilt or blame from survivors of IPV and to allow space and time for processing these emotions.

It may seem logical that women who have experienced distorted religious values that reinforce the occurrence of abuse might resist against spirituality or religion following the abusive situation, and avoid using any type of spiritual coping mechanisms or resources. However, studies have found that greater use of spiritual methods of coping has been associated with decreased levels of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression symptoms following abusive situations, even when religion was implicated with the occurrence of abuse (e.g., Ake and Horne 2003; Gillum et al. 2006; Knickmeyer et al. 2010). This suggests that religion is still a critical factor to address with survivors who have experienced religion-related IPV. It is important for clinicians and pastors alike to be attentive to the religious needs of survivors following abuse, and to have resources available to support the survivor in coping with the aftermath of the abuse. In the next section, we review research regarding religious and spiritual coping with IPV among female survivors of abuse.

Religious and Spiritual Coping with IPV

Ake and Horne (2003) performed a study investigating the various effects of intrinsic versus extrinsic religious orientation, and positive versus negative religious coping on levels of psychological distress in IPV survivors. In the study, positive religious coping was defined as seeking out the assistance of clergy members, redefining beliefs and stressors, and engaging with others in a manner that assists in effective coping with the abuse. Negative religious coping was defined as viewing stressors as punishment from God and defining events from a harmful or dysfunctional viewpoint. Ake and Horne found that survivors of IPV heavily relied on positive religious coping after leaving their abusive experiences. Additionally, the majority of survivors endorsed an intrinsic religious orientation compared to those with extrinsic orientations. Although the researchers

originally hypothesized that positive religious coping would be found more effective in reducing distress, intrinsic orientation was actually found to reduce psychological distress. They postulated that positive and negative religious coping may flow out of the individual's religious orientation, instead of being an independent construct. This emphasizes that both positive and negative religious coping may be beneficial for survivors of abuse, but the most crucial factor may be the survivor's personal, inward relationship with God.

Although this is only one study, it can still provide us with crucial information regarding how to best assist survivors of abuse. Pastors and mental health professionals working with survivors of abuse within a religious context should pay attention not only to the individual's observable religious behaviors such as prayer, church attendance, and Bible reading, but also their personal attitudes and feelings about their current relationship with God. Although religious behaviors are important and can contribute to the healing process, they may not be effective if the individual is struggling with her private relationship with God.

Another important point to take away from this study (Ake and Horne 2003) relates to the role of negative religious coping within the healing process for survivors of IPV. Negative religious coping may be seen as including situations where the survivor focuses on forgiveness and experiences a sense of guilt or shame for the abuse.

As previously mentioned, religious coping may take many different forms that are effective for various types of people. The most important factor of religious coping is likely the survivor's personal relationship with God, but religious behaviors can also play an important role. Many survivors depend on prayer as a method of expressing anger and frustration regarding the abuse without fearing the negative appraisal of others (Senter and Caldwell 2002; Sharp 2010). It can also assist the victim in letting go of anger and engendering increased feelings of self-esteem and self-efficacy (Sharp 2010). Survivors of abuse may be accustomed to feeling shamed for the abuse by others, and prayer allows them an opportunity to express emotions openly and avoid holding those feelings inside.

Religious attendance has also been found to be helpful for some survivors of abuse who have religious backgrounds, providing a sense of social encouragement, strength, and community (Gillum et al. 2006; Senter and Caldwell 2002). Some have referred to churches as an "overlooked strength" in the response to IPV (Pyles 2007). Highly religious individuals have been found more likely to seek out the assistance of faith-based organizations instead of battered women's shelters (Fowler et al. (2011). While mental health professionals may only have contact with an abuse survivor for one session per week, amounting to one hour, churches often provide Bible studies, prayer groups, and other programming throughout the week in addition to their weekly services. This allows a social support network that extends beyond a brief, weekly interaction. Regular religious attendance may promote a higher quality of life for survivors and decrease their risk for experiencing depressive symptoms following abuse (Gillum et al. 2006). The support that churches offer to survivors of IPV can be enhanced through supportive programming specifically for abuse survivors, such as social justice programs or initiatives through the community involving multiple congregations (Pyles 2007). For an example of supportive programming, see the Rave Project at http://www.theraveproject.com/index.php/resources.

Additionally, many survivors of IPV appear to go through a process of reinterpreting their religious beliefs in a manner that is congruent with their current situation (Knickmeyer et al 2010; Senter and Caldwell 2002). These women may have previously embraced beliefs regarding biblical submission, divorce, and marriage that they now find inaccurate. Instead of leaving their religious faith, many women reinterpret these beliefs in a way that is meaningful to them. Clergy need to be available for survivors in this process, and mental health professionals need to be aware of this process and the possibility of referring survivors to clergy members for assistance in working through their religious values and beliefs.

Breaking the Silence

Many Evangelical churches and religious groups are beginning to involve themselves in addressing the needs of survivors of abuse and increasing awareness within their religious communities. This could include preaching sermons on IPV, providing literature on IPV to the church congregation, including domestic violence education in premarital counseling practices, making referrals to community-based organizations when appropriate, and having church-sponsored support groups for survivors of IPV (Homiak and Singletary 2007; Rotunda et al. 2004). Although the struggle to balance the sanctity of the survivor's personhood with the sanctity of marriage is not easily resolved, it appears that many pastors are beginning to emphasize the safety of the survivor as a priority within abusive situations (Homiak and Singletary 2007; Rotunda et al. 2004; Strickland et al. 1998). Indeed, some scholars have suggested that IPV represents a violation of the marital covenant itself (see, e.g., Vieth 2012). This is one way to help these communities to reframe the problem of IPV.

It appears that religious communities are becoming more aware of the existence of abuse within religious contexts and are willing to take steps to protect survivors of IPV instead of supporting patriarchal family systems (Rotunda et al. 2004). However, certain pastors may still prefer to do marriage counseling with partners who are involved in abusive relationships, when marriage counseling in these situations is generally not supported by the mental health community (Rotunda et al. 2004). This may extend out of a desire to preserve the marriage, if possible, while still addressing the abuse and safety of the individual. It is important for clergy and mental health professionals alike to realize that there may be differences in treatment preferences between different professionals. Ultimately, the best treatment decision is one that ensures the safety of the survivor while still remaining respectful of her religious beliefs and values.

The Intersection of Knowledge, Attitudes, and Prevention Efforts

In studies which examine clergy attitudes toward abuse, many have found that clergy desire increased training in the areas of domestic violence and IPV (Homiak and Singletary 2007; Rotunda et al. 2004). Issues of abuse may not be frequently addressed within seminary settings, and many clergy lack the training necessary to effectively meet the needs of abuse survivors (Rotunda et al. 2004). However, increased training may not be the only variable to consider in assisting clergy members to address abuse.

Strickland et al. (1998) performed an interesting study that examined the knowledge, attitudes, and prevention practices regarding IPV with a sample of 260 clergy members in Illinois. They found that the level of knowledge about IPV held by a participant had a strong negative correlation with how many years the individual had served as a clergy member. In other words, those who had been serving for a longer period of time were significantly less knowledgeable than those who were newer clergy members. Additionally, those with increased knowledge regarding IPV also possessed more positive attitudes toward prevention efforts and more favorable attitudes toward survivors of abuse. However, increased levels of knowledge and favorable attitudes did not translate into increased actual prevention efforts. Instead, increased prevention efforts were associated with larger congregations, doctrinally liberal clergy members, and the presence of female clergy members. Although increased level of education did not affect prevention efforts, the number of years served as a clergy member did make a difference. Clergy members who had more years of service reported engaging in far less preventions efforts compared to newer clergy.

The results from this study hold critical implications for addressing IPV within religious contexts. Simply providing clergy members with training and knowledge regarding IPV may increase favorable attitudes toward prevention efforts and survivors themselves, but may not translate into actual prevention efforts. While the value of favorable attitudes should not be dismissed and can be considered an important step, the process cannot stop there. Unless the attitudes eventually lead to changes within the congregation such as increased resources and the presence of support groups or appropriate referrals to community resources, survivors of IPV within the congregation may not ever feel welcome to bring their issues of abuse to a clergy or congregation member. In short, prevention efforts are critical for changing the resources made available to abuse survivors within religious contexts. As previously mentioned, Strickland et al. (1998) found that prevention efforts were associated with larger congregations, doctrinally liberal clergy, and female clergy members. It may be that larger congregations are able to provide more resources available to their congregants due to their increased financial and staffing capabilities. Smaller churches may need to partner together with each other or with other mental health organizations in the area in order to meet the needs of local IPV survivors. This provides a great opportunity for mental health organizations to reach out to local churches and assist them in providing services and resources to abuse survivors. Many clergy members desire increased resources and training for themselves and their congregations (Homiak and Singletary 2007; Rotunda et al. 2004; Strickland et al. 1998) which should encourage mental health organizations to pursue working with them in a collaborative manner.

Additionally, it appears that congregations who employ female clergy members have increased prevention efforts relative to churches that do not have women on their pastoral staff (Strickland et al. 1998). It may be that female clergy members are more aware of the reality of abuse and therefore are more willing to advocate for increased resources for abuse survivors. Also, female clergy members may be seen as more approachable by IPV survivors, therefore increasing the awareness of abuse within the congregation. Even if a church does not employ females as clergy members, it may be beneficial to have a female staff member available to meet with other female congregants who have concerns regarding abuse.

Treatment for Evangelical and Fundamentalist Men who Commit IPV

Within the literature surrounding religion-related IPV, much attention is rightfully given to the needs of the survivor. However, there is a great need to continue developing effective treatments and resources for perpetrators of IPV who may come from religious backgrounds. Many programs exist for treating IPV perpetrators, but few, if any, incorporate the spirituality of the perpetrator into treatment. This would be a crucial point to consider, especially for perpetrators who may have used religious beliefs and patriarchal gender roles as justification for the abuse. One program has been developed for use with Latino men who have perpetrated IPV (Welland and Ribner 2010). It begins by encouraging the perpetrator to examine their personal willingness to change and experience spiritual transformation. Additionally, it utilizes Christian and Jewish religious texts to teach themes of love and respect within marriage and emphasize the value of family. Religious values are also used to denounce the use of violence within marriage. This program has been effective in assisting perpetrators, but more programs are needed to target various other population groups.

Another study by Levitt et al. (2008) examined interviews of 12 male perpetrators of IPV who considered themselves religious. Although the study did not articulate a specific treatment protocol for the perpetrators, it provides valuable information into the motivations and beliefs that may lie behind the perpetration of abuse. Many of the men interpreted comments and complaints from their partners as implying that the men were inferior, and that expressing anger was a method of regaining the respect of their partner and asserting their masculinity. They did not feel comfortable expressing vulnerability, and even admitted to fears of being seen as weak that ran under their displays of aggression. Ten of the 12 perpetrators said that this fear also included a fear of being rejected by their partner, but they were unwilling to share these feelings with their partner. Overall, fear was associated with a sense of disrespect while anger and aggression allowed the perpetrators to maintain their masculinity and

headship within the family. This information emphasizes the need for practical psychoeducation regarding conflict resolution, communication skills, and trust-building exercises for perpetrators of abuse. These skills are necessary to foster good communication between partners, facilitating an environment where the perpetrator feels able to express vulnerability without judgment.

The study also investigated the intersection between the men's religious beliefs and the perpetration of abuse. The majority of the men did not believe that God approved of IPV, but did not feel that religious leaders would understand their struggle and would blame them instead of helping them. Some of the participants also felt that ending the relationship with their partner was the only way to end the abuse, which was contrary to their religious beliefs regarding marriage. IPV and other forms of abuse need to be discussed within religious settings and made accessible for spouses struggling with an abusive cycle. Both mental health professionals and clergy members need to be understanding of the difficulties perpetrators might be facing with communication and expression of emotion, instead of judging them for the abuse. Additionally, it would be important to discuss how the perpetration of abuse may have affected the partner's relationship with God, especially if he believed that God did not approve of IPV.

Implications for Professional Practice and Future Research

In this section, we discuss implications for professional practice as well as research. We begin by discussing issues related to safety, repentance, and forgiveness. We then discuss the integration of spirituality into treatments for survivors as well as perpetrators of IPV. We conclude by considering implications for future research.

Issues of Safety, Repentance, and Forgiveness

Safety is a primary issue of concern for survivors of IPV, particularly when they are currently

in an abusive relationship. Stith and McCollum (2009) differentiate between situational forms of IPV and characterological IPV. They note that in characterological IPV, couples therapy is not appropriate. They have developed domestic-violence-focused couples therapy (DVFCT; Stith et al. 2011) and note that safety of the person being victimized is tantamount throughout treatment. This treatment is an 18-week single-couple or multicouple group format. It involves screening couples for current violence, a 6-week gender specific program, and then a 12-week conjoint program. It involves ongoing monitoring of violence throughout treatment and solution-focused therapy to eliminate violence within one's relationship.

In our view, pastors often prematurely recommend that battered women forgive their perpetrators when counseling religious women. Although we are not aware of any published guidelines to guide forgiveness in situations involving IPV, we are aware of guidelines that have been suggested for granting forgiveness to perpetrators of incest against their own children from pedophiles who are requesting it from clergy. Vieth (2012) has suggested that some steps in the process of repentance include (1) informing one's spouse of the abuse, (2) being willing to move out of the house if one's spouse or child wishes it, (3) informing the child's medical provider that the offender has violated the child's body, (4) referring the child for psychological treatment, (5) turning oneself in to the police, (6) confessing one's crime to the police, and (7) enrolling in a sex offender treatment program.

The authors of this chapter are left to wonder whether the same pastors who, in our view, frequently prematurely recommend forgiveness might also recommend that perpetrators of IPV confess their actions to members of their extended families, their pastors, their church community, and also file assault charges against themselves, *prior* to seeking and being granted forgiveness from spouses. We further wonder how this advice might impact how IPV is viewed within Evangelical and Fundamentalist communities.

Although forgiveness is a Christian virtue, we suggest that psychotherapists and clergy carefully consider the need for perpetrator repentance prior to recommending premature forgiveness on the part of IPV survivors. We also suggest that any recommendation to consider forgiveness should be made contingent on the perpetrator seeking and completing treatment, either separately or in DVFCT. We understand that some clergy may bristle at this recommendation. It is important for clergy to remember that, although forgiveness is a Christian virtue and a commandment from Jesus, perpetrators of IPV often have cognitive distortions that have allowed them to justify their abuse in the first place. Clergy are cautioned to keep this fact in mind, and to modify their usual advice regarding forgiveness in situations involving domestic violence. We believe that, in situations involving IPV, forgiveness that is offered without safeguards against future violence may be seen by some perpetrators of IPV as excusing or condoning the violent behavior. Therefore, it makes sense to require perpetrator repentance, demonstrated through specific actions (e.g., seeking treatment) prior to suggesting forgiveness or reconciliation in abusive relationships. Although counterintuitive for many clergy due to biblical commandments to forgive, such action is not inconsistent with Jesus' way of confronting sin in the lives of different people. In confronting sin, Jesus dealt with different people in different ways. Perpetrators of IPV need accountability and a clear message that violence is a violation of their martial vows.

Treatments for Perpetrators

Although the focus of our review was limited to religious beliefs, values, and behaviors in relation to IPV, a number of other factors have consistently been found to be related to perpetrating IPV. For example, psychopathology on the part of the abuser, substance abuse, the presence of personality disorders such as narcissistic personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder, and situational stressors have been identified as core factors involved in the perpetration of IPV (Murphy et al. 2009). Obviously, the presence of these individual risk factors is significant. It remains to be seen how religious beliefs, values, and behaviors may interact with the presence

of these personal factors on the part of the men who perpetrate IPV. Evidence-based treatment for perpetrators of IPV involves addressing these multiple factors, but also directly involves treating cognitive distortions supporting abuse (Murphy et al. 2009).

We suggest that cognitive behavioral treatment for male Fundamentalist and Evangelical perpetrators of IPV also incorporate the use of scriptural reframing of passages that such men have used in support of committing abusive acts. For example, earlier we noted that some Evangelicals have framed the scriptural admonition for wives to submit to their husbands (Eph. 5:22) in light of the beginning of that passage that calls for husbands and wives to submit to one another (Eph. 5:21). Although this sort of scripturally integrative treatment has not been done for abusive men in the past, the general idea of incorporating Scripture into cognitive behavioral treatment for Fundamentalist and Evangelical Christians is very common (see Tan and Johnson 2005, for a review). Christian therapists generally believe that Scripture is highly compatible with cognitive behavioral therapy due to biblical passages that emphasize the role of cognitions and behavior in spiritual formation. Consistent with this belief, there is empirical evidence that secular treatments are more effective for religious populations when accommodated to include religious content (McCullough 1999; Propst et al. 1992; Richards and Worthington 2010).

Treatments for Survivors of IPV

For survivors of IPV, cognitive processing therapy (CPT) has consistently been found to be effective in reducing PTSD symptoms and depressive symptoms among women survivors of IPV (Pico-Alfonso 2005; Resick et al. 2008; Rizvi et al. 2009). CPT has also been found to be effective at reducing the risk for revictimization for IPV (Iverson et al. 2011). Since CPT has consistently been found to be effective in assisting female survivors, it makes sense that religious survivors of IPV would benefit from receiving CPT. Although some may question the inclusion of religion and

spirituality in treatment with female survivors of IPV when religious and spiritual content has been used by their abusers to support IPV, we assert that this is precisely why treatment should do so. Pico-Alfonso (2005) found that the psychological component of IPV (e.g., intimidation, psychological control) was the strongest predictor of IPV when comparing different physical, psychological, and sexual features of IPV. We suggest that treatment which directly confronts religious distortions advanced by perpetrators as a psychological feature of IPV will be more effective with religious survivors than treatment that fails to do so. We are not aware of any treatment protocols for CPT that have been specifically adapted for use with religious survivors of IPV in this manner. However, among children who have been abused, there are published clinical case studies that support this approach to confronting religious distortions using trauma-focused cognitive behavior therapy (TF-CBT), as well as a published treatment protocol for doing so (Walker et al. 2010). We encourage trauma psychologists to consider adapting CPT content for religious IPV survivors in a similar fashion. We also encourage outcome research on the effectiveness of spiritually oriented CPT for religiously committed female survivors of IPV.

Survivors of IPV often seek help from their clergy members or other members of their congregation. As a result, clergy and other church members have an enormous potential to be helpful to psychotherapists in engaging religious survivors of IPV in treatment. Improved collaboration between psychotherapists and clergy focused on this particular issue is sorely needed. Such collaboration would be enhanced through community-based action research with past survivors of IPV and clergy that are currently working in churches to better assist clergy in providing helpful responses to IPV survivors. In completing such research and collaboration, it will be important for researchers to work with in-group members of the religious communities that they are attempting to engage.

Conclusion

As Evangelical Christians, we strongly believe that there is no place for abuse within Christian marriages. Acts of battering are incompatible with the Lord Jesus' command to "love the Lord your God with all your heart, all your mind, and all your strength, and to love your neighbor as yourself" (Mark 12:30–31, NIV). We feel privileged to contribute in a small way to the emerging literature seeking to eliminate IPV in religious communities. We look forward to a day when the need to treat IPV no longer exists.

References

Ake, G. S., & Horne, S. G. (2003). The influence of religious orientation and coping on the psychological distress of Christian domestic violence victims. *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, *5*(2), 5–28.

Alsdurf, J., & Alsdurf, P. (1989).*Battered into submission: The tragedy of wife abuse in the Christian home*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Amen Corner (2012, October 12). Billy Sunday. *Sword of the Lord*, p. 8.

Beaulaurier, R. L., Seff, L. R., & Newman, F. L. (2008). Barriers to help-seeking for older women who experience intimate partner violence: A descriptive model. *Journal of Women & Aging*, *20*(3–4), 231–248.

Collins, K. J. (2005). *The Evangelical moment: The promise of an American religion*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Copel, L. C. (2008). The lived experience of women in abusive relationships who sought spiritual guidance. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, *29*(2), 115–130.

Drumm, R. D., Popescu, M., & Riggs, M. L. (2009). Gender variation in partner abuse: Findings from a conservative Christian denomination. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, *24*(1), 56–68.

Fowler, D. N., Faulkner, M., Learman, J., & Runnels, R. (2011). The influence of spirituality on service utilization and satisfaction for women residing in a domestic violence shelter. *Violence against Women*, *10*, 1244–1259.

Gallagher, S. K., & Smith, C. (1999). Symbolic traditionalism and pragmatic egalitarianism: Contemporary evangelicals, families, and gender. *Gender and Society*, *13*, 211–233.

Giesbrecht, N., & Sevcik, I. (2000). The process of recovery and rebuilding among abused women in the conservative Evangelical subculture. *Journal of Family Violence*, *15*(3), 229–248.

Gillum, T. L., Sullivan, C. M., & Bybee, D. I. (2006). The importance of spirituality in the lives of domestic violence survivors. *Violence Against Women*, *12*(3), 240–250.

Homiak, K. B., & Singletary, J. E. (2007). Family violence in congregations: An exploratory study of clergy's needs. *Social Work & Christianity*, *34*(1), 18–46.

Iverson, K. M., Gradus, J. L., Resick, P. A., Suvak, M. K., Smith, K. F., & Monson, C. M. (2011). Cognitive-behavioral therapy for PTSD and depression symptoms reduces risk for future intimate partner violence among interpersonal trauma survivors. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *79*(2), 193–202.

Johnson, J., & VanVonderen, J. (1991). *The subtle power of spiritual abuse*. Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House.

Katerndahl, D. A., & Obregan, M. L. (2007). An exploration of the spiritual and psychosocial variables associated with husband-to-wife abuse and its effect on women in abusive relationships. *International Journal of Psychiatry in Medicine*, *37*(2), 113–128.

Knickmeyer, N., Levitt, H., & Horne, S. G. (2010). Putting on Sunday best: The silencing of battered women within Christian faith communities. *Feminism & Psychology*, *20*(1), 94–113.

Kyle, R. (2006). *Evangelicalism: An Americanized Christianity*. New Brunswick, Canada: Transaction Publishers.

Levitt, H. M., & Ware, K. N. (2006). Religious leaders' perspectives on marriage, divorce, and intimate partner violence. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *30*(2), 212–222.

Levitt, H. M., Swanger, R. T., & Butler, J. B. (2008). Male perpetrators' perspectives on intimate partner violence, religion, and masculinity. *Sex Roles*, *58*(5–6), 435–448.

Long, M. G. (2008). *The legacy of Billy Graham: Critical reflections on America's greatest evangelist*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Marsden, G. M. (1987). *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Marsden, G. M. (1990). *Fundamentalism and American culture: The shaping of twentieth-century Evangelicalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McCullough, M. E. (1999). Research on religion-accommodative counseling: A review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *46*, 92–98.

Moon, G., & Benner, D. (2004). (Eds.). *Spiritual direction and the care of souls*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.

Murphy, C. M., Meis, L. A., & Eckhardt, C. I. (2009). Individualized services and individual therapy for partner abuse perpetrators. In K. D. O'Leary & E. M. Woodin (Eds.), *Psychological and physical aggression in couples: Causes and interventions* (pp.211–231). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pico-Alfonso, M. A. (2005). Psychological intimate partner violence: The major predictor of posttraumatic stress disorder in abused women. *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews*, *29*(1), 181–193.

Popescu, M., Drumm, R., Mayer, S., Cooper, L., Foster, T.,…, & Dewan, S. (2009). "Because of my beliefs

that I had acquired from the church…": Religious belief-based barriers for Adventist women in domestic violence relationships. *Social Work & Christianity*, *36*(4), 394–414.

Propst, R. L., Ostrom, R. W., Dean, P., & Mashburn, T. D. (1992). Comparative efficacy of religious and non-religious cognitive behavioral therapy for the treatment of depression in religious individuals. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *60*, 94–103.

Pyles, L. (2007). The complexities of the religious response to domestic violence: Implications for faith-based initiatives. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, *22*(3), 281–291.

Resick, P. A., Galovski, T. E., Uhlmansiek, M. O., Scher, C. D., Clum, G. A., & Young-Xu, Y. (2008). A randomized clinical trial to dismantle components of cognitive processing therapy for posttraumatic stress disorder in female victims of interpersonal violence. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *76*(2), 243–258.

Richards, P. S., & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2010). The need for evidence-based, spiritually-oriented therapies. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *41*, 363–370.

Ringel, S., & Park, J. (2008). Intimate partner violence in the Evangelical community: Faith-based interventions and implications for practice. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, *27*(4), 341–360.

Rizvi, S. L., Vogt, D. S., & Resick, P. A. (2009). Cognitive and affective predictors of treatment outcome in cognitive processing therapy and prolonged exposure for posttraumatic stress disorder. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *47*(9), 737–743.

Rotunda, R. J., Williamson, G., & Penfold, M. (2004). Clergy response to domestic violence: A preliminary survey of clergy members, victims, and batterers. *Pastoral Psychology*, *52*(4), 353–365.

Senter, K. E., & Caldwell, K. (2002). Spirituality and the maintenance of change: A phenomenological study of women who leave abusive relationships. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, *24*(4), 543–564.

Sharp, S. (2010). How does prayer help manage emotions? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *73*(4), 417–437.

Stiehler-Thurston, N. (2000). Psychotherapy with Evangelical and Fundamentalist Protestants. In P. S. Richards & A. E. Bergin (Eds.), *Handbook of psychotherapy and religious diversity*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Stith, S. M., & McCollum, E. E. (2009). Couples treatment for psychological and physical aggression. In K. D. O'Leary & E. M. Woodin (Eds.), Psychological and physical aggression in couples: Causes and interventions (pp. 233–250). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Stith, S. M., McCollum, E. E., & Rosen, K. H. (2011). Domestic violence-focused couples therapy within a solution-focused framework. In S. M. Stith, E. E. McCollum, & K. H. Rosen (Eds.), *Couples therapy for domestic violence: Finding safe solutions* (pp. 31–42). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Strickland, G. A., Welschimer, K. J., & Sarvela, P. D. (1998). Clergy perspectives and practices regarding intimate violence: A rural view. *The Journal of Rural Health*, *14*(4), 305–311.

Tan, S. Y., & Johnson, W. B. (2005). Spiritually-oriented cognitive behavioral therapy. In L. Sperry, & E. P. Shafranske (Eds.), *Spiritually-Oriented Psychotherapy* (pp. 77–103). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Teaster, P. B., Roberto, K. A., & Dugar, T. A. (2006). Intimate partner violence of rural aging women. *Family Relations*, *55*(5), 636–648.

Vieth, V. (2012). Suffer the children: Developing effective church policies on child maltreatment. http://wrfnet. org/sites/default/files/Suffer%20the%20Children%20 by%20Victor%20Vieth.pdf. Accessed 15 Nov 2013.

Walker, D. F., Reese, J., Hughes, J., & Troskie, M. (2010). Addressing religious and spiritual issues in trauma-focused cognitive behavioral therapy. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *41*, 174–180.

Wang, M. C., Horne, S. G., Levitt, H. M., & Klesges, L. M. (2009). Christian women in IPV relationships: An exploratory study of religious factors. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, *28*(3), 224–235.

Welland, C., & Ribner, N. (2010). Culturally specific treatment for partner-abusive Latino men: A qualitative study to identify and implement program components. *Violence and Victims*, *25*(6), 799–813.

Willard, D. (1999). *The Spirit of the disciplines*. New York: Harper Collins.

Worthington, E. L., Jr, Diblasio, F., & Jennings, D. J. (2010). Interventions to promote forgiveness in couple and family context: Conceptualization, review, and analysis. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, *38*, 231–245.

An Anabaptist-Mennonite Perspective of Intimate Partner Violence

Peter J. Jankowski

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the intersection between Anabaptist-Mennonite (A-M) belief and practice, men's violence against women, and restorative justice (RJ). In doing so, the theme of men's violence against women is framed within the context of interpersonal violence, and specifically a discussion about intimate partner violence (IPV). There are two corollary objectives related to the purpose of this chapter: (1) describe A-M contributions to understanding and alleviating IPV, and (2) describe the role of RJ in responding to IPV. RJ is an alternative approach to adjudicating criminal justice cases that seeks to promote healing of harm done by the criminal offense through the involvement of victim, offender, and community in mediated dialogue and dispute resolution (Cheon and Regehr 2006). Central to the objectives of this chapter is engagement with the empirical literature on IPV, religiousness, and forgiveness. Last, the chapter is organized around the observation that parallels exist between discussion about conjoint interventions for treating IPV and debate about the use of RJ practices when responding to IPV.

Anabaptist-Mennonite Belief and Practice

A-M refers to a diverse group of Christian congregations generally described as Mennonite, Brethren, and Quaker, and which "are often called the historic peace churches" (Kraybill 2003, p. 40). The term A-M also transcends congregational affiliation and refers to a heterogeneous group of contemporary Christians who adhere to the cross as a model to be practiced and applied in all social relations (Hauerwas 1983; Volf 1996). The cross, embedded in the account of the life of Jesus in the Gospels, is the central organizing construct for other A-M distinctive values and practices such as nonviolence (Hauerwas 1983; Volf 1996), nonconformity, and nonresistance (Showalter 2002), discipleship (Charlton 2002; Hauerwas 1983), forgiveness, reconciliation, and social justice (Hauerwas 2001; Volf 1996) and a communal, Christocentric hermeneutic (Hauerwas 1983). The latter refers to reading scripture based on dialogue with others in the local congregation and the larger Christian community, and the use of Jesus's life and teaching as a lens for interpreting the whole of scripture and determining a Christian social ethic. A Christocentric hermeneutic is founded upon the notion that

> Christ is the norm, [and] everything about his person and work is relevant to biblical interpretation … the Bible is not flat; Christ is its peak and its center. No moral issue should be addressed apart from a consideration of the meaning of Jesus Christ for reflection on that issue … remembering that Jesus is alive and continues to instruct his church. (Stassen and Gushee 2003, pp. 96–97)

P. J. Jankowski (✉)
Department of Psychology, Bethel University,
St. Paul, MN, USA
e-mail: pjankows@bethel.edu

Volf (1996) in describing the central place of the cross in an A-M social ethic used the cross to symbolize the construct of embrace: "The arms of the crucified are open—a sign of a space in God's self and an invitation for the enemy to come in" (Volf 1996, p. 126). The cross was the means by which God invited humanity to participate in the life of the Triune community of Father, Son, and Spirit (Volf 1996). An individual relationship with God through appropriation of the cross enables humans to embrace others, even those who might be deemed enemies. The cross was further described as the final violent sacrifice of a scapegoat system that God used to "remake the world into a place in which the need to sacrifice others could be eschewed" (Volf 1996, p. 295; see also, Girard 1989); freeing persons to embrace others. The cross, therefore, exemplifies an entire way of life for the embraced Christ follower, and becomes a template to carry into every social interaction.

The distinctiveness of A-M belief and practice has been described as "a 'third way'—one that is neither Protestant nor Catholic, but a third way that blends evangelical spirituality with social justice" (Kraybill 2003, p. 30). In addition, A-M belief and practice positions the A-M community in distinct relation to the larger society. This positioning consists of seeing the state

> as a consequence of the Fall, performing the limited task of maintaining order in a fallen society. For Anabaptists, then, the redeemed community—the church—functions as the primary agent of God's work in the world. As members of this redeemed community, Christians are called to model the ethic of Christ in lives of service and peacemaking. (Charlton 2002, p. 141)

Last, as a theory of change in contrast to other Christian faith traditions, A-M belief and practice is distinct in its approach to "transform[ing] thinking by living and by one's commitment to a radically Christocentric lifestyle" (Charlton 2002, p. 150), whereas "the Reformed approach [for example] … is more 'cerebral,' seeking to 'transform living by thinking'" (p. 150). In the psychotherapy literature, this distinction has been framed as a contrast between constructivist and rationalist theories of change (Mahoney

and Lyddon 1988), and in the practical theology literature as a contrast between experientially grounded and "rational control model[s] of spirituality" (Maddox 2001, p. 5).

Change occurs as a result of consistently practicing or performing actions that embody distinctive A-M beliefs, such as nonviolence, forgiveness, and social justice. Performance is context specific, and so is relative to particular social situations, while also attempting to remain set apart or intentionally countercultural to the influence of dominant discourses and values; the latter which are often perceived as standing in stark contrast to a distinctively A-M Christian social ethic. The strong valuing of community, and specifically a group of like-minded, fellow Christ followers, enables consistent adherence to A-M belief and practice. However, rather than merely a behavioral theory of change, the practice of forgiveness or performance of social activism, for example, is embedded and grounded within the experience of having been lovingly embraced by God, made possible through the propitiatory suffering of Jesus on the cross. Of particular importance is the understanding that this embrace occurred while each individual was an estranged other and enemy of God. Emotionally experiencing forgiveness and loving communion with God empowers adherence to distinctive A-M belief and practice. Emotion, action, and cognition are thought to exist in systemic relationship, such that performance of an action founded in loving embrace is tied to the individual's belief about the cross. Promoting change can occur anywhere within the emotion–action–cognition system, and yet, a distinctively A-M theory of change emphasizes action grounded in the experience of God's embrace.

Sandage and Jankowski (2010) offered a description of embrace based on an integration of the Bowen theory (Kerr and Bowen 1988) construct of differentiation-of-self (DoS). They defined embrace as an intrapersonally and interpersonally differentiated stance in relation to the other. DoS involves regulating negative emotion and relating prosocially to the other in the face of relational anxiety, hurt, and injustice. In their study, DoS mediated the relationship between

forgiveness and indicators of spiritual and psychological well-being. In another study, DoS mediated the association between spiritual well-being and social justice commitment (Sandage and Jankowski 2013). Spiritual well-being refers to relating to God along two dimensions (a) secure closeness with God, and (b) sense of meaning and purpose in life. Their findings support the theoretical premise that particular forms of religiousness are associated with self-regulated and prosocial interpersonal functioning, with religiousness defined as relating to the sacred, including God, and therefore constituting a relational spirituality (Shults and Sandage 2006). Elsewhere, Jankowski and Sandage (2011) demonstrated that experiences of felt attachment security with God and with others facilitated the likelihood of interpersonal forgiveness. Felt attachment security overlaps with Volf's (1996) construct of embrace. Taken together then, their research suggests that experiences of God's embrace can be associated with increased interpersonal forgiveness, thereby offering some empirical support for the theological assertion that embrace can foster an A-M social ethic.

Forgiveness is central to an A-M social ethic, and yet, when the construct of forgiveness and the related yet distinct constructs of repentance and reconciliation are brought into dialogue about IPV, tensions and complexity emerge that are not easily resolved. In fact, the roles of offender repentance, victim forgiveness, and relational reconciliation are controversial themes within the IPV literature (e.g., Smith 2005; Tsang and Stanford 2007). Of particular concern are manipulative forms of apology or repentance (Stubbs 2002) which can increase the risk of further traumatization to the victim. Nevertheless, forgiveness interventions, focused on intrapersonal self-regulation of negative effect and the development of positive effect, have been effectively used to promote healing for some victims of psychological abuse (Reed and Enright 2006) and diverse forms of adult relational attachment injuries (Greenberg et al. 2008, 2010; Sandage and Worthington 2010); and forgiveness is inherent in RJ responses to IPV (e.g., Cheon and Regehr 2006; Smith 2005). The debate about

the role of forgiveness in responding to IPV appears to also be embedded within larger tensions, such as the tension between competing ideological commitments (Smith 2005), which includes debate about the indigenous healing practices of minority status groups and dominant cultural values about retributive criminal justice (Sullivan and Tifft 2006). Additionally, there is a tension between ideological and evidence-based approaches to IPV intervention (Dixon et al. 2011).

Introducing religiousness into the dialogue only serves to increase the complexity of how to understand and effectively respond to incidents of IPV. Forgiveness, for example, is an ideological commitment for persons of diverse religious traditions, and a particular distinctive of those adhering to A-M belief and practice. A religious commitment to forgive might conflict with dominant cultural and professional practices which often oppose forgiveness in the context of IPV (Smith 2005). The role of forgiveness in IPV intervention appears to be a matter of multicultural competence and intercultural sensitivity that requires practitioners to be aware of (a) religiousness as a factor that may be relevant to the victim's experience and potential healing, and (b) the indigenous healing practices of the particular community or cultural group to which the victim belongs. Both religiousness and indigenous healing practices may involve forgiveness and thereby influence a victim's response to IPV. Advocates of forgiveness in IPV treatment consistently argue for careful screening of individuals to determine the appropriateness of forgiveness intervention in particular situations, the cautious implementation of forgiveness interventions, and the centrality of the victim's voice when determining the role of forgiveness in the healing process; and yet, disagreement remains about the use of forgiveness in responding to incidents of IPV.

Intimate Partner Violence

IPV refers to violence in close personal relationships, and given the theme for this particular book of men's violence against women is further defined as violence within heterosexual, intimate

relationships. This chapter is grounded in some foundational ideas about IPV: (1) concern about the effectiveness of standard treatment-as-usual (e.g., Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Ross and Babcock 2010), (2) batterers and relationships are heterogeneous (e.g., Carlson and Jones 2010; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010), (3) assessment/screening is essential when determining intervention (e.g., Stith 2011; Stith and McCollum 2011), and (4) empirical findings of the association between religiousness and IPV are mixed and complex (e.g., Ellison et al. 2007; Higginbotham et al. 2007; Jankowski et al. 2011).

Of concern to an increasing number of researchers and practitioners are findings that standard treatments for IPV appear to be generally ineffective in preventing future acts of violence (Babcock et al. 2004; Dixon et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Stith and McCollum 2011). In their influential meta-analysis, Babcock et al. (2004) found an overall small effect size for the effectiveness of batterer intervention programs on the outcome of violence recidivism; comparable to the effect size for substance abuse treatment but significantly smaller than the effect size for overall psychotherapy outcomes. Their analysis also revealed little difference between treatment approaches. Babcock et al. (2004) concluded IPV is difficult to treat and that there was a need to supplement standard treatments with adjunctive treatments to create a more comprehensive treatment strategy.

Standard treatments are typically grounded in a retributive justice-based approach to criminal justice and in a paradigm of unidirectional male-to-female violence that has at its core an assumption that violence is a product of male power and control, which is fostered and supported by the larger patriarchal social context (Dixon et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Stith 2011). Standard treatment typically involves court-ordered groups for male batterers designed primarily around the goal of increasing "men's awareness of control tactics" (Stith 2011, p. 9). Additionally, standard group treatment for male batterers often involves skills training and anger management techniques (Babcock et al. 2004), and can include "trauma-based approaches" that

embed male battering in a developmental context that includes childhood experiences and attachment injuries (Stith 2011, p. 9). In contrast, standard treatment for female victims of IPV, when offered, typically include supportive services which tend to be short-term, crisis-intervention-based approaches focused on promoting safety, and working towards increased autonomy and leaving the violent relationship (Allen and Wozniak 2011; Stith 2011).

In an effort to increase the effectiveness of IPV treatments and in reaction to the historical and categorical position against conjoint interventions for IPV, some scholars have increasingly sought to draw attention to the need for relational or couple approaches to IPV (Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; McCollum and Stith 2008; Stith 2011); not as a stand-alone alternative to standard treatment, but as an expanded, more comprehensive treatment approach. The movement toward constructing more comprehensive approaches also stems from understanding the heterogeneity of batterers and violent relationships. In fact, some have sought to document the effectiveness of conjoint treatments (McCollum and Stith 2008) in an effort to expand treatment options.

The move toward more comprehensive approaches is also tied to greater recognition of the co-occurrence of perpetrator psychopathology and IPV, perhaps most notably substance abuse and dependence (e.g., Fals-Stewart et al. 2009; Hamberger and Holtzworth-Munroe 2009) and personality disorder symptomatology (e.g., Hamberger and Holtzworth-Munroe 2009; Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart 1994; Walsh et al. 2010). Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) distinguished perpetrators with antisocial characteristics from those with borderline features, and a third group with low psychopathology. The latter group was labeled family-only batterers, and was distinguished from the other two groups by lower severity of violence and less violence beyond the couple relationship. A fourth type was added later characterized by moderate levels of IPV, general violence, and antisocial tendencies (Holtzworth-Munroe et al. 2000).

Not only are batterers a heterogeneous group but there appear to be varying types of violent

relationships also, for example, intimate terrorism, violent resistance, mutual violent control, and situational couple violence (Carlson and Jones 2010; Johnson and Ferraro 2000; Stith 2011). Situational couple violence is thought to be the most prevalent type of IPV, stemming from the couples' inability to resolve conflict effectively, with incidents of conflict escalating to the point of violence (Stith and McCollum 2011). Others have pointed out the prevalence of bidirectional violence, with rates as high as 83 and 84% in some samples of couples (Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010). In addition, rates of unidirectional violence have been observed to be equivalent between male-to-female and female-to-male violence in some samples (Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010). Increased recognition of bidirectional violence in couple relationships that go beyond violent self-defense as an explanation has furthered the development of alternative approaches to IPV (Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010).

It is the intimate terrorism classification that seems to most fit the historical, feminist-informed paradigm of unidirectional male-to-female heterosexual violence characterized by domination and control. The feminist-informed paradigm, while foundational to raising awareness about IPV and initiating prevention and intervention efforts, is limited in its ability to account for all types of IPV. In addition, the feminist-informed paradigm which has fundamentally shaped standard treatment for IPV, may in fact account for some of the ineffectiveness of standard treatments because it tends to categorically preclude inclusion of alternative and adjunctive approaches (Babcock et al. 2004; Dixon et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Ross and Babcock 2010); creating "a one-size-fits-all approach to intervention (gender-specific, profeminist) [that] may not meet the needs for all couples" (Stith and McCollum 2011, p. 315).

Batterer typologies appear to correspond to relational typologies with low psychopathology batterers present in situational violent relationships, while antisocial and borderline classifications of batterers present in relationships described as intimate terrorism (Cavanaugh and Gelles 2005; Walsh et al. 2010). Low psychopa-

thology batterer(s) in a situational violent relationship, including those involving bidirectional violence, are perhaps better suited to conjoint interventions (Stith 2011). Furthermore, the appropriateness of any type of clinical intervention for batterers who display features of personality disorders, particularly those displaying antisocial traits, has been questioned (Jacobson and Gottman 1998). And so, while treatments can be offered to intimate terrorists, treatment should "never be offered as an alternative to the appropriate legal sanctions" (Jacobson and Gottman 1998, p. 46).

Beyond typologies some have begun to advocate for a dimensional approach to IPV that seeks to identify factors that cut across the differing types of batterers and violent relationships (Jankowski et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Ross and Babcock 2010). A dimensional approach could then be the basis for clinical assessment and tailoring treatments to specific goals (Ross and Babcock 2010). Underlying dimensions of IPV identified thus far and which appear to cut across typologies are self-regulation difficulties, dispositional intolerance, and insecure attachment relationships (Finkel et al. 2009; Jankowski et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Ross and Babcock 2010). Self-regulation can refer to the ability to self-monitor emotions and behavior, and adjust behavior to align with prosocial ideals or goals (McCullough and Willoughby 2009). In contrast, self-dysregulation as a construct can be defined by indicators such as impulsivity, affect lability, low planfulness, poor problem-solving ability, and poor self-soothing skills (Simons et al. 2004; Wills et al. 2011). Langhinrichsen-Rohling (2010) also drew attention to the presence of interpersonal self-regulation difficulties in bidirectional violent couples. Interpersonal self-regulation difficulties are consistent with insecure relational styles and experiences of emotional injuries based on attachment theory (Greenberg et al. 2010; Jankowski and Sandage 2011; Sandage and Jankowski 2010). Intolerance can be defined by indicators such as dogmatism, domestic violence myth acceptance, rape myth acceptance, social dominance, and traditional gender role ideology (Jankowski

et al. 2011). Despite some of the conceptual advantages that a dimensional approach to IPV might offer, there is a need for further empirical research to identify and verify underlying factors that cut across typologies (Ross and Babcock 2010).

The development of typologies for batterers and violent relationships and the integration of couple approaches into IPV treatments have resulted in the delineation of selection criteria for including victim and perpetrator in conjoint interventions. Selection criteria, in addition to assessing typologies and screening for personality disorders, include the duration and severity of violence, extent of violence perpetrated beyond the relationship, presence of fear and extent of trauma in the victim, motivation behind the violence, direction of the violence (unidirectional or bidirectional), and the perpetrator's willingness to accept responsibility for the violent actions (Holtzworth-Monroe and Stuart 1994; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Stith and McCollum 2011). Thus, it would seem that batterers who engage in family-only, bidirectional, and situational violence and relationships in which both persons experience little fear and are willing to commit to nonviolent conflict resolution are perhaps best suited for conjoint interventions.

Additionally, readiness for change might be assessed using the stages of change framework (Prochaska 1999). Eckhardt et al. (2008) observed that only 23.6 % of their sample of court-mandated male batterers corresponded to a readiness to take action. Many standard treatments appear to assume readiness for change, and yet, findings suggest that most batterers present with little motivation to change (Eckhardt et al. 2008). Assessing the batterer's stage of change and then tailoring interventions to match the batterer's motivation level could improve effectiveness (Eckhardt et al. 2008). Last, screening for conjoint treatment should also involve formal assessment and face-to-face interview with victim and perpetrator separately. The Conflict Tactics Scale, or its Revision (CTS-R; Straus et al. 1996), is commonly used for identifying IPV, and can be used as an initial screen for the presence of IPV in a relationship; although psychometric concerns about the scale have been raised (Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010).

Religiousness and IPV

Researchers have consistently noted that rates of IPV do not differ by Christian religious affiliation (Brinkerhoff et al. 1992; Ellison et al. 1999; Wang et al. 2009). Rates of IPV among those who identify as Christian have been reported as higher than national survey data (Wang et al. 2009), although others have found lower rates of IPV among those with Christian religious affiliation compared to national survey data (Ellison et al. 1999). Qualitative data further reveal that IPV cuts across denominational affiliation (Epp 2008; Giesbrecht and Sevcik 2000; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Pyles 2007; Whipple 1987). Beyond religious affiliation, religious attendance has demonstrated consistent negative associations with IPV, that is, increased attendance tends to correspond with decreased incidents of IPV (Ellison and Anderson 2001; Ellison et al. 1999; Ellison et al. 2007; Wang et al. 2009). However, others have demonstrated a curvilinear relationship between attendance and IPV with those at moderate levels of church attendance perpetrating the most violence (Brinkerhoff et al. 1992). Brinkerhoff et al. (1992) theorized that moderate levels of church attendance corresponded to extrinsic religious motivation, whereas higher levels of attendance corresponded to intrinsic religious motivation.

Multidimensional constructs such as religious motivation have received little empirical attention in the IPV literature, and calls for more quantitative research that use multidimensional measures of religiousness have been put forth (Ellison et al. 2007; Higginbotham et al. 2007). Higginbotham et al. (2007) used multidimensional measures of religiousness and found that a latent measure of personal religiosity, that included church attendance and two indicators of religious salience, was associated with increased perpetration of IPV. In contrast, the latent construct of relationship religiosity, which consisted of five items assessing participants' dating relationships, was associated with decreased IPV.

Examples of relationship religiosity items included the importance of "growing spiritually together" and "praying with each other" (p. 57).

Qualitative research findings typically demonstrate how certain religious beliefs, such as the need to avoid divorce, the command to forgive, and traditional gender role ideology, tend to silence or minimize IPV and foster revictimization (Giesbrecht and Sevcik 2000; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Pyles 2007; Whipple 1987). There appears to be overlap between the qualitative literature and the empirical research on intolerance. Jankowski et al. (2011) found that internal and quest religious motivations were negatively associated with indicators of intolerance, including interpersonal violence myth acceptance scales. They also observed univariate quadratic effects for religious questing in associations with both rape myth acceptance and domestic violence myth acceptance. Moderate levels of questing were associated with the highest levels of interpersonal violence myth acceptance. Internal religious motivation indicates that religious involvement has developed from an externally regulated behavior to an internalized, personally endorsed value (Batson et al. 1993; Neyrinck et al. 2010; Neyrinck et al. 2006). Quest religious motivation represents religious involvement that reveals "(1) readiness to face existential questions without reducing their complexity, (2) self-criticism and perception of religious doubt as positive, and (3) openness to change" (Batson and Schoenrade 1991, p. 434).

Jankowski et al. (2011) suggested that a mature form of religiousness, represented by an integration of intrinsic and quest religious motivations (see also, Sandage et al. 2010), appears to indicate the capacity to tolerate anxiety, tension, and doubt consistent with religious questing, while also remaining committed to and intimately engaged in relationship to God (Sandage et al. 2010). Jankowski et al. (2011) also suggested that the curvilinear associations between questing and indicators of intolerance could represent an in-between place in the development of integrated religiousness. Highest levels of questing were associated with lower levels of intolerance. Lower and moderate levels of questing could therefore

indicate that persons had not yet developed the cognitive complexity necessary to appreciate ambiguity and diversity (Batson and Schoenrade 1991), which could account for the positive association with intolerance at low to moderate levels of questing.

Thus, the literature on religiousness and IPV contains mixed findings. Religiousness tends to demonstrate a protective and preventive role in reducing IPV, and yet, there is evidence of the potential for religiousness to contribute to incidents of IPV. The association of religiousness with increased IPV seems to stem from an underlying dimension of intolerance, the latter which could correspond to less mature forms of religiousness (Jankowski et al. 2011). The mixed findings also seem tied to differing conceptual and operational definitions for religiousness, and the lack of overarching theories within the psychology of religion makes it difficult to make sense of the disparate findings (Corveleyn and Luyten 2005; Hall et al. 2008; Koenig 2008; Neyrinck et al. 2010). However, theory-based approaches to the study of religiousness have emerged. For example, self-determination theory (e.g., Neyrinck et al. 2010; Ryan et al. 1993), differentiation-based spirituality (e.g., Sandage and Jankowski 2010; Sandage et al. 2010), and theoretical formulations based on attachment theory (e.g., Granqvist 1998; Jankowski and Sandage 2011; Kirkpatrick 1992) offer the potential to not only direct research efforts but also organize existing research findings. The mixed findings also suggest that religious persons are clearly a heterogeneous group, and any discussion about the contribution of religiousness to understanding and intervening into IPV must therefore represent aspects which potentially foster and maintain IPV and aspects which prevent and resolve IPV.

Self-dysregulation and dispositional intolerance seem to be prominent characteristics associated with perpetrating IPV. Both self-dysregulation and intolerance cut across religious affiliation and can characterize one or both persons in an intimate relationship. Increased religiousness tends to foster self-regulation (McCullough and Willoughby 2009) and increased intrinsic and quest religiousness can lower intolerance (Hall

et al. 2010; Jankowski et al. 2011) while extrinsic religiousness can increase intolerance (Batson et al. 1993; Hall et al. 2010). Hall et al. (2010) concluded that "intergroup dynamics established by religious identification along with conventional life values appeared to drive" the extrinsic religiousness-intolerance association (p. 135). The conventional life values that seem to account for the association are social conformity and traditionalism, which conceptually overlap and correlate with indicators such as fundamentalism and authoritarianism. As a heterogeneous group, congregants of the same denomination may differ on religious motivation and differ in the extent to which they hold fundamentalist and authoritarian ideals, although some denominations and local congregations may more clearly function from conventional life values than others; including those within the A-M tradition.

It might also be that religiousness has little direct effect on IPV (Brinkerhoff et al. 1992). As Brinkerhoff et al. (1992) reported,

> When three multivariate models were applied it was found that religion had little, if any, relationship to spousal abuse. Other variables, mainly spousal interaction factors, were found to be the best overall predictors of such physical abuse. (p. 15)

Their conclusion is consistent with a central rationale for including conjoint interventions in expanded treatment approaches for IPV, and that is the role dysfunctional relational patterns play in IPV, most notably for example, the inability to resolve conflict effectively (McCollum and Stith 2008). Capaldi and Kim (2007) also discuss the importance of examining dyadic processes in order to understand IPV, and they embed their examination in a model that also attends to individual level factors and contextual factors in dynamic, systemic relation (see also, Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010). The conclusion of Brinkerhoff et al. (1992) also highlights the need for more complex models which examine indirect and conditional effects of the religiousness-IPV association (Ellison and Anderson 2001; Higginbotham et al. 2007).

RJ and IPV

Incidents of IPV cut across religious affiliations (Brinkerhoff et al. 1992; Ellison et al. 1999; Nason-Clark 1996, 2009; Wang et al. 2009) as adherents of diverse faith traditions engage in and experience IPV, and this includes those who have identified with the A-M tradition (e.g., Block 1992; Epp 2008). There is also evidence in the empirical literature for questioning the utility of affiliation in predicting and understanding IPV (Brinkerhoff et al. 1992; Ellison and Anderson 2001). For example, Ellison and Anderson (2001) demonstrated that the protective effect of religious service attendance did not differ by denominational affiliation. At the same time, qualitative findings have indicated that victims' experience of IPV is influenced by a variety of religious beliefs perceived to be sanctioned by local congregations and in some cases personally espoused by the victims themselves based on their involvement with and individual socialization history within a particular Christian denomination (Giesbrecht and Sevcik 2000; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Pyles 2007; Whipple 1987). For example, a belief in the sanctity of marriage and the unequivocal need to forgive others can silence IPV and further victimization. As Knickmeyer et al. (2010) reported, victims of IPV made statements such as "I mean I'm bound before God to honor this contract I have of marriage with him" (p. 101), and "If God forgave us, we forgive them. That's how it is. We're taught that" (p. 102).

For individuals, particular beliefs are associated with their affiliation with a specific Christian denomination and the messages they received from their congregations, and this is the case for those identifying with the A-M tradition. According to Epp (2008),

> Condemnation of violence in Mennonite prescriptive literature has sometimes led to the incorrect conclusion that as a result violence was not tolerated in communities and households. However, violence did occur within households where patriarchal family relations were combined with literal interpretations of biblical commands that women submit to their husbands. (p. 112)

Most noteworthy perhaps is the link Epp (2008) makes between IPV, a literal approach to interpreting scripture, and intolerance such as authoritarianism, dogmatism, and belief in patriarchal social structures (Jankowski et al. 2011). As noted earlier, intolerant beliefs cut across denominational affiliation (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Pyles 2007; Whipple 1987).

The complexity of the religiousness-IPV association is further revealed by the fact that individuals associated with Christian denominations have also been involved in prevention and intervention efforts to reduce IPV. Some local congregations may foster dispositions of intolerance which are associated with IPV, while other local congregations can be a source of support and practical aid for the victims (Nason-Clark 1996, 2009; Pyles 2007). As Nason-Clark (1996, 2009) described, often times the support and practical aid comes from an informal network of fellow female congregants, within and beyond the victim's local congregation. Yet, formal faith-based batterer programs and faith-based shelters for victims of IPV have also emerged in response to IPV and the intersection of IPV with religiousness (Nason-Clark 1996, 2009; Pyles 2007). Those within the A-M tradition have been part of this larger Christian response (e.g., Mennonite Central Committee 2008).

One particular response to IPV that has unique roots in the A-M tradition is RJ (Fernandez 2010; Peachey 2003; Sullivan and Tifft 2006) albeit as an IPV intervention the movement has sparked considerable debate and disagreement (e.g., Cheon and Regehr 2006; Fernandez 2010; Ptacek 2010a; Strang and Braithwaite 2002). A-M belief and practice provided the foundation for RJ initiatives as a response to incidents of IPV.

> When we look at the first modern restorative justice program in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, that began in the mid-1970s … The Mennonites who gave impetus to this first formal program, wanted to create new structures, new processes, new venues, new ways about speaking about problems that would help the human community progress. (Sullivan and Tifft 2006, p. 11)

In the Sullivan and Tifft (2006) quote we see the A-M distinctive valuing of community, and the community as a potential source of healing for those affected by IPV. Elsewhere, Fernandez (2010) linked the RJ initiative explicitly to A-M peace theology,

> The contemporary field of restorative justice theory and practice, with some kind of "encounter" between the victim and the offender as its centerpiece, originated in the 1970s in Mennonite communities in Canada and later in the United States as they experimented with ways to apply their faith-based peace perspective to criminal justice issues. (p. 11)

And finally, in Peachey's (2003) narrative recounting of what has been labeled the "Kitchener Experiment" (p. 178), the RJ movement found its beginnings in the Mennonite faith of a probation officer by the name of Mark Yantzi who "liked the practical peace-making implications of offenders and victims meeting each other" (p. 178). The specific context for the initiative was juvenile property crime. The A-M distinctive of reconciliation became the central goal of the program that emerged from the efforts of Yantzi and the Mennonite Central Committee, along with Dave Worth, and the program was label the Victim Offender Reconciliation Project (VORP; Peachey 2003). Program expansion resulted in a "Community Mediation Service to deal with neighborhood and interpersonal disputes outside the legal system" and later self-help and support group services "for victims or rape and incest," and later still services for offenders (Peachey 2003, p. 183).

Face-to-face encounter involves the different participants in open dialogue (Ptacek 2010b; Zehr 2003) with the victim's voice given a central place (Cheon and Regehr 2006). Dialogic encounters can take many forms: mediation, VORP, restorative circles, peacemaking circles, healing circles, sentencing circles, and family group and community conferencing (McCold 2006; Ptacek 2010b). The language of "circles" draws attention to the many indigenous healing processes that have a longstanding presence within First Nation and aboriginal people groups around the globe, and while often viewed as examples of RJ process are perhaps better delineated as indigenous justice practices (Stubbs 2010). Whatever

the particular form of dialogic encounter, the roles and overall process are similar.

> The victim describes the impact of the offense and what might be needed to assist him or her in healing. The offender is expected to accept responsibility for his or her harmful actions and to make amends, and the community is called upon to ensure safety, and support the victim in healing. (Cheon and Regehr 2006, p. 373)

The dialogical process inherent in RJ rests upon collaboration between multiple professionals, agencies, and community members. For example, in many instances clergy and congregants, criminal justice professionals, licensed mental health professionals, and victim support service workers might be called upon to jointly dialogue with victim and offender and then work toward resolution of the criminal offense.

A-M peace theology, summarized as the distinctive values and practices of nonviolence, community, forgiveness, and reconciliation, remains at the heart of RJ initiatives; even while programs have developed with little if any explicit Christian faith connections (Bender and Armour 2007; Zehr 2003). Others have observed that Christian denominations, and local congregations, have lost sight of their RJ roots (Allard and Northey 2003). Nevertheless, A-M spirituality is still inherent within RJ practices. In fact, forgiveness is perhaps the value with clear roots in the A-M origins of RJ that has been most criticized when applying RJ to cases involving IPV (Ptacek 2010b; Stubbs 2002). However, it may be that this critique is more about ways in which forgiveness has been (mis)applied, that is, RJ practitioners may use forgiveness interventions without attention to the typical cautions provided. For example, Bender and Armour (2007) emphasized the victim's choice over the extent to which forgiveness is included in the healing process, if at all, while acknowledging that "restorative justice does recognize, however, that forgiveness can be healing for victims" (p. 259). RJ practitioners may not distinguish between manipulative and authentic offender repentance and may subtly pressure the victim into forgiving the offender, which may retraumatize the victim.

Parallels Between RJ Practices and Conjoint Treatments for IPV

In many ways, criticisms of RJ practices for IPV resolution parallel critiques levied against a variety of alternative clinical approaches to IPV, and forgiveness is but just one example of this parallel (Tsang and Stanford 2007). In fact, parallels exist between criticisms of conjoint intervention in IPV treatment and criticisms about the use of RJ practices for responding to IPV. Conjoint interventions have been criticized on the basis that bringing victim and offender together (1) conveys that the victim is somehow responsible for the occurrence of violence and/or bears responsibility for controlling it, (2) places the victim at risk for further victimization, traumatization, and/or intimidation, and (3) ignores factors and processes beyond the dyad (McCollum and Stith 2008; Stith 2011; Stith and McCollum 2011). Paralleling these critiques, Ptacek (2010b) noted that criticisms of RJ as a response to IPV include concerns about victim safety, perpetrator accountability, and the lack of attention to the larger social–political context that supports and perpetuates violence against women.

Proponents of conjoint interventions as a supplement to standard treatments have primarily argued on the basis of batterer and relationship typologies grounded in empirical research and the need for careful screening of couples. Until recently, attention to batterer typologies has appeared to be largely absent from discussions of RJ and IPV. Along these lines, proponents have offered parallel arguments for the use of RJ compared to those offered for the use of conjoint clinical interventions. For example, Fernandez (2010) argued that RJ approaches to IPV should function as a supplement to "traditional legal and community services" (p. 14), and Cheon and Regehr (2006) suggested that batterers classified according to Holtzworth and Stuart's (1994) typology as family-only batterers are perhaps best suited for RJ approaches to IPV. In addition, careful attention to selection criteria should occur when considering whether to refer perpetrator and victim to a program that utilizes RJ practices (Cheon and Regehr 2006). Proponents

of conjoint clinical interventions and RJ practices also highlight the need for improved and specialized training for anyone intending to intervene into relationships involving IPV (Cheon and Regehr 2006; McCollum and Stith 2008; Stith and McCollum 2011).

Last, both the psychotherapy community and criminal justice field have recognized the need for alternative approaches to resolving IPV. One argument for RJ consists of the lack of victims' voices within retributive justice processes (Cheon and Regehr 2006; Ptacek 2010b), and when victims' voices have been included in retributive processes the likelihood of further traumatization increased (Cheon and Regehr 2006). The retributive justice paradigm also neglects "the reality that, for a variety of reasons, many women choose to continue living with their abusive partners" (Cheon and Regehr 2006, p. 372). Estimates, for example, have ranged as high as 80 % of victims deciding to stay with or return to their violent partners following standard victim interventions (Stith 2011). Proponents of conjoint interventions similarly point out that failure to listen to the victim's voice, particularly for those choosing to stay in a relationship consisting of situational violence, standard treatment-as-usual can increase the abuse in the relationship (McCollum and Stith 2008; Stith 2011; Stith and McCollum 2011). Furthermore, Stith and McCollum (2011) pointed out that

> a therapist may have ideological reasons against treating couples conjointly … [however] immediately discounting the voice of a victim of violence who loves her partner and wants the violence to end but not the relationship, may appear to the victim as another effort to control her and to disrespect her wishes. (p. 314)

As noted earlier, concerns have been raised about the effectiveness of treatment-as-usual which typically involves court mandated, gender-specific group treatment for the perpetrator under feminist assumptions of unilateral male-to-female violence (Babcock et al. 2004; Dixon et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling 2010; Stith and McCollum 2011). Along these lines, Cheon and Regehr (2006) noted that traditional retributive processes, which often involve stan-

dard treatment-as-usual, fail to hold perpetrators accountable and suffer from high attrition rates, low conviction rates, high recidivism rates, and frequent violations of orders of protection.

Forgiveness and RJ

Given the central place of forgiveness in both A-M belief and practice (Hauerwas 2001; Volf 1996) and the RJ process (Bender and Armour 2007; Zehr 2003), along with the prominent place of the related yet distinct constructs of repentance and reconciliation in the RJ process (Bender and Armour 2007; Zehr 2003), more detailed discussion of forgiveness in the healing process seems necessary. First though, forgiveness is a virtue among diverse religious traditions (Rye et al. 2001; Sandage et al. 2003), and yet, the association with nonviolence and nonresistance, that is, Christian peace theology, appears to make forgiveness a particular distinctive of the A-M tradition. Forgiveness can be defined as the process of responding to interpersonal harm by regulating negative emotions and developing prosocial attitudes toward the offender (McCullough et al. 1998; McCullough et al. 1997; Sandage and Jankowski 2010). Forgiveness is distinguished from interpersonal reconciliation (Enright and Fitzgibbons 2000), with forgiveness primarily conceptualized as an intrapersonal process of regulating negative emotions that may or may not eventuate in interpersonal well-being and relational reconciliation. Furthermore, forgiveness is differentiated from condoning, excusing, forgetting, and pardoning the wrongdoer's behavior and the harm done (Enright and Fitzgibbons 2000; Reed and Enright 2006).

A review of the empirical literature reveals that unforgiveness is associated with negative consequences, whereas reducing unforgiveness is associated with mental health (Greenberg et al. 2008) and relational well-being (Fincham et al. 2005; Greenberg et al. 2010). Forgiveness is one important way to reduce the negative consequences of unforgiveness (Wade and Worthington 2003), and clinical interventions focused on forgiveness have demonstrated effectiveness

(Greenberg et al. 2008, 2010; Reed and Enright 2006; Sandage and Worthington 2010). Rumination has demonstrated associations with lowered forgiveness (Burnette et al. 2007), and rumination about interpersonal offenses is correlated with increased levels of stress, anger, and fear (Wade et al. 2008). The experience of felt relational security appears to foster forgiveness (Jankowski and Sandage 2011; Mikulincer and Shaver 2007), and Burnette et al. (2009) found that empathy fully mediated the relationship between attachment avoidance and forgiveness. In contrast, rumination partially mediated the link between anxious attachment and forgiveness. The common thread linking attachment dimensions, rumination, empathy, and forgiveness is generally thought to be emotional self-regulation (Burnette et al. 2007; Lawler-Row et al. 2006).

Zehr (2003) listed repentance, forgiveness, and reconciliation as prominent features of an RJ paradigm. In addition, definitions of RJ typically revolve around a view of "crimes as actions that harm specific people and relationships, which, in turn, create needs and obligations to be fulfilled" (Cheon and Regehr 2006, p. 373). Apology, repentance and forgiveness are viewed as mechanisms of the healing process, that is, aspects that promote healing of the harm perpetrated by the offender (Cheon and Regehr 2006; Zehr 2003). The notion of reintegrative shaming is a related mechanism of the healing process (Cheon and Regehr 2006; Ptacek 2010b) and is seen as distinct from the stigmatizing shame that occurs within the traditional retributive justice paradigm. Reintegrative shaming refers to strong community "disapproval of the [evil] act but doing so in a way that" conveys respect to the perpetrator (Braithwaite 2003a, p. 85), while stigmatizing shaming refers to "creat[ing] outcasts" through humiliating processes (p. 85). When an offender genuinely displays remorse, acknowledges guilt for the wrongdoing, and commits to nonviolent behavior, that is, apologizes and repents, the offender may be brought back into right relationship or restored with the community. The effectiveness of reintegrative shaming in fostering change relies on the perpetrator having personally meaningful connec-

tions to others within the community. However, as Cheon and Regehr (2006) pointed out certain types of batterers do not have "the social ties necessary for the reintegrative shaming process to work" (p. 382). Furthermore, the effectiveness of shame as a mechanism of change finds little theoretical and empirical support in the broader clinical literature (Cheon and Regehr 2006). In addition, assessing genuine remorse and repentance from manipulative forms (Stubbs 2002), the latter which tends to be more characteristic of intimate terrorists, would seem to require extensive training for practitioners and corroboration of multiple sources of data as part of the assessment process.

Forgiveness-based clinical interventions typically "involve two important emotional processes" (Greenberg et al. 2010, p. 30): (1) resolving the negative emotions associated with a relational injury (Greenberg et al. 2008, 2010; see also Lawler-Row et al. 2006) and (2) promoting positive affect and prosocial relating to the offender (Greenberg et al. 2008, 2010; see also, McCullough et al. 1997, 1998). Cautions have been provided for the use of forgiveness as an intervention (e.g., Greenberg et al. 2008; Sandage and Jankowski 2010; Tsang and Stanford 2007). Intervention should occur with the potential benefits to the wronged individual in mind, and given that forgiveness may be a conflictual and/or highly sensitive topic for trauma victims, sensitivity to such is required in order to avoid further traumatizing victims. In addition, promoting forgiveness for the victim will need to arise from authentic awareness of the injustice and self-regulatory efforts rather than a defensive posture or rigid adherence to socially mandated proscriptions that one "must forgive." Furthermore, frequent corollaries of victimization include experiences of anger and grief, and practitioners should encourage their awareness and expression alongside facilitating forgiveness (Greenberg et al. 2008). Ptacek (2010b) noted that "when forgiveness is rushed, it does harm to survivors of violence" (p. 22). Practitioners should, therefore, be open to facilitating other emotional processes, pay close attention to the pace with which forgiveness unfolds, and collaboratively dialogue with the cli-

ent about the role forgiveness might play in the victim's healing process. Last, forgiveness can occur within the context of individual or conjoint treatment (Greenberg et al. 2008, 2010), and the selection criteria for conjoint interventions can be applied before pursuing forgiveness interventions in either individual or conjoint RJ work. Within the RJ literature, Zehr (2003) and Bender and Armour (2007) clearly stipulated that RJ practices create the *possibility* for repentance, forgiveness, and reconciliation and whether or not forgiveness is part of the healing process is entirely up to the victim.

Conclusion

A distinctively A-M approach to IPV seems to center on the vision of restoring victim, offender, and community to right relationships (Zehr 2003), and in many ways, the A-M ideals of nonviolent peacemaking, forgiveness and reconciliation, which undergirded the first formal RJ practice can be seen in the restorative vision (Peachey 2003). The use of RJ practices as a response to IPV is controversial (Cheon and Regehr 2006; Ptacek 2010b), and yet, RJ practices appear to have been implemented in ways that demonstrate effectiveness when responding to IPV (e.g., Koss 2010; Pennell and Kim 2010; Nancarrow 2010). Nevertheless, there remains a need for well-designed, empirical outcome research, and especially efficacy/experimental design studies (Braithwaite 2003b; Cheon and Regehr 2006). In addition, there is a need for research that involves both clinical and nonclinical samples (Dixon et al. 2011). Dixon et al. (2011) also suggested a need to move toward integrating an evidence-based approach to alleviating IPV rather than relying solely on the ideological commitments shaping treatment-as-usual that have prevailed since the initial and successful efforts by feminists to criminalize IPV.

A parallel was drawn between RJ practices and conjoint clinical interventions for IPV. It would seem that similar to the way clinicians have sought to attend to batterer and violent relationship typologies and assess psychopathology when determining the appropriateness of an offender for conjoint intervention, RJ practitioners could begin to increasingly consider tailoring approaches to particular offenders and the type of relationship they have with their victims. Conjoint meetings of offender and victim have demonstrated clinical effectiveness (McCollum and Stith 2008), and yet here too, further outcome research is needed. It would seem then that the use of RJ and conjoint interventions are best seen as adjunctive approaches, for the family-only batterer(s) in a situational and/or bidirectional violent relationship, used in coordination with traditional clinical and criminal justice approaches (Cheon and Regehr 2006; Fernandez 2010; Stith 2011).

Whether implemented through clinical intervention and/or RJ practices, a distinctively A-M informed approach seems to make forgiveness an important element of the process. According to Volf (1996), "forgiveness sums up much of the significance of the cross" (p. 125), and as such has been described as scandalous and offensive. It seems particularly so from the A-M perspective which makes the cross a paradigm for social relations. The cross is the means by which the Triune God "ma[de]-space-for-us-and-invit[ed]-us-in" (Volf 1996, p. 129). The A-M distinctive then is to live this model out in tangible ways from a stance of having been personally, lovingly embraced by God. While forgiveness paves the way for reconciliation, restored relationship between offender and victim, and community, may not occur as reconciliation depends upon the response of the offender (Volf 1996). Distinguishing authentic from manipulative repentance remains difficult to discern, and many different aspects must be considered when screening for the appropriateness of a particular conjoint clinical or RJ intervention. The mental health benefits of forgiveness have been empirically demonstrated (e.g., Jankowski and Sandage 2011; Sandage and Jankowski 2010), and so whether sought clinically or through RJ practices forgiveness seems to offer one means to promote healing for the victim, and potentially restoration of the couple's relationship.

References

Allard, P., & Northey, W. (2003). Christianity: The discovery of restorative justice. In G. Johnstone (Ed.), *A restorative justice reader: Texts, sources, context* (pp. 158–169). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

Allen, K. N., & Wozniak, D. F. (2011). The language of healing: Women's voices in healing and recovery from domestic violence. *Social Work in Mental Health, 9*, 37–55. doi:10.1080/15332985.2010.494540.

Babcock, J. C., Green, C. E., & Robie, C. (2004). Does batterers' treatment work? A meta-analytic review of domestic violence treatment. *Clinical Psychology Review, 23*, 1023–1053. doi:10.1016/j.cpr.2002.07.001

Batson, C. D., & Schoenrade, P. A. (1991). Measuring religion as Quest: Reliability concerns. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 30*, 430–447. doi:10.2307/1387277.

Batson, C. D., Schoenrade, P., & Ventis, W. L. (1993). *Religion and the individual: A social-psychological perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bender, K., & Armour, M. (2007). The spiritual components of restorative justice. *Victims and Offenders, 2*, 251–267. doi:10.1080/15564880701403967.

Block, I. I. (1992). Domestic abuse: A case study. In E. G. Yoder (Ed.), *Peace theology and violence against women* (pp. 55–72). Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies.

Braithwaite, J. (2003a). Restorative justice and a better future. In G. Johnstone (Ed.), *A restorative justice reader: Texts, sources, context* (pp. 83–97). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

Braithwaite, J. (2003b). Does restorative justice work? In G. Johnstone (Ed.), *A restorative justice reader: Texts, sources, context* (pp. 320–352). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

Brinkerhoff, M. B., Grandin, E., & Lupri, E. (1992). Religious involvement and spousal violence: The Canadian case. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 31*, 15–31. doi:10.2307/1386829.

Burnette, J. L., Taylor, K. W., Worthington, E. L., & Forsyth, D. R. (2007). Attachment and trait forgivingness: The mediating role of angry rumination. *Personality and Individual Differences, 42*, 1585–1596. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2006.10.033.

Burnette, J. L., Davis, D. E., Green, J. D., Worthington, E. L., Jr., & Bradfield, E. (2009). Insecure attachment and depressive symptoms: The mediating role of rumination, empathy, and forgiveness. *Personality and Individual Differences, 46*, 276–280. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2008.10.016.

Capaldi, D. M., & Kim, H. K. (2007). Typological approaches to violence in couples: A critique and alternative conceptual approach. *Clinical Psychology Review, 27*, 253–265. doi:10.1016/j.cpr.2006.09.001.

Carlson, R. G., & Jones, K. D. (2010). Continuum of conflict and control: A conceptualization of intimate partner violence typologies. *The Family Journal, 18*, 248–254. doi:10.1177/1066480710371795.

Cavanaugh, M. M., & Gelles, R. J. (2005). The utility of male domestic violence offender typologies: New directions for research, policy, and practice. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*, 155–166. doi:10.1177/0886260504268763.

Charlton, M. W. (2002). Where's the political science department? In D. L. Weaver-Zercher (Ed.), *Minding the church: Scholarship in the Anabaptist tradition* (pp. 140–151). Telford, PA: Pandora Press.

Cheon, A., & Regehr, C. (2006). Restorative justice models in cases of intimate partner violence: Reviewing the evidence. *Victims and Offenders, 1*, 369–394. doi:10.1080/15564880600934138.

Corveleyn, J., & Luyten, P. (2005). Psychodynamic psychologies and religion: Past, present, and future. In R. F. Paloutzian & C. L. Park (Eds.), *Handbook of the psychology of religion and spirituality* (pp. 80–100). New York: Guilford Press.

Dixon, L., Archer, J., & Graham-Kevan, N. (2011). Perpetrator programmes for partner violence: Are they based on ideology or evidence? *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 17*, 196–215. doi:10.1111/j.2044–8333.2011.02029.x.

Eckhardt, C., Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Norlander, B., Sibley, A., & Cahill, M. (2008). Readiness to change, partner violence subtypes, and treatment outcomes among men in treatment for partner assault. *Violence and Victims, 23*, 446–475.

Ellison, C. G., & Anderson, K. L. (2001). Religious involvement and domestic violence among U.S. couples. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 40*, 269–286. doi:10.1111/0021-8294.00055.

Ellison, C. G., Bartkowski, J. P., & Anderson, K. L. (1999). Are there religious variations in domestic violence? *Journal of Family Issues, 20*, 87–113. doi:10.1177/019251399020001005.

Ellison, C. G., Trinitapoli, J. A., Anderson, K. L., & Johnson, B. R. (2007). Race/ethnicity, religious involvement, and domestic violence. *Violence Against Women, 13*, 1094–1112. doi:10.1177/1077801207308259.

Enright, R.D., & Fitzgibbons, R.P. (2000). *Helping clients forgive: An empirical guide for resolving anger and restoring hope*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Epp, M. (2008). *Mennonite women in Canada: A history*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, CA: University of Manitoba Press.

Fals-Stewart, W., Klosterman, K., & Clinton-Sherrod, M. (2009). Substance abuse and intimate partner violence. In K. D. O'Leary & E. M. Woodin (Eds.), *Psychological and physical aggression in couples: Causes and interventions* (pp. 251–269). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Fernandez, M. (2010). *Restorative justice for domestic violence victims: An integrated approach to their hunger for healing*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Fincham, F. D., Hall, J. H., & Beach, S. R. H. (2005). "Til lack of forgiveness doth us part": Forgiveness and marriage. In E. L. Worthington, Jr. (Ed.),

Handbook of forgiveness (pp. 207–225). New York: Brunner-Routledge.

Finkel, E. J., DeWall, C. N., Slotter, E. B., Oaten, M., & Foshee, V. A. (2009). Self-regulatory failure and intimate partner violence perpetration. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97*, 483–499. doi:10.1037/a0015433.

Giesbrecht, N., & Sevcik, I. (2000). The process of recovery and rebuilding among abused women in the conservative evangelical subculture. *Journal of Family Violence, 15*, 229–248.

Girard, R. (1989). *The scapegoat*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Granqvist, P. (1998). Religiousness and perceived childhood attachment: On the question of compensation or correspondence. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 37*, 350–367. doi:10.2307/1387533.

Greenberg, L., Warwar, S., & Malcolm, W. (2008). Differential effects of emotion-focused therapy and psychoeducation in facilitating forgiveness and letting go of emotional injuries. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*, 185–196. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.55.2.185.

Greenberg, L., Warwar, S., & Malcolm, W. (2010). Emotion-focused couples therapy and the facilitation of forgiveness. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 36*, 28–42. doi:10.1111/j.1752–0606.2009.00185.x.

Hall, D. E., Meador, K. G., & Koenig, H. G. (2008). Measuring religiousness in health research: Review and critique. *Journal of Religion and Health, 47*, 134–163. doi:10.1007/s10943-008-9165-2.

Hall, D. L., Matz, D. C., & Wood, W. (2010). Why don't we practice what we preach? A meta-analytic review of religious racism. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 14*, 126–139. doi:10.1177/1088868309352179.

Hamberger, L. K., & Holtzworth-Munroe, A. (2009). Psychopathological correlates of male aggression. In K. D. O'Leary & E. M. Woodin (Eds.), *Psychological and physical aggression in couples: Causes and interventions* (pp. 79–98). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Hauerwas, S. (1983). *The peaceable kingdom*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Hauerwas, S. (2001). Why truthfulness requires forgiveness: A commencement address for graduates of a college of the church of the second chance (1992). In J. Berkman & M. Cartwright (Eds.), *The Hauerwas reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Higginbotham, B. J., Ketring, S. A., Hibbert, J., Wright, D. W., & Guarino, A. (2007). Relationship religiosity, adult attachment styles, and courtship violence experienced by females. *Journal of Family Violence, 22*, 55–62. doi:10.1007/s10896-006-9049-8.

Holtzworth-Munroe, A., & Stuart, G. L. (1994). Typologies of male batterers: Three subtypes and the differences among them. *Psychological Bulletin, 116*, 476–497.

Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Meehan, J. C., Herron, K., Rehman, U., & Stuart, G. L. (2000). Testing the Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart (1994) batterer typology. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 68*, 1000–1019.

Jacobson, N. S., & Gottman, J. M. (1998). *When men batter women: New insights into ending abusive relationships*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Jankowski, P. J., & Sandage, S. J. (2011). Meditative prayer, hope, adult attachment, and forgiveness: A proposed model. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality, 3*, 115–131. doi:10.1037/a0021601.

Jankowski, P. J., Johnson, A. J., Holtz Damron, J. E., & Smischney, T. (2011). Religiosity, intolerant attitudes, and domestic violence myth acceptance. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 21*, 163–182. doi:10.1080/10508619.2011.581574.

Johnson, M. P., & Ferraro, K. J. (2000). Research on domestic violence in the 1990s: Making distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*, 948–963.

Kerr, M. E., & Bowen, M. (1988). *Family evaluation*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Kirkpatrick, L. A. (1992). An attachment theory approach to the psychology of religion. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 2*, 3–28. doi: 10.1207/s15327582ijpr0201_2.

Knickmeyer, N., Levitt, H., & Horne, S. G. (2010). Putting on Sunday best: The silencing of battered women within Christian faith communities. *Feminism & Psychology, 20*, 94–113. doi:10.1177/0959353509347470.

Koenig, H. G. (2008). Concerns about measuring "spirituality" in research. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 196*, 349–355. doi:10.1097/NMD.0b013e31816ff796.

Koss, M. P. (2010). Restorative justice for acquaintance rape and misdemeanor sex crimes. In J. Ptacek (Ed.), *Restorative justice and violence against women* (pp. 218–238). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kraybill, D. B. (2003). *Who are the Anabaptists? Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press.

Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J. (2010). Controversies involving gender and intimate partner violence in the United States. *Sex Roles, 62*, 179–193. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9628-2.

Lawler-Row, K. A., Younger, J. W., Piferi, R. L., & Jones, W. H. (2006). The role of adult attachment style in forgiveness following an interpersonal offense. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 84*, 493–502.

Maddox, R. L. (2001). A change of affections: The development, dynamics, and dethronement of John Wesley's "heart religion." In R. Steele (Ed.), *"Heart religion" in the Methodist tradition and related movements* (pp. 3–31). Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Mahoney, M. J., & Lyddon, W. J. (1988). Recent developments in cognitive approaches to counseling and psychotherapy. *The Counseling Psychologist, 16*, 190–234. doi:10.1177/0011000088162001.

McCold, P. (2006). The recent history of restorative justice: Mediation, circles, and conferencing. In D. Sullivan & L. Tifft (Eds.), *Handbook of restorative justice:*

A global perspective (pp. 23–51). New York, NY: Routledge.

McCollum, E. E., & Stith, S. M. (2008). Couples treatment for interpersonal violence: A review of outcome research literature and current clinical practices. *Violence and Victims, 23*, 187–201. doi:10.1891/0886-6708.23.2.187.

McCullough, M. E., & Willoughby, L. B. (2009). Religion, self-regulation, and self-control: Associations, explanations, and implications. *Psychological Bulletin, 135*, 69–93. doi:10.1037/a0014213.

McCullough, M. E., Worthington, E. L., Jr., & Rachal, K. C. (1997). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73*, 321–336. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.73.2.321.

McCullough, M. E., Rachal, K. C., Sandage, S. J., Worthington E. L., Jr., Brown S. W., & Hight, T. L. (1998). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships II: Theoretical elaboration and measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 1586–1603. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.75.6.1586.

Mennonite Central Committee. (2008). Abuse: Response and prevention [Brochure]. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: Mennonite Central Committee. Retrieved from http://bc.mcc.org/system/files/Booklet%20on%20 abuse%20-%20May%202008.pdf. Accessed 10 June 2013.

Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2007). *Attachment in adulthood: Structure, dynamics, and change*. New York: Guilford Press.

Nancarrow, H. (2010). Restorative justice for domestic and family violence: Hopes and fears of indigenous and non-indigenous Australian women. In J. Ptacek (Ed.), *Restorative justice and violence against women* (pp. 123–149). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Nason-Clark, N. (1996). Religion and violence against women: Exploring the rhetoric and response of evangelical churches in Canada. *Social Compass, 43*, 515–536. doi:10.1177/003776896043004006.

Nason-Clark, N. (2009). Christianity and the experience of domestic violence: What does faith have to do with it? *Social Work and Christianity, 36*, 379–393.

Neyrinck, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., Duriez, B., & Hutsebaut, D. (2006). Cognitive, affective and behavioral correlates of internalization of regulations for religious activities. *Motivation and Emotion, 30*, 323–334. doi:10.1007/s11031-006-9048-3

Neyrinck, B., Lens, W., Vansteenkiste, M., & Soenens, B. (2010). Updating Allport's and Batson's framework of religious orientations: A reevaluation from the perspective of self-determination theory and Wulff's social cognitive model. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 49*, 425–438. doi:10.1111/j.1468–5906.2010.01520.x.

Peachey, D. E. (2003). The Kitchener experiment. In G. Johnstone (Ed.), *A restorative justice reader: Texts, sources, context* (pp. 178–188). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

Pennell, J., & Kim, M. (2010). Opening conversations across cultural, gender, and generational divides: Family and community engagement to stop violence against women and children. In J. Ptacek (Ed.), *Restorative justice and violence against women* (pp. 177–192). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Prochaska, J. O. (1999). How do people change, and how can we change to help many more people? In M. A. Hubble, B. L. Duncan, & S. D. Miller (Eds.), *The heart and soul of change: What works in therapy* (pp. 227–255). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Ptacek, J. (Ed.). (2010a). *Restorative justice and violence against women*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Ptacek, J. (2010b). Resisting co-optation: Three feminist challenges to antiviolence work. In J. Ptacek (Ed.), *Restorative justice and violence against women* (pp. 5–36). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Pyles, L. (2007). The complexities of the religious response to domestic violence: Implications for faith-based initiatives. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 22*, 281–291. doi:10.1177/0886109907302271.

Reed, G. L., & Enright, R. D. (2006). The effects of forgiveness therapy on depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress for women after spousal emotional abuse. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 74*, 920–929. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.74.5.920.

Ross, J. M., & Babcock, J. C. (2010). Gender and intimate partner violence in the United States: Confronting the controversies. *Sex Roles, 62*, 194–200. doi:10.1007/ s11199-009-9677-6.

Ryan, R. M., Rigby, S., & King, K. (1993). Two types of religious internalization and their relations to religious orientations and mental health. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65*, 586–596.

Rye, M. S., Pargament, K. I., Ali, M. A., Beck, G. L., Dorff, E. N., Hallisey, C. …, & Williams, J. G. (2001). Religious perspectives on forgiveness. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament, & C. E. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 17–40). New York: Guilford Press.

Sandage, S. J., & Jankowski, P. J. (2010). Forgiveness, spiritual instability, mental health symptoms, and well-being: Mediator effects of differentiation of self. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality, 2*, 168–180. doi: 10.1037/a0019124.

Sandage, S. J., & Jankowski, P. J. (2013). Spirituality, social justice, and intercultural competence: Mediator effects for differentiation of self. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37*, 366–374. doi:10.1016/j. ijintrel.2012.11.003.

Sandage, S. J. & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2010). Comparison of two group interventions to promote forgiveness: Empathy as a mediator of change. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 32*, 35–57.

Sandage, S. J., Hill, P. C., & Vang, H. C. (2003). Toward a multicultural positive psychology: Indigenous forgiveness and Hmong culture. *The Counseling Psychologist, 31*, 564–592. doi:10.1177/0011000003256350.

Sandage, S. J., Link, D. C., & Jankowski, P. J. (2010). Quest and spiritual development moderated by spiri-

tual transformation. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 38*, 15–31.

Showalter, S. H. (2002). Conclusion: The life of the mind as a life of service. In D. Weaver-Zercher (Ed.), *Minding the church: Scholarship in the Anabaptist tradition* (pp. 250–265). Telford, PA: Pandora Press.

Shults, F. L., & Sandage, S. J. (2006). *Transforming spirituality: Integrating theology and psychology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Simons, J. S., Carey, K. B., & Gaher, R. M. (2004). Lability and impulsivity synergistically increase risk for alcohol-related problems. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse, 30*, 685–694.

Smith, B. V. (2005). Battering, forgiveness, and redemption: Alternative models for addressing domestic violence in communities of color. In N. J. Sokoloff (Ed.), *Domestic violence at the margins: Readings on race, class, gender, and culture* (pp. 321–339). Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Stassen, G. H., & Gushee, D. P. (2003). *Kingdom ethics: Following Jesus in contemporary context*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Stith, S. M. (2011). *Couples therapy for domestic violence: Finding safe solutions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Stith, S. M., & McCollum, E. E. (2011). Conjoint treatment of couples who have experienced intimate partner violence. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 16*, 312–318. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2011.04.012.

Strang, H., & Braithwaite, J. (Eds.). (2002). *Restorative justice and family violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2). *Journal of Family Issues, 17*, 283–316.

Stubbs, J. (2002). Domestic violence and women's safety: Feminist challenges to restorative justice. In H. Strang & J. Braithwaite (Eds.), *Restorative justice and family violence* (pp. 42–61). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stubbs, J. (2010). Restorative justice, gendered violence, and indigenous women. In J. Ptacek (Ed.), *Restorative justice and violence against women* (pp. 103–122). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Sullivan, D., & Tifft, L. (2006). Introduction: The healing dimension of restorative justice: A one-world body. In D. Sullivan & L. Tifft (Eds.), *Handbook of restorative justice: A global perspective* (pp. 1–16). New York, NY: Routledge.

Tsang, J., & Stanford, M. S. (2007). Forgiveness for intimate partner violence: The influence of victim and offender variables. *Personality and Individual Differences, 42*, 653–664. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2006.08.017.

Volf, M. (1996). *Exclusion and embrace : A theological exploration of identity, otherness, and reconciliation*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.

Wade, N. G., & Worthington, E. L., Jr. (2003). Overcoming interpersonal offenses: Is forgiveness the only way to deal with unforgiveness? *Journal of Counseling and Development, 81*, 343–353.

Wade, N. G., Vogel, D. L., Liao, K. Y., & Goldman, D. B. (2008). Measuring state-specific rumination: Development of the rumination about an Interpersonal Offense Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*, 419–426. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.55.3.419.

Walsh, Z., Swogger, M. T., O'Connor, B. P., Chatav Schonbrun, Y., Shea, M., & Stuart, G. L. (2010). Subtypes of partner violence perpetrators among male and female psychiatric patients. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 119*, 563–574. doi:10.1037/a0019858.

Wang, M., Horne, S. G., Levitt, H. M., & Klesges, L. M. (2009). Christian women in IPV relationships: An exploratory study of religious factors. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity, 28*, 224–235.

Whipple, V. (1987). Counseling battered women from fundamentalist churches. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 13*, 251–258.

Wills, T. A., Pokhrel, P., Morehouse, E., & Fenster, B. (2011). Behavioral and emotional regulation and adolescent substance use problems: A test of moderation effects in a dual-process model. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 25*, 279–292. doi:10.1037/a0022870.

Zehr, H. (2003). Retributive justice, restorative justice. In G. Johnstone (Ed.), *A restorative justice reader: Texts, sources, context* (pp. 69–82). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

The Amish *Gemeinschaft* Community: Pro-woman?

15

James P. Hurd

With the recent, high-profile cases of abuse in Amish communities, it is important to examine the underlying structure of these communities to determine how this structure protects women, how it may make them vulnerable, how the leadership handles abuse when it happens, and why these leaders might delay in accessing outside help to deal with perpetrators or to seek help for victims.

I wish to argue that Amish social structure provides unique ways in which women are valued and protected. However, in the most serious cases of abuse, this same structure may encourage delayed action against perpetrators and delayed help for victims.

The Amish are only one of a variety of "Anabaptist" groups in the USA. Others are Mennonite, Hutterite, and various "Brethren" groups. Historically, these all practiced a simple lifestyle, peacemaking, a focus on the gathered church community, an emphasis on church-state separation, and an emphasis on the practice of adult-only baptism. They each endured a history of persecution in Europe. Anabaptists range from traditional groups who may reject all petroleum-powered farm equipment to highly-acculturated, progressive groups who welcome partnered homosexuals into church membership.

We can designate Anabaptists who limit their technology and are more communitarian as *Old Order* groups. Examples are some Mennonite and most Amish groups. These can be characterized as *embedded religious minorities—embedded*, because they practice their distinct culture in the midst of broader US culture; *religious*, because church and community highly overlap; and *minorities*, because all of them exhibit significant differences from the non-Anabaptist cultures around them. Members of these groups usually do not drive cars and do not use modern technology, and thus they guard their unique identities vis-à-vis the surrounding culture.

The Amish broke off from other European Anabaptists in 1693. Today the Old Order Amish number almost 300,000 people and are found only in the continental USA and Canada. They typically hold worship services every 2 weeks in homes, and drive horse and buggy. In most groups, the men wear suspenders and broad-brimmed hats and the women wear white prayer coverings and plain-colored, long dresses.

The Amish consist of many distinct subgroups. For example, from 1979 to 1981 I lived with a White-buggy Amish farm family in central Pennsylvania, sleeping in an upstairs bedroom and eating meals with the family. During this time, I conducted an empirical study of kinship, marriage, and how both of these related to their periodic church divisions. I have returned briefly every several years to visit the community.

In 1980, the White-buggy Amish consisted of 902 men, women, and children living in four

J. P. Hurd (✉)
Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Bethel University, St. Paul, USA
e-mail: hurd@bethel.edu

counties in central Pennsylvania. This group was not one united church; it consisted of four independent "denominations" (non-communing groups) divided into eight local congregations. Most of the families farmed, either on their own land or on land leased from another. Even compared to other Amish groups, the children grew up with very little formal education.

In this chapter, we raise the issue of abuse in the Amish community. Abuse is not an absolute concept, it is always culturally defined. The US Office on Violence Against Women defines domestic violence as a "pattern of abusive behavior in any relationship that is used by one partner to gain or maintain power and control over another intimate partner." Domestic violence "can happen to anyone regardless of race, age, sexual orientation, religion, or gender," and can take many forms, including physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional, economic, and psychological abuse (United States Department of Justice 2012).

Here, I define violence against women as: *a pattern of abusive behavior used by a male to gain power and control over a woman, usually in an intimate relationship. This can include physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological abuse*.

In any community, it is impossible to identify precisely how often violence against women occurs because abuse is often hidden behind the closed doors of a household. And, for multiple reasons, a woman is often hesitant to name the violence and report it to outsiders. In the Amish community, additional barriers exist against identifying abuse, making it even harder to quantify. Amish society forms a seamless whole—religion, kinship relations, geographic propinquity, and similar vocations and life experiences. It is a closed society with walls of separation against the broader culture. The German language separates them, especially the women, who tend to use less English than do the men and have less contact with outsiders. Further, the Amish prefer to deal internally with their problems and, when issues arise, they are reluctant to enlist outside help.

The Amish themselves would certainly label physical or sexual violence against a woman as abuse. And yet, outsider professionals need to re-

alize that when working with the Amish, certain types of female submission to males and certain types of male power and control form part of Amish culture, and should not automatically be defined as abuse. A few examples:

1. The father may spank his children.
2. The husband may control all the finances of the family.
3. The Bishop in the community may forbid women from wearing certain types of clothing.

Even though people in the broader society may object to some of these practices, Amish people, including women, usually accept these practices and view them as normal and even desirable.

Community Structure

What makes the Amish unique? Unlike almost all Americans living in a *Gesellschaft* society, the Amish live in a small-scale *Gemeinschaft* community (after Tönnies 1957). Living in the Gemeinschaft accounts for so many of the differences that outsiders observe about the Amish (see Table 15.1).

In the Gesellschaft, people are more ethnically, religiously, and culturally diverse, but in the Gemeinschaft, members are homogenous in belief and cultural practice. For example, most Amish speak a German dialect, experience similar schooling, practice similar vocations, share the same religious beliefs and practices, and have many relatives within the group. In the Gesellschaft, the woman and men are separately linked into independent networks such as a vocation, a club, or a friend group. In the Gemeinschaft, both women and men are immersed in a total community and share great social capital; they have the contacts necessary to satisfy their needs and address their concerns. This rich matrix of relationships provides great accountability for behavior, including abusive behavior.

"Isolated Amish" is an oxymoron. Each Amish family has multiple Amish neighbors within a few miles. They have no telephones in the home and therefore practice much spontaneous visiting. People know what other people are doing. Gemeinschaft communities such as the Amish

Table 15.1 Two contrasting types of society. (Adapted from Tönnies (1957). Barn and City images from Table 15.1 are in the public domain at http://search.creativecommons.org/ and http://openclipart.org/search/?query=barn)

Gesellschaft	Gemeinschaft
Greater US society	*Amish society*
Large-scale	Small-scale
Indirect	Face-to-face
Open society	Closed society
Known roles	Known people
High division of labor	Low division of labor
Father works away	Father works at home
Different beliefs	Common beliefs
Different life experiences	Similar life experiences
High geographic mobility	Low geographic mobility
Oriented toward the individual	Oriented toward the group

provide some protection for women, including women in bad marriages, because households usually include relatives outside of the nuclear family. People are immersed in a web of kinship and friendships. Therefore, people are held accountable for their actions.

In the Amish Gemeinschaft, division of labor is strong and traditional. People sit at the table in their order, usually with men and boys on one side and women and girls on the other.

Unlike the broader society, the whole family cooperates in a single task such as running the family farm or small business. For example, since the White-buggy Amish do not use mechanical milkers, the whole family rises before dawn and goes out to the barn to help with the milking. The 6-year-olds may gather the eggs and the old men may do harness repair.

The community prescribes roles for males and females. Amish women's roles tend to be quite distinct from roles of "English" [outsider] women, and more stable, and closely related to the domestic sphere. Women exercise great care for the sick, infirm, or elderly, and for other women around their childbearing time. Competition between husbands and wives is rare; indeed, the church looks down upon overt competition in any form since competition indicates pride, and pride is considered one of the cardinal sins by the Amish community.

Traditionally, men perform the more public roles such as purchasing farm equipment, interacting with salespersons and buyers, and traveling. Men do the butchering and smoking of meat. They maintain the farm equipment, care for the horses, and repair the house, barn, and other structures. They do most of the fieldwork, although if a thunderstorm threatens, women may join them in the haying.

Women do most of the infant and childcare, laundry and housecleaning, meal preparation, and clean up. They sew many of the family's clothes, care for the infants and children, and tend a large vegetable garden. I lived for months in a White-buggy home and never saw any man preparing food in the home, setting the table, or doing dishes.

Women have some contact with outsiders when they shop for food and household goods, purchase fabric, or sell their quilts and woven baskets. Women's merchandising is mostly restricted to selling to other Amish people, but some women run public vegetable stands. Some women run small stores attached to their homes. Others may do reflexology (a folk practice of rubbing, diagnosing, and curing), or they may sell vitamins and supplements to other Amish people in the community. White-buggy Amish women tend stalls at the weekly Belleville, Penn-

sylvania market. An older White-buggy Amish woman sold vitamins, food supplements, and health appliances.

Because of the strong male/female division of labor, women's roles are indispensable and highly valued. Amish society is pronatalist, a woman's role in childbearing is greatly respected, and a new baby is a happy occasion for the whole community. Men depend on the women and women depend on men, so much so that if a single man is running the farm, he may ask his unmarried sister to live with him and help.

Formerly, most Amish people lived and worked on farms. Today, although the Amish still live in rural areas, more and more are working in home cottage industries. Some work for an Amish or Mennonite employer, and some even work for an English (non-Amish) employer. The ideal is the family dairy farm, but this is becoming too expensive for new farmers. The next best is for the family to work together in a family business. This may be a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, carriage shop, small drygoods or grocery store, a business constructing gazebos, or many other businesses. In many cottage enterprises such as quilt-making, small grocery, or drygoods stores, women often handle the business and make the decisions.

All of these family-owned businesses allow the father to be near home most of the day, and allow the children and mother to participate in the enterprise. This builds bonds of dependence among all the family members. However today, more and more Amish men are working away from home in carpentry or masonry crews, mobile home assembly, or even in Amish-run or English-run factories. This certainly changes family dynamics and separates the father more from his family.

Today, we can classify Amish male subsistence activities in four categories, moving from the most to the least culturally desirable: (1) working on the family farm, (2) working on someone else's farm, (3) running a cottage industry, (4) working in an industry away from home, but for Old Order employers, (5) working away from home for "English" (non-Amish) people. As males move away from farming, and espe-

cially as they move out of the home for work, gender roles begin to change. As roles change for men, female roles must change also.

In the Gemeinschaft, people marry people, often relatives, that they have known from childhood. In one White-buggy home I am familiar with, the father and all his siblings married second cousins, and the wife and all her siblings married second cousins. This is because marriage is restricted to one's own church affiliation, which in 1980 averaged a population of only 300 men, women, and children (Hurd 1981, p. 47). Among the Amish, divorce is almost nonexistent; spouses need each other. Most couples forge a strong working partnership in the family farm or business, and in raising children.

The main farming family lives in the main house. A newly-married couple may live temporarily with the parents of the bride or groom, or with a brother of one of the pair. Grandparents may live in the *dawdy haus*, an attached apartment with a bedroom and a sitting room. They will often take their meals with the rest of the family. In this way, large extended families live, work, and eat together on the farm.

The White-buggy Amish are a patriarchal society, in that, as in most traditional societies, men control the public sphere. For instance, only men serve on the local Amish parochial school board.

Church Structure

At the time of their baptism, Amish males, but not females, must promise to serve as church leaders if they are chosen. Both women and men may vote for church minister. All those males who receive a vote are eligible, and the leader is chosen by lot from these candidates. Every 6 months, the church congregation meets for a council meeting. Here, suggestions and grievances are freely offered by both men and women. Shall the church allow chainsaws? Cellphones? People discuss types of allowable entertainment, as well as women's headgear and dress.

How does church structure affect women's roles and the protection of women? The Amish community is organized around the church and

cannot be separated from it. The *church district* is similar to a parish, geographically bounded and incorporating up to 40 family households (although, English families may also live in this geographic area). These church districts usually have a bishop, two ministers, and a deacon, and are autonomous, that is, although they may cooperate with other church districts, they do not have to answer to anyone outside of the local group.

The church ordains three types of ministers: bishops, preachers, and deacons. These leaders are always male, always chosen by lot, and serve unpaid for life. Similar to all church members, they have an eighth-grade education. They have no special qualifications and undergo no formal religious training. Ultimately, the community depends on these leaders to make important church and community decisions, including decisions about abuse or other wrongdoings in the community.

Although these leaders make decisions, they depend on community consensus. The goal is for all members to agree on the decision, or at least assent to the will of the majority. Without consensus, the church cannot celebrate Holy Communion, since communion is a social event that celebrates, in addition to Christ's death, the unity of the church body. The bishop may excommunicate a member, but the whole church must decide to accept the wrongdoer back into fellowship. This need for consensus allows women to have some power in the church, since they, like men, have the veto power.

When women wish to make their voices heard, they may vigorously try to influence the leadership, especially by working through their husbands. They may negotiate with their husband for more decision-making power. But most women tend to accept their societal roles performing domestic work, being submissive to their husband and to male authority, and deferring to male church leadership.

Because the church meets every 2 weeks in homes, the host family's life is on display. This keeps people accountable for certain areas of lifestyle. For instance, in one White-buggy church, members were not allowed overhanging eaves on their buildings. When people arrived for church

and saw eaves on the family doghouse, their criticism eventually led the homeowner to cut them off! In this way, members are held mutually accountable. People notice and people talk and people take their concerns to the church.

Anyone in the community can talk to church leadership on their own behalf, or on behalf of a third party. Thus, a practice of abuse is harder to shield from the community. There is a formal process by which she can seek redress, and the abuser is under the same leadership authority.

Amish beliefs militate against abuse, emphasizing peacemaking and simplicity. *Gelassenheit* is a powerful Amish concept which means humility, submission, peacefulness, and a yieldedness to the community and ultimately to God. This is how one's life should be characterized.

The Amish are to maintain separation from the "English" way of doing things, worldly entertainments and businesses, worldly wealth and clothing styles, and worldly technology, including automobiles and tractors. This separation insulates, especially the young people, from alternative beliefs and lifestyles.

The church rejects war and violence, forbids members from joining the military, and even forbids members from mounting lawsuits. It is not unknown that a whole community might pick up and move to another county if they encounter an irreconcilable conflict with county authorities. Because of this strong emphasis on peacemaking and nonviolence, cases of Amish abuse of women become particularly tragic.

Cases of Abuse of Amish Women

Several case studies will illustrate the types of female abuse that have been reported in the Amish community. I have used pseudonyms in cases that have not reached the media.

A case many years ago among a conservative Amish group involved an accusation of rape that was later rescinded. Elmer was courting the minister's daughter, Ella, but then he broke it off with her. Ella accused Elmer of rape, and she and her father went to Elmer's bishop. Two of the churchs' ministers wished to interview each

of the young people separately, but Ella's father jumped in, and he and Elmer's bishop interviewed the young people together. At last, Ella's father instructed her that she should confess publically before the church that she had lied, and that the rape had never happened.

Did the couple have sexual intercourse? Was she pressured into denying that it was rape? We do not know. There is no record that Elmer ever made any reparations. In this case we see how this private issue quickly became a church issue, and how church leaders attempted to resolve the situation.

In a Pike County, Missouri community, the church leadership considered Chester Mast somewhat spoiled. He had lost several jobs, and had repeatedly threatened to commit suicide. Now he stood accused of sodomy, of raping his cousin, and of sexual misconduct on several occasions both within and without the Amish community. The bishop reported trying to work with the issue internally, including punishment, eliciting Chester's confession, and the use of excommunication. [This means he could not participate in the communion service, and further, church members and family members must withdraw contact with him and not eat meals with him.] They excommunicated him on three occasions, without avail. In 2009, they finally appealed to the law enforcement authorities (Gay 2010). This case illustrates how the Amish tend to see these incidents of violence as a spiritual and moral issue, rather than a legal or pathological one. It also illustrates the reluctance with which they seek outside help.

In Guernsey County, Ohio, Norman Byler had a history of pedophilia starting in the 1970s, and was diagnosed with depression and incipient dementia. He allegedly molested several of his eight daughters and another woman. Later, his own daughter discovered he was molesting his granddaughters, ages three, five, and eight. She went to the ministers. When confronted, Norman admitted this, repented, and was excommunicated and shunned for 6 weeks. But the behavior did not stop. Eventually, the church bishop allowed a son-in-law of Norman's, Tobie Yoder, to take

Norman to a hospital. But after he was released, an English (e.g., non-Amish) neighbor saw blood on the leg of Norman's granddaughter and called Guernsey County Childrens Services. The Amish community was very angry with this whistleblower and threatened her (Labi 2005). Another of Norman's victims, Anna, tried to get outside help, and finally tried to run away. But her mother found her, and punished her by having all her teeth pulled out (Labi 2005).

In Ohio, Levi Schwartz, a confessed child molester confessed that the church had failed him. He went to the ministers thinking they would help him to change. It did not stop his behavior, and the Bishop discouraged his attempts to get outside counseling. Finally, he checked himself into Oaklawn Psychiatric Hospital, a Goshen Indiana facility specially designed for the Amish. He was afterward arrested but only sentenced to probation. He has since left the Amish (Labi 2005).

These Ohio stories suggest several things. They illustrate that many of the cases of violence against women involve incest. They illumine how the Amish church deals with serious instances of abuse, especially their reluctance to seek outside help for the perpetrator or victim. The last case illustrates the relatively light sentences sometimes given to Amish perpetrators of violence against women.

Mary Byler lived in the Viroquia, Wisconsin Amish community. Her father was killed in a buggy accident when she was five. The family moved to New Wilmington, Pennsylvania where her older cousins and brothers began sexually molesting her. By the time she was in her teens, she was being raped regularly by two brothers, in spite of everything she did to try to escape.

After she married, she began to suspect that another brother, David, was molesting her younger sister. Mary warned the church's ministers that she would press charges if they did not do something. They did nothing, so she reported the incident, and her two brothers were eventually convicted of sexual assault. But because she had gone to the authorities for help, the church promptly excommunicated her! (Labi 2005).

This incident illustrates how an Amish community might punish an individual who seeks help from outside the community.

By far the most extreme case comes not from an Amish community, but rather from a horse-and-buggy Mennonite community, originally from Canada, that has settled in Bolivia. The community accused several men of raping as many as 130 women and girls, aged 8–48. In August 2011, eight men were found guilty of rape in a Bolivian court. Also, one man was convicted of providing a sedative spray (intended for use with cattle) that apparently was used to render whole families unconscious in their homes while the rapes were taking place (Muir 2011).

It is apparent that the colony leadership was unable to deal with this grave series of events. Outside Mennonite observers say that corruption and bribery decide most legal cases in Bolivia. They suspect the colony provided $ 100,000 to officials to keep the suspects in jail without bail. Lawyers for the accused said that some of the men made confessions to church leaders only under threat of lynching. Indeed, some church members took one man suspected of the rapes and hung him from a pole for 9 hours. He died soon after (Muir 2011).

This Mennonite case illustrates how a small, closed community can sometimes lose its cohesiveness and fail its members. Apparently, there was almost a "culture of rape" in the community. In this case, many men cooperated in carrying out these rapes. Eventually the community attempted to handle this by resorting to violence. In the end, the leadership recurred to an outside law enforcement agency.

How the Church Handles Cases of Abuse against Women

Any *Gemeinshaft* community, such as the Amish, manifests strengths and weaknesses with regard to violence against women. In the Amish church, males are in control. Only males are eligible for ministry positions, and the ministry makes the important community decisions. The minister's position often places him in the role of judge or counselor, a role for which he has no special training. All ministers are selected from among the male laity and have no formal training, especially training in how to deal with serious crimes. And yet, they confront and resolve most issues, including accusations of abuse.

Amish culture has clear lines of cultural practice that demand that children submit to their father, girls should defer to boys, women to men, and all should defer to church leadership. If church leadership is weak or ineffective, any abuse may continue or grow worse, and all this may be shielded from the outside world.

The Amish are a conforming society, valuing *Gelassenheit* and submission to church authority. Deviation is seen as rebellion. Thus, the perpetrator is seen as rebelling against authority. Excommunication is an ancient Christian practice going back to New Testament times that is designed to purify the local church by removing a member who continues to violate church standards. This is done by the Amish bishop and announced to the church, and in serious cases it can last 6 weeks. Excommunication has a primary goal to win the person back. An excommunicated person may still attend church, but he or she may not participate in its most sacred meal—bread and wine communion. In addition, Amish members are asked to shun the wrongdoer. Shunning means social avoidance and it has a long history. Indeed, when in the seventeenth century European Amish came into conflict with other Anabaptist groups, the Amish position was in favor of a stricter shunning.

A member can help a shunned person, but cannot receive anything from him and cannot eat with him. She can counsel him, however, and beg him to come back into the church. The main concern is that the perpetrator becomes right with God and right with the church. The ministry has a strong concern for the perpetrator's soul, and they work hard to help him confess and seek forgiveness. Most perpetrators eventually confess their misdeeds because they believe that if they do not, they may lose their salvation.

In one small Amish community, Sarah's brother Martin was excommunicated and shunned from the church back in the 1940s because he had joined the army, and afterward, Sarah had only infrequent contact with him. Sarah and Martin had lived for years doing the delicate dance of excommunication and shunning, and therefore Sarah could not accept anything offered to her by her brother. When she visited him in 1980, she found him divorced, living in a small, rundown mobile home. He had some cookies and punch on his kitchen counter and offered some to her, letting her know that he did not make them. He was following the rules. Sarah did not take any.

After the designated period of shunning, the wrongdoer may, if he wishes, return to the church and repent on his knees before the whole congregation. Then the congregation will accept him back into fellowship. I know of no case where a person has thus repented and the congregation has refused to forgive and accept him back. After the person has been readmitted, members are expected to offer a full forgiveness, and no person, including the victim, is ever allowed to bring up the infraction again.

There is no such thing as a solitary Amish person. Leaving the Amish fellowship means abandoning one's Amishness. If a woman's husband is excommunicated and shunned from the church, she has a tough decision to make. She may separate from him and remain in fellowship with the church, or she may choose to stay with him, and thus suffer excommunication and shunning. If her husband is abusing her and she chooses to stay with him, she will be separated even more the church community and even from her relatives, and find herself more isolated, more at risk of abuse.

In one case, a woman had a husband who was sexually abusing their daughters. Soon his sons were also abusing their sisters. The woman blamed herself for failing to sexually satisfy her husband, and thought his behavior was to some extent her fault. Some Amish people even try to cure the perpetrator with herbs. Mary Byler's mother gave her two sons some herbs that would reduce their sex drives, and perhaps keep them from abusing Mary (Labi 2005).

Saloma Furlong, a former Amish woman, wrote about the alleged abuses of Sam Mullet. (Mullet was later convicted of hate crimes against other Amish). She says, "…they [the Amish] don't recognize that there is sometimes a psychological basis for this behavior. If the person repents, he makes a public confession in church which means no one may ever speak of it again….none of the Amish I know have a way of dealing with sociopaths or sadists among them who commit great evils… So a fanatic can be spawned out of any Amish community…" (Furlong 2011, par. 5).

The church may seem more concerned with the perpetrator's reinstatement and salvation than with the needs of the victim. In the Wisconsin community, after Mary had suffered sexual abuse at the hands of her brothers and cousins for years, Mary's mother blamed her for not resisting and praying enough (Labi 2005). Since church members have an obligation to confess fornication, her brother Johnny had done so when he was 21. However, he did not say the fornication was with his sister, and that it was rape. He was excommunicated for 2 weeks. But nothing was done to help Mary. Mary warned the ministers that she would press charges but they ignored her and when she finally pressed charges, they excommunicated her! Members criticize those who take "internal troubles" outside to the public, or refer issues to the secular courts and criminal justice system.

Gelassenheit is the core attitude a member should have toward the church and the church's leadership. This attitude is demonstrated when all members, even victims, are socialized to forgive those who have sinned and then confessed. After the offender is disciplined, members are urged to forgive him, and may even be disciplined if they ever speak of the incident again. The aim here is total forgiveness. Leaders point to the Lords Prayer: "forgive us our sins as we forgive the sins of others." Many members tie the forgiveness of their own sins to their ability to forgive others. In this way, the needs of the victim are often overlooked. There are many resources inside the Amish community for friendships and a

sympathetic, listening ear, but only rarely is professional counseling sought for the victim.

Resources Outside the Community for Victims and Perpetrators

The force of law is contrary to the Christian spirit and contrary to Amish teaching. Plus, most Amish people believe that the cost of seeking outside help is greater than any benefit. The Amish are reluctant to go to outsiders because of the cost, because of a lack of trust, and because they desire to handle these issues inside the community.

The Amish see most acts of abuse as spiritual or moral problems and they often do not recognize deep-rooted psychological problems. Mr. Schwartz, an uncle of one perpetrator, expressed more concern that his nephew changes and becomes a better person than he did about the punishment his nephew received (Gay 2010).

From an outsiders viewpoint, the church is too easy on offenders whereas state law is much stricter. But even the state is sometimes lenient with the Amish. Labi (2005) observes that this often assumes the Amish community will police itself.

The Amish usually provide in-home care for people with mental health problems and do not tend to seek outside help. In one case, a wife shielded her abusing husband from legal retribution, and made excuses for him. In another case, when a man threatened suicide, the family never sought outside help. He finally killed himself with a shotgun.

The Old Order communities even tend to refuse help from fellow Anabaptists. Mennonite Central Committee, a relief and disaster response organization, has had extensive experience in dealing with abusive situations, and has offered to help both the victims and the perpetrators in the affected Mennonite communities in Bolivia. But up till now, they have declined this assistance.

In recent years two things have happened to address the few serious cases of abuse in Amish

communities. First, some Old Order people (Amish and Mennonite) are becoming more willing to seek outside help. Second, counseling organizations are recognizing the need to offer unique services to Old Order people, and some counseling services have been specifically designed to do so. More and more, the Amish community is supporting these customized centers.

Oaklawn, a Goshen, Indiana clinic sponsored by Mennonite Health Services Alliance, provides clinical services for three adult residential facilities that are constructed, maintained, staffed, and managed by the Amish people themselves. The residents help with housekeeping, food preparation, laundry, and gardening. Group therapy is conducted in the Pennsylvania German language and the Amish leaders hold periods of morning and evening "devotions." But the clinic itself is staffed with professional counselors (Oaklawn 2010).

Lois Gerber lives in Lititz, Pennsylvania, and works for Upward Call Counseling Services, where she sees mainly women clients from Amish and Mennonite communities. She still struggles with the common perception of her clients that mental health problems are signs of spiritual weakness. She focuses on God's unconditional love when that issue arises (Jenner 2012).

Life Ministries in Conestoga, Pennsylvania, draws about 90 % of their clients from the conservative Anabaptist community (Mennonite, Amish, Brethren). They have no long-term residential programs, but do follow up with home visits. Having counselors who are known by potential clients and whose families are also known by potential clients is an advantage. It helps to promote trust. They occasionally run sex abuse workshops and conduct group therapy sessions. The local churches and religious leaders support the focus on counseling but are in opposition if the groups look or function like Bible studies.

The Counseling Center of Wayne and Holmes Counties, Ohio, has developed specialized counseling programs sensitive to the 35,000 Amish people in this area. DeRue et al. (2002) researched opinions about these services among a large sample of Amish community clients of

these counseling programs, their families, Amish support groups, and Amish leaders. All respondents agreed that family support of the patient is very important. The majority of people in the support group who responded to the survey said they would probably seek treatment for emotional problems without consulting their bishop. In contrast, 75 % of the surveyed Amish ministers said that people should first consult Amish leaders before seeking treatment.

Many of the Amish people surveyed are still relying on prayer, herbs, or hard work to help cure people with mental health problems and are reluctant to access psychotropic medications. But the researchers did conclude that Amish attitudes toward outside help are changing. Overall, the Amish seem to have a positive attitude toward the counseling center (DeRue et al. 2002). Unfortunately the DeRue et al. study did not discriminate between the more progressive Amish and the more conservative Swartzentruber groups in the area.

Summary

The Amish are constantly warned by their leaders against gossip and criticism. This may encourage some people to accept a wrong rather than deal with it. There is a strong ethic of forgiveness, regardless of the offense, especially if the perpetrator confesses his wrong.

Are perpetrators sinners, criminals, or mentally ill? The Amish church traditionally has treated them as sinners in need of excommunication, followed by their repentance and forgiveness. Leaders seek outside law enforcement only as a last-ditch effort. They have been hesitant to seek psychological counseling or psychotropic medications. However, this is slowly changing as more and more counseling centers are becoming more sensitive to the Amish and conservative Mennonite cultures.

One might ask if the *structure* of Amish society provides help or hindrance in cases of abuse. Ministers are available to hear complaints, but do not have the psychological training to provide help for the victims or perpetrators. Ministers are also embedded in the web of Amish kinship and are reluctant to act against a near relative.

Cultural norms make it difficult to go outside the community to seek help. Members do not take kindly to outsiders interfering in their personal affairs. They seem ready to forgive, but less ready to provide outside help for victims and perpetrators. A perpetrator may be excommunicated for a time, but the church has no way to force the person to seek professional help. The church deals with abuse as a sin rather than as a criminal or mental problem.

Communities are changing and the economic base is changing from farming to multiple occupations such as small businesses, traveling carpenters and masons, even working in English businesses (e.g., mobile home factories in Indiana). Necessarily, this provides more interaction with the outside world and more opportunity for people to seek outside treatment for abuse.

Outside therapists and counselors need knowledge about the Amish community. They need to appreciate how the community defines abuse, how they diagnose it, how the church deals with it, and why leaders are so reluctant to seek outside help. With this knowledge, professionals will be much more effective in working with these Old Order communities.

References

DeRue, D., Schlegel, R., & Yoder, J. (2002). Amish needs and mental health care. *Journal of Rural Community Psychology, E5* (1). Retrieved from http://muwww-new.marshall.edu/jrcp//sp2002/amish.htm. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Furlong, S. (2011, October 24). Abuse—The real issue [Blog post]. Retrieved from http://aboutamish.blogspot.com/2011/10/abuse-real-issue.html. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Gay, M. (2010, September 3). A crisis in Amish country. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/03/us/03amish.html?pagewanted=all_r=0. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Hurd, J. (1981). *Mate choice among the Nebraska Amish of Central Pennsylvania: A thesis in anthropology* [Dissertation]. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University.

Jenner, A. (2012, Summer). Counselor to the Amish. *Crossroads: Eastern Mennonite University*. Retrieved from http://emu.edu/now/crossroads/2012/04/13/counselor-to-the-amish/. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Labi, N. (2005, January/February). The gentle people. *Legal Affairs*. Retrieved from http://legalaffairs.org/issues/January-February-2005/feature_labi_janfeb05.msp. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Muir, R. W. (2011). Bolivian Mennonite rape trial ends in convictions. *Canadian Mennonite, 15*(18). Retrieved from http://www.canadianmennonite.org/articles/bolivian-mennonite-rape-trial-ends-convictions. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Oaklawn. (2010). Services for the Amish [Introductory webpage]. Retrieved from https://www.oaklawn.org/services/adults/amish. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Tönnies, F. (1957).*Community & society*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press.

United States Department of Justice. (2012, August). [Government document]. *What is domestic violence?* Retrieved from http://www.ovw.usdoj.gov/domviolence.htm. Accessed 31 Oct 2013.

Addressing Intimate Partner Violence in Rural Church Communities

<div style="text-align:right">**16**</div>

Donald F. Walker, Katherine J. Partridge and Rachel L. Stephens

Consider the following case example: Hillary is a 26-year-old secretary at her father-in-law's small accounting business. She married her high school sweetheart when they were 20. Her husband is an auto mechanic and deacon at the church where they grew up. Her mother died when she was 12 years old from breast cancer, and her father works night and day in attempt to keep his small hardware store in business. Approximately 2 years into their marriage, Hillary's husband began abusing her. It started as verbal spats which have since escalated into physical assaults in the last 2 years. She knows that the way that he treats her is wrong, even though he justifies his behavior by telling her that she "is not submissive like she is supposed to be." Her husband keeps pressuring her to start a family and to be the "wife and mom that God needs her to be," but she does not want to bring children into a household like theirs. Part of her wants to leave, but divorce is wrong according to her belief system, and she feels that she would be seen as the one at fault for the marriage ending if she left, and she does not want that judgment or "sin" on her personal account. Further, she feels as though she does not have the financial means to be able to leave because she would not be able to show her face in town and would likely lose her job because she feels her father-in-law would side with her husband. She does not feel that she can financially support herself on her own and that her family of origin

could not financially sustain her either. She still loves her husband and needs a "solution" that does not leave her stuck living like this but that can be reconciled with her beliefs and allows her to still be able to reside in her community if she so desires.

In this chapter, we describe what rural religious America looks like in the twenty-first century. We begin by reviewing broad cultural values individuals living in rural communities may hold. Next, we focus on specific barriers to effectively coping with and resolving intimate partner violence (IPV) that are unique to rural communities. Afterward, we discuss resources available for helping victims and perpetrators. We conclude by considering implications for clinicians in this setting and areas where further study is required.

An Overview of Cultural Identity of Rural Church Communities

One of the first considerations when working with this population is to define its constituents according to their unique aspects of diversity. Defining a rural area comes down to an absence of people rather than a presence. According to the US Census Bureau (2010a), an urban area is defined as one with 50,000 or more residents, and an area with more than 2500 and less than 50,000 is classified as an "urban cluster." A rural area, then, is any area not classified as an urban area. According to the 2010 census 59,492,267 people live in the rural communities in the USA, which is more than 19 % of the US population

D. F. Walker (✉) · K. J. Partridge · R. L. Stephens
Department of Psychology, Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA, USA
e-mail: dfwalker@regent.edu

(US Census Bureau 2010b). Further, despite the fact that the majority of the resources come from a country's rural areas, people residing in such areas tend to have higher poverty rates than those that reside in urban areas (Brown et al. 2003).

Religion and Rural Cultural Identity

Swierenga (1997) suggests that religion and churches define the culture of rural America. Religion plays such a role, in fact, that Swierenga states that different beliefs are so intertwined in the group's social structure that they actually dictate farming practices in the community. If the reaches of religion run this deep, it is no question that they infiltrate the social structure of rural areas as well (Swierenga 1997).

Aten et al. (2010) note that people living in rural communities report higher levels of religiousness and religious affiliation, as well as more conservative and fundamentalist religious views. In addition, they suggest that religious fundamentalists living in rural communities typically exist in a closed system in which outsiders are viewed with suspicion. Furthermore, as with other fundamentalists, religious fundamentalists living in rural communities frequently take a literal interpretation of the Bible. They may also grant authority for interpretation of the Bible to a select few, including one's pastor and board of church elders. As a closed system, fundamentalists may even attempt to create a "counterculture" of religious faith in opposition to the broader culture.

Interpreting Scripture very literally and without regards to context can lead to beliefs such as a woman must be submissive in all circumstances, and divorce is only acceptable in cases of adultery. These views can lead a woman to feel responsible to continue to endure abuse and stay in the relationship because she must be an "obedient and submissive" wife that should "sacrifice for and forgive" her husband (Wang et al. 2009). While only a minority of religious leaders would only condone divorce for infidelity, a large portion of them would only do so after all other options, such as counseling, had failed (Wang et al.

2009). This is troubling for a woman living in a rural fundamentalist community as she likely is also limited in her ability to find such resources. To make matters worse, if she has exhausted her options and does decide to divorce her husband, most women report that this also would mean losing their primary support system, as deciding to leave the marriage would mean leaving the church due to "congregational condemnation" of divorce. Further, this may leave the woman feeling guilty and alone because, while she may know that she does not deserve to be treated so horribly, she is somehow "going against God" by leaving the relationship (Wang et al. 2009).

Aten et al. (2010) suggest that the religious values of individuals living in rural communities can translate into unique challenges of therapy. For example, one common therapy challenge involves rural clients viewing psychological problems as spiritual problems. In the context of IPV, women who have been abused by their partners may view the abuse as the result of their own sin or a failure to conform to an image of a godly wife. According to Aten et al., another common presenting therapy problem stemming from religious values involves rigid gender roles and strained marital relations. IPV may thus represent an extreme of these kinds of problems rooted in religion. Finally, Aten et al. also noted "religious agendas" as another therapy challenge rooted in religion for rural men and women. They refer to religious agendas as client referrals from family or friends in which the family member or friend's goal was to "get the client back on track." To the treating therapist, this meant that the family member's agenda was to change the client's behavior or belief that was thought to be preventing the client from living out their faith, even if doing so was not in the best interest of the client. In the context of IPV, this kind of religious agenda may occur when the referral for therapy comes from a clergy member, a family member of an abuser, or a church member either implicitly or explicitly supporting an abuser. These referrals for an IPV victim for therapy may come with the implicit or explicit goal of making her remain in an abusive relationship.

Closed Nature of Rural Communities

Campbell and Gordon (2003) describe several unique characteristics of rural communities in the USA relevant to this discussion. They note that as these are closed communities, outsiders living or working in rural communities are frequently viewed with distrust. This is due in part to the fact that relationships among rural residents are typically long term—existing for years or even for generations. As a result, people in rural communities are known in their family, social, and historical context. For instance, men and women are known not only by the work they do or where they live but by their family legacy in the community. Campbell and Gordon suggest that it is common, for example, to not only know someone's name but also know a person as someone else's daughter, aunt, or grandson. As a result, rural residents often want to know details about others in the community and to be known by others. As we will discuss in the next section, the closed nature of rural communities and the close-knit family ties within rural communities can present challenges for some IPV survivors who attempt to work against these systemic factors in leaving abusive relationships.

Stigmatization of Mental Health

In rural communities, when psychosocial problems develop, individuals are expected to deal with the problems within their families or by talking with a member of the clergy or their family doctor. Mental health problems are often considered the domain of the church due to the central role that religion has in the lives of people living in urban areas (Campbell and Gordon 2003). Campbell et al. (2006) note that barriers to mental health services in rural areas are both external and internal. External barriers include distance to providers, lack of medical insurance, geographical barriers, and a lack of resources that encourage providers to locate to rural areas. They note, for example, that psychological service availability is rural areas is limited; 55 % of counties in the USA have no practicing psychologists,

psychiatrists, or social workers. Internal barriers include the social norms and attitudes of many rural residents, including a belief in self-reliance.

Value of Self-Sufficiency

The ideals of self-sufficiency and solving one's own problems are valued, which can exacerbate these economic difficulties. For example, a woman experiencing IPV in this setting may feel that it is her problem to deal with, and she may therefore be less inclined to tell someone about what is happening to her. On a personal level, fundamentalist sects also promote the ideal of using works and strict morals to achieve personal goals. Religious works may therefore be "prescribed" as a solution for personal problems within this type of community because lack of works, in theory, would lead to negative consequences (Swierenga 1997). Similarly, these ideals could also play an interesting role in fundamental faith communities, which tend to value being exclusive tight-knit groups who would desire to be self-reliant and opposed to help from "outsiders" (Human and Wasem 1991).

Belief in Traditional Gender Roles

Rural communities tend to hold very traditional gender roles where the wife is to be submissive to the husband who is the head of the household (Riddell et al. 2009; Teaster et al. 2006). This can create a point of tension if a woman desires to hold a position contrary to this belief and can be used as a way to justify abuse if she is not being "submissive" enough. Further, the religious agendas of family members and clergy can prevent a woman from getting help if their beliefs discourage a woman from leaving an abusive relationship because divorce is not an acceptable solution. A belief in traditional gender roles can intertwine with other aspects of abusive situations as well. For example, acceptance of traditional gender roles within a marriage may cause some women to opt out of working to support oneself and her children. This may further complicate

things if she later attempts to leave an abusive relationship, as her personal financial resources may then be extremely limited.

Poverty and Financial Instability

One characteristic of persons living in rural America that is an often overlooked aspect of diversity is that most of these individuals are dependent on a low and sometimes unpredictable income. Specifically, most residents of rural America are dependent on a farming, manufacturing, natural resources, or retirement income. This means that economically, the "American dream" for many of these individuals in today's economy is simply to make enough to get by and to stay out of debt. This is contrary to the often idealistic portrayal of rural living as relaxed and "simple"; in reality, "strenuous and stressful" would likely paint a better picture (Human and Wasem 1991). As a result, well-being in rural religious communities is defined by a much different set of standards than in other areas of the country. For example, the availability of good-paying jobs, access to critical services, strong communities, and a healthy natural environment all contribute to the well-being of these communities. Unfortunately, all of these pivotal aspects of well-being are largely out of their control, making the likelihood for stressful situations to occur very high (Brown et al. 2003).

Is IPV More Accepted in Rural Communities?

Given the abovementioned values, does IPV occur more frequently in rural communities than in urban settings? The answer is probably not. Although self-reports of IPV are notoriously under-reported, at least over a decade ago, the answer is that there were no differences in domestic violence rates between urban and rural areas (Campbell and Gordon 2003). This finding is independently supported by other surveys that suggest that between 1993 and 2004, women in urban areas reported higher rates of domestic violence than women in rural areas (Catalano 2005, Miller

et al. 2007). Across both urban and rural settings, reports of domestic violence have declined on the whole over the past decade (Catalano 2012). Of course, surveys such as these depend on women to actually report IPV to determine rates. Unfortunately, as a closed system, rural community members may collude in tolerating some behaviors while denouncing other behaviors (Campbell and Gordon 2003). In this next section, we review barriers to help seeking for survivors of IPV in rural communities.

Barriers to Help Seeking for IPV Survivors in Rural Communities

Miller et al. (2007) provided a helpful review and analysis of identified barriers to help seeking among IPV victims. We review each of the barriers that they identified in this section.

Poverty IPV survivors may lack resources for basic needs (food and shelter) as well as for resources that would be critical in help seeking (transportation, phones, mental health services, and medical care). Miller et al. point out the bidirectional relationship of domestic violence and poverty. Women suffering from poverty may be more likely to tolerate the abuse because of their financial dependence on their partners. However, the abuse itself may also affect their income, as it may affect survivors' work performance, work attendance, work appearance, and the safety of her coworkers.

Difficulties Due to Geographical Location As Miller et al. suggest, in rural settings, it may simply be more physically challenging for survivors to leave their perpetrators. For example, Bruley et al. (2012) note that it is not uncommon for victims of IPV to drive 3 hours for help in some areas. In addition, necessary assistance, such as law enforcement, may be physically distant. In some cases, the perpetrator may have chosen the physical location to help facilitate the abuse.

When physical distance is great between houses, a victim's cries for help may not be heard.

Lack of Anonymity Miller et al. point out that victims of IPV receive anonymity only from a mental health provider or other health-care professional when seeking treatment. However, people who work in the building where survivors receive treatment (such as office staff) may see them enter the building, or recognize their car in the parking lot. Such people may include the actual perpetrator. As a result, when victims present for services, they may express concerns about who works in the building, who has access to their records, and what kind of information is kept in their records.

Transportation Barriers Miller et al. point out that some women in rural areas may not have public transportation, and private transportation may be controlled by their perpetrator. They may have never learned to drive. For those that do drive, if they drive their partners' cars, some perpetrators monitor odometers or use GPS devices and thus track their spouses to the places where they are seeking assistance. In addition, women living in rural mountain areas may face harsh weather conditions and flash flooding that may make escape difficult and dangerous.

Lack of Phones and Phone Services Miller et al. note that cell phone reception is often poor in remote rural areas. In addition, perpetrators often use the threat of removing phones services or actually remove phone services as a means of control.

Lack of Shelters and Domestic Violence Programs Miller et al. point out that domestic violence shelters may not be physically close to the victims. Furthermore, in rural areas, they may not be completely anonymous. They suggest that even if the shelter develops a good working relationship with law enforcement, law enforcement personnel may not be close. This places women in rural areas who seek services at shelters more at risk than women in urban areas who are seeking assistance from shelters. These factors combine to make it more plausible that an abusive spouse can track down a victim seeking help at a shelter and engage in real harm to the victim at the shelter.

In our view, the lack of domestic violence programs in rural settings is further complicated by both a general lack of availability of mental health services as well as a lack of training in domestic violence among mental health professionals serving in rural areas. For example, in one survey of 128 psychologists working in a rural area, lack of training in domestic violence issues was identified as a central barrier to screening women for domestic violence (Samuelson and Campbell 2005). Across urban and rural settings, physicians and mental health professionals in positions to screen women for domestic violence typically do so rarely (Samuelson and Campbell 2005). More recent surveys of physicians are varied in their outcomes. These surveys have estimates of screening rates for domestic violence that suggest that between 19 and 38 % of them routinely do so (Bunn et al. 2009; Lutgendorf et al. 2010).

Lack of Legal Response Miller et al. note that women in rural settings may fear making a complaint because the abuser may know the magistrate, may be related to the magistrate, or may know that the magistrate has a history of being nonresponsive to domestic violence complaints. Bruley et al. (2012) point out that prosecution of IPV cases is often difficult because judges often do know the abuser and find it difficult to put aside their personal feelings for the offender.

Complicating Ties to the Land Miller et al. suggest that ties to the land come in several forms. First, some survivors of IPV in rural settings report that their abusers have threatened to harm the animals on their land if they leave. As a result, they may stay out of a sense of obligation to the animals that they own. Second, in some rural settings, the survivor's house may be on the perpetrators' land, making restraining orders unenforceable. Third, in some rural settings, the survivor's home may be on land owned by relatives of the perpetrator. This living arrangement

complicates a survivor's ability to protect herself and her children.

Religious and Spiritual Resources for Survivors

When a woman has experienced IPV within a religious or spiritual context, it is critical for her faith to be considered and included within the healing process. In rural situations specifically, resources for healing and support may be more limited and scarce, meaning that it is even more important to utilize the strengths and assets that *are* available to the survivor. Spiritual coping may allow a source of support and stability that might not be available through other avenues in a rural setting (Senter and Caldwell 2002; Sharp 2010). Although faith and/or religiosity may have been used by the perpetrator to justify his abuse, or even by the survivor herself to rationalize why she should remain in the relationship, faith may still serve as a source of support throughout the healing process. The nature of her spiritual relationship with God may be one of the most influential factors in providing support and encouragement (Ake and Horne 2003; Gillum et al. 2006; Senter and Caldwell 2002). In addition to the supportive qualities of the spiritual relationship, other religious behaviors may also be helpful and beneficial. Some research has found religious attendance to serve as a source of support for survivors (e.g., Gillum et al. 2006; Senter and Caldwell 2002); however, this may not be the case in a rural culture, specifically if the perpetrator is also a member of the church. Within more urban environments, a woman may have the option to switch churches and find a new religious community after reinterpreting her beliefs following the abuse (Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Senter and Caldwell 2002). However, a woman from a rural culture may have limited options for religious communities, therefore limiting the amount of support and encouragement she might receive from a spiritual family. If a survivor of IPV does not find it possible to receive support from her church community, it might be possible for her to find a spiritual mentor or guide who could assist

her through the healing process within a religious framework. This type of mentorship may also be beneficial in assisting the survivor in reinterpreting her religious beliefs to reflect her new understanding of abuse. Reinterpreting beliefs that have been damaging or harmful to the survivor's safety and personal value might be more helpful than ignoring them or expecting the survivor to abandon her religious beliefs altogether. Reinterpreting and reframing her beliefs on divorce, submission, and what it means to be a woman who is cherished in the eyes of God may allow the woman to let go of feelings of guilt regarding her choice to leave (Giesbrecht and Sevcik 2000; Knickmeyer et al. 2010; Sharp 2010; Wang et al. 2009).

Churches within rural settings both have positive and negative qualities affecting their treatment of survivors of IPV. Rural settings might be more conservative and resistant to change, making it difficult to influence or modify longstanding beliefs regarding marriage, gender roles, divorce, and spousal violence. However, faith communities often serve a large role within the fabric of rural communities, implying that they may hold a great deal of power and sway within the community at large. Therefore, although congregants and community members may be resistant to change, religious institutions likely hold the greatest likelihood of bringing change to these tightly knit communities. Some research suggests that larger churches, newer clergy members, and female clergy members tend to have better responses to IPV (Strickland et al. 1998). Unfortunately, it may be more uncommon for a rural church community to possess these characteristics due to their generally limited resources and conservative structures.

When a rural religious community lacks the resources, knowledge, or training to address IPV adequately within their congregations, mental health professionals may be able to serve as consultants in developing awareness, providing resources, and implementing prevention or treatment efforts. Such collaboration could ensure that both religious and mental health resources within the community are optimally utilized. Indeed, studies have found that many clergy members de-

sire to increase their training, programming, and resources on the topic of IPV within their congregations (Homiak and Singletary 2007; Rotunda et al. 2004; Strickland et al. 1998). However, such collaboration is likely to be difficult. Mental health professionals have to walk a challenging balancing act when collaborating with clergy to combat IPV. On the one hand, psychotherapists from all walks of professional life are taught to respect religion and spirituality as aspects of client diversity. On the other hand, religion itself is often used to support abuse against spouses. Clergy members and mental health professionals will be most influential when they attempt to maximize assistance, intervention, and treatment for survivors of IPV (and even their abusers) while also maintaining a sense of respect for the religious beliefs and convictions of the community as they confront any misuse of religion that supports or contributes to IPV.

Religious and Spiritual Resources for Perpetrators

When spiritual and/or religious factors are involved in the perpetration of abuse, it is just as important for the perpetrator to process these variables in treatment as the survivor. However, research and empirically supported treatment protocols within this area are scarce, and none were found specifically to address rural religious communities. We discuss psychotherapy considerations for perpetrators, including dealing with personal religion and spirituality, later in this chapter.

Perpetrators of IPV typically seek help for IPV only when forced to do so by an external agency, such as law enforcement. However, church communities may also be a place where they can receive lay help in attempting to cope with personal and situational factors related to their perpetration of IPV. In rural communities, clergy and lay religious leaders have great positions of authority. To the extent that such community leaders are willing to "hate the sin and love the sinner" in providing a combination of confrontation and support, they may be useful resources for perpetrators of

IPV to help them stop their abusive behavior. To the extent that religious communities are willing to become involved and to confront IPV as being incompatible with Scripture, they can provide a network of accountability for perpetrators. This network could involve individual meetings with clergy and lay religious leaders. It could also involve group accountability in the form of group Bible studies or accountability groups. Formal accountability in the group or pastoral counseling could include (1) a promise to separate from the victim for a limited time period, (2) a commitment to seek psychotherapy to prevent the occurrence of future abuse, (3) a commitment to contact the individual or individuals to whom the perpetrator is accountable should they feel that they are in danger of committing IPV, and (4) a promise to inform the pastor, religious leader, or group of any future incidents involving IPV.

Although no research has been done on this, we believe that perpetrators of IPV who are sincerely seeking church help to prevent future abuse should also be encouraged to rely on their relationship with God to change their behavior. This is because Christianity teaches character development as a lifelong mission resulting from a saving relationship with Jesus Christ. We believe that men and women who have committed their lives to Jesus are not less susceptible to sinful behaviors such as IPV than other people. However, such individuals could become more motivated to seek help for IPV and related problems when actively engaged in a personal relationship with God.

Implications for Professional Practice

In this section, we describe implications for professional mental health practice with both survivors and perpetrators. In doing so, we wish to emphasize that, all other considerations aside, the provision of safety for survivors is of paramount concern. We discuss this and other treatment considerations for survivors of IPV. We begin by describing possibilities for the development of treatment networks for survivors. Next, we consider best practice therapy recommendations

for IPV survivors. We then review best practice therapy recommendations for perpetrators and for couples. We conclude by considering the inclusion of religion and spirituality in treatment for both survivors and perpetrators.

Develop a Network of Collaboration

In our view, mental health professionals working in rural areas seeking to serve survivors of IPV should first of all develop a network of collaboration with important gatekeepers in rural communities. Such gatekeepers include clergy members as well as physicians. Psychotherapists who are personally religious themselves are likely to be in better position to begin this kind of collaboration with clergy. Nonreligious therapists will probably encounter mistrust of their motives. They will need to work to develop such trust over time. Furthermore, psychotherapists will enjoy greater credibility with clergy if they demonstrate a willingness to explicitly incorporate religion and spirituality in the therapy room. McMinn et al. (2005) surveyed Southern Baptist pastors regarding their likelihood of referring to a mental health professional. They rated their preference for a therapist who explicitly incorporated prayer and Scripture in psychotherapy above a preference for good interpersonal skills on the part of the therapist. Regardless of the personal faith of the therapist, it may be easier to develop collaborative relationships with physicians in rural settings, at least initially. Physicians may be less likely to evaluate potential collaborative relationships on the basis of personal religion in favor of their perceived competence of the provider. Living in remote and isolated areas themselves, they may also welcome the opportunity to collaborate with other professionals.

A practical step resulting from collaboration with important community gatekeepers such as clergy and physicians should be helping them to identify victims of IPV and to enlist them in helping IPV victims to obtain help. Although this should be obvious, there are several practical obstacles that need to be overcome in implementing this first step. With clergy, after taking the time to earn their trust, mental health professionals will

need to strike a delicate balance between supporting the religious values of clergy in general while simultaneously challenging unhealthy religious attitudes and values that support IPV. In addition to confronting destructive values maintaining IPV, many clergy lack training in identifying and dealing with IPV (Homiak and Singletary 2007; Kulwicki et al. 2010; Ringel and Park 2008; Rotunda et al. 2004). This seems to be a particular problem for clergy who have been practicing for longer rather than shorter periods of time (Strickland et al. 1998). Thus, one way that mental health professionals can collaborate with clergy in rural communities around domestic violence is in providing training about domestic violence. Such training might be best received if supported by other local gatekeepers and conducted in a multidisciplinary fashion. In other words, the nature and scope of the training might also include physicians, law enforcement, and workers from domestic violence shelters coming together to educate clergy about IPV. Such training should clearly identify IPV as a form of assault that is a crime, physical indicators that IPV may have occurred, and screening questions that clergy can ask their constituents. It should also include a discussion of how law enforcement typically responds to IPV situations. It should end with an open discussion of how religious values may support the reoccurrence of IPV or, alternatively, work to end it.

Realistic Safety Planning for Survivors Seeking to Leave

The first step in working with survivors of IPV should be in assessing their safety and helping them develop a realistic safety plan to maintain it. This safety plan should take into consideration the realistic barriers to seeking and receiving help that we reviewed earlier. As a result, mental health professionals need to consider survivors economic resources, actual limitations in communication and transportation, complicating factors such as geographical location and the nature of one's living arrangement with their extended family and community when developing a safety plan. A "one size fits all" safety plan is not realis-

tic. Some survivors may choose to remain in abusive relationships due to difficult financial limitations. Regardless of their particular situation, survivors should be coached on how to identify and evaluate options to overcome limitations. The process of developing a safety plan should thus be a collaborative process in which potential solutions are identified by psychotherapists and then talked through, refined, and owned by IPV survivors prior to implementing them.

Provide Individual Therapy for IPV Survivors Utilizing CPT

Cognitive processing therapy (CPT) has repeatedly been found to be effective in treating IPV (Barner and Carney 2011; Pico-Alfonso 2005; Resick et al. 2008; Rizvi, Vogt and Resick 2009). Furthermore, CPT has also been found to be effective at reducing the risk for revictimization for IPV (Iverson et al. 2011). Although recommending CPT for IPV may seem mundane for therapists working in urban settings, it bears emphasizing in the context of rural mental health treatment. This is because many mental health professionals working in rural settings practice from a generalist perspective. The need to practice as a generalist in such settings makes sense, given the multiple, unique mental health needs that therapists are likely to encounter when working in isolated settings. Such therapists may be the only mental health professionals for miles. As this is the case, generalist practitioners should make sure that they have been adequately trained in CPT, an evidence-based treatment for IPV. Free online training for mental health professionals has been developed and can be found online at https://cpt.musc.edu/.

Provide Individual and Conjunctive Therapy for Perpetrators of IPV

People living in rural settings frequently lack available mental health services. It bears emphasizing that, in the limited research that has been conducted, court-ordered counseling was found to significantly decrease the reoccurrence of IPV

among 173 rural IPV offenders (Bruley et al. 2012). IPV is a form of abuse that involves issues of power and control on the part of the abuser. Variables associated with abusive men, such as psychopathology on the part of the abuser, a comorbid substance abuse disorder, the presence of personality disorders, personal trauma history, and comorbid mood or other psychiatric disorders combine with situational stressors in the commitment of IPV (Murphy et al. 2009). To address the multifaceted nature of male perpetrators' problems, Murphy et al. suggested a multidimensional approach to treating perpetrators of IPV, with a cognitive behavioral therapy approach at the center. Such a treatment involves considering adjunctive service needs apart from their perpetration of abuse itself, including perpetrator substance abuse and concomitant psychiatric disorders. In individual therapy, they recommended utilizing cognitive behavioral therapy to address cognitive distortions related to the commitment of IPV. Such distortions may involve issues of power and control related to their past or current relational partners. For instance, some perpetrators may distort their partners' expressed concern as an attempt by their partners to control them.

As with religious female survivors of IPV, we suggest that cognitive behavioral treatment for male perpetrators of IPV will be more effective when it assesses and actively confronts religious cognitive distortions that serve to maintain perpetrators' abusive roles and behaviors. Examples of such distortions would include the idea that the Bible or other sacred writings support IPV. Therapist attempts to confront cognitive distortions supporting IPV that are rooted in religion will be more effective when done with passages from sacred texts that are at odds with passages that are being used to support abusive behaviors.

Provide Couples Therapy for Couples Who are Stable

The provision of survivors' safety should always be the first consideration in any for IPV. When violence is actively being committed, couples counseling is contraindicated, and separate coun-

seling is recommended. Separate psychotherapy should involve the best practice treatment recommendations that we have outlined above. Prior to considering couples therapy at all, practitioners should be aware that there is a real possibility of ongoing abuse, perpetrator threats to control the relationship, and/or the occurrence of future violence.

Furthermore, as Stith et al. (2011) point out, 43 states have guidelines for court-ordered offender treatment. These guidelines typically involve individual treatment for perpetrators as outlined earlier. They also usually explicitly forbid couples counseling until offenders have undergone their own individual treatment. When couples counseling is conducted, it is done with the understanding that joint responsibility for the occurrence of domestic violence is not implied and that offenders are completely responsible for their actions.

Stith et al. (2011) provide an in-depth, step-by-step approach to conducting Domestic Violence Focused Couples Treatment. This approach is built on solution-focused therapy principles and adapted for use with couples in which IPV has occurred. The treatment is available in multi-couple and single-couple modalities. It involves two phases over 18 weeks. The first phase is psychoeducational and therapist directed. It is usually conducted with each member of the couple separately. The second phase of treatment is conjoint and client led. Research on 83 couples has found that treatment significantly reduces reported occurrences of IPV. Furthermore, men participating in multi-couple treatment also report increased partner differentiation, reduced anger and anxiety, and improved communication with their partners as the result of treatment.

Address Religion and Spirituality in Treatment

Given the central role of religion in the lives of individuals living in rural communities, religion should be considered in treatment for both survivors and perpetrators of IPV. Survivors of IPV may need therapists to offer alternative interpre-tations of Biblical passages that support IPV. For example, Ephesians 5:21–23 is a passage that suggests that wives are to submit to their husbands. In offering a reinterpretation of this passage to fundamentalist clients, therapists could also note that the passage instructs husbands to "love their wives" and that the passage begins with an admonition to submit to one another. It is important to emphasize that respect for client religious values is tricky in situations involving IPV. We are not advocating for such radical alternative interpretations of Scripture as clients might reject them outright as not being compatible with their belief systems. We also wish to avoid therapists using their positions of power in times of great vulnerability with clients to implicitly or explicitly suggest to clients that they completely leave their religious belief system. However, we believe that it is essential for therapists to reflect back to IPV survivors ways in which their religious beliefs are maintaining abuse. We also believe that it is critical for therapists to help IPV survivors examine alternative ways of interpreting Scriptures that have previously been used to support abuse while simultaneously working within their larger religious belief system.

Many survivors of IPV have reported that their personal relationship with God is an enormous source of strength, comfort, and support when attempting to maintain their safety and in leaving an abusive relationship (Gillum et al. 2006; Senter and Caldwell 2002). Therapists should explore survivors' image of God specifically. When survivors report that their personal relationship with God serves as a resource for healing, therapists should utilize that resources and build upon it. This can be done by pointing out discrepancies between the God that loves the survivor and distorted religious messages from one's spouse, extended family, or local community encouraging the survivor to remain in an abusive relationship.

Perpetrators of IPV may have received implicit or explicit messages that IPV is supported by the Bible. They need to be confronted with Scripture and/or with additional feedback from clergy or other members of their religious communities that IPV is not a godly virtue. Such confrontations are likely to be most effective when given

in the context of cognitive behavioral therapy aimed at reducing future occurrences of IPV.

Conclusion

Rural communities present special challenges when working with survivors and perpetrators of IPV. In this chapter, we have attempted to highlight the unique barriers that exist to helping survivors living in such communities, while simultaneously holding out hope for them. When thoughtfully considered and provided, survivors of IPV can benefit greatly from mental health treatment. As mental health providers who are also Christians, we look forward to the day when "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain" (Isaiah 40:4).

References

Ake, G. S., & Horne, S. G. (2003). The influence of religious orientation and coping on the psychological distress of Christian domestic violence victims. *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, *5*(2), 5–28.

Aten, J. D., Mangis, M. W., & Campbell, C. (2010). Psychotherapy with rural religious fundamentalist clients. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *66*(5), 513–523.

Barner, J. R., & Carney, M. M. (2011). Interventions for intimate partner violence: A historical review. *Journal of Family Violence*, *26*(3), 235–244.

Brown, D. L., Swanson, L. E., & Barton, A. W. (2003). *Challenges for rural America in the 21st century*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press

Bruley, C., Hatfield, J., & Markel, P. (2012). Rural court sentencing as a predictor of re-arrest rates for domestic violence offenders. *Journal of Rural Mental Health*, *36*(1), 18–23.

Bunn, M. Y., Higa, N. A., Parker, W. J., & Kaneshiro, B. (2009). Domestic violence screening in pregnancy. *Hawaii Medical Journal*, *68*, 240–242.

Campbell, C. D., & Gordon, M. C. (2003). Acknowledging the inevitable: Multiple relationships in rural practice. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *4*, 430–434.

Campbell, C. D., Kearns, L. A., & Patchin, S. (2006). Psychological needs and resources as perceived by rural and urban psychologists. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *37*(1), 45–50.

Catalano, S. M. (2005). *Intimate partner violence in the United States*. U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ipvus.pdf. Accessed 23 Dec 2013.

Catalano, S. M. (2012). *Intimate partner violence, 1993–2010*. U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ipv9310.pdf. Accessed 23 Dec 2013.

Giesbrecht, N., & Sevcik, I. (2000). The process of recovery and rebuilding among abused women in the conservative Evangelical subculture. *Journal of Family Violence*, *15*(3), 229–248.

Gillum, T. L., Sullivan, C. M., & Bybee, D. I. (2006). The importance of spirituality in the lives of domestic violence survivors. *Violence Against Women*, *12*(3), 240–250.

Homiak, K. B., & Singletary, J. E. (2007). Family violence in congregations: An exploratory study of clergy's needs. *Social Work & Christianity*, *34*(1), 18–46.

Human, J., & Wasem, C. (1991). Rural mental health in America. *American Psychologist*, *46*(3), 232–239. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.46.3.232.

Iverson, K. M., Gradus, J. L., Resick, P. A., Suvak, M. K., Smith, K. F., & Monson, C. M. (2011). Cognitive-behavioral therapy for PTSD and depression symptoms reduces risk for future intimate partner violence among interpersonal trauma survivors. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *79*(2), 193–202.

Knickmeyer, N., Levitt, H., & Horne, S. G. (2010). Putting on Sunday best: The silencing of battered women within Christian faith communities. *Feminism & Psychology*, *20*(1), 94–113.

Kulwicki, A., Aswad, B., Carmona, T., & Ballout, S. (2010). Barriers in the utilization of domestic violence services among Arab immigrant women: Perceptions of professionals, service providers & community leaders. *Journal of Family Violence*, *25*(8), 727–735.

Lutgendorf, M, Busch J., Magann, E. F., & Morrison, J. C. (2010). Domestic violence screening in a military setting: Provider screening and attitudes. *Journal of the Mississippi State Medical Association*, *51*(6), 155–157.

McMinn, M. R., Runner, S. J., Fairchild, J. A., Lefler, J. D., & Suntay, R. P. (2005). Factors affecting clergy-psychologist referral patterns. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, *4*, 299–309.

Miller, G., Clark, C., & Herman, S. (2007). Domestic violence in a rural setting. *Journal of Rural Mental Health*, *31*, 28–42.

Murphy, C. M., Meis, L. A., & Eckhardt, C. I. (2009). Individualized services and individual therapy for partner abuse perpetrators. In K. D. O'Leary & E. M. Woodin (Eds.), *Psychological and physical aggression in couples: Causes and interventions* (pp. 211–231). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pico-Alfonso, M. A. (2005). Psychological intimate partner violence: The major predictor of posttraumatic stress disorder in abused women. *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews*, *29*(1), 181–193.

Resick, P. A., Galovski, T. E., Uhlmansiek, M. O., Scher, C. D., Clum, G. A., & Young-Xu, Y. (2008). A randomized clinical trial to dismantle components of cognitive processing therapy for posttraumatic stress disorder in female victims of interpersonal violence. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *76*(2), 243–258.

Riddell, T., Ford-Gilboe, M., & Leipert, B. (2009). Strategies used by rural women to stop, avoid, or escape from intimate partner violence. *Health Care International for Women*, *30*, 134–150.

Ringel, S., & Park, J. (2008). Intimate partner violence in the Evangelical community: Faith-based interventions and implications for practice. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, *27*(4), 341–360.

Rizvi, S. L., Vogt, D. S., & Resick, P. A. (2009). Cognitive and affective predictors of treatment outcome in cognitive processing therapy and prolonged exposure for posttraumatic stress disorder. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *47*(9), 737–743.

Rotunda, R. J., Williamson, G., & Penfold, M. (2004). Clergy response to domestic violence: A preliminary survey of clergy members, victims, and batterers. *Pastoral Psychology*, *52*(4), 353–365.

Samuelson, S. L., & Campbell, C. (2005). Screening for domestic violence: Recommendations based on a national survey. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *36*, 276–282.

Senter, K. E., & Caldwell, K. (2002). Spirituality and the maintenance of change: A phenomenological study of women who leave abusive relationships. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, *24*(4), 543–564.

Sharp, S. (2010). How does prayer help manage emotions? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *73*(4), 417–437.

Stith, S., McCollum, M., & Rosen, K. H. (2011). *Couples therapy for domestic violence: Finding safe solutions*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Strickland, G. A., Welschimer, K. J., & Sarvela, P. D. (1998). Clergy perspectives and practices regarding intimate violence: A rural view. *The Journal of Rural Health*, *14*(4), 305–311.

Swierenga, R. P. (1997). The little white church: Religion in rural America. *Agricultural History*, *71*(4), 415–441.

Teaster, P. B., Roberto, K. A., & Dugar, T. A. (2006). Intimate partner violence of rural aging women. *Family Relations*, *55*(5), 636–648.

United States Census Bureau (2010a). 2010 Census urban and rural classification and urban area criteria. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/geo/reference/ua/urban-rural-2010.html. Accessed 23 Dec 2013.

United States Census Bureau (2010b). United States Census 2010. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/2010census/. Accessed 23 Dec 2013.

Wang, M. C., Horne, S. G., Levitt, H. M., & Klesges, L. M. (2009). Christian women in IPV relationships: An exploratory study of religious factors. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, *28*(3), 224–235.

Religion and Violence Against Women: The LDS Church

17

Ann F. Pritt

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as the LDS or Mormon Church) has a systematic body of doctrines, teachings, practices, and organizational resources to assist members in living a healthy family lifestyle and to address issues of violence against women. In spite of these resources, instances of domestic abuse and sexual violence do occur in LDS circles. The information in this chapter is designed to assist therapists who are trying to provide culturally sensitive psychological services to members of the LDS Church affected by men's violence against women. An understanding of the LDS culture is helpful, if not critical, to effectively counsel LDS Church members. To help reach this objective, this chapter will give a brief history of the church, its basic organization, doctrines and beliefs, and spiritual practices. This chapter will explore misunderstandings of LDS teachings that have been used by some to support violence against women, teachings of the church that condemn any such violence, and LDS resources available.

A. F. Pritt (✉)
Private Practice,
Kaysville, UT, USA
e-mail: anpritt@yahoo.com

Growth of the LDS Church

The LDS Church is the fastest growing Christian group in the USA, increasing by 45.5 % since the year 2000 according to a decennial census of US religions in America released by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (ASARB) (Nazworth 2012). It is growing in all states including states that lie far outside the West's traditional "Mormon corridor" (Stack 2012). Beginning with 6 members when first organized in 1830 (LDS 2007), the church has grown to over 14.4 million members throughout the world. Approximately 6 million members live in the USA with congregations in every state of the union (Jenkins 2012). The 2011 Pew Study, published by a non-LDS research organization, found that the religious commitment of Mormons was higher than most other religious groups (Walker 2012). This includes adherence to the church's teachings, prayer, church attendance (77 % compared with the US average of 39 %), and the payment of a 10 % tithe (Walker 2012). Temple service is also highly valued. Members of the LDS Church tend to be actively committed to their religion as a way of life, not just a Sunday observance (Walker 2012).

Commitment to the church and its teachings increases the possibility of members embracing the expressed LDS values of equality of men and women, the importance of family life, and the righteous use of the priesthood. However, members must still confront and deal with their own issues and misunderstandings. Statistics

comparing violence against women in the LDS Church with the general population are not available, but therapists in Utah work regularly with LDS as well as non-LDS clients on these issues. Given the growth of the church and the high level of commitment of its members, it is likely that therapists throughout the USA will have occasion to treat LDS clients and will benefit from a greater understanding of the LDS faith.

The Gospel Restored: Revelation

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints considers itself to be neither Catholic nor Protestant, but rather a restoration of the church as originally organized by Jesus Christ when He lived on the earth. This restoration rests on both revelation and priesthood authority: direct revelation from God to the prophet at the head of the church and the power and authority to act for God on earth through His holy priesthood (LDS 1996). "A prophet is a man called by God to be His representative on earth….He receives revelations and directions from the Lord for our benefit. He may see into the future and foretell coming events so that the world may be warned" (LDS 2009, p. 39). Jesus Christ, a resurrected being with a glorified, immortal body of flesh and bones, has shown Himself to prophets of the church and speaks to them.

Early History

In the midst of the religious fervor of 1820, Joseph Smith, then a youth of 14, was confused and wondered which of the many churches in the area he should join. While studying the Bible, he read: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him" (James 1:5, King James Version). This scripture struck him with great force and he determined to ask God which of the sects was right. On doing so, to his great amazement, God the Father and His son, Jesus Christ, appeared to him and told him to join none of these churches. He would later be

instrumental in restoring the original church of Jesus Christ through revelation from God. This marked the beginning of a new dispensation of direct communication between God and His chosen prophet. This vision was followed by further revelations from Jesus Christ and other resurrected beings.

One such heavenly messenger was the angel Moroni, a prophet who had lived in the ancient Americas. He directed Joseph Smith to a record, now known as the *Book of Mormon*, a religious history of his people from about 600 BC, when they were led by God from Jerusalem to the Americas, until about 400 AD. During the time Joseph worked to translate this record, the priesthood, or authority to act for God, was restored by resurrected beings. The Aaronic Priesthood, with the authority to baptize, was restored by John the Baptist in 1829. Later, the Melchizedek or higher priesthood, was restored by Peter, James, and John (D&C 27:12–13, see endnote). With this authority, Joseph Smith formally organized the Church of Jesus Christ on April 6, 1830 in Fayette, NY (D&C 20:1; LDS 1996).

Even before the church was formally organized, missionaries were sent to share the restored gospel. Later, at great sacrifice, they traveled to England, Europe, and other countries throughout the world sharing the gospel message and gaining converts.

Persecution followed the Saints from the very beginning. Because of persecution, Joseph Smith had to move several times to complete the translation of the *Book of Mormon*. After the church was organized, mobs harassed church members and the Saints were finally forced to move from New York State (LDS 1996). They settled in Kirtland, OH, in 1831, where they built their first temple. Due to mob violence, it became unsafe to live in Ohio, and in 1838, the Ohio Saints joined those of their faith who had settled in Missouri.

For several reasons, the Saints did not mesh well with local Missourians. The Saints were primarily northerners and opposed to slavery, which was legal in Missouri. Freed slaves were welcomed as members of the church and some joined. Joseph Smith had respect for this people and stated that "…they were born slaves but if

their situation were changed, they would become like the whites" (Barrett 1973, p. 541). Also, the Saints came to Missouri in large numbers and there was fear that they would overwhelm the original settlers at the voting polls. Missionary contact with the Indians, respected as possible descendants of the *Book of Mormon* people, was also unsettling. It was not long before mob violence drove the Saints from Missouri to Illinois. Here, on swampland, they built the thriving city of Nauvoo and the beautiful Nauvoo Temple. From the beginning and throughout this time, members had been beaten, tarred and feathered, raped, murdered, incarcerated, and had their homes and property destroyed. Joseph Smith and other church leaders were arrested many times and spent many months in prison under very trying circumstances.

During his final incarceration in June, 1844, Joseph and his brother, Hyrum, were killed by a mob in the jail at Carthage, IL, while they awaited trial. Persecution did not end with the prophet's death, however, and in 1846, the Saints were again forced to leave their homes. They crossed the Missouri River to the Iowa and Nebraska territories where they endured a harsh winter under very primitive conditions. In 1847, the Saints resumed their trek west over the great plains to the Utah territory (LDS 1996). Friendly relations with the Indians were pursued as the Saints traveled and settled in the Western territories. "President Brigham Young taught the Saints to feed their native brothers and sisters and try to bring them into the Church" (LDS 1996, p. 89). Jacob Hamblin, known for his peaceful missionary efforts among the Indians, was ordained by Brigham Young as an agent to the Indians in 1876 (Garr et al. 2000, p. 457).

Plural Marriage

Persecution continued even in Utah, largely because of plural marriage. While studying the Bible, Joseph Smith wondered how the prophet, Abraham, had been justified in taking more than one wife. In answer to his prayer, the Lord revealed the principle of eternal marriage. No man

was to have more than one wife at any time unless the Lord directed otherwise. This practice was so foreign to Joseph Smith and other members of the church that they hesitated to accept it and needed personal inspiration from God to encourage them to obey the commandment (Rich 1972). This practice was entered into voluntarily by men and women but was never practiced by a majority of the Saints (Embry 1987; Garr et al. 2000, p. 928; Whelan 2001). In addition, plural marriage was not done casually. Embry (1987) reports that a man had to have the means to support another family and needed permission from church officials to take a plural wife. Typically, the first wife also gave her consent. Many men were asked by church authorities to enter into polygamy. Under this system, any woman who wanted a husband and children could have her own family. If a woman was unhappy, divorce was granted.

There was no law against plural marriage in the USA until 1890 when the US Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Edmunds–Tucker Law banning polygamy. The church has always been committed to upholding the laws of the land. When the constitutionality of this law was upheld, President Wilford Woodruff, through revelation, withdrew this order of marriage that same year. Taking a plural wife after this was not sanctioned by God and resulted in excommunication from the church (Garr et al. 2000, p. 929).

Challenges and trials are a large part of LDS Church history. Such trials can have benefits in developing qualities of faith, patience, courage, and determination in the face of adversity. This is often mentioned in talks by church leaders as encouragement to members to persevere in the face of their own difficulties. Such counsel could be misunderstood to include the trial of violence from one's spouse. This is not the intended meaning of counsel from church leaders, and there are countless statements by them condemning all forms of abuse. Trials may help people grow; abuse does not. Therapists and religious leaders providing counseling can help their clients to understand the difference. The official stance of the LDS Church is against all forms of domestic abuse.

Education and Gender Roles in the Early Church

Education has been promoted since the founding of the church and is held to be necessary for both men and women. The coeducational University of Deseret (now the University of Utah) was founded in 1850; 3 years after the Mormon pioneers first entered the Salt Lake valley. Brigham Young Academy (now Brigham Young University) was coeducational since its establishment in 1875. Brigham Young taught:

> As I have often told my sisters in the Female Relief Societies, we have sisters here who, if they had the privilege of studying, would make just as good mathematicians or accountants as any man; and we think they ought to have the privilege to study these branches of knowledge that they may develop the powers with which they are endowed. We believe that women are useful not only to sweep houses, wash dishes, make beds, and raise babies, but that they should stand behind the counter, study law or physic [medicine], or become good book-keepers and be able to do the business in any counting house, and this to enlarge their sphere of usefulness for the benefit of society at large. (LDS 1997, p. 135)

In 1873, President Brigham Young urged women who were able to study medicine. Romania Pratt, the first of many who responded, left her five children with her mother and traveled east to earn a medical degree. Ellis and Margaret Shipp and others also earned medical degrees in the East. After returning to Utah, they practiced medicine, trained women in medical fields and were instrumental in the founding of the Deseret Hospital (Arrington 1976; "Women's talents" 1977).

Women were granted suffrage in Utah in 1870 while it was still a territory and several Utah women were involved in the women's suffrage movement in the USA. Emmeline B. Wells was one of many Utah women prominent in these efforts, eventually being elected a Utah State senator in 1894. She was also influential in restoring suffrage to Utah women in the 1896 Utah state constitution (Garr et al. 2000, p. 1325). In church matters, from the beginning, women voted side by side with men on all matters submitted to the church membership for vote (LDS 1966, p. 102).

Scriptures

Words of the prophets recorded in Holy Scriptures are important to LDS. Familiarity with LDS scriptures that condemn violence and teach respect for women can help therapists and religious leaders relate concepts important to their LDS clients when counseling (see examples below). The LDS Church accepts as scripture the *Bible, the Book of Mormon* (LDS 1988a), *the Doctrine and Covenants* (LDS 1988b), and *the Pearl of Great Price* (LDS 1988c). *The Doctrine and Covenants* is mainly a collection of revelations about doctrine and church organization given to the prophet, Joseph Smith, from 1823 to 1844, in answer to his questions to God. In *The Pearl of Great Price*, Joseph Smith, by the gift and power of God, translated selections from the book of Moses, the book of Abraham, and writings of Matthew. Joseph Smith wrote his history and the "Articles of Faith," also included in *The Pearl of Great Price* (Smith 1842). Mormons are encouraged to read from these scriptures regularly for inspiration, peace, and guidance. They try to live according to all of Jesus' teachings and seek to keep the two great commandments: to love God with all their heart, soul, and mind and to love their neighbor as themselves (Matt 22:37–39).

Basic Beliefs

Faith in Jesus Christ is central to the LDS Church. As Joseph Smith stated: "The fundamental principles of our religion are the testimony of the Apostles and Prophets, concerning Jesus Christ, that He died, was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven; and all other things which pertain to our religion are only appendages to it" (LDS 2007, p. 49). LDS religious beliefs center on Jesus Christ as the savior and redeemer of the world. He atoned for our sins and was physically resurrected (His spirit restored to His physical body of flesh and bones). Without Him, no one could be resurrected or return to live with God the Father again. Basic to a Mormon's testimony is faith in God the Father, in His son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and the

belief that Joseph Smith restored Christ's original church.

The LDS Church teaches that as beings we have always existed and will always exist. Before we were born on earth, we lived with God the Father as His spirit children, making us all brothers and sisters. In "The Family, a Proclamation to the World," the First Presidency stated:

> All human beings—male and female—are created in the image of God. Each is a beloved spirit son or daughter of heavenly parents, and, as such, each has a divine nature and destiny. Gender is an essential characteristic of individual premortal, mortal, and eternal identity and purpose (Hinckley 1995, para. 2).

Earth life was a necessary part of God's plan for us to become like Him. On earth, we could obtain physical bodies and, with the gift of moral agency, make choices, and act for ourselves. Through Christ's resurrection, all who have ever lived will be physically resurrected. Through His atonement and our use of agency to keep God's commandments, we can be perfected through grace (the atonement) and works (our righteous choices and repentance for wrongs we have committed). We can receive a fullness of joy and live forever with God and with our families (Garr et al. 2000, p. 356; LDS 2012e).

Marriage and Family

Marriage between man and woman is essential to God's eternal plan (Hinckley 1995, para. 7). As stated in 1 Corinthians, "The man (is not) without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord" (I Cor. 11:11, King James Version). In temples, couples are sealed (married) by the power of the priesthood for time and all eternity, not "until death do us part." This sealing is, however, only a beginning and is conditional. The couple must work to build an eternal union which will eventually be ratified by the Holy Spirit. No marriage where there is violence or abuse will qualify. This may be misunderstood by both perpetrators and victims of abuse: perpetrators thinking they have an eternal marriage and can do what they want and victims thinking they

must accept whatever their spouse does. Counselors can help LDS clients realize that this is a misunderstanding of the ordinance and is not true (Hinckley 1996b, p. 137).

Mormons believe in the importance of both men and women being morally clean, which includes sexual purity before marriage and fidelity after. There is no double standard. Advantages of this are many and include avoidance of unwanted pregnancy, venereal disease, and difficult relationships with previous sexual partners. Trust, peace, and commitment to the marriage can be greater, resulting in increased marital stability. However, not all members live this principle at every point in their lives. The church is clear that anyone who has chosen to have sexual relations outside of marriage can fully repent and be forgiven. On the other hand, victims are not responsible for sexual abuse, including sexual assault and rape, either within or outside of marriage. Healing, rather than repentance and forgiveness, is needed. Sensitive counseling can help those struggling with sexual issues to better understand their church's position, draw closer to their Father in Heaven, and arrive at self-forgiveness and peace.

Equality of Men and Women

It is central to LDS Church doctrine that as children of their Heavenly Father, men and women are equally important. Both have infinite worth. As president and prophet of the LDS Church, Gordon B. Hinckley, stated:

> In the marriage companionship there is neither inferiority nor superiority. The woman does not walk ahead of the man; neither does the man walk ahead of the woman. They walk side by side as a son and daughter of God on an eternal journey. She is not your servant, your chattel, nor anything of the kind. (LDS 1998, p. 157–58)

The current prophet, President Monson, has reiterated this principle (Monson 2011). Many further references can be found at lds.org, mormon.org, and in *The Ensign*, the monthly Church magazine. This is also emphasized in the church pamphlet *Preventing and Responding to Spouse Abuse: Helps for Members*.

Any attempt of one marriage partner to dominate or exercise control or compulsion over the other will damage the marital relationship. In a partnership, the feelings, concerns, likes, and dislikes of each spouse are equally important and are entitled to equal respect (LDS 1998, p. 5).

Although equal, essential male and female roles may be different.

> By divine design, fathers are to preside over their families in love and righteousness and are responsible to provide the necessities of life and protection for their families. Mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture of their children. In these sacred responsibilities, fathers and mothers are obligated to help one another as equal partners. Disability, death, or other circumstances may necessitate individual adaptation (Hinckley 1995, para. 7).
>
> We warn that individuals who violate covenants of chastity, who abuse spouse or offspring, or who fail to fulfill family responsibilities will one day stand accountable before God. (Hinckley 1995, para. 8)

Therapists can help both male and female LDS clients understand this critical principle. There is no justification for either men or women to believe in male dominance or superiority. Respect for women lays a foundation for proper relationships.

Church Organization

The following brief explanation of church organization can help therapists and religious leaders to better understand the culture of their LDS clients. At the head of the LDS Church are the prophet/president and his two counselors. They preside over the entire church and form the First Presidency. They are helped in their work by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and other general authorities. These leaders typically receive a stipend from church funds since theirs are full-time, lifelong callings.

With the exception of these general authorities, the LDS Church has a lay ministry. A bishop and his two counselors preside over local congregations of the church, known as wards. Several wards are grouped together to form stakes, presided over by the stake president and his two

counselors. Bishops of wards, stake presidents, all auxiliary workers and teachers are called to their positions by those in authority. They serve part time, on a voluntary basis without pay, usually for a few years at a time in any particular calling. In areas where there are fewer members, the church is organized into districts with individual congregations called branches. A branch is presided over by a branch president and his two counselors. Most active members have at least one church calling at any given time. Because each ward relies exclusively on volunteers, instead of choosing a ward, members attend the geographically defined ward in which they reside. If contact with a client's religious leader were desired, the bishop or branch president would first be consulted. The stake president might be called as well.

The Relief Society is the church organization for women. It was founded by Joseph Smith in 1842. Its purpose was to relieve the poor and to save souls (LDS 2007). With 6,400,000 members in over 170 countries and territories, it is one of the oldest and largest women's organizations in the world, building sisterhood and lifting and refining the role of women the world over (General Relief Society Office, personal communication, July 9, 2012). The Relief Society offers women the opportunity to serve in prominent leadership roles. As well as directing the Relief Society for the church, the general Relief Society president functions in a supportive and advisory position to the president of the church. This pattern is followed at the local levels where the ward Relief Society president regularly meets and counsels with the bishop regarding the particular needs of women and families in the ward.

Missionaries and mission presidents are also called by those in authority. In addition to volunteering their time, most missionaries pay their own way, generally serving for 2 years. All worthy young men are expected to serve missions and many young women serve as well. According to the Pew survey, 43 % of men and 11 % of women have served full-time missions (Walker 2012). After their children have grown, many couples also serve in full-time missions. The LDS clients you counsel may very well have served an LDS mission.

To assist the bishop in caring for ward members, home teachers are called to visit a few families each month to offer friendship, give a spiritual message, and check on the well-being of the family. Relief Society members are called as visiting teachers to visit a few of their Relief Society sisters monthly as well. They also offer a spiritual message and check on the well-being of the sister and her family. In this manner, each member is visited monthly and any problems or concerns can be passed on to the bishop. Less active members in abusive situations might refuse these visits. Active families where abuse exists would be unlikely to refuse, as this would not be in keeping with the public image they wish to maintain. Abuse may not be recognized by these visitors, however, as such families are adept at keeping their secrets. Further education of the general membership is needed to increase the sensitivity of home teachers and visiting teachers to signs of possible abuse in the families they visit.

Spiritual Practices

Mormons respect the physical body as a gift from God and necessary to eternal progression. They keep the "Word of Wisdom," refraining from alcohol, tobacco, and stimulants such as coffee and tea, and try to generally follow healthful practices (D&C 89). They believe this and other commandments to be spiritual as well as temporal in nature (D&C 29:34).

Several important ordinances are practiced through the power and authority of the priesthood. Infants are given a name and a blessing, usually by their fathers. Membership in the LDS Church is achieved through baptism at the age of 8, when a child begins to be accountable to God (D&C 68:25). This is immediately followed by confirmation, granting the right to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost as a constant companion. All worthy male members of the church may receive the Aaronic Priesthood at age 12 and the Melchizedek Priesthood at age 18. Denied to persons of African descent by Brigham Young in 1852, the priesthood was extended to blacks by revelation to the prophet, Spencer W. Kimball,

in 1978 (LDS 2013). Converts to the church are baptized and confirmed at any age and male converts receive the priesthood at an appropriate time after baptism. Understanding the universal bestowal of the priesthood on worthy male members is relevant in counseling LDS clients. Male LDS clients and spouses of female LDS clients would most likely hold the priesthood. Women sometimes suffer abuse because they and/or their spouses fail to recognize unrighteous use of the priesthood and consider that holding the priesthood in and of itself confers legitimate authority.

Church attendance is an important practice. Members attend a 3-hour block of religious services on Sundays. The family attends sacrament meeting together, then separates by age for Sunday school, followed by Priesthood for the men, Relief Society for the women, Young Men or Young Women (for boys and girls 12–18), Primary (for children 3–12), and nursery (for toddlers 1½−3). Separation of youth and adults by gender allows for more pointed, detailed dialogue regarding sensitive matters in personal relationships and issues of abuse are sometimes specifically addressed. In sacrament meeting, sermons are given by ward members. The sacrament is offered weekly so that members can renew their baptismal covenants. They promise to always remember Jesus Christ, to take his name upon them, and to keep his commandments so that they may always have his spirit with them. It is a time to repent of wrongs and to commit to doing better in the coming week. Personal refinement is an overarching objective throughout the lives of church members.

Temple service is valued and temple ordinances emphasize the equality of men and women. Regular church meetings are held in the various LDS chapels, whereas the temple is used for sacred ordinances including the sealing of marriages and of families for time and eternity. Proxy ordinances are performed for departed ancestors who were not able to receive these ordinances while they were alive. Through this proxy work, every blessing of the gospel is made available to each and every person who has ever lived. It is understandable that members are actively involved in genealogical research and family history work.

Monday nights are reserved for family home evening, a time for families to gather for gospel focus, sharing, activities, and treats (Garr et al. 2000, p. 1325). In addition to personal prayer and scripture study, families are encouraged to hold family prayer mornings and evenings and to have daily scripture study as a family. To build the family in this life and in eternity, parents are encouraged to enrich family relationships by continuing to date each other and by spending quality time with their children.

Provident living is counseled and church members are advised to get out of debt and stay out of debt except when reasonably necessary for housing, education, and transportation. Members are asked to pay 10 % of their income in tithing and according to the Pew Study, 79 % of members tithe (Walker 2012). They also contribute to fast offerings, the Perpetual Education Fund (PEF), the Humanitarian Fund, and the Missionary Fund.

Members fast the first Sunday of every month and contribute the money they would have spent on food to fast offering funds. These funds are available to bishops throughout the world to help with temporary need and can help survivors of abuse receive counseling and other services. Members believe very strongly in assisting those in need and many members find it easier to give help than to accept it. Therapists and religious leaders can help LDS clients recognize the importance of receiving as well as giving assistance.

The worldwide PEF was established to help international members in developing countries between the age of 18 and 30 improve their education, find good jobs, raise themselves out of poverty, and live stable lives of service to family, church, and community (LDS 2012a). These donated funds are loaned to both male and female members who could not otherwise afford to continue their education and job preparation. After the members have completed their training, the loans are repaid and are then available to be loaned to others.

In the church publication, *The Times and Seasons*, Joseph Smith wrote: "We are to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to provide for the widow, to dry up the tear of the orphan, to comfort the afflicted, whether in this church, or in any other, or in no church at all, wherever he finds them" (LDS 2007, p. 426). Maintaining this focus, the church has a program of humanitarian aid worldwide for members and nonmembers alike. There are some full-time employees in administrative and clerical functions, but the bulk of the work is done by thousands of volunteer humanitarian missionaries. Because of these volunteers, the LDS Church is able to use 100 % of the money and goods donated in helping those in need (Garr et al. 2000, p. 1325; Humanitarian Services Department, personal communication, July 9, 2012; LDS 2012c). The church has donated more than $ 1 billion in cash and material assistance to 167 different countries in need of humanitarian aid since 1985 (LDS 2012c). The church's welfare program also helps people in need locally, giving recipients the opportunity to work, if possible, in exchange for this assistance. Temporary assistance in the form of food, clothing and in the search for employment is available (Garr et al. 2000, p. 1325; LDS 2012c). The Bishop's Storehouse, like a supermarket using a bishop's order instead of a cash register, also helps members in need. To decrease financial stress and strengthen families, the ward employment specialist and the nearly 300 LDS Employment Resource Service Centers worldwide assist members to find jobs.

To encourage self-sufficiency and provident living, the church welfare program promotes the storage of food and other necessities against a time of need. According to the Pew Study, 82 % have food stored for emergencies and 58 % keep at least a 3-month supply of food (Walker 2012). Members also volunteer to provide assistance to those in need and generally support the various church endeavors. They help with such projects as moving, repairing roofs, fall and spring yard work, and cleaning up after natural disasters. Women in the Relief Society provide meals, home help, and child care to sisters in need. Members give service on the welfare farms, serve in the Bishop's Storehouse, and perform indoor and outdoor building maintenance. The Pew Study found that 73 % of members believe that working to help the poor is essential to being a good Mormon (Walker 2012).

Members are expected to be civically minded and assist the community in times of emergency. They are also encouraged to be politically informed and active. Charitable service is emphasized and expected of members of the church who are encouraged to live wholesome, responsible lives and to be their brother's keeper.

Factors That Could Contribute to Abusive Relationships

Despite wholesome values and teachings of equality of men and women, violence against women does exist within the LDS community. This may be due to personal issues, to misunderstandings or a lack of awareness of church doctrine, or to a combination of both. In some cases, an abusive partner might actively distort church doctrine and teachings in trying to exert power and control over their partner. Dynamics associated with violence in men exist within the LDS community as well as in the wider society (for a discussion of these dynamics, see the Kilmartin chapter in this volume). Some men may misinterpret patriarchy and priesthood authority to excuse the exercise of *unrighteous dominion* (acting contrary to God's will, laws, and commandments). They may abuse their authority, take a domineering position and become rigidly controlling. Some women may also misinterpret church teachings and believe that the abuse is their fault. They may have difficulty identifying abusive behavior as inconsistent with these teachings, rendering them unwilling or unable to take a stand against abuse. Misunderstandings can come from specific LDS teachings and from the Bible.

Possible Misunderstanding from Church Teachings

One possible area of misunderstanding is associated with the priesthood being conferred exclusively upon male members in the LDS Church. This has led some men to the erroneous conclusion that they are superior to women in general and their wives in particular. In a revelation in the

Doctrine and Covenants given in 1839, the proper, righteous use of the priesthood was clearly defined by the Lord in this oft-quoted message:

> That the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and that the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness.
>
> That they may be conferred upon us, it is true; but when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the Spirit of the Lord is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man (D&C 121:36–37).
>
> No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned (D&C 121:41).

As a car depends on gasoline to run, priesthood power depends on the righteousness of the priesthood holder to function. Without this, there is no priesthood. In other words, priesthood can only exist if it is used in righteousness.

Misunderstanding might also come from the counsel that wives are to support their husbands and to follow their husband in righteousness. "In righteousness" is the operative phrase here. Brigham Young stated: "Let the father be the head of the family, the master of his own household; and let him treat them [his family] as an angel would treat them" (LDS 1997, p. 166). He also affirmed a wife's duty to stand up for herself and advised:

> It is not my general practice to counsel the sisters to disobey their husbands, but my counsel is— obey your husbands; and I am sanguine and most emphatic on that subject. But I never counseled a woman to follow her husband to the Devil (Young and Widtsoe 1925, p. 77).

Brigham Young knew that husbands could behave in ways that were not consistent with church teachings. In such cases, he advised wives to stand up for what they knew to be right. No woman need follow a husband who would pull her down. From the earliest days of the church, abuse in any form has not been countenanced.

Another possible area of misunderstanding is that church members are counseled to resolve

matters between themselves, whenever possible, and not take matters to court (D&C 42:88–89). This direction was meant to increase harmony between members but could be misinterpreted and used to cover abuse. Both the abuser and the victim of abuse might believe the church teaches them to deal with the abuse by resolving relationship issues privately. But this is a misunderstanding and is not true. It only serves to maintain abusive behavior which is against church teachings. This was never intended.

Before becoming the president and prophet of the LDS Church, Thomas S. Monson, then an apostle, referenced the abuse of children when speaking in General Conference. His remarks are also applicable to the abuse of adults:

> The Church does not condone such heinous and vile conduct. Rather, we condemn in the harshest of terms such treatment of God's precious children. Let the child be rescued, nurtured, loved, and healed. Let the offender be brought to justice, to accountability, for his actions and receive professional treatment to curtail such wicked and devilish conduct. When you and I know of such conduct and fail to take action to eradicate it, we become part of the problem. We share part of the guilt. We experience part of the punishment (Monson 1991, p. 69).

Clearly, the counsel to solve matters privately does not extend to the avoidance of accountability for violent behavior and the hiding of abuse.

Possible Misunderstandings from the Bible

Some misunderstanding can come from the Bible. Eve, the first woman, was created to be a companion and help meet to Adam. After eating the forbidden fruit, she was told by God "… thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee" (Genesis 3:16, King James Version). However, LDS Church teachings hold Eve in high regard and maintain that the fall was a necessary step in God's plan for us. If Adam and Eve had not partaken of the forbidden fruit, all things would have remained as they were and they would have had no children (2 Nephi 2:23, *The Book of Mormon*). "Adam fell that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy"

(2 Nephi 2:25, *The Book of Mormon*). So on the one hand, Eve was to be ruled by Adam. On the other, she is esteemed for her part in making the human family possible (Oaks 1993). Especially in recent years, woman's place as equal to that of man has been prominently proclaimed (Hinckley 1995; Oaks 1993).

Paul's writings on the roles of husbands and wives may be open to misinterpretation, especially if the reader takes words out of context to try to support abuse. Although working within the patriarchal order, the passage below as a whole clearly emphasizes the need for righteous behavior of husbands toward their wives.

> Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. Nevertheless let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband (Eph. 5:22–33, King James Version).

Husbands are to love their wives as they love themselves and as Christ loved the church, and died for it. There is no room for abuse in this.

Possible Misunderstanding of Forgiveness

Misunderstanding can also come from Jesus' teachings in the *New Testament* and the *Book of Mormon* on forgiveness. The Lord admonishes us to forgive men their trespasses in order to be forgiven by our Heavenly Father (Matt. 6:14–15; 3 Nephi 13:14–15, *Book of Mormon*). In the midst of their hardships and persecutions, the Lord outlined to the Saints the response He expected in the face of such persecution:

> Wherefore, I say unto you that ye ought to forgive one another, for he that forgiveth not his brother his trespasses standeth condemned before the Lord; for there remaineth in him the greater sin. **I, the Lord, will forgive whom I will forgive, but of you it is required to forgive all men** (D&C 64:9–10). (Bold print added).

Some might interpret this to mean that women are to forgive their perpetrators and continue to accept abuse. This is clearly not the case, as attested by numerous church publications and pronouncements by church leaders (see the sections above on Marriage and the Family, and the Equality of Men and Women). Therapists can help LDS clients understand church teachings on this subject. They can also explain that forgiveness, which frees the victim from emotional ties to the abuser, is ultimately desirable for the well-being of the victim but does not require reconciliation with the abuser or submitting to further abuse.

Challenges Within the LDS Church

There is a spirit of camaraderie among the men in the LDS Church, enhanced by their serving in a variety of callings, sharing in priesthood quorums and service projects, and through home teaching. It might be difficult for some bishops to imagine that one of their friends could be guilty of abuse. There can be erroneous blaming of the victim or refusal to take the victim's story seriously. Hopefully, this response is less common now due to greater awareness and better training and resources for bishops (LDS 1995, 1998).

With many supportive resources available to members and leaders alike, it remains the responsibility of each bishop to avail himself of these resources. As a volunteer, the bishop must still maintain his outside employment, nurture his own family, and deal with the many responsibilities he faces as bishop. The two pamphlets about recognizing and responding to abuse are clear and relevant, but are only two of the many pamphlets the bishop receives when he accepts his calling. Nevertheless a bishop needs to recognize that it is probable that some form of spousal abuse exists within his ward and to increase his own awareness about abuse. In doing so, he might recognize subtle behaviors he never considered abusive or even some behaviors of his own which need correction. Verbal and emotional abuse can be less obvious and harder to detect but are extremely harmful. When meeting with ward members, this increased awareness could enable him to listen for hints that abuse is occurring, set aside assumptions that his priesthood brethren are without offense, make supportive statements to increase a member's comfort in sharing, and ask thoughtful questions to gain further information.

Worldwide Growth of the LDS Church

The LDS Church has experienced considerable growth in recent years in many parts of the world. New members of the church, both in the USA and other nations, bring with them a wide variety of cultural traditions and practices. These cultures may differ widely in the ways that gender, gender roles, and relationships are understood. Some of these include a subordinate position of women. Wives may be considered the property of husbands and of lesser value. Church leaders work with all members to increase understanding of church doctrine, including the righteous treatment of women. Dallin Oaks, an apostle, wrote in the *Ensign*:

> As a way to help us keep the commandments of God, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of LDS have what we call a gospel culture. It is a distinctive way of life, a set of values and expectations and practices common to all members. This gospel culture comes from the plan of salvation, the commandments of God, and the teachings of the living prophets. It guides us in the way we raise our families and live our individual lives. The principles stated in the proclamation on the family are a beautiful expression of this gospel culture. To help its members all over the world, the church teaches us to give up any personal or family traditions or practices that are contrary to the teachings of the church of Jesus Christ and to this gospel culture (Oaks 2012, p. 42).

As well as having written material available, senior missionaries and area authorities work with members in the USA and around the world to educate them about LDS Church teachings and practices. In a spirit of love and with personal attention, senior missionaries work directly with members to help them understand and live the gospel culture and treat women with respect and kindness.

LDS Resources to Confront Abuse and Promote Healing

There are many resources to support the respectful treatment of women in the LDS Church. Weekly lessons in priesthood quorums and in Relief Society often address family relations and the righteous exercise of the priesthood. In the Sunday school class on marriage and family, class members are taught about positive family relations and how to achieve them. During class discussions, principles can be amplified, clarified, and personalized.

Bishops' interviews with members offer the opportunity to assess personal and family well-being. Members can meet with their bishop whenever they feel the need. The temple recommends that interviews be held every 2 years for recommendation of renewal. Here, bishops and stake presidents ask if there is anything in the person's conduct toward family members that is not in harmony with the teachings of the church and if everything in the member's family relationships is in keeping with the teachings of Jesus Christ. This is an opportunity for a member to discuss any abuse that may be occurring.

Home teachers and visiting teachers may also become aware of abuse and can pass their concerns along to the bishop. These home visits can also educate and support church members.

BYU TV offers many talks about righteous family living (e.g., see Pinegar 2012).

The LDS Church holds General Conferences every 6 months which are translated into 94 languages and viewed in 175 different countries and territories in the world (LDS 2012b). Church leaders speak on a variety of topics including honoring women, the importance of harmonious family relations, and the righteous exercise of the priesthood of God. In addition to general sessions, the Saturday evening priesthood session is exclusively for priesthood holders. Leaders speak directly and clearly about the proper exercise and responsibilities of their priesthood. Gordon B. Hinckley, as prophet and president of the LDS Church, stated in General Conference addresses:

I feel likewise that it ill becomes any man who holds the priesthood of God to abuse his wife in any way, to demean or injure or take undue advantage of the woman who is the mother of his children, the companion of his life, and his companion for eternity if he has received that greater blessing. Let us deal in kindness and with appreciation with those for whom the Lord will hold us accountable. (Hinckley 1982, p. 77)

Any man in this Church who…exercises unrighteous dominion over (his wife) is unworthy to hold the priesthood. Though he may have been ordained, the heavens will withdraw, the Spirit of the Lord will be grieved, and it will be amen to the authority of the priesthood of that man. (Hinckley 2002, p. 54)

The husband shall have a governing responsibility to provide for, to protect, to strengthen and shield the wife. Any man who belittles or abuses or terrorizes, or who rules in unrighteousness, will deserve and, I believe, receive the reprimand of a just God who is the Eternal Father of both His sons and daughters. (Hinckley 1991, p. 99)

Unfortunately, a few of you may be married to men who are abusive. Some of them put on a fine face before the world during the day and come home in the evening, set aside their self-discipline, and on the slightest provocation fly into outbursts of anger. No man who engages in such evil and unbecoming behavior is worthy of the priesthood of God. No man who so conducts himself is worthy of the privileges of the house of the Lord (the temple). I regret that there are some men undeserving of the love of their wives and children. There are children who fear their fathers, and wives who fear their husbands. If there be any such men within the hearing of my voice, as a servant of the Lord I rebuke you and call you to repentance. Discipline yourselves. Master your temper. Most of the things that make you angry are of very small consequence. And what a terrible price you are paying for your anger. Ask the Lord to forgive you. Ask your wife to forgive you. Apologize to your children. (Hinckley 1996a, p. 68)

In addition to talks in the General Conference, the general authorities regularly share insights and expectations in meetings with local leaders and members at stake conferences. They also write articles in the *Ensign*, an English-language church magazine for adults. *The Liahona*, published in up to 47 languages each month, is a church magazine for adults, youth, and children (LDS 2012d) and is sent throughout the world.

Other prophets and Church leaders have repeatedly spoken out against abuse in any form, be

it physical, sexual, verbal, emotional, or spiritual. Aileen H. Clyde, former counselor in the Relief Society General Presidency, warned against misinterpreting charity and admonished any being abused to seek help.

> It is not charity or kindness to endure any type of abuse or unrighteousness that may be inflicted on us by others. God's commandment that as we love him, we must respect ourselves, suggests we must not accept disrespect from others. It is not charity to let another repeatedly deny our divine nature and agency. It is not charity to bow down in despair and helplessness. That kind of suffering should be ended, and that is very difficult to do alone. There are priesthood leaders and other loving servants who will give aid and strength when they know of the need. We must be willing to let others help us. (Clyde 1991, p. 77)

Such help is available.

Helps for Bishops

Bishops are given many materials to assist them in their calling. This is especially important since bishops are released and replaced approximately every 5 years. Bishops and stake presidents receive training when they are called to their positions. Stake bishop training meetings are ongoing. Bishops are given two church pamphlets dealing specifically with abuse, *Preventing and Responding to Spouse Abuse: Helps for Members* (LDS 1998) and *Responding to Abuse: Helps for Ecclesiastical Leaders* (LDS 1995). The latter includes the telephone number for the church help line, available 24/7 where bishops can report abuse and receive guidance. Calling this number "…will allow leaders to consult with social services, legal, and other specialists who can assist in answering questions and in formulating steps that should be taken" (LDS 1995, p. 3).

The pamphlet, *Responding to Abuse*, describes the harmful effects of abuse and states that it "…may not only harm the body, but it can deeply affect the mind and spirit, destroying faith and causing confusion, doubt, mistrust, guilt, and fear" (LDS 1995, p. 1). The pamphlet also outlines the cycle of abuse, offers specific guidelines

for working with both the abused spouse and the offender, and clearly defines abuse:

> Spouse abuse may be spiritual, emotional, physical, or sexual. The woman is usually the injured party. Spiritual abuse includes exercising unrighteous control, dominion, or compulsion. Emotional abuse includes name-calling, demeaning statements, threats, isolation, intimidation or manipulation. Physical abuse includes coercion, withholding resources, and physical violence such as pushing, choking, scratching, pinching, restraining, or hitting. Sexual abuse may be either emotional or physical and includes sexual harassment, inflicting pain during sexual intimacy, and the use of force or intimidation to make a spouse perform a sexual act. (LDS 1995, p. 4)

Pornography is another form of abuse against women and contributes to a culture which objectifies and denigrates women. Unfortunately, many struggle with this addiction. Bishops receive a pamphlet, *Helping Those Who Struggle with Pornography*, which offers guidelines for those dealing with this problem (LDS 2006). They may also refer members to LDS Family Services if professional counseling is needed for this or other forms of abuse.

LDS Family Services

LDS Family Services provides counseling and training resources to both members and leadership. Licensed counselors are available to work with both victims and offenders. LDS Family Services also offers monthly training in various aspects of mental health, including abuse, which is open to local leaders and members alike. For help in matters of domestic violence, LDS counselors may be available. Search ldsfamilyservices.org to find LDS Family Services agencies listed by state and in some foreign countries. Contact can also be made with Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists (AMCAP) to locate an LDS counselor.

LDS Family Services directs the LDS Addiction Recovery Program, a 12-step program to help those suffering from addictions and their families find healing and peace through Jesus

Christ. Group leaders are senior missionary couples called to this service, many of whom have successfully overcome addictions of their own. Attendees of the weekly meetings are divided into two groups. One is for those struggling with alcohol, drug, pornography, other sexual addictions, or eating disorders; the other is for spouses, other family members, and friends of the struggler (LDS Family Services Centerville Office, personal communication with John Hill, March 16, 2012).

Personal Resources

Many personal resources are available to members who are victims of abuse. LDS materials are readily available but may need to be more widely utilized. Prayer for guidance and support can bring comfort and the strength needed to seek help. Priesthood blessings can bring insight and add the resolve necessary to accept help and find protection from abuse. The bishop is available for counsel and direction. Anyone can call LDS Information, a Salt Lake City phone number, and tell the operator they have a gospel question. The operator will connect the caller with someone who will answer the question on the spot. A member, uncertain or confused as to whether her experience really was abusive, can anonymously inquire about her circumstance for clarification. A member could also call LDS Family Services for information. Any member can study talks by the prophet and other church leaders about the appropriate use of the priesthood, righteous family relationships, the equality of men and women, and conditions of abuse. The *Ensign* and *The Liahona* have many articles of this nature. Many resources are available online at lds.org, mormon.org, or other Internet sites. Members can also talk with home teachers and/or visiting teachers for guidance.

A number of relevant books by LDS authors are also available. Many highly competent LDS professionals have spent their lives researching and writing about various facets of marriage and family relationships. Douglas Brinley, a profes-

sor at Brigham Young University (BYU), is the author of many books and tapes on strengthening marriages and families. Brent Barlow, a retired professor of marriage, family and human development at BYU, has written many helpful books on marriage and family. Richard and Linda Eyre, the parents of nine children, are a dynamic couple who created The Joy School with organizational ideas for a cooperative preschool that parents could organize. They also hosted the program *Families Are Forever* on the VISN television network. During the Reagan administration, Richard served as the director of the White House Conference on Parents and Children. He and Linda have written a number of books about families, many of which are available online at no cost. Stephen Covey, formerly a professor at BYU, motivational speaker, and founder of a management consulting business, has written about effective families (Covey 1997). Carlfred Broderick, former professor and counselor of marriage and family relations, wrote books outlining effective marriage principles. Enriching the physical relationship within marriage is addressed in a book by Laura M. Brotherson (2004). Deseret Book and Seagull bookstores could be contacted for a variety of materials.

Brigham Young University hosts two educational forums each year. The 2-day BYU Women's Conference is held every spring and is attended by some 14,000 women from around the world (Sterzer and Holman 2012). Many sessions deal with marriage and family relations. In August, the 5 day BYU Education Week is held. It is attended by some 20,000 men, women and youth age 14 or more. Over 1000 classes, given by more than 200 presenters, deal with both religious and secular topics. Many address marriage and family issues from both a doctrinal and secular perspective (UVCVB calendar of events 2011). For those unable to attend, selected sessions are broadcast on BYU TV (see byub.org).

BYU TV is another source of education and inspiration. Hosting a wide variety of programs, talks by LDS leaders and presenters are offered, many dealing with marriage, family relations, and the proper use of the priesthood.

The Importance of Early Intervention

It is important that LDS women come forward and seek help if they are in abusive situations. It is equally important for bishops, Relief Society presidents, home teachers, visiting teachers, and friends to sensitively inquire about suspected abuse. Early intervention is critical.

The longer one waits, the more likely abuse is to recur and escalate, establishing a pattern that becomes harder to break with each repetition. The very knowledge that an outside party is involved often serves as a deterrent as well as a resource (Horton 1988, p. 91).

Women may not come forward and speak openly about their abuse and, if the subject arises, they are likely to minimize or deny (Walker 1988). They may assume that if their husband holds the priesthood and is abusive, it is their fault, that there is something wrong with them, that they are not good enough. They may think that God does not love them and may even be punishing them because he allows the abuse to continue. If they were married in the temple for time and eternity, they may erroneously believe that they have no recourse.

Bishops and others can assure victims that they are worthy of respect and should not endure or tolerate abusive acts. They are not responsible for the abuse; the offender is responsible for his own behavior. Victims can also be assured that shielding an offender from the consequences of his behavior will not either help or protect him, as abuse has sure spiritual consequences for the abuser. Abuse in any form is in opposition to the teachings of the Savior. In addition, children may also be at risk. "Children who witness abuse are hurt emotionally and are more likely to have problems of their own as adults" (LDS 1998, p. 1). They are much more likely to either be abusive themselves or to accept abuse from another. "To keep the abuse secret often allows it to continue. Most repeat offenders have difficulty changing until they experience the full consequences of their actions" (LDS 1998, pp. 1–2). The bishop can encourage victims to reach out to family and friends and consider the use of women's shelters, protective orders, and legal and police aid if needed. The safety of family members is a priority (LDS 1995, p. 4; Walker 1988). However, both safety of family members and relationship needs are important. A bishop can let the member know that he will work with both her and her husband, supporting each to attain a more fulfilling marriage. If married in the temple, the couple may be deeply invested in maintaining their eternal marriage. The bishop can educate the couple that a temple marriage is only eternal if the couple builds the relationship in accordance with Heavenly Father's commandments. Marriage is not eternal if spouse abuse exists.

Premature Forgiveness

It may be tempting to recommend forgiveness as a way of bringing harmony to the home and solving the problem of abuse. Forgiveness is definitely desirable, but it is important to avoid counseling forgiveness prematurely, before the offender has accepted responsibility for his actions, had a change of heart, and acquired the skills needed to effect a lasting change in his behavior.

> …it is finally the power of the Holy Spirit that enables the healing process to take place. This spiritual power gives the victim the strength to forgive, to let go. It gives the victimizer the strength to repent, to change. It gives the church the strength to help both persons in the justice-making process. But the power of the Holy Spirit is released only when justice is made manifest for the victim and offender. Whenever there is an attempt to cut the process short and jump to premature reconciliation, the possibility of authentic healing is lost (Fortune 1988, p. 220).

Premature forgiveness enables offenders to avoid accountability and will not permanently alter the abusive family dynamics.

LDS leaders are aware of abuse within the church and are doing what they can to speak out against it and to offer specific helps for both those who are abused and offenders.

Additional LDS Resources to Address the Needs of Men

The church recognizes the importance of reaching out to offenders as well as victims of abuse. All are children of God, and as such, are all brothers and sisters. The pamphlet, *Responding to Abuse*, states: "Priesthood leaders can also help those who committed the abuse to repent and to cease their abusive behavior" (LDS 1995, p. 1). Some offenders feel remorse and want to change; some deny wrongdoing and blame others. Even those wishing to change may find this very difficult. "They rarely change until they experience the full consequences of their immoral and illegal actions" (LDS 1995, p. 5). Bishops report abuse, counsel with the offender and victim, sometimes refer to professional counseling, and can take church disciplinary action if deemed necessary. President Hinckley stated:

> Now, the work of the Church is a work of salvation. I want to emphasize that. It is a work of saving souls. We desire to help both the victim and the offender. Our hearts reach out to the victim, and we must act to assist him or her. Our hearts reach out to the offender, but we cannot tolerate the sin of which he may be guilty. Where there has been offense, there is a penalty. The process of the civil law will work its way. And the ecclesiastical process will work its way, often resulting in excommunication. This is both a delicate and a serious matter. Nevertheless, we recognize, and must always recognize, that when the penalty has been paid and the demands of justice have been met, there will be a helpful and kindly hand reaching out to assist. There may be continuing restrictions, but there will also be kindness. (Hinckley 2002)

Shame and fear of loss of status could discourage the reporting of abuse both within and outside the LDS Church. In addition, it is possible that fear of church discipline as well as legal action could deter family members from reporting abuse. If disfellowshipped, an abuser would no longer partake of the sacrament, attend the temple, hold a church calling, or perform priesthood ordinances. If excommunicated from the church, he would lose all LDS Church blessings. Being disfellowshipped or excommunicated need not be final; if he wished, priesthood leaders would work with him through the repentance process with the aim of restoring church membership and all his blessings. Some who have been excommunicated and later returned to full fellowship look back on their experience with gratitude. Without it, they doubt they would have gained the personal growth, understanding, and improved personal relationships that resulted. The purpose of church discipline is to hold people accountable for behavior that is unacceptable to God. The resulting guilt and remorse can powerfully motivate men whose behavior had been abusive to make needed, positive changes in their lives.

The education of both men and women in the LDS Church is critical. Men need to understand the many facets of abuse to be able to recognize it in others as well as in themselves. Women need to recognize abuse as well and be unwilling to accept abusive treatment or, in turn, be guilty of perpetuating it. Church leaders also need to be further educated. More subtle forms of abuse, such as verbal and emotional abuse, are harder to identify than physical abuse and need to be more clearly explained. All of the following are abusive and should not exist in LDS homes: name calling, demeaning statements, threats, isolation, intimidation, manipulation, unrighteous control or compulsion, or neglect of a spouse. These practices may not only be harder to define, but these subtle forms of abuse may be even more prevalent. In one church pamphlet, partners are admonished to ask themselves if they allow little annoyances or frustrations to lead to hurtful comments to either spouse or children, and if so, to correct it quickly and not let it become a pattern and lead to more abusive behavior (LDS 1998). Prayerful self-examination can provide insight and commitment to change.

Sexual abuse within marriage may also be more difficult to understand. Although sexual relations are expected in marriage, "sexual harassment, inflicting pain during sexual intimacy, and the use of force or intimidation to make a spouse perform a sexual act" are abusive and are unacceptable (LDS 1995, p. 4). Leaders and members alike need to recognize the difference between appropriate and abusive sexual expression.

Implications for Professional Practice

The LDS faith is important to active members of the church. The Pew Study found that 82% of the LDS respondents said that religion was very important in their lives and that 77% indicated wholehearted belief in the church's teachings (Walker 2012). LDS beliefs and values may also be important and relevant to members who have become less active. Although general counseling principles certainly apply when serving LDS clients, knowledge of LDS teachings, beliefs, and practices will help therapists more effectively relate to their LDS clients' concerns. This knowledge could also help therapist frame sensitive questions to explore possible misunderstandings of church doctrine.

Specifically, LDS clients need first and foremost to be assured of God's love for them personally, no matter what their life experiences have been. Feeling this love catalyzes both healing and repentance and brings deep comfort. If God does not intervene to stop abuse, it is not due to any lack of love for the victim. It is because of the eternal importance of moral agency giving us the ability to choose evil as well as good. He allows us to use our agency, even to hurt others, but is ever ready to comfort, support, and sustain.

Both men with abusive behavior and survivors need to know that abuse is never acceptable or justified. Survivors are not responsible for the abuse but are responsible for their healing. It is the men with abusive behavior who need to take appropriate responsibility for their actions and repent of their misdeeds. Forgiveness is desirable and freeing, but does not involve submitting to further abuse.

The church supports victims seeking help to stop the abuse. Some hesitate to do so for fear of hurting their partner. Such victims need to recognize that failure to do so is harmful to the abuser as well as to themselves because it delays his repentance of behavior that has eternal negative consequences.

It must be clearly understood that men and women are equal and wives are advised to support and follow their husbands only in righteousness. An understanding of the priesthood is vital.

It is to serve and bless the lives of others, never to control or dominate.

Marriage in the temple can be misunderstood to mean that the couple automatically has an eternal marriage no matter how they treat each other. A marriage will only be eternal when based on righteous principles.

Less obvious forms of abuse, including sexual abuse within a marriage, may need to be sensitively explored. Subtle verbal and emotional abuse may not be recognized and can be very harmful to a woman's self-esteem and to the marital relationship.

It is tempting to take a simplistic view that abusive marriages should be ended. However, the marriage may have many strengths as well as weaknesses. There may be a great desire on the part of the couple to repair damage, learn from mistakes, and honor their commitment to each other. If a couple has this focus, and it is situational violence and not intimate terrorism, it is possible for them to learn new behaviors and for the marriage to endure and be strengthened.

There must be protection from harm, of course, but this can be balanced with the couple's desire to preserve their marriage. This will only be possible if the abuser is willing to work hard to achieve genuine, personal change.

It is hoped that this chapter will provide a basic understanding of the LDS religion and the part it plays in the lives of its members. Additional information can be obtained by reading LDS materials, talking with members, or searching the Internet. Helpful sites include lds.org, mormon.org, and providentliving.org. All of God's children need to be treated with kindness, respect, and gentleness. Abusive practices have no place in the LDS Church.

Endnote

The book entitled *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* is commonly abbreviated as the "D & C" in LDS writings. The citation of the D&C is then followed by a listing of the chapter and verse. For example, D & C 121:39–44 refers to the 121st chapter, verses 39 through 44. Since this form of citation

is commonly used in LDS writings and more efficiently conveys information than the APA Style equivalent, the LDS traditional format will be used to cite this reference in the chapter. The APA Style equivalent (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS). (1988b). *The doctrine and covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (D&C). Salt Lake City, UT: Author.) is used in the reference list.

References

Arrington, C. R. (1976). Pioneer midwives. In C. L. Bushman (Ed.), *Mormon sisters: Women in early Utah* (pp. 43–65). Salt Lake City, UT: Olympus.

Barrett, I. J. (1973). *Joseph Smith and the restoration: A history of the LDS Church to 1846* (Rev. ed.). Provo, UT: Young House, Brigham Young University Press.

Brotherson, L. M. (2004). *And they were not ashamed: Strengthening marriage through sexual fulfillment*. Seattle, WA: Elton-Wolf.

Clyde, A. H. (1991, November). Charity suffereth long. *Ensign*, 76–77. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1991/11/charity-suffereth-long.

Covey, S. R. (1997). *The 7 habits of highly effective families*. New York City, NY: Golden.

Embry, J. L. (1987). *Mormon polygamous families: Life in the principle*. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.

Fortune, M. M. (1988). Forgiveness: The last step. In C. J. Adams & M. M. Fortune (Eds). *Violence against women and children: A Christian theological sourcebook*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Garr, A. K., Cannon, D. Q., & Cowan, R. O. (Eds.) (2000). *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint history*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret.

Hinckley, G. B. (1982, November). Reach out in love and kindness. *Ensign*, 77. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1982/11 reach-out-in-love-and-kindness.

Hinckley, G. B. (1991, November). Daughters of God. *Ensign*, 99. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1991/11/daughters-of-god.

Hinckley, G. B. (1995, November). The family: A proclamation to the world. *Ensign*. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1995/11 the-family:-a proclamation-to-the-world.

Hinckley, G. B. (1996a, November). Women of the church. *Ensign*, 67–70. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1996/11 women-of-the-church.

Hinckley, G. B. (1996b). *Be thou an example*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret.

Hinckley, G. B. (2002, May). Personal worthiness to exercise the priesthood. *Ensign*. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/2002/05/personal-worthiness-to-exercise-the-priesthood.

Horton, A. L. (1988). Practical guidelines for professionals working with religious spouse abuse victims. In A. L. Horton & J. A. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion: When praying isn't enough* (pp. 89–100). Lexington, MA: Lexington, D.C. Heath.

Jenkins, C. M. (2012, May 13). Mormonism grows—Devotion begins in youth. *The Deseret News*. Retrieved from www.deseretnews.com/article/765575419

Monson, T. S. (1991, November). Precious children—a gift from God. *Ensign*. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1991/11/precious-children-a-gift-from-god.

Monson, T. S. (2011, May). Priesthood power. *Ensign*, 68. www.lds.org/ensign/2011/05 priesthood-power.

Nazworth, N. (2012, May 2). Religion census: Increase in Evangelicals, Mormons, Muslims; Decrease in Catholics, Mainline Protestants. *The Christian Post*. Retrieved from christianpost.com/news/religion-census-increase-in-evangelicals-mormons-muslims-decrease-in-catholics-mainline protestants-74207/

Oaks, D. H. (1993, November). The great plan of happiness. *Ensign*. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/1993/11/the-great-plan-of-happiness.

Oaks, D. H. (2012, March). The gospel culture. *Ensign*, 42. Retrieved from www.lds.org/ensign/2012/03 the-gospel- culture.

Pinegar, E. (2012, June 3). Worship service: Church organization/priesthood. Retrieved from byutv.org/watch/85 f5b077-2eca-4a40-9e58-0a0534538fb4/worship-service-church-organizationpriesthood.

Rich, R. (1972). *Ensign to the nations: A history of the church from 1846 to 1972*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Publications.

Smith, Jr., J. (1842). The articles of faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In *The pearl of great price* (1988 ed., pp. 60–61). Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Stack, P. F. (2012, May 2). Mormonism leading way in U.S. religious growth. *The Salt Lake Tribune*. Retrieved from sltrib.com/sltrib/news/54026798–78.

Sterzer, R., & Holman, M. (2012, April 30). BYU Woman's Conference: Armed with righteousness. *Church News*. Retrieved from ldschurchnews.com.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1966). *History of the relief society, 1842–1966*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1988a). *The book of Mormon: Another testament of Jesus Christ*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1988b). *The doctrine and covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (D & C). Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1988c). *The pearl of great price*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1995). *Responding to abuse: Helps for ecclesiastical leaders*. [Pamphlet] Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1996). *Our heritage: A brief history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1997). *Teachings of the presidents of the church: Brigham Young*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (1998). *Preventing and responding to spouse abuse: Helps for members*. [Pamphlet] Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2006). *Helping those who struggle with pornography: For bishops*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2007). *Teachings of the presidents of the church: Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2009). *Gospel principles*. Salt Lake City, UT: Author.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2012a). Retrieved from lds.org/education and literacy. Accessed Aug 2012.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2012b). Retrieved from lds.org/general conference. Accessed Aug 2012.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2012c). *Humanitarian aid: How we help*. Retrieved from mormonnewsroom.org/topic/humanitarian-services. Accessed Aug 2012.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2012d). Retrieved from lds.org/magazine. Accessed Aug 2012.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2012e). Retrieved from lds.org/plan-of-salvation. Accessed Aug 2012.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). (2013). *Race and the priesthood*. Retrieved from http://www.lds.org/topics/race-and-the-priesthood. Accessed Dec 2013.

UVCVB Calendar of events. (2011). Retrieved from www.utahvalley.com/events/details.

Walker, L. E. (1988). Spouse abuse: A basic profile. In A. L. Horton & J. A. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion: When praying isn't enough* (pp. 13–20). Lexington, MA: Lexington, D.C. Heath.

Walker, J. (2012, Jan. 11). 'Mormons in America' Pew survey explores beliefs, attitudes of LDS Church members. *Deseret News*. Retrieved from www.deseretnews.com.

Whelan, S. L. (2001). *Plural marriage: A sacred heritage, a promise for tomorrow*. Bountiful, UT: Zion.

Women's talents help shape heritage. (1977, July 23). *The Deseret News*. Retrieved from news.google.com/newspapers.

Young, B., & Widtsoe, J. A., (Eds.). (1925). *Discourses of Brigham Young: Second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret.

Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches

Nancy Murphy, Julene Pommert and Bonnie Vidrine

So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. Genesis 1:27
Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in your midst? If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy that person; for God's temple is sacred, and you together are that temple. 1 Corinthians 3:16–17

This chapter provides an overview of the nature of Pentecostal and Charismatic spirituality and its relevance when working with clients from these religious orientations who report impacts of domestic violence. It is the authors' belief that attunement to a client's specific religious orientation is indeed key to effective treatment. Many criticize religion as the major cultural enforcement of dominance and control behaviors, and therefore an institution that perpetuates domestic violence (Catford 2009; Facey 2009; Fortune et al. 2010; Hollingsworth 2007; Horn 2011). It is important to recognize, however, that religion and culture are never static (Briggs 1987). The Church is a living organism that both perpetuates and changes cultural practices, and is in turn affected by culture. For instance, sociologist Bernice Martin (2001) notes that Pentecostal-

ism, often seen as a conservative, hierarchical system, has surprised social scientists and others by actually serving in recent decades to liberate women and men in countries known for machismo images of manhood (see also Hallum 2003; Levine 2010; Stewart-Gambino 2001). Historically, victims and perpetrators of domestic violence have not found treatment providers to be culturally sensitive (Hines and Malley-Morrison 2005; Sokoloff and Pratt 2005). Cultural competence, however, is essential to effective treatment. Valuing diversity, having an awareness of one's own cultural biases, and possessing the ability to communicate, interact, negotiate, and intervene on a client's behalf maximize the effectiveness of assessment, diagnosis, and treatment (Sue and Torino 2005; Whaley and Davis 2007). Pentecostalism is a significant force in the world. Counselors cannot afford to be unaware of the practices and beliefs informing at least some of their clients' histories, nor can pastors afford to be silent regarding Biblical precedence for giving aid to congregants seeking safety from violence in their homes.

Pentecostal churches today represent the largest Protestant grouping in the world and their spirituality, as transmitted through the Charismatic Renewal, has influenced every branch of

N. Murphy (✉)
Northwest Family Life, Seattle, WA, USA
e-mail: nmurphy@nwfamilylife.org

J. Pommert
The Seattle School of Theology and Psychology, Seattle, WA, USA

B. Vidrine
Department of Psychology, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA

Christianity (Edwards 2011; Land 2001; Stewart-Gambino 2001; Warrington 2011a b). According to researchers and authors, David Barrett et al. (2001), Pentecostalism is the fastest growing segment of Christianity in the world. As such, this group deserves particular study to locate the resources within the texts, practices, beliefs, attitudes, and values of Pentecostalism that offer healing for survivors, and accountability and change for those who abuse. Without dismissing some inherent perils and harms tethered to aspects of Pentecostal and charismatic beliefs and practices, the focus of this chapter is to inform mental health professionals about resources within the faith available to practitioners, clergy, and parishioners, so that they can engage together to end violence against women (for discussion regarding harm, see Anonymous 2004; Horn 2011).

Definitions

In order to begin our discussion, the terms *born again, Pentecostal, charismatic*, and *evangelical* are defined below. There has been a lack of consistency and clarity in naming the different religious movements and institutions, due in part to the staggering variety of permutations of churches. The confusion over the above terms is due partly to the fact that these words are used to describe a variety of phenomena, yet some of the practices and mores of the groups represented by these terms are very similar (Wacker 1988). For the purposes of this chapter, we use the following definitions:

Born Again One is born again after a conversion experience known through confession of sin, repentance and accepting Jesus into one's heart as Lord and Savior, resulting in a life changed from being self-serving to one of sacrificial love for God and others. What follows is (1) water baptism symbolizing death to your old self and a new life in Christ; (2) belief that the Bible is the inspired word of God containing inerrant divine truth; (3) rejection of "unbiblical" truths such as evolution; (4) an expectation of the imminent end of the world and the rapture of true believ-

ers before the Last Judgment; (5) a moral ethic of sex only within a life-long marriage; and (6) a defense of Christian ideals in an unchristian world (Gritsch 1982).

Pentecostals Members of distinct Protestant denominations or independent churches who hold the teaching that all Christians should seek a postborn again (postconversion) religious experience called the baptism of the Holy Spirit. These denominations and churches teach that those who experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit may receive one or more spiritual gifts, including the abilities to prophesy or utter messages from God, practice physical healing, speak in tongues (or spiritual languages unknown to the person, but spoken by the power of God), interpret tongues, and experience miracles such as faith healings.

Charismatics Members of non-Pentecostal denominations, including Catholic, Orthodox, and some Protestant denominations, who hold at least some Pentecostal beliefs and engage in at least some spiritual practices associated with Pentecostalism. Many charismatic churches are independent of denominational ties.

Evangelical Religion historian Douglas Sweeney (2005) observes that Pentecostals and charismatics are often included within the evangelical camp. Evangelicals are members of denominations who are born-again, believe the Bible is the inspired word of God, as well as God's message of salvation, and hold the evangelistic goal of reaching the world with the good news of Christ.

For this chapter, Pentecostal and charismatic movements will be discussed together.

The Birth and Growth of Pentecostalism

The Pentecostal movement began in the early twentieth century in the USA, based on rapturous experiences of Christian revival originating in the teachings of Midwestern preacher Charles Parham. Parham was introduced to speaking in tongues by African American pastor Lucy

Farrow. On April 9, 1906, the student of Farrow and Parham, African American preacher William J. Seymour, began to speak in tongues and the Azusa Street Revival broke out, famously named for the location of this occurrence in Los Angeles, California (Anderson 2004). This revival became significant to Pentecostals because it was from this location and these people that the Holy Spirit reached across the nation and around the world. That is, as the Holy Spirit continued to pour into the lives of people attending the Azusa Street meetings, others who lived in other states and abroad came to visit and then took back their experiences into their own communities and churches. The Azusa Street Revival lasted under Seymour's influence from 1906 through 1909, sparking an on-going global movement.

Seymour wrote in the first article of *The Apostolic Faith* newspaper, published in 1906, that God did not distinguish according to pedigree or wealth when Jesus was born in a stable, and in the same way, God continued to bring his spirit into all peoples' lives, regardless of ethnicity, fluency in English, financial background, or gender (Anderson 2004). Indeed, Frank Bartleman, another leader in the 1906 Azusa Street Revival, notes that in the early days there was no discrimination against anyone (Bartleman 1980, see especially pp. 57–61). Uniquely, women became integral to birthing, cultivating, and maintaining Holy Spirit-informed practices; as a result, they proceeded to participate with men in worship services and assumed positions of leadership in church gatherings. Churches in the USA and abroad grew rapidly with this inclusion, experiencing God pouring the Holy Spirit upon all people, as noted in Joel 2:28–32 and Gal. 3:38, and referred to in Acts 2 as Pentecost (Alexander 2011; Anderson 2004; Cox 1995; Hyatt 2001; Scanzoni and Setta 1986; Stanley 2002 2006).

Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen (1990) refers to Pentecost as Women's Emancipation Day, asserting that women shared equally with men as recipients of spiritual gifts. Pentecost, as described in Acts 2, was the day when the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles, the event from which the Pentecostal movement derives its name. This kind of equality was considered scandalous before Pentecost. Pentecost, with the release of spiritual gifts and power to all, without consideration of gender or other considerations, was emancipating. Women were no longer relegated to certain roles and stations in life, but were freed as individuals (Boudewijnse et al. 1998). In fact, by 1930, over half the functioning Pentecostal congregations were established and led by women (Chant 1999).

This First Wave of Pentecostal spirituality in North America developed from the streams of Pietism, Puritanism, Wesleyanism, African-American Christianity, and nineteenth century Holiness-Revivalism (Land 2001). W. J. Hollenweger (1986) suggests that perhaps the two most important spiritualities that formed the Pentecostal origins were Wesleyan and African-American. Wesleyan-Holiness leaders were active leaders in the abolition of slavery, prohibition, women's rights, and the reform of society according to the righteous standards of God (Dieter 1988). Women in leadership and women's rights were an integral part of the tradition from the very beginning.

Pentecostals also believed in the post conversion experience as the way to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, whereby the Holy Spirit descended into the body of a believer and gave gifts of the Spirit (most often evidenced by speaking in tongues), in water baptism (as an adult), in deliverance (the exorcism of satanic demons), and in a Christian lifestyle. This lifestyle included obedience to God through separation from all known sin, a request for prayer and unity with others, a praise-filled worship, and expectation of the power of God to speak to individuals, and to provide, deliver, transform, and heal (Gritcsch 1982; Land 2001; Wheelock 1983).

The growth of Pentecostalism was spurred on by its African American roots, with practices of oral liturgy, testimony, and witness combined with call and response participation in theology, reflection, prayer, and decision making. These practices formed a community that was reconciliatory, inclusive of dreams and visions in both personal and public forms of worship, and understanding of the body/mind relationship as evidenced by healing prayer, music, and participatory worship (Land 2001; Rice 2008).

From 1901 into 1960, Pentecostals (sometimes referred to as Holy Rollers for their demonstrative faith practices) remained separated from mainline denominations because of their uniqueness (Synan 2001a, b; Tucker 2011). However, in 1960, while seeking a more personal relationship with God, Episcopalian pastor Dennis Bennett and his wife, Dr. Rita Bennett, began speaking in tongues. When the Bennetts became public that they themselves spoke in tongues, a new movement ignited within mainline churches (though "outside" the mainline churches' traditions) and championed the Second Wave of Pentecostalism, later known as the Charismatic Renewal Movement, springing from St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle, Washington (Bennett 2012). The Jesus People Movement also exploded across the USA and Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, attracting evangelical youth with an informality that appealed to youth from cultures of the status quo, as well as those who were more counter cultural (hippies). The Jesus people had a strong belief in miracles, signs and wonders, faith, healing, prayer, the Bible, and the power of the Holy Spirit. Revival, baptism, music, and community were their draws before fading from popular attention in the early 1980s (DiSabatino 1999). Further, many churches from Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, Southern Baptist, and Mennonite denominations joined the charismatic movement over the next 20 years (Hocken 2001; Synan 2001b, c). The Third Wave movement was coined in 1981 at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, and was led by John Wimber, who emphasized unity over doctrine (a set of beliefs taught by the church). This Third Wave has been characterized as "Pentecostal-like," with independent and mega-churches developing in the West and independent churches in the majority world, including churches that digress from traditional Pentecostalism by incorporating a more literal, evangelical reading of scriptures, but at the same time furthering integral aspects of the early Pentecostal focus on justice for the poor and oppressed (Anderson 2004; Crosby 2011; Davies 2011; Edwards 2011; Tucker 2011).

Pentecostalism Today

Today, the combined Pentecostal and Charismatic movements are the second largest group of Christians in the world, behind Roman Catholics. According to the Center for the Study of Global Christianity (2011), there are about 279 million Pentecostal Christians and 305 million charismatic Christians worldwide, making up 26.7 % of the world's Christian population and 8.5 % of the total world. Within the above general classifications, the movement is also seen as quite diverse, with as many as 60 categories used to capture distinct identities (Barrett 2001). Researcher J.H. Logan, Jr. (2006) notes that 66 % of Pentecostals now live in the Majority World; 87 % live in poorer areas of the world; 71 % are non-white; and one-fourth of all full-time Christian workers in the world are reportedly either Pentecostal or Charismatic.

While the movement remains culturally diverse from its inception until now, female positions of equal authority with men in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches have dwindled. For example, according to professor and researcher, Shane Clifton (2009), only 17.4 % of clergy in the Assemblies of God in the USA (the largest Pentecostal denomination) are women and the percentage of women serving churches as senior pastors is only 3.64 %. Of the 21 % of ordained women in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, only 2 % of senior pastors are female. Australia is similar. There, 26 % of individuals ordained are women, but only 5.7 % are senior pastors and even those tend to be in smaller churches.

This attrition of female leadership in some Pentecostal arenas may be attributed to Christian fundamentalism that linked Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism in the early twentieth century, due to Pentecostals' and fundamentalist evangelicals' concern over what was seen as a morally decaying Western church and society (Bartkowski 2001; Gritsch 1982; Henderson 2012; King 2008). Christian educator Alice Matthews (1998) proposes that many evangelical Christians relate to reality through a tendency to depend upon human figures of authority within hierarchical systems to bring them truth—which truth is

known according to clear-cut dichotomies, such as right or wrong, good or evil, male or female, as opposed to depending on the leading of the Holy Spirit to reveal truth. Pentecostal minister Sheri Benvenuti (1997) urges Pentecostals to discard such evangelical values in order to return to Pentecostal roots of Holy Spirit engendered equality.

Violence Against Women: Risks and Protective Factors

Domestic violence is defined as a pattern of assaultive or coercive behaviors that an adult or adolescent uses to gain and maintain power and control over an intimate partner, or someone in the household. As a part of the pattern, behaviors include physical, emotional, spiritual, sexual, and verbal abuse. This violence is the leading cause of death and injury around the world for women between the ages of 15 and 44 (Krug et al. 2002). It is a crime that creates significant injury and trauma. It occurs mostly behind closed doors, where the witnesses are also traumatized, and transmits generational devastation. There are many perpetrators and potential perpetrators, including spouses and partners, parents, other family members, neighbors, and men in positions of power or influence. Most forms of violence are not unique incidents but are ongoing, and can even continue for decades. Because of the sensitive nature of the subject, violence is almost universally under-reported. Nevertheless, the prevalence of such violence suggests that globally, millions of women are experiencing violence or living with its consequences.

Perceived right of ownership and contractual accessibility through marriage and family, imply to some that people, more specifically women and girls, are property. As property, or commodities, they can be used, viewed, and disposed of at will. Commodification is not what the Bible teaches. In the Creator's eyes, there is no disparity of value as *together* male and female reflect the image of God.

> So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. Genesis 1: 27

> Don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in your midst? If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy that person; for God's temple is sacred, and you together are that temple. 1 Corinthians 3: 16–17

Scriptures such as these may be transformative for those who encounter them and take them to heart. However, the biblical literalism and scriptural inerrancy under which many Pentecostals and charismatics labor relegates women to a subordinate position and elevates men to soldiers of God and protectors of their families' purity (Bartkowski 2001; Bickle 2012; Griffith 1997; Scanzoni and Setta 1986; Webb 2001). The presumption that a man is the spiritual head of the home carries over into policies of church leadership, leading to transitions in Pentecostal ecclesiology regarding gender relations. The question arises, is it possible to agree that regardless of how one interprets biblically the position of women, there is no permission in the scriptures for men to abuse women? Hines and Malley-Morrison (2005) suggest that religion may tend to be a risk factor for violence with more conservative religious groups, but a protective factor with more moderate religious groups. In addition, according to sociologist W. Bradford Wilcox, the group with the highest rate of domestic violence in the USA are nominal evangelicals, while husbands and fathers who attend church regularly and are more caring toward their families have the lowest domestic violence rates of any group in the USA (LeBlanc 2004). Professor of theology Steven Tracy (2007) proposes that a smattering of biblical teachings feed into perpetrators' views of their right to control, because these men do not go to church enough to encounter and be transformed by biblical principles of loving leadership.

In a press conference held April 5, 2006, in Washington, DC, Rev. Dr. Marie M. Fortune spoke of violence done against women in the USA. In her speech, Fortune stated that it is important for faith communities of all backgrounds to recognize domestic violence as sin, and to realize this violence is occurring within the lives of one in every three women attending our religious services, either through personal experience or

through involvement within that woman's immediate family. She further noted that research suggests that these women go first to their religious leaders before going to the police or an advocate, and therefore it is incumbent upon church leaders to bring safety and help rather than further harm. The call is for those of faith to join in ending domestic violence, to commit to breaking the silence around this sin, and to step forward to support those who have been victimized (recorded speech, Fortune 2008).

We, the authors of this chapter, invite anyone who shares these commitments to sign the National Declaration by going to the website www. faithtrustinstitute.org/declaration. The

Declaration is shown below.

NATIONAL DECLARATION BY RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL LEADERS T0 ADDRESS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, April 2006

We proclaim with one voice as national spiritual and religious leaders that violence against women exists in all communities, including our own, and is morally, spiritually and universally intolerable.

We acknowledge that our sacred texts, traditions, and values have too often been misused to perpetuate and condone abuse.

We commit ourselves to working toward the day when all women will be safe and abuse will be no more.

We draw upon our healing texts and practices to help make our families and societies whole.

Our religious and spiritual traditions compel us to work for justice and the eradication of violence against women.

We call upon people of all religious and spiritual traditions to join us.

(Used by permission of FaithTrust Institute, www.faithtrustinstitute.org).

Pentecostal and Charismatic Spirituality

This chapter now examines Pentecostal and Charismatic spirituality as defined in terms of the integration of beliefs, practices, and affections. Christians confess that God is love, and scripture further specifies that Christians are to demonstrably love one another (1 John 4:8; John 15:12). John Wesley, a church father, believed the love of God

and neighbor was the heart of true religion, without which one was not a Christian (Knight 1987). *This truth enacted would never condone violence against women*. The Pentecostal believer is called to a lifestyle that reflects the loving character of God and the power of the Holy Spirit to live a life of love for God and neighbor. Pentecostal and charismatic testimonies, tracts, and songs express a longing to be like Christ, to live a "godly life" as "joint heirs" of the Kingdom of God. Land (2001) writes that the transcendent presence of God moves and transforms believers affectively as he conforms them to himself, and therefore fits them for the coming Kingdom. Affect is demonstrated in activities energized "in the Spirit," that is, the Spirit of God is seen to move a person to such actions as dancing, singing, laughing, clapping, appearing to be drunk, kneeling, and lying prostrate (as in being "slain" in the Spirit), with individuals and groups being visibly moved by heartfelt emotion. These experiences of the Spirit are not meant to modify a person's behavior only within the context of a religious meeting, but to have a powerful impact on the way that people live their daily lives. People touched by the Spirit of God are meant to live joyful, humble lives of service within God's kingdom (John 14:23–26; Luke 24:45–49; Romans 8:2–6; 2 Cor. 5:15–18; John 12:26; Gal. 5:13; Mark 10:42–45).

Interpretation of biblical text is crucial as to how a "godly life" is understood within the contexts of gender relations and domestic violence. J. Lee Grady (2003), author and former editor of the most widely distributed Pentecostal magazine, *Charisma*, writes that equality between man and woman began in the Garden of Eden (see Gen. 1:26–28), but Adam and Eve's rebellion (or Fall) brought on the dynamics of male supremacy (see Gen. 3:16). However, Christ's victorious death and resurrection have defeated the curse of the Fall, and now husband and wife are equally able to be present before God and intimate with one another. Grady notes that in Paul's teaching, husbands and wives were to subject their bodies to one another, with each being submissive to the other. Further, husbands and wives were joint heirs in God's life (1 Cor. 7:3–4; 1 Peter 3:7). Paul told husbands to love their wives as Christ

loved the church, even to the point of dying for her (Eph. 5:23). This love is sacrificial and calls for mutual submission, not dominance.

Implications for Professional Practice

Vance Packard (1959), eminent North American sociologist, once observed the contrast between religious people who live by emotion and those who live by logic, noting that there is quite a stretch of difference between the two (which two he labeled Pentecostalism and Episcopalianism). Counselors interacting with Pentecostal clients may experience a similar gulf between their interpretations of reality and their clients' interpretations of reality. For Pentecostal clients, being "Spirit-filled" often encompasses felt-experiences that manifest themselves by observable actions described in spiritual language (Benvenuti 1997; Hollingsworth 2007; King 2008; Rowell 2007). On the other hand, counselors often depend upon reason and intellect in order to practice analysis with their clients. The emphasis is to leave faith out of the focus of behavior modification, or, at the most, use transference and countertransference in order to understand the client–therapist interactions in session (Lawner 2001; Levin 1998; Maroda 1994).

In order to understand some clients' expectations for change, it is helpful for the therapist to keep an open mind and accept that Pentecostal Christianity focuses on a personal God permeating every aspect of one's life, in the experiential side of religious practice. During a church service or gathering, there is an emphasis on song and movement. The service is not something that happens around you; it is something to experience and to participate in, through active worship. Experiencing the presence of the Holy Spirit through tears, dreams, visions, a deep sense of peace, a word of knowledge, a message in tongues, or through healing, are all ways in which one knows the guidance of the Lord. Praying through oppression, whether societal, demonic, or as a result of personal sin, to a new identity in the Kingdom of God, is encouraged and often

accompanied with intense emotions that are visible in the body, like tears, laughter, or tremors.

Clients' stories of these experiences need to be heard and listened to in order to learn more of their context regarding what they believe God is doing in their lives. Connecting on this level and learning this language is key to the therapeutic working relationship. Perpetrators who have been confronted by the Holy Spirit with their abusive behavior may have dramatic conversions. These changed individuals may be strengthened in their resolve toward loving their families by scriptural teachings regarding righteous relationships. However, repentance begins with acknowledging one's abusive behavior, and willfully agreeing to do the hard work of change, which takes time and ongoing accountability. For though the Holy Spirit's power can have a profound impact upon an abuser's life, the Holy Spirit's work in the lives of people who have long known and practiced abuse is like a farmer's work with rocky soil—removing stones, tilling, and fertilizing, until the ground begins to bear fruit. This fruit—or change—is defined by those the perpetrator has abused, not by the perpetrator's counselor, friends, extended family, or faith community.

With this powerful experience of God to redeem, forgive, and heal in a person's background, the idea of going to a counselor's office could be perceived as a failure of God, or an individual's or faith community's failure to access the transforming power of God. The counselor must be aware of this emphasis on God's Spirit and prepare for it in several ways. For example, creating a safe place in the office is crucial. Be careful of secular books and symbols in the office that could be distracting to the client who diligently yearns to please God through a holy and committed life. There can be great fear of "secular" or "religious" (as opposed to Holy Spirit-directed) counseling on the part of a client within the Pentecostal and charismatic traditions, and counselors must keep their "space and presence" from being a barrier (either too overtly secular, as with a bust of Freud or an *Oprah* magazine, or too overtly religious, as with iconography) to anyone courageous enough to seek help and change. Instead,

the counselor can work to foster safety for clients to be able to speak honestly and openly about the exact nature of their situations. Listening for the purpose of understanding a person's context is important. Encourage your client to share his or her theological positions or faith practices with you; this can move a person to have a sense of being understood and known.

We emphasize that safety is created for the purposes of change and hope, not collusion. Abusive behaviors must never be condoned, overlooked, or blamed on someone else. In a study on men who participated in a faith-based batterer treatment program, there was a persistent theme in men's accounts of their behavior when they first told their stories (Fisher-Townsend et al. 2008). The men repeatedly noted that they did not practice violence toward their partners or others, yet did admit to the following behaviors at their time of intake: pushing, restraining, grabbing to prevent leaving, punching holes in walls, pounding or slamming on a table, hitting with an open hand, slapping, shaking, gripping to prevent leaving, punching with a fist, throwing objects at or near, blocking, raised voice, destroying property or vehicles, choking, kicking, bumping, bodily throwing, clearing things off a table, hair pulling, finger tapping on chest or head, intimidation, demeaning, shoving, backhanding, wrestling holds, spitting, spanking, hitting with objects or weapons, biting, ripping or tearing clothes, dragging along the ground, pushing off furniture, pulling ears/hair, squeezing, hitting or hurting self, pinching, bending fingers/extremities, open display of weapons, tearing doors off hinges, brandishing/discharging a weapon, unwanted touching, overtickling, marring property, throwing harmful substances, head butting, tackling, hurting/taking/killing pets, using torturing behaviors, tripping, kneeing, scratching, knuckling, cutting with a razor, pulling furniture out from under, karate chopping, burning, tying up with a rope or tape, pricking with pins or tacks, stabbing, coercing drug use, holding head under water, and withholding medication (Nason-Clark et al. 2004). Those working with perpetrators must familiarize themselves with perpetrator rationales and learn to probe nonprovocatively for

more details and assist in making appropriate referrals or interventions that are safe, nonvictim blaming, and accountable (Bancroft 2003; Fortune 2005; Weitzman 2000; Wilson 2006). Below we make recommendations for practices to use with victims and with abusers.

Judith Herman (1997) warns that it may be very tempting to take the side of the perpetrator. All the perpetrator asks is that the witness do nothing, because many witnesses do prefer to act from the premise of neutrality: it is better to see, hear, and speak no evil. The victim, on the contrary, demands that the bystander share the burden of the pain. The witness, you, must be present to evil through countering with action, engagement, and remembering. Pentecostal preacher Rev. Dr. Luis A. Carlo (2003) reminds us that justice, not passivity, is the response to violence. In a world where there is oppression, genocide, rape, apartheid, torture, human trafficking, and myriad forms of violence that destroy God's peace, God has been working throughout human history to re-establish the peace, the shalom, the well-being, of creation. This ministry is also given to the church (Jeremiah 29:7). Peace is not just the absence of tension. Peace is also the presence of justice.

Carlo (2003) insists the path to peace was, and continues to be, justice, stating that it is the Christian's responsibility to unite with God's purpose of reestablishing peace and order. Salvation, being born again and filled with the Spirit therefore, cannot simply be a self-centered survival from ultimate judgment; it must also include the reconciliation of God's whole world to God's established purposes. The entire creation waits to be liberated from its bondage to decay (Romans 8:18–22). How, then, are believers to establish peace in a fallen world given to chaos, disharmony, disorder, and violence? Micah 6:8 tell us:

> He has showed you, O man, what is good. And what does the Lord require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God.

This is a consistent message within the coordinated community response to domestic violence that calls for safety (physical, emotional, sexual, and spiritual) in intimate relationships and ongo-

ing accountability and mourning. These are truly prerequisites for reconciliation.

Recommendations for Therapists Working with Pentecostal Churches

The recommendations that follow are modified from Clark (2005), Fortune (2002), Geffner and Mantooth (2000), Kroeger and Beck (1998), Kroeger and Nason-Clark (2010), Lawson (2013), Miles (2002a b), Murphy (2003), Nason-Clark (1997, 2000), Nason-Clark et al. (2011), and Pryde and Needham (2003). To begin with, at only one time in the scriptures, Jesus says, "Very truly, I say unto you, no one can see the kingdom of God unless they are born again" (John 3:3). The phrase "born again" is never repeated in Acts or by Paul in additional New Testament texts. In contrast, Jesus said, "follow me," over 30 times. And more than 99 times in the Gospels we see the word "kingdom." We may infer that Jesus' emphasis is not about us; it's about whom we follow and about the Kingdom of God (Bakke 2012). Vital for all Christians to understand is this: it is about whom we follow and the Kingdom of God—this is what matters most. The Kingdom of God is not a path of violence against women.

In line with this understanding, the following recommendations and resources are submitted here as aids for counselors and others to bring victims and perpetrators into a path of peace.

1. *Make the safety of an abused woman and her children top priority*. Providing safety is crucial for both the adult woman and for the children, and perhaps as Herman (1997) suggests, is the most important work of addressing domestic violence. Never confront an abusive husband without thoroughly discussing with the wife both the benefits and the potential risks that confrontation could bring. Get the wife's full input and permission before confronting the husband, and respect her wishes if she would rather you not contact her husband, as she is the one who ultimately has to live with the consequences of such a confrontation and she understands her safety the best. Make sure the wife has a safety plan (see below) that can be implemented quickly should her husband's abuse continue or escalate. Pastor Keith Galbraith (2003) presents a theology of flight for the sake of safety that shows the wisdom of leaving. David fled, Paul fled, and even Christ fled (I Samuel 18–28, II Samuel 13–19, Matthew 2:13, Luke 4: 16–30, John 11: 50–55, Acts 9: 23–25). However, leaving a home for the purposes of safety is not the same as pursuing a divorce (see point 3 below).

The victim must report violent abuse. For many, if not most abusers, police intervention is the only way to bring an abusive man to the place where he will acknowledge the seriousness of, and reality of, his criminal behavior. For Pentecostal/charismatic victims and abusers, it may be very important to follow the biblical admonition in Romans 13 and 1 Peter 2, establishing judicial authority as a God-given means of dealing with criminal behavior. Reporting criminal abuse is a wise option, as it can awaken an abuser from his delusion that what he is doing "isn't that bad," provide protection to the victim/s in the event the crime is repeated, and establish a record of the abuse. This record can prove invaluable in the future, allowing the judicial system to exercise its authority in the case to insure the abuser will be forced to submit to counseling for an extended period of time.

2. *Help a victim establish a safety plan.* In many parts of the world, a marriage is considered sacred, but is it safe? When women somehow demonstrate independence, whether that entails preparing to leave or seeking assistance, they are often subjected to violence based on male entitlement (Fisher-Townsend et al. 2008). The violence is meant to curb the woman's attempts at autonomy. This involves an attempt by many abusive men to assert their male authority through a constellation of violent behaviors, including yelling, name-calling, and physical force. It is the process by which the abuser attempts to regain the power he once held. Mahoney (1991) states that this type of violent behavior is meant to keep women in the relationship, and, if needed, to terrorize them after they leave. Ptacek (1990)

notes that 18 % of the women in his research identified preventing separation as the motive for their partner's violence. Some regard the worldview of men of faith as support for their rationalization of patriarchal authority, under which their wives are called to be submissive and remain in the home (Shupe et al. 1987).

An advocate at a shelter, a crisis line worker, or you, as counselor, can assist a victim of abuse by helping her establish a safety plan in order to facilitate her retreat from violence as well as minimize threats to her well-being as she attempts to separate from her partner (Snyder 2013). Help her to develop her basic plan for safety when the abuser becomes violent, as well as contingencies that include places of safety to relocate to, and include the well-being of children and pets (Murphy 2003). Incorporate a safety kit as part of her plan, kept in a place where her perpetrator will not discover it, that contains items such as cash, a change of clothing for herself and her children, toiletries, extra photo identification, immigration papers, and a disposable phone with numbers of counselors, friends, pastors, and shelters (contact your local shelter or the National DV hotline at www.thehotline.org).

3. *Do not recommend couple's or marriage counseling*. Couple's counseling is frequently recommended or sought after if the couple is experiencing conflict. A cursory screening for domestic violence in couple's counseling involves brief questions with each half of the couple alone during the first session. Ask about any history of physical or verbal abuse. For instance, does the client view the other as being controlling with them? Does the relationship generally feel collaborative? Does the client feel intimidated by the other? This can be done in 5–10 min or less, if there is no power and control imbalance present. If there is acknowledgment of domestic violence/ anger issues, serious effort must be made to refocus the work on that issue, which means moving towards stopping the couple's work and transitioning to individual work, with the goal being to get the perpetrator (usually the male) into an appropriate group treatment. Pastor and author Al Miles (2002a) reminds

us domestic violence is not a problem in the relationship, but rather in the decision of one partner, usually the male, to use abusive and violent tactics to maintain power and control over his female intimate partner. Couple's or marriage counseling is inappropriate and risky, and could lead to further abuse and even death (King County 2013; Murphy 2003; National Center on Domestic and Sexual Violence 2013; Silent Witness National Initiative 2013; Snyder 2013). This is an important message to convey, for both parties.

4. *Redirect scripture reading*. For ongoing spiritual care, recommend a reading of passages from scripture that teach equal value and dignity, or make a referral to a pastor who can do so. Then the pastor/counselor and abuser can discuss the larger theological dimensions of how God views men and women, life and death, peace and justice, and so on. This can counterbalance the tendency by abusers to misquote biblical texts to support male dominance and control. Here are a few passages to consider: Genesis 1:26–28, 1 Corinthians 7:3–4, and 11: 11–12, Galatians 5:13, Ephesians 5:21 and 5:25–33, and Philippians 2:3 (Miles 1999).

5. *Hold an abuser accountable to stop using violent behavior*. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control; against such things there is no law" (Gal. 5:22–23). In order for these fruits to be evident in the home, it is essential that the following goals be accomplished: safety for the victim/s, accountability for the abuser, restoration of individuals, and, if possible, restoration of relationship, or mourning the loss of the relationship (Fortune 2002; Murphy 2003). Perpetrators can use the idea of "backsliding" to escape accountability. That is, a person may believe that he can backslide, or lapse, from a holy lifestyle to an abusive lifestyle, and then return to religious practice without making reparation or admitting harm (Fairchild 2013). However, such a perspective does not exhibit the humility that is born from the fruits of the Spirit listed above and, with-

out recognition of harm done and changed behaviors, is an unstable position to maintain in the family dynamics.

The problem for many boys and men lies in the paradox that one must dominate in order to belong (Real 2003). That is, violence is also learned and imprinted as it is modeled in the home and reinforced by patriarchal cultures that condition boys and men to avoid empathy, through the various tactics of power and control. All those who use battering behavior have learned to use force through experience. When force to control a partner has been used, there have been few, if any, negative consequences. Through this experience, children have learned the family is an ideal place to exercise their controlling behavior. Batterers often learn early in life how to gain and maintain power and control over others. The childhood trauma of those in homes of domestic violence leads to disorders of self-regulation, which can either be felt as overt depression, or warded off and acted out as covert depression. Hidden depression drives several behaviors such as physical illness, drug and alcohol abuse, and further domestic violence, failures in intimacy, and self-sabotage in careers (Real 2003). Childhood trauma can also lead to mental health diagnoses such as attachment disorders, dissociation, narcissism, and post-traumatic stress disorder. Accountability groups for abusers are essential for breaking damaged attachment-related isolation, redefining manhood, learning to handle emotional distress, and acknowledging violent behaviors (Ganley and Hobart 2010; Pence and Paymar 1993).

Reconciliation must only be considered when safety and accountability exist. Fenlason (2009) studied couples who were still married after seeking help for domestic violence, and found that these were most likely people of faith, who had an extended period of separation while the abuser was in counseling/treatment. They did not reconcile prematurely, but took the time it required for them to come back together in safety and with dignity. A primary responsibility of the counselor will be to provide education, resources, appropriate referrals, and modeling for relationships based on equality and respect. If the balance of power is equal, there is little danger of violence

(Adams and Fortune 1995; Gelles and Cornell 1985; Herman 1997; Pence and Paymar 1993).

6. *For women who are safe and seeking healing for their abuse, "healing and recovery" is a collective process that comes through dialogue* (Livezey 1999; Poling 1991; Terr 1990). As one form of dialogue especially relevant and effective to Pentecostals and charismatics, prayer draws upon multiple resources for strength, as the one who prays calls to both divine and human audiences to connect with, witness to, and appraise the victim's story. One may cry out from one's heart, calling on the memory of one's listeners and oneself within a larger contextual, cultural narrative, drawing together and calling forth understanding from one's spiritual and human witnesses (Griffith 1997). However, stories of trauma are hard to speak of and hard to listen to because the first response of most listeners is to immediately forget the horror of what they have just heard (Herman 1997). Herman notes another power at work as people move toward healing: those actions experienced as too unbearable to be known are yet unable to be laid to rest, when not known. She states that both societal recovery and individual vitalization come through bringing the truth of the horrifying abuse into the memory of the victims and the consciousness of the witnesses.

Professor Susan Rose (2002) names the ways victimization is expressed as either conversion or recovery/trauma narratives. She points out that the difference is that conversion narrators tend to hold themselves, Satan, or evil responsible, looking to God to intervene and support them in order to make them strong enough to persevere and withstand. They look to the Father (God) to embrace, guide, and direct them. Trauma narrators, on the other hand, re-situate blame and hold those who have been abusive responsible, demanding social and cultural change, and support in challenging injustice. In this process, they may question patriarchy, and some reject the Father. As a tool to use with a woman who has been abused, the following interpretation of scripture can be useful to gauge her response so as to know

whether conversion or recovery/trauma support will be most useful.

You Are the Apple of Your Abba Father's Eye

"I have engraved you on the Palm of My hand. And you are mine." (Isaiah 49:16)

El Roi means "the God who sees you." You are deeply loved as the daughter of the King of Kings. Abuse can wound the spirit and injure the heart of a person. Today, you must continue to see yourself through the eyes of the Lord:

- See yourself as *CHOSEN*: "A chosen people, a royal priesthood" (royalty, a princess; 1 Peter 2:9).
- See yourself as *CONFIDENT*: In Isaiah 54:10, God writes a beautiful love letter: "Though the mountains move and the hills shake, yet, My unfailing love will not be removed from you and My covenant of peace will not be shaken, says your compassionate Lord." What a promise!
- See yourself as *CAPABLE*: Philippians 4:13 says: "I can do all things through the Lord who strengthens me."
- See yourself as *WONDERFULLY MADE*: "We all, with unveiled faces, are reflecting the glory of the Lord and are being transformed into the same image from glory to glory" (2 Corinthians 3:18).
- See yourself as a *CONQUERER*: "In all things, we are more than conquerors through Him who loves us" (Romans 8:37). It is not in God's will for any of His daughters to live in fear, doubt, discouragement, despair, guilt, shame, or condemnation.
- See yourself as *VALUABLE*: "You will be a crown of splendor in the Lord's hand, a royal diadem in the palm of your God" (Isaiah 62:3). "Do not fear, for I am with you, do not be afraid, for I am your God. I will strengthen you; I will help you; I will hold onto you with My righteous right hand" (Isaiah 41:10).
- See yourself as *LOVED*: "You are precious in My eyes, and honored and I love you" (Isa-

iah 43:4) (Created by Dariel Brown, www.thecornerstonecenter.com: used with permission).

7. *For the church*: As the believer is called to actively promote justice, the church must develop both short-term and long-term approaches. In the short-term, the safety of the victim and family members must be protected, and batterers must be held genuinely accountable for their violent actions. This approach can be accomplished first by listening and believing victims' stories, and second by appropriate referral of all family members to agencies and counselors poised to provide immediate aid and long-term treatment. It is equally important for clergy to develop a long-range plan for ministering to the broken by becoming educated about abuse, wrestling with God and scripture, adopting policies that bring God's peace through justice, and training leaders and congregations in implementing an appropriate response. Speak into this issue by condemning all forms of advertisement, language, music, etc., that promote violence; preaching sermons and writing articles about violence; praying for victims of violence; educating your congregations; and taking a clear stand against violence by becoming accountable yourselves.

Given current conservative interpretations of scriptures in churches and families today, what might you do to ensure domestic violence is addressed and eradicated within your community? In addition, how can domestic violence best be addressed by Pentecostals, charismatics, and evangelicals who hold to a chain of command perspective within the family structure? The chain of command paradigm refers to headship: just as God is over Jesus, and Jesus is over the Church, so Jesus is over men, men are over women, and women are over children (Gothard 1981; Scholer 1996). Within this hierarchical structure many also embrace two forms of patriarchal practices, known as hard and soft. Hard patriarchalism teaches that women hold no positions of authority over men, unilaterally submit to men, and men have the final say in all familial

decisions (Heggen 1996; Webb 2001). Soft patriarchalism (also termed complementarianism) envisions the man as the servant leader, which in family life involves sharing decisions, parenting, and household chores, with the understanding that male and female roles complement each other (Bickle 2012; Steven Tracy 2007; Webb 2001). Sociologist W. Bradford Wilcox has found that soft patriarchal husbands and fathers who attend church regularly and hold the family as their most important commitment, have the lowest domestic violence rates of any group in the USA (LeBlanc 2004).

8. *Seek education and training*. Domestic violence is a crime with legal as well as emotional and spiritual consequences. Proper training and ongoing education are essential. Keep updated on articles, books, videos, and workshops that can help you become effective as a member of a coordinated community response effort to end violence against women. Never try to care for a victim or batterer alone, but consult, get supervision, and refer as necessary, committing yourself to working closely with community service providers, law enforcement officials, and members of the criminal justice system. These individuals also have a key role in victim safety and holding batterers accountable. In addition, self-care practices are essential, for working in this area can be personally depleting (Lipsky and Burk 2009). Training websites to consult are www.northwestfamilylife.org or www.faithtrustinstitute.org.

Conclusion

Globally, the abuse of women—emotional, psychological, physical, sexual, spiritual, and verbal—has exceeded epidemic proportions. The violence is not the result of a victim's failure to be a good wife, girlfriend, mother, Christian, sex partner, or person. Domestic abuse is perpetrated by men who desire to have control over their female intimate partners. Despite eras of moral reform,

practices of power and control continue to be enshrined within cultural norms. However, Pentecostal theology at its core empowers women and promotes equality, and as such has much to offer in addressing and eradicating domestic violence.

In this chapter, we briefly discussed the history of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, noting that in the beginning, women were emancipated with the distribution of the gifts of the Holy Spirit to all. This subcultural practice of equality is unique from other faith traditions (Sanders 1996). We then outlined particular ways that Pentecostal beliefs, affects, and practices influence therapists' and pastors' work with people of this background who have experienced or are experiencing domestic violence in their relationships. We encouraged action, and gave recommendations for ways that therapists and pastors can aid victims and perpetrators.

There is an increased interest in the issues of domestic violence and, while most religious people would hold that it is not biblical, there seems to be a growing insurgence against gender equality that needs further inquiry and understanding. This can be seen clearly in debates of headship as discussed in organizations such as Christians for Biblical Equality, The Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, and the Institute on Daily Life Principles.

References

Adams, C., & Fortune, M. (Eds.). (1995). *Violence against women and children: A Christian theological sourcebook*. New York: Continuum.

Alexander, E. (2011). *Black fire: One hundred years of African American Pentecostalism*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Anderson, A. (2004). *An introduction to Pentecostalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Anonymous. (2004). What's wrong with Pentecost and how it could change for the better. Retrieved from http://ex-pentecostals.org/whatswrong2.htm. Accessed July 2013.

Bancroft, L. (2003). *Why does he do that?: Inside the minds of angry and controlling men*. New York: The Berkley Publishing Group.

Bakke, R. (2012). *Inclusiveness of the kingdom*. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OBE-coNY9xk. Accessed July 2013.

Barrett, D. (2001). The worldwide Holy Spirit renewal. In V. Synan (Ed.), *The century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal; How God used a handful of Christians to spark a worldwide movement* (pp. 381–414). Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, Inc.

Barrett, D., Kurian, G., & Johnson, T. (2001). *World summary: The status of Christianity and religions in the modern world*. In *World Christian encyclopedia: A comparative survey of churches and religions in the modern world Vol. 1: The world by countries: Religionists, churches, ministries* (2nd ed., p. 16). New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Bartkowski, J. (2001). *Remaking the godly marriage: Gender negotiation in evangelical families*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Bartleman, F. (1980). *Azusa Street*. Plainfield, NJ: Logos International.

Bennet, R. (2012). The Reverend Dennis J. Bennett. Retrieved from http://www.emotionallyfree.org. Accessed Sept. 2012.

Benvenuti, S. (1997, January). Pentecostal women in ministry: Where do we go from here? *Cyber Journal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research, 1*. Retrieved from http://pctii.org/cyberj/cyberj1/ben.html. Accessed July 2012.

Bickle, M. (2012). *The incredible worth of a woman*. Retrieved from http://mikebickle.org/resources/resource/3345. Accessed July 2012.

Boudewijnse, B., Droogers, A., & Kamsteep, F. (Eds.). (1998). *More than opium: An anthropological approach to Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostal praxis*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow.

Briggs, S. (1987). Women and religion. In B. Hess and M. Ferree (Eds.) *Analyzing gender: A handbook of social science research* (pp. 408–441). Newbury Park: Sage.

Carlo, L. (2003). A theological reflection on domestic violence. In N. Murphy (Ed.), *God's reconciling love: A pastor's handbook on domestic violence* (pp. 26–29). Seattle, WA: FaithTrust Institute.

Catford, C. (2009). Women's experiences: Challenges for female leaders in Pentecostal contexts. In S. Clifton and J. Grey (Eds.), *Raising women leaders* (pp. 26–50). Chester Hills NSW, Australia: Australasian Pentecostal Studies.

Center for the Study of Global Christianity. (2011). *World Christian data base*. Retrieved from http://www.pewforum.org/Christian/Global-Christianity-movements-and-denominations.aspx. Accessed July 2013.

Chant, B. (1999). *The Spirit of Pentecost: Origins and development of the Pentecostal Movement in Australia, 1870–1939*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Modern History, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.

Clark, C. (2005). Toward a more comprehensive understanding of wifely submission. *Christian Counseling Today, 13*(3), 38–42.

Clifton, S. (2009). Empowering Pentecostal women. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies, 12*(2), 171–179.

Cox, H. (1995). *Fire from heaven: The rise of Pentecostal spirituality and the reshaping of religion in the twenty-first century*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Crosby, R. (2011, August). A new kind of Pentecostal. *Christianity Today*, pp. 50–54.

Davies, A. (2011). The spirit of freedom: Pentecostals, the Bible and social justice. *The Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association, 1*, 53–64.

Dieter, M. (1988). *The Wesleyan-Holiness and Pentecostal movements: Commonalities, confrontation and dialogue*. (Unpublished paper). Society for Pentecostal Studies. Wilmore, KY: Asbury Theological Seminary.

DiSabatino, D (1999). *The Jesus people movement: An annotated bibliography & general resource*. Portsmouth, NH: Greenwood-Heinemann Publishing.

Edwards, J. (2011). Justice and Pentecostals. *The Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association, 31*(1), 5–16.

Facey, M. (2009). Response to "empowering Pentecostal women" by Shane Clifton. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies, 12*(2), 180–183.

Fairchild, M. (2013). *Backslide*. Retrieved from http://christianity.about.com/od/glossary/g/Backslide.htm. Accessed July 2013.

Fenlason, T. (2009). *Change in intimate partner violence: The domestic couple's perspective on perpetrator change*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Antioch University, Seattle, WA.

Fisher-Townsend, B., Nason-Clark, N., Ruff, L., & Murphy, N. (2008). I'm not violent: Men's experience in group. In C. Kroeger, N. Nason-Clark, & B. Townsend (Eds.), *Beyond abuse in the Christian home: Raising voices for change* (pp. 78–99). Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Fortune, M. (2002). *Violence in the family: A workshop curriculum for clergy and other helpers* (Revised edition). Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press.

Fortune, M. (2005). *Sexual violence: The sin revisited*. Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press.

Fortune, M. (2008). National declaration of religious and spiritual leaders addressing violence against women. *Journal of Religion & Abuse: Pastoral Care & Prevention, 8*(2), 71–77.

Fortune, M., Abugideri, S., & Dratch, M. (2010). A commentary of religion and domestic violence. Retrieved from http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/articles/Commentary.pdf. Accessed July 2013.

Galbraith, K. (2003). How do we protect the lives of those in danger? In N. Murphy (Ed.), *God's reconciling love: A pastor's handbook on domestic violence* (pp. 30–35). Seattle, WA: FaithTrust Institute.

Ganley, A., & Hobart, M. (2010). *Social workers practice guide to domestic violence*. Children's Administration, Washington State Department of Social and Health Services.

Geffner, R., & Mantooth, C. (2000). *Ending spouse/partner abuse: A psychoeducational approach for individuals and couples*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Gelles, R., & Cornell, C. (1985). *Intimate violence in families*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Gritsch, E. (1982). *Born againism: Perspective on a movement*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Gothard, B. (1981). *Institute in basic life principles: Research in principles of life basic seminar textbook.* Oak Brook, IL: Institute in Basic Life Principles.

Grady, L. (2003). *25 tough questions about women and the Church: Answers from God's Word that will set women free*. Lake Mary, FL: Charisma House.

Griffith, R. (1997). *God's daughters: Evangelical women and the power of submission*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Grudem, W. (2002). *Biblical foundations for manhood and womanhood*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books.

Hallum, A. (2003). Taking stock and building bridges: Feminism, women's movements, and Pentecostalism in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review, 38*(1), 169–186.

Heggen, C. (1996). Religious beliefs and abuse. In Kroeger, C. & Beck, J. (Eds.), *Women, abuse and the Bible: How scripture can be used to hurt or heal* (pp. 15–27). Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Henderson, J. (2012). *The resignation of Eve. What if Adams rib is no longer willing to be the church's backbone?* Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale Momentum.

Herman, J. (1997). *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence—from domestic abuse to political terror*. New York: Basic Books.

Hines, D. A., & Malley-Morrison, K. (2005). *Family violence in the United States: Defining, understanding, and combating abuse*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hocken, P. (2001). The Catholic Charismatic renewal. In V. Synan (Ed.), *The century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal* (pp. 209–232). Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Hollenweger, W. J. (1986). After Twenty Years Research on Pentecostalism. *International Review of Mission, 75*(297), 3–12.

Hollingsworth, A. (2007). Spirit and voice: Toward a feminist Pentecostal pneumatology. *Pneuma, 29*, 189–213.

Horn J. (2011). Christian fundamentalisms and women's rights in the African context: Mapping the terrain. Retrieved from http://www.awid.org/eng/About-AWID/AWID-Initiatives/Resisting-and-Challenging-Religious-Fundamentalisms/CF-Case_Studies. Accessed July 2013.

Hyatt, S. (2001). Spirit-filled women. In V. Synan (Ed.), *The century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal* (pp. 233–263). Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

King, G. (2008). Streams of convergence: The Pentecostal-Fundamentalist response to modernism. *Pentecostal Studies, 7*(2), 64–84. ISSN 1871–777691.

King County. (2013). *Safety planning with survivors of domestic violence*. Retrieved from http://www.kingcounty.gov/healthservices/MentalHealth/Recovery/~/media/health/mentalHealth/Recovery/Documents/121016_Safety_Planning_with_Survivors_of_Domestic_Violence.ashx. Accessed July 2013.

Knight, H. (1987). *The relation of narrative to Christian affections*. (Unpublished paper). Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Kroeger, C., & Beck, E. (1998). *Healing the Hurting: Giving Hope and Help to Abused Women*. Ada, MI: Baker Books.

Kroeger, C., & Nason-Clark, N. (2010). *No place for abuse: Biblical and practical resources to counteract domestic violence*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Krug, E.G., Dahlberg, L., Mercy, J., Zwi, A., & Lozano, R. (Eds.). (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Land, S. (2001). *Pentecostal spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom*. Sheffield England: Sheffield Academic Press.

Lawner, P. (2001). Spiritual implications of psychodynamic therapy: Immaterial psyche, ideality, and the "area of faith." *Psychoanalytic Review, 88*(4), 524–548.

Lawson, D. (2013). *Family violence: Explanations and evidence-based clinical practice*. Alexandria, VA: American Psychological Association.

LeBlanc, D. (2004, August). Affectionate patriarchs: In the popular imagination, conservative evangelical fathers are power-abusing authoritarians. A new study says otherwise. *Christianity Today*, pp. 44–46.

Levin, R. (1998). Faith, paranoia, and trust in the psychoanalytic relationship. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis, 26*(4), 553–572.

Levine, D. (2010). Reflections on the mutual impact of violence and religious change in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society, 52*(3), 132–150.

Lipsky, L., & Burk, C. (2009). *Trauma stewardship: An everyday guide to caring for self while caring for others*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.

Livezey, L. (Spring 1999). Sex and power politic: A theological reflection. *Working Together: Center for Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence, 19*(2), 1–4.

Logan, Jr., J. (2006). Black Pentecostalism. In S. Burgess (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity* (pp. 60–64). London: Routledge.

Mahoney, M. (1991). Legal images of battered women: Redefining the issues of separation. *Michigan Law Review, 90*, 1–94.

Maroda, K. (1994). *The power of counter-transference: Innovations in analytic technique*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson Inc.

Martin, B. (2001). The Pentecostal gender paradox: A cautionary tale for the sociology of religion. In R. Fenn (Ed.), *The Blackwell companion to the sociology of religion* (pp. 52–66). Oxford: Blackwell.

Matthews, A. (1998). *A woman God can lead: Lessons from Women of the Bible help you make today's choices.* Grand Rapids, MI: Discovery House Publishers.

Miles, A. (Spring 1999). When words abuse. *Leadership Journal, 20*(2). Retrieved from http://www.christianitytoday.com/le/1999/spring/9l2096.html. Accessed July 2013.

Miles, A. (2002a). *Violence in families: What every Christian needs to know*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Books.

Miles, A. (2002b). Holding Christian men accountable for abusing women. *Journal of Religion & Abuse: Advocacy, Pastoral Care and Prevention, 4*(2), 15–27.

Murphy, N. (Ed.). (2003). *God's reconciling love: A pastor's handbook on domestic violence*. Seattle, WA: FaithTrust Institute.

Nason-Clark, N. (1997). *The battered wife: How Christians confront family violence*. Louisville, TN: Westminster John Knox Press.

Nason-Clark, N. (2000). Making the sacred safe: Woman abuse and communities of faith. *Sociology of Religion, 61*(4), 349–368.

Nason-Clark, N., Murphy, N., Fisher-Townsend, B., & Ruff, L. (2004) Overview of the characteristics of the clients at a faith-based batterers' intervention program. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 5*(4), 51–72.

Nason-Clark, N., Kroeger, C., & Fisher-Townsend, B. (Eds.) (2011). *Responding to abuse in Christian homes: A challenge to churches and their leaders*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock.

National Center on Domestic and Sexual Violence. (2013). *Domestic violence fatalities and homicides/children fatalities/fatality review*. Retrieved from www.ncdsv.org/publications_domhomicide.html. Accessed July 2013.

Packard, V. (1959). *The status seekers*. New York: D. McKay Co.

Pence, E., & Paymar, M. (1993). *Education groups for men who batter: The Duluth model*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Poling, J. (1991). *The abuse of power: A theological problem*. Nashville: Abingdon.

Pryde, D & Needham R. (2003). *A biblical perspective of what to do when you are abused by your husband*. Newberry Springs, CA: Iron Sharpens Iron Publications.

Ptacek, J. (1990). How men who batter rationalize their behavior. In A. Horton & J. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion: When praying isn't enough* (pp. 247–257). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Real, T. (2003). *I don't want to talk about it: Overcoming the secret legacy of male depression*. New York: Scribner.

Rice, M. (2008). Part 1: The revolutionary power of Pentecostal spirituality. Retrieved from http://perichorus.wordpress.com. Accessed Sept 2012.

Rose, S. (2002). Telling lives: Trauma-recovery and Christian-conversion narratives. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 4*(2), 33–68.

Rowell, A. (Jan. 29, 2007). Church leadership conversations. Retrieved from http://www.andyrowell.net/andy_rowell/2007/01/not_allowing_wo.html. Accessed Aug 2012.

Sanders, C. (1996). History of women in the Pentecostal movement. *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*. Retrieved from http://www.fullnet.net/np/archives/cyberj/sanders.html. Accessed July 2012.

Scanzoni, L., & Setta, S. (1986). Women in Evangelical, Holiness, and Pentecostal traditions. In R. Ruether & R. Keller (Eds.), *Women and religion in America, 3 (1900–1968)* (pp. 223–265). New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

Scholer, D. (1996). The evangelical debate over Biblical 'headship.' In C. Kroeger & J. Beck (Eds.), *Women, abuse and the Bible: How scripture can be used to hurt or heal* (pp. 28–57). Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Shupe, A., Stacey, W., & Hazelwood, L. (1987). *Violent men, violent couples: The dynamics of domestic violence*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Silent Witness National Initiative. (2013). *Statistics on domestic violence*. Retrieved from www.silentwitness.net/sub/violences.htm. Accessed July 2013.

Snyder, R. (2013, July 22). Annals of prevention; A raised hand: Can a new approach curb domestic homicide? *The New Yorker, 89*(21), 34–41

Sokoloff, N., & Pratt, C. (Ed.). (2005). *Domestic violence at the margins: Readings on race, class, gender, and culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Stanley, S. (2002). *Holy boldness: Women preachers' autobiographies and the sanctified self*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Stanley, S. (2006). Laying a straw in her way: Tracing the theology of Pentecostalism that guided women in ministries. *Enrichment Journal*. Retrieved from http://womeninministry.ag.org/history/laying_a_straw.cfm. Accessed July 2012.

Stewart-Gambino, H. (2001). "Religious consumers" in a changing "religious marketplace". *Latin American Research Review, 36*(1), 193–206.

Sue, D.W., & Torino, G.C. (2005). Racial-cultural competence: Awareness, knowledge, and skills. In R.T. Carter (Ed.), *Handbook of racial-cultural psychology and counseling* (Vol. 2, pp. 3–18). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Sweeney, D. (2005). *The American evangelical story: A history of the movement*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Synan, V. (2001a). The holiness Pentecostal churches. In V. Synan (Ed.), *The century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal* (pp. 97–122). Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Synan, V. (2001b). Charismatic renewal enters the mainline churches. In V. Synan (Ed.), *The century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal* (pp. 149–176). Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Synan, V. (2001c). The "Charismatics": Renewal in major protestant denominations. In V. Synan (Ed.), *The century of the Holy Spirit: 100 years of Pentecostal and Charismatic renewal* (pp. 177–208). Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Tracy, S. R. (2007). Clergy responses to domestic violence. *Priscilla Papers, 21,* 9–16.

Van Leeuwen, M. (1990). *Gender and grace: Love, work & parenting in a changing world*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.

Terr, L. (1990). *Too scared to speak: How trauma affects children and ultimately us all*. New York: Basic Books.

Tucker, S. (2011) *Unto the least of these: The Pentecostal church and social ministry*. (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_gradd-iss/1034/. Accessed Aug 2012.

Wacker, G. (1988). Bibliography and historiography of Pentecostalism (U.S.). In S. Burgess, G. McGee, & P. Alexander (Eds.), *Dictionary of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements* (4th ed., pp. 65–76). Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Warrington, K. (2011a). Social transformation in the missions of Pentecostals: A priority or a bonus? *The Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association, 31*(1), 17–35.

Warrington, K. (2011b). Challenges facing Pentecostals today. *The Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association, 31*(2), 108–209.

Webb, W. (2001). *Slaves, women, & homosexuals: Exploring the hermeneutics of cultural analysis*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Weitzman, S. (2000). *"Not to people like us": Hidden abuse in upscale marriages*. New York: Basic Books.

Whaley, A. & Davis, K. (2007). Cultural competence and evidence-based practice in mental health services. *American Psychologist, 62*, 563–574.

Wheelock, D. (1983). *Spirit baptism in American Pentecostal thought*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Wilson, K.J. (2006). *When violence begins at home: A comprehensive guide to understanding and ending domestic abuse*. Alameda, CA: Hunter House Publishing.

Violence Against Women in a Multiethnic Church

19

Nan J. Muhovich and Edna Geddes

It has nothing to do with religion.
It has to do with the fact that the man is the leader, and that's just it, and the woman
serves.
Middle-aged Latina American

Domestic violence affects the lives of millions of women and children around the world, but very little of the literature addresses the unique context of women in multiethnic churches (Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe 2005; Rasche 1988; Riviera 1994; World Health Organization 2013). For that reason, we decided to study the women of a multiethnic church community. This chapter looks at abuse experienced or observed by eleven women, all attenders of a multiethnic church in a major metro area in the Midwest. The women come from diverse ethnicities, socioeconomic levels, and neighborhoods. Some are first- or second-generation immigrants from Africa, some are white, and some are women of color. In this chapter they discuss their experiences and views of domestic violence: giving examples, discussing perceptions of abuse in their families and communities, identifying factors that impact abuse, and articulating the role of faith in their healing and restoration. Two focus groups, four interviews, and a questionnaire provided both quantitative and qualitative data, which was analyzed for thematic content.

Definitions

Violence is the "intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (as defined by World Health Organization in Krug et al. 2002, p. 1084).

Domestic violence is defined as "any act occurring between two individuals who live or have lived together, that is intended or perceived to be intended, to cause physical or psychological harm" (Ezechi et al. 2004, p. 652).

Description of Participants

The study participants were diverse in ethnicity and age: African American (3), White (2), Latina American (2), first-generation immigrants from Africa (2), and second-generation immigrants from Africa (2). Their ages ranged from 22 to 72, covering a span of 50 years. Their mean age was 41.7 years. Two were single and one was married

N. J. Muhovich (✉)
Department of Intercultural Studies & Languages, North Central University, Minneapolis, MN, USA
e-mail: njmuhovi@northcentral.edu

E. Geddes
College of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences, Argosy University, Twin Cities, MN, USA

with no children. Eight were married with one to four children.

Most were college graduates or had finished some postgraduate study (7), while one was a high school graduate and one had not finished high school. Their socioeconomic levels varied greatly by educational attainment and stage in life, from below US $10,000 to US $75,000–100,000.

Types of Abuse

Ninety-one percent of the women in this study reported having experienced some kind of abuse in the home. Forty-five percent reported verbal abuse, 27% threats of abuse, 27% physical abuse, 27% forced sex, and 9% female genital mutilation. Describing their abusers, the women reported 27% were fathers; 27% were husbands/ex; 18% were an uncle/grandfather; and 9% of abusers were a boyfriend. Abuse lasted from 1 year (9%); 7 years (9%); to reporting the abuse continued for "years" or 23 years (36%). For almost half (45.5%), the abuse occurred daily; 27% experienced abuse weekly; and 9% did not remember how often the abuse occurred. Forty-five percent of the women reported their abuse to relatives, 36% reported the abuse to the police, 18% left the relationship, and 27% took no action.

A number of studies have found no association between domestic violence and ethnicity or social class of women (Grimstad et al. 1999; Ezechi et al. 2004). Our study supports this finding. Women of all ages, ethnicities, educational attainment, and income levels experienced, witnessed, or knew of domestic violence in their family, friends, or cultural subgroups. However, what we did discover is that ethnicity and age play important roles in participants' perception, understanding, and interpretation of domestic violence. What follows are their stories and views.

Abuse Witnessed and Experienced

You'd be surprised the women in the church that are getting beat before they come to church. You'd be surprised. It may appear they're okay, but

they're getting beat!
Middle-aged African American

In this first section, a sample of the abuse they reported is given. A middle-aged White woman talked about intimate partner abuse by a former boyfriend: "He came in and raped me. He was so jealous…he was still trying to have control over me by the fact that he broke into the house once…. He was jealous because my [current] husband was there and I had to get a restraining order" [words in brackets added by authors].

A middle-aged Latina recounted multiple forms of abuse she witnessed and experienced in her family of origin: "My dad was abusive to my mom…. He would hit her, verbally abuse her, physically abuse her, and in turn the sexual part he took out on me. It started when I was four…until I got out of the house [at] 18." She also shared a story of intimate partner abuse in her marriage: "A husband drinks and when he's drunk, at least mine, he became a different person…. When he was drinking I tried not to be around him. I pretended to be asleep. He would kick me and accuse me of being with other men. It was really horrible."

Researchers report that over half of Latinas suffer from violent victimization (Murdaugh et al. 2004). This supports her observation: "A lot of Hispanics I've known are abusive. I live in a community with a bunch of Hispanics, the wives are getting beat and the kids are sexually assaulted. It's known in the Hispanic community."

A young second-generation African immigrant talked about being sexually abused as a four-year-old. She said, "I was abused twice. Once when I was a little girl…my mom's [relative] realized what was happening. [The relative] was very upset and angry, so they took me away from the situation."

A middle-aged African immigrant talked about emotional abuse that happens in her culture through the withholding of money:

Not providing. Using money as a tool to get that you want. "I won't give you money for food, if you don't do what I say." …To get the woman to understand I might not slap you or beat you, but… [to withhold] money in a country, a culture where

70–80% of your income is for food…it strikes at the ability for you to feed your children and clothe them properly. It's survival.

As reported in numerous other studies (Adeyemi et al. 2008), violence against women cuts across countries of origin, cultural backgrounds, educational levels, ages, and income levels. The following sections discuss the generative themes found in this group of multiethnic women.

Perceptions of Abuse

How do women perceive the violence done to them by men? These diverse women spoke of seeing their abuse through lenses of fear, shame, low self-esteem, and young motherhood. Their families often did not perceive the abuse at all—their primary lens was *denial*.

Theme One: Fear and Shame

It's such a hush–hush thing. People are afraid to step out and say anything.
Middle-aged White

Victims primarily perceive their abuse through the lens of fear and shame. Eight women, representing all the cultural groups and ages in our study, discussed this theme. A senior African American said: "Fear. Afraid to speak up. Not wanting to get in trouble, don't want to upset the other person. But I think the quieter you are the more you're attacked. Shame, not wanting to let anyone know you're in a situation like that. So you just take it. …Secrets!" A Latina said, "I grew up seeing fear of man per se…. My mom was quiet, and that's what made her vulnerable." A middle-aged White woman added, "Shame is another reason, because there is so much shame in it. That's why people don't talk about it." An African immigrant said,

People keep it [in] until it gets really bad. People wait until it is unbearable…. Just like anywhere in the world, people suffer abuse for years. They

never say anything about it. They suffer through the pain quietly. They just don't trust anybody or don't want to make him or her more mad. They just want to protect their privacy.

A young second-generation immigrant from Africa agreed, "Typically you keep your mouth shut and maintain the peace, keep everything as smooth as possible, not agitate the situation." An African immigrant added: "They don't like to talk about their privacy. They think the other person will laugh, and they feel embarrassed…. They think if they talk to you and the man heard about it, the man can come and beat you up."

A Latina also mentioned the fear she had for physical safety: "I thought I would never be out of this relationship, I had my tubes tied. I was [still young]. I didn't want to have another child with this man. I felt there was no way out. He always said if I left him he'd kill me!"

While shame and fear kept them silent, women in all cultural subgroups reported that silence rooted in fear, and shame made them more vulnerable to abuse.

Theme Two: Low Self-Esteem and Young Motherhood

It's the guy who treats you like garbage, because you feel like that, that you are more likely to go with. Most people, that's how they live their lives.
Young White

Women from all ethnic backgrounds discussed the vulnerability of low self-esteem and early motherhood. An older African American said, "It's more or less their self-image, who they are, their low self-image. And men have a tendency to play on that." A young African added, "I think there's the low self-worth and then looking for that affection, obviously from other people. Guys pick up on that very easily." Abusive men pick up on a young woman's emotional vulnerability.

A young White agreed, "I think age can play a factor in it. A young woman who doesn't have a whole lot of self-confidence, or feels vulnerable, experiences that." A middle-aged White added, "Naïve is another reason people get into abusive

relationships…. All I know is he made me feel good inside at first. I was so naïve."

According to Anderson et al. (2010), "intimate partner violence is the greatest trauma-related risk to American women" (p. 353), and the risk of abuse may increase during pregnancy and early motherhood. An older African American mentioned the vulnerability of early motherhood: "I got pregnant at an early age, not understanding motherhood. Seeking for love in the wrong places. Wanting that love. Not knowing what's behind that love." A middle-aged White also experienced this vulnerability when she found herself pregnant at age 18, "I said, since he's the father of my baby I'm going to move out with him."

A young, single African American added that some young women pursue male relationships when their lives are particularly unstable and then can be trapped in abusive relationships when they have small children.

> The fear of instability…. For instance my mom got with my dad [after] her mother passed away. So I guess she felt she had nobody to turn to so she got with my dad at a young age. She had kids, and of course she didn't work. He worked. And he was the one that was bringing in the money. And when things started to happen, it's like, maybe you feel like to you want to get out, but then you have no option because now you have kids and you have nowhere to go…so you have to stick it out so you can take care of your kids.

A senior African American agreed, "I think women with children are afraid to leave, cause who's going to take them in? So they stay."

An African immigrant observed that some men in her country of origin treat their wives badly after they have produced children. She said,

> What I have seen in [West Africa] is when women have babies, the men don't seem to have the love they had for them before. They use their money for other stuff and don't take care of the woman…. The man calls the woman many names not appropriate. Not all men, but some men. After the women have children, after you have a baby, your body changes. Maybe you have gained [weight]

and your vagina is not closed. They want closed vagina. I think that's silly. The women are treated badly after they have children.

Most of the cultural groups in this multiethnic study identified low self-esteem, and all the ethnicities agreed that early motherhood leaves women vulnerable to domestic abuse.

Theme Three: Taboo, Silence, and Denial

> It's taboo. What goes on in the home stays in the home. It doesn't go out.
> Young African American

In many cultures and families it is taboo to speak about sexual violence. When domestic violence occurs, the family and community respond typically with denial and silence, minimizing the harm of the abuse to the victim. A second-generation young adult African immigrant shared about her culture's view on this topic: "I was abused twice, once when I was a little girl…. As I grew up and I wanted to verbalize [at] 7 or 8 years old, no one listened to me. 'You thought that was molestation?' I sincerely thought my family didn't know [about it] because I couldn't articulate it." She continued,

> They wanted to convince me it didn't happen and move me forward, create in me a strong Christian girl. …They won't want to talk about it…. It's very embarrassing, horrifying. [Africans] would rather try to convince the child it didn't happen. It's painful to think they didn't protect their child…. My mom to this day, she won't admit it. She'll get real quiet and give me a hug, and won't say a word. She'll buy me something really nice—trying to fix things without dealing with emotional things.

Another African immigrant agreed, "They don't like to talk about it. They say, 'Don't talk about it to anybody.'" A young adult African American pointed out, "Even as a kid, you learn at a young age, without people even telling you, that you're not supposed to say anything…. You just know not to say anything."

A middle-aged White agreed with the theme of family denial: "Nobody really believes. It's hard to believe for some people. Because they see one image of the person. They don't see that other image. A lot of people think abusers look a certain way. You can't tell [by looking] if he's an abuser or not." A Latina added, "When he wasn't drinking he didn't look like that. He was charming." Her colleague rejoined, "That's how they get you. They're charming, then they work that other side. They're covered by the charm. You don't see it."

A middle-aged Latina shared the story of her family's denial of her father's sexual abuse of her when she was a little girl. Surprisingly, her older sister believed a younger sister's report of abuse and took her out of the home, but she never believed our informant. That denial and lie still permeate their relationship. "If I am around her I pretend, and I don't like that. We have never talked about that. I am so afraid to talk with her because she may still not believe me." In a wistful cry for understanding, she voices the poignant question that all childhood sexual abuse survivors cry, "Why wouldn't she believe me?!"

Contributing Factors to Abuse

As the women discussed factors that contribute to domestic violence, three themes emerged: family background, socialization, and culture. Family background is considered first.

Theme Four: Family Background

> We were brought up like that. You stayed with that man no matter what.
> Older African American

The women in the focus groups discussed ways their family background contributed to vulnerability to violence. A middle-aged White said, "It could be your family, if your mom or dad was abused then you're used to seeing that type of relationship…. That is what you look for." She added, "They are so used to living in that envi-

ronment, they think that is how you love. They don't know how else to express their love. One of my [young relatives] was in an abusive relationship. She does abuse to herself. She feels that's the only way she can feel love."

An older African American woman identified codependency as a factor contributing to domestic violence. She said,

> It's how you grow up, and then there's that co-dependency…. Not wanting to leave that abuser. That woman may not know how to do certain things because the man breaks down her sense of confidence. He gets her to a place where she can't think for herself, not even knowing how to balance a check book, because he wants her to depend on him. That's what the abuser does. Then she's vulnerable. She's needing that person because even though she's getting beaten constantly, she begins to get adjusted to that, and that's her lifestyle. There's that comfortability that your family did it.

The African American senior mentioned that people treat others the way they saw people treated in their own homes:

> Up-bringing has a lot to do with it. If there is arguing and fighting and profanity used in the home. How are you going to slap your kid when they start talking the same way you do? Or treating a female or a guy how you see your parents are treated in the home…it just carries on, be it in school with your own girlfriend or boyfriend, not respecting one another.

A middle-aged Latina added to this discussion thread of family modeling. Abuse witnessed at an early age teaches children the pattern of abusive relationships:

> It has a lot to do with how you grow up. I grew up in an abusive home where my father abused us emotionally, physically. And my mom took that. She never defended us…. I picked up that's the way you're supposed to be. My grandmother was also abused by her husband and she catered to him to keep the peace. These are the things we grew up learning as girls.

Watching your mother and grandmother being abused and not speaking up socializes daughters and granddaughters into silence, making them more vulnerable to domestic violence as adults. Telling her story of intimate partner abuse she continued: "So then we all ended up with men like that. We catered to them personally and they took advantage of that. And when they abused, either the emotional or the physical, you took it because grandma took it, or mom stayed quiet. So that was my perspective."

A middle-aged African immigrant agreed that family upbringing contributes to domestic abuse. She said,

> It depends how you were raised. Some of the men work and give all of [the] money to [their] parents. And your wife is sitting at home with a child and no money. They take their money [to their mom] because the mom raised you, that– "When you get money you bring some to me." Moms come and interfere. The man loves the mom, even if the wife is suffering, the man doesn't pay attention to that.

Theme Five: Male Socialization

> He's the leader of the ship. He's the leader of the house.
> I've been noticing it's not just us [Latinos].
> Middle-aged Latina

All cultural groups in this multiethnic study agreed that family background and culture play pivotal roles in socializing men and women for violence. There were over two dozen comments around these themes, and 75 % of the informants contributed to the development of the following subthemes: submission, viewed as property, *macho man*, and male infidelity.

Submission

Male socialization defines maleness and proscribes behaviors appropriate for men in each culture. Socialization of males includes identity formation, or what it means to be a man. A middle-aged African immigrant discussed male socialization in West Africa:

> It varies from family to family and from ethnic group, but mostly being able to provide for your family is a huge one; being listened to or minded by your wife and children. If you're not being minded, it's like "Well who's wearing the pants in this relationship?"

In Africa, male socialization generally includes submission of women to their fathers and husbands. A young second-generation immigrant reported: "In our culture… [in Africa], women are very submissive to the male figure in the house, whether it's the father, an uncle, or a brother…. If there's abuse, nobody says anything. You basically act like it doesn't happen. That's how it goes."

An African wife who is not submissive to her husband may be beaten. A middle-aged immigrant gave an example: "In our culture sometimes if a husband feels that the wife is not being respectful enough or being respectful of his parents, they feel like they have to put her in her place."

A young second-generation African agreed: "Certain abusers probably feel entitled to do what they do. Like, they feel they have the right to." She went on to describe their expectations, using an example from Africa:

> If your husband comes home and one thing is out of place…. I know my grandfather, he enjoyed his youth. He drank, he smoked. He did as he wanted to and he had my grandmother with [many] children at home. If he came home and something was not how he expected it to be, I heard there was abuse.

A Latina described her former husband's sense of entitlement: "My husband used to turn the house upside down looking for [my] money. I used to hide my rent money at a friend's. I'd get beat for it. They want that money for drinking and drugs." A middle-aged African immigrant also talked about the entitlement of males in rural Africa:

> I remember that when the man and woman are going to the farm together to get the food, the woman carries [all] the food [crops] on her head

and the baby [on] the back. She's suffering. The man is [only] carrying a machete and he won't even care. That's their role to be a man. And I think that's very silly.

Viewed as Property

While some regard submission of women as equivalent to viewing women as property, the authors contend that women submitting to their husbands is a far cry from viewing women as property without basic human rights. A middle-aged African immigrant reported that in parts of Africa "The woman is treated like a slave.... They know you have no rights to talk back to them as a woman. Even if you don't like their decision, you have to agree with it because he's a man." But while this view was more apparent in comments made by the African informants, all cultural groups discussed this attitude of abusive husbands and boyfriends—viewing women as their own personal property. An older African American said,

> They own you. Even so far as you look at somebody. Don't even look at them. You talking with someone, just a regular conversation, you can be at church. That's a no-no. If you talking with someone you get home and you get beat.

A Latina agreed, "I couldn't talk to no neighbors, even my brother in law!" A younger second-generation African told a very interesting story of males viewing women as property:

> Even if you take the sexual part out of it—When I was younger, my younger brother, he's very protective of me.... It goes to the mentality of a man, and the property thing, in my opinion. He was saying, "No, you're my property!" We all just kind of froze. And I said, "What did you just say?!" He's [five] years younger than me. He didn't mean it in a negative way.... It was his way of saying he cares. It was weird and awkward. I think even our culture…it's something they grow up seeing. They all probably take it and spin it their own way with their own experiences. It's a masculinity thing.

Viewing women as men's property is part of male socialization in many cultures. In this multiethnic church study, participants from each of the cultural subgroups identified it as a contributing factor to domestic violence.

Macho Man

While *machismo* has multiple meanings, some positive and some negative (Katz 2006), our Latina participants used the term *macho man* when referring to emotional abuse that may lead to physical violence. A middle-aged Latina described her view:

> I'm noticing that almost everyone in Latin America has that emotional abuse, that man is a *macho man*. He's the leader of the ship. He's the leader of the house. I've been noticing, that's not just us.

She went on to tell the story of a paternal grandfather who exemplified to her what it meant to be a *macho man:*

> He had a lot of anger, a lot of resentment and a lot of pride, like he was a *macho man* of the little area in [home country]. And when my father tried to go and shoe shine to get money because they were so poor, they had [many] kids. That pride [of my grandfather's] was so big, he'd say "How did you get bread and stuff here?" Well he shoe-shined to do it. And [my father] would get beaten for that. So it was a pride thing too for their community.

Another Latina agreed, "Macho plays into violence against women. That macho stuff plays a lot of part in it." But Latinas were not the only ones who identified this factor of emotional abuse that some men display that may lead to physical violence against women. An older African American made this comment:

> It makes him feel that he's a man. In some cases that is how they feel. "I'm the man. I'm the one. You don't do this." Even to the point where if he comes home, you talk about the house is not clean, and if she refrains from sex, then forget it because he is going to beat the H-out of her. He's going to beat her.

A young, second-generation African described a predator mentality in some men that leads to domestic violence:

> They're very in tune with…it's almost like a predator-type mentality. They kind of scope things out, they kind of observe. Cause you don't see them approaching people that won't take it. They approach the person they feel will…. I think that there's a predator mentality searching out more and preying on the vulnerabilities of the women.

A Latina gave the example of her jealous husband: "The husband drinks and when he gets drunk, at least mine, he became a different person. Along with jealousy too. If the husband or spouse is jealous, extreme jealous…." The middle-aged White summarized this discussion: "They don't have control or feel secure in themselves. They have very low self-esteem, so they abuse someone weaker than them to make them feel better."

Male Infidelity

Another aspect of male socialization in some cultures is infidelity. A young African American made this comment when referring to male infidelity: "I have lots of half-siblings!"

Without interviewing males we cannot know why male infidelity is so culturally pervasive. In one interesting study undertaken with rural Nigerian youth, there was the male view that abstinence endangered their sexual health and well-being (Izugbara 2008).

However, when the Latinas discussed this theme, one of them said, "The men are very much into cheating on their spouse. I think they want to justify it. They feel guilty." Another Latina agreed, "I didn't even mention that because it's so common! And that's the biggest thing—the unfaithfulness, the not respecting!" She went on to discuss male infidelity she experienced in her extended family:

> Because he's a man it's okay for him to have another woman on the side. I grew up with that with my uncle, my brother. It was like the norm. So then when I went into marriage, he did that to me and I learned, "Okay, that's what they do. They like to have their little side fling. You need to forgive them." And I did that forgiving until it was no more. But that was big. The infidelity was a big thing. My uncle had probably two to three women on the side and that was okay. And my grandmother knew it. Everyone knew it! …My dad too. He had his woman on the side. When my mom was pregnant he had another woman pregnant. That's a very common thing, and that's not just [my] culture. That's any kind of Latin American culture.

While male infidelity is not unique to Latin America; Whites may be more apt to get a divorce when faced with marital unfaithfulness. A young White told the story of her grandfather's affair, "When my dad's father started cheating on his wife, he ended up leaving her for his secretary and they got a divorce. There wasn't that acceptance." Poor women, especially poor ethnic women with young children, however, may not have the financial security to choose the option of divorce when confronted with male infidelity in their relationships.

Theme Six: Female Socialization

> It has to do with the fact that the man is the leader…
> and the woman serves.
> Middle-aged Latina American

Both males and females are socialized in ways that contribute to domestic violence. While the women in our study spent a lot of time discussing male socialization, they also mentioned ways that women are socialized that contributes to domestic violence. Female socialization includes: submitting to and serving their husbands and families. A Latina explained: "By vulnerable, I mean you're good and you're kind and then people take advantage of your kindness. Maybe that's part of your culture to be like that. But they take advantage of that." Describing the different ways women serve, she added: "Always cooking. The woman has to come home even though she works and make sure the meal is made for that day. And cleaning up, the woman does that, not the man.

The children are playing, they don't even help out that much. It's just the woman."

A second-generation African young adult described service as a demonstration of affection. She said,

> In [African] culture love is not communicated by saying "I love you" every day. My family didn't say "I love you" until I was 17 or 20…. Love is more communicated by actions and service. So if you love your mom you don't have to say "I love you." You can just do what she asked you to do—do your chores well. Love is more serving and your actions…. I find it really frustrating when I see American children say "I love you" ten times a day and they never clean their room…. In [African] culture love is really about how you serve someone else.

Submission

Women are also taught in many cultural subgroups to submit to their husbands. A senior African American said, "The Lord has made the man as the umbrella of the family." Like other fundamentalist Protestants, she believes that the male is the head of the family (Foss and Warnke 2003; Heggen 1996). She said that a woman should submit to her husband while holding on to mutual respect and decision making: "I really do believe that a man should be the head of the house, although decisions that are made should be made together. I believe that the Lord has made the man as the umbrella of the family. You don't have to agree, but you can disagree agreeably. Respect one another's opinion."

A second-generation young adult African immigrant also talked positively about submission. "I think [African] women do value submission, in that they trust their husband's love for them." She said,

> Women do submit to their husbands as a sign of love and respect and that is very, very important for [African] women to communicate that to their husband. They're huge on that. It's a good thing. You don't get mad at your husband and talk to him in a disrespectful way…. You can be upset and completely voice that you're upset and explain why, but the belittling comments are unacceptable.

She followed this with a personal story:

> On my wedding day, everyone got up and said something at my reception. I was blushing a million times over, cause every man in my family got up one by one, and what they had to say was, "You know how you are…you're a very independent lady. You have your own mind. But you [had] better respect that man. Do as he tells you to do, because he loves you. And I better not hear that you're not listening to him!"

Referring to the embarrassing comments at her wedding, she explained,

> It's just the culture. At every wedding the family lets the bride know, "It's important if you want to keep your marriage you need to respect your husband. That's the most important role that you have is to make sure he feels respected by you every day."

Differing Views of Divorce

While women are socialized to serve and submit to their husbands in many cultures, there are vast cultural differences when it comes to the acceptability of divorce. A young White woman told a story from her mother that suggests erroneous Christian teachings may encourage some women to stay in abusive marriages. She said,

> If you're raised with the perspective that divorce is something you really don't want to have, especially like in a Christian home, like my mom, she always told us growing up, divorce was never an option. She would joke, "Divorce is not an option. Murder maybe, but not divorce." That was the joke always…. So some women are willing to stick it out and deal with verbal or physical abuse…. That's what they see as right.

Following up on the thread of divorce, a middle-aged African immigrant talked about a common African view:

> People put up with the abuse under the guise of—"Well, its forgiven, let go. I don't want my marriage broken. I want to be faithful to the Lord in my marriage" …Divorce is not as accepted in our cul-

ture as it is over here. People will ask [you], "After three children what are you looking for?" "What are you looking for? Who is gonna marry you again?!" Put up with it, kind of. You're expected to, kind of whatever is causing him to lose his temper, to avoid doing that, to avoid causing the trouble. It's like, bear it [the abuse]. But I do know that things are changing…

Continuing, she said that even after a couple divorces the woman will stay single in some communities:

People expect you to remain single and take care of your children and not bring another man into these children to destroy their lives. You're still considered his wife even if it's been 10–15—many years—you've been separated! I know people like that who have been separate from their spouse for 25 years, but when there's a huge family thing on his side, you're still the wife. You're still the first wife. "He may have gone other ways, but you haven't gone any other way."

Theme Seven: Cultural Aspects

How can you forget your family? How can you forget where you're from in our culture?
Middle-aged African immigrant

Culture plays a large role in socializing both men and women. A middle-aged African immigrant reported, "In societies where historically there is a lot of spousal abuse, and it is okay for the man to [abuse], the way to be the man of the house is *to be listened to,* and if he feels like he's not having that, abuse can happen, physical abuse can happen." On the other hand, a young adult second-generation African shared an interesting observation regarding American culture:

If the woman is taught through her culture or her family that her viewpoints or opinions or feelings are not meant to be heard or they should be managed, like self-managed, she's less likely to sit down and tell people what's going on. In America

you're taught to be independent. People are taught to manage their own problems by themselves. Because that's our culture in America to first fix the problem yourself.

Cultural upbringing impacts both male and female socialization and how domestic violence is perceived and experienced. Some causes of abuse are universal, but some are distinctly cultural. One respondent talked about a factor in African immigrant marriages that causes great marital stress and disharmony. Financial stress and isolation from extended family is a challenge to many African immigrant marriages in the USA. She explained:

Other things that cause abuse in our population are stress about money, about finances. And especially for us who live here away from our supports and culture where we'd have family step in and talk over issues…. The stress about maintaining a family here and stress about supporting a family at home, more often than not.

An example she gave involved trying to decide whose mother will be brought to the USA to care for the new baby:

Who do we invite over to help us take care of our baby? "Your mom or my mom?" Traditionally the husband's mom would be the person to come. But often times the young woman doesn't get along with the mother-in-law. They don't want to be perceived as disrespectful of their mother-in-law, because that becomes a big deal. I'd rather have my mom come, because even if I'm not nice to her some days, She's your mother. She's not going to tell the whole village what you say!

An additional stress on immigrant marriages relates directly to their immigration status. A middle-aged African immigrant reported,

There have been horrible scenarios about people coming together, one is legal and one is not legal. To get legal they do certain things that compromise the whole…maybe they get divorced to go and marry an American…sometimes it's a mess!

Sometimes there's fear that if you call the cops then immigration status will get you deported from the country…. I think [this] is one of the states where if there's domestic abuse the wife is still protected, so they don't have to fear deportation. But then there's pressure from the community if the husband or abuser gets deported. It's like, "You caused it!" You caused the father of the children to be deported or to be in the criminal justice system!

Whether cultural factors emphasize independence or community, cultural, financial and immigration stress can all lead to occasions for domestic violence.

Healing and Restoration

The last part of the chapter reflects on the resources of our Christian faith in healing and restoration after abuse. The women of this multiethnic church sample had a lot to say about the role of their faith in healing. Nine women and all of the cultural subgroups brought up these important concepts. The themes generated were: the ambiguities and resources of faith, and church as refuge.

Theme Eight: Ambiguities of Faith

The church is "hush-hush." "You don't do this." "You don't talk about this."
Middle-aged African American

Several of the women expressed confusion and ambiguity when asked about the role of their faith in healing from domestic violence. A young African American remarked, "It's not really addressed…. I don't know, this is really the first time I have actually ever addressed [domestic violence] in this kind of context." She had never heard of domestic violence being addressed in church. A Latina also admitted to being confused, especially as a young Christian:

That was very confusing. Because when I became a Christian all I saw was that you needed to be sub-

missive and everything was that you needed to stay together. And I couldn't find that question. And I tried. I prayed about that and I couldn't [find an answer].

When she finally learned that God does not condone adultery, she was surprised. She said:

I wanted to be faithful to whatever God's will was. We're talking about my first marriage. But [when I learned about] the adultery part, I said, "Wait! God doesn't condone that? I don't need to be in this?" …And when I had people counsel me, that were Christians, who said, "No, the Word says…" and showed it to me. I really had to say, "Wow, really? I don't have to accept that?!" "Okay, so now you're going to have to help me to release that, because I'm used to not."

The truth in Scripture that God does not condone adultery liberated her from a marriage broken by infidelity and abuse.

However, another Latina did not find help from the church, when as a child she reported her father's sexual abuse. She recounts this sad story of neglect:

The Catholics are more quiet [about sexual abuse]. You're just supposed to go into a room and confess. I didn't know what to confess. I was just told to do three "Hail Marys" and three "Our Fathers." But [the abuse] still went on and no one followed up. I guess that was just the way it was supposed to be. I was maybe 13 or 14 [years old].

Because of the priest's decision not to report her sexual abuse to the police, she endured another 5 years of sexual abuse before she escaped from that home.

A middle-aged African immigrant shared the view that American pastors have not been able to provide appropriate marital interventions for African couples in crisis. She said,

From my cultural perspective, I don't think that the American church has been able to do that for immigrant families. Very rarely would an African immigrant family go to their American pastor.

They might go to an [indigenous] pastor [or] they might come to people like [my husband] and I.

Explaining further she said, "There's a huge fear of being misunderstood, and there are huge cultural differences," which make talking to an American pastor or professional counselor extremely difficult. She continued,

To be honest with you, at this point in the number of years the African community has lived here in the United States, I don't know that people are at the point where they're comfortable enough to go to counseling with their American pastor. People I'm seeing around and hearing from, I don't know that they have gotten to that comfort zone yet.

Perhaps the ultimate ambiguity of faith is when Christians pretend to be perfect. A young, second-generation African addressed this distortion: "We think as a Christian we don't feel like we're able to say anything [about our problems]. [There's a] component of fear and shame attached to it. We're more worried of perception than getting the help." Another young second-generation immigrant agreed, pointing out that some people who struggle with the pain of abuse might say, "I don't have time for the fairy land of church." Honesty regarding our own struggles would help people in the church appear more genuine to others. She went on to say: "People would feel more comfortable and they would join church…if they knew that in church we have people who are going through things now. We have a whole lot of people in our pews right now who have been raped. The person we say 'Hi' to, is probably a victim of something."

But a Latina worried about the denial she has seen in church. She fears that talking about abuse might bring discord: "I've been in the church for 27 years. I notice there's a lot of self-denial. They don't like talking about that. That word [abuse] brings division in the church. If there's a spouse or father [that abused], that brings contention. Are we ready for that?" It's an insightful question. Are we ready to unmask the fear that holds the church back from providing the resources and

relationships women need to heal from domestic violence?

Theme Nine: Resources of Faith

Our faith definitely tells us that we are to be protected—God desires to protect us.
Second-generation African immigrant

There are many resources of faith that women in our study experienced in their healing and restoration. Each woman mentioned a different spiritual resource that she especially valued during her healing. A young second-generation African immigrant spoke about God's love and protection. She said,

Our faith definitely tells us that we are to be protected. God desires to protect us. God does not blame the person who was abused in that way [rape]. I remember reading that scripture [Deuteronomy 22:25–27] and being really in awe of just how much God loves us through it.

A Latina talked about the spiritual resource of forgiveness:

Now my faith has shown me to forgive. A long time after my mom passed away I couldn't talk with my dad. I cringed just thinking of talking with him. He didn't understand why. It took a long time. When I found the Lord…. He told me I had to forgive my dad. So I did and it actually made it a lot easier to talk with him. Now I can say, "I love you Dad." But back then, [no]. My faith is what helped me through…. It is God that let me forgive him.

A White woman spoke of the courage she found in solidarity with other women in church: "It has helped give me courage, knowing that there is someone else out there to help me and protect me. That's helped me be around him. Knowing that there's other people at our church that's been abused…. Knowing that there are others out there. You're not alone."

A Latina emphasized the importance of prayer in her own healing:

What helps me is a lot of prayer. Spiritual. I'm not afraid to go to you and tell you, "This is what I'm going through." The power of prayer has manifested throughout my life. I'm not going to be around my spiritual friends all of the time. Temptation is always there. But as long as I come back into the body, and stay close to my congregation, and prayer. Closely knit to friends that pray with you.

An African immigrant reported that in her community older couples are important spiritual resources, functioning as mediators and lay counselors. She said: "In our fellowship in [a previous city], because [my husband] and I were the oldest couple, we were often the ones doing the counseling, praying with people, just walking with people through these issues."

An important faith resource to a Latina was her pastor, who prayed for her during a time of intrusive posttraumatic stress symptoms:

He prayed for guidance from the Lord and strength to forgive, because he thought I wouldn't let go of the pain and nightmares with my dad in the picture and my husband in the picture. It would make me wake up crying and cringing with disgust and shame. He prayed for the Lord to give me guidance and strength. That was when I started to forgive.

A White survivor shared that she found meaning through service to others. "Since I came here [to church] I feel like it happened for a reason. Maybe this is the reason why. I tried to start a group. I feel that I was supposed to help others."

A final resource mentioned by the women was mandated reporting, the healing that can happen when mandated reporters fulfill their obligation to stop abuse they have become aware of. A young White woman told the story of a successful intervention by her youth pastor:

The only way that it stopped is…my sister was her friend. She convinced her to talk to [the youth pastor] and tell her what was going on, and [the] youth pastor had to report it, and so he went to jail because [the youth pastor] reported it to the police.

These faith resources shine brightly in the lives of the women we studied. They are valuable tools we can use, knowing their efficacy in helping women of faith heal from the pain of domestic violence.

While brainstorming what we as a multiethnic church could do to support families suffering from domestic violence, the women contributed more important insights. The theme that generated a lot of discussion was church as refuge, safe haven, or hospital.

Theme Ten: Church as Refuge

The church is a place of safety and refuge
Latina American

This key theme that the women discussed looks at a new kind of church community—church as refuge, safe haven, or hospital. An older African American woman stated it most directly, "The church needs to come up now and really deal with these issues…. The church is a hospital for people to really be healed. So we have to have that together."

While discussing practical steps of how to help women in crisis, the participants brought up the following subthemes: resources needed, building awareness, encouraging supportive relationships, and multicultural counseling.

Resources Needed

Women suffering domestic abuse need safety, a secure place to stay. A Latina emphasized this: "Giving them a secure place they can go to. Not feeling you have no place to go. Giving resources of where to go and don't have to be afraid." The senior African American agreed, stating that: "If you have someone who could take them in, at that crucial time, getting them out of that situation and be in a safe place." She also mentioned: "If they need financial support you try to help them go through the system to get the financial support they need." An African immigrant also talked about the importance of physical help. "If they still don't have a place to stay or eat, maybe the church can support, provide the money, or

food, a place to sleep. That's what a church can do—[provide] shelter, food." A White survivor suggested that the church have a list of shelters and families who would be ready to take in a guest and keep it private. She pointed out: "Shelters get filled up and there's no place to go. Family members and friends are not willing because the boyfriend knows where they live. They don't want to put themselves in danger. Depending upon how abusive that person is."

Building Awareness

To kick off a ministry in church, several women suggested that the pastor preach a sermon on domestic abuse. This would be a first step in building awareness of the issue. The White survivor said: "Having a sermon to open it up might help it be not so hush-hush." She added, "I realized after I started counseling that I was in an abusive relationship…. The person doing the abuse may not know they are abusing. They can [be] encouraged to go seek help."

An African immigrant agreed with the need to build awareness. She reported that discussing legal issues would be helpful to her community, stating that some immigrants run into trouble with the law when using corporal punishment on their children. She gave this example:

> Like whipping—whipping children is allowed in our culture. People still want to discipline their children that way. Sometimes it goes to the extent where the American criminal justice system considers it physical abuse. The kids here know that and they call the cops on their parents and that becomes a huge, big deal…. I think the pastor talking about it [would help].

Encourage Supportive Relationships

Besides securing needed resources and building awareness from the pulpit, building supportive relationships within a multicultural church is key to developing a new kind of community described by our respondents—church as refuge or safe haven. A young, second-generation African immigrant emphasized the importance of relationships and friendships to the healing process:

> It's the friendship that causes vulnerability with people. People don't tell their business because

they go to [your] church. Being a Christian, or going to someone's church, or being of their denomination doesn't give a stamp of anything. It doesn't hold merit. What holds merit is if [we] already have a relationship prior to the hard times I just run into. This person has already shown me love beforehand so our relationship is authentic.

A young White woman agreed about the importance of authentic relationships, "Learning to be genuine about what is going on in our own lives. Like [in] small groups. If you're vulnerable, people are vulnerable to you." Another stressed the critical help a supportive friend can give when she said, "You had a friend stronger than you, who helped you through it. That is the only way a woman can get out of those relationships. But to stay out of them they have to get stronger in themselves."

Multicultural Views on Counseling

How does a woman grow stronger after experiencing domestic violence? Many of the women spoke of the importance of emotional healing, but as you will observe, in a group this diverse there is not one model of counseling to follow. A middle-aged White survivor spoke about receiving counseling at a local program. An African American senior talked about the informal support of a listening friend: "Give them a chance to talk, [but] don't probe and ask a whole lot of questions. Give them the chance to do the talking…. When you probe it's like you're being nosy…. Say, 'When you're ready, I'm here.'"

While the authors initially surmised that African victims of abuse would not come to professional counseling, a young adult immigrant assured us that African immigrant women in America *do* talk about their abuse. She stressed, "When you keep it inside too much and not talk about it you can do crazy stuff." But another second-generation African immigrant shared a negative view of therapy that her culture commonly holds:

> They didn't see emotional healing as necessary. …They won't want to talk about it… [Africans] would so rather try to convince the child it didn't

happen…. If she can grow up and be a happy little girl that is probably better than taking her to a therapist. They don't think that helps. [It] causes the child to act out more.

Another African immigrant confirmed that Africans *do* talk about abuse, but mainly to their family members, African pastors or older African couples. She said,

Going to counseling is not historically part of our culture. If you have something you go talk to your sister or your aunt, or you go talk to your husband's sister, with "Please talk to him." We're not interested in the two of you sitting down and [I] hear your side and hear her side…. Not all the time, but the man will feel as though you're listening to her above me. [He'll say], "So, was I lying? So, you don't believe what I said? So, am I lying about what she did to me? She's my wife for crying out loud!"

This historically negative view of counseling is more common with husbands who are considerably older than their wives. One participant reported: "In our culture you have older men with much younger wives. You're talking about 5–10 years difference. There's almost a generational gap there. Their lives are completely different" (see Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe 2005 for more information on marital age differences). To accommodate the patriarchal views central to this ethnic group (see Kalunta-Crumpton and Onyeozili 2011 for more information), one informant described how her husband handles mediation:

He'll talk to the [man], especially if it's an older gentleman. So, I'll hear her story, and he'll talk to him. If it's something where we perceive that he won't change if he feels like it's his wife demanding the change, then [my husband] will handle that one-on-one with him, so he doesn't feel like he has to submit to her. Then usually we'll come together and sit with both of them and we'll talk it over.

Cultural mediators help older, more traditional husbands feel respected and heard. Mediation creates a willingness to listen, because as she observes, "They won't come to you again if they [feel] disrespected."

African couples in crisis may prefer going to an older African couple rather than an American pastor or counselor. Age makes an important difference in African culture. According to one respondent, they often dismiss the American counselor or pastor saying, "They're so young. What do they know anyway?!" But age is not the only cultural roadblock to counseling. African immigrants often fear that American pastors and counselors will not understand their cultural background and issues. She said,

Often in my community, the conflict issues would be money, sending money home, helping the family. How much to send? Are you sending too much to your side of the family than to my side? … There is huge pressure to do things for your family. The whole family contributed money to buy tickets for you to get here. "How can you forget your family? How can you forget where you're from in our culture?" That's a huge, huge deal. That causes a lot of stress in marriages here, for people, for all of us really…. It comes with the perception of fairness.

One way the West African immigrant community has devised to gain the benefit of both cultural approaches to counseling is to combine them. She explains,

When people in our community are getting married they go for their usual regular pre-marital counseling from their American pastor and we also do another one for them, to take care of these cultural issues that will definitely come up. So they're getting a double.

Working together with mature immigrant couples gifted in mediation could help American pastors and professional counselors bridge complex cultural gaps when addressing the difficult issues of domestic violence with immigrant couples.

Conclusion

Research suggests that domestic violence plagues families across generations, socioeconomic levels, faith perspectives, and ethnicity. The themes that emerged from the narratives of the women of our multiethnic church sample were consistent with those findings. The data gathered from interviews and focus groups were informative and eye-opening. Their life stories revealed a frequency and severity of domestic abuse that far surpassed what we had anticipated.

Ten major themes surfaced from the data, reflecting ways this diverse community perceive and understand abuse. The participants identified fear, shame, low self-esteem, and early motherhood as underlying factors that contribute to cycles of abuse. They talked about the denial they experienced from their family and community that perpetuated domestic violence. When discussing factors that foster abuse, they highlighted family upbringing, modeling, socialization, and cultural norms.

When examining male socialization the following concepts were identified by the participants: the importance of submission, viewing women as property, the macho man, and male infidelity. When discussing female socialization they described how women are taught to serve and submit to their husbands, and they talked about varying views of divorce. They also brought out cultural issues that make women more vulnerable to abuse such as American independence, African financial stress, and complex immigration issues.

When asked about the resources of their Christian faith, they revealed the confusion they felt when the church was silent or nonconfrontational regarding domestic violence. But they also talked about the peace and empowerment they experienced when the resources of Scripture, forgiveness, and prayer were brought to bear on their personal situations.

When given the opportunity, they spontaneously brainstormed ways to address domestic violence in the church community. What emerged was a key theme: the possibility of creating within our church fellowship a new kind of community, church as refuge, or safe haven—a place to be cared for and to care for others who have experienced the pain of domestic violence. To move towards this vision of safe haven, the women identified several important needs: resources, building awareness in the church, and more genuine interpersonal relationships. They also articulated fears of being culturally misunderstood by American pastors and counselors, and their preference for mediation and culturally sensitive interventions that might differ from typical Western style therapy.

Confronting domestic abuse in a multiethnic church presents many challenges. Blending secular resources with spiritual teachings and practice is complex, especially when in this setting unforeseen, cultural factors come into play. Although many similarities surfaced in their experience of abuse, there were noticeable differences in their perceptions, understandings, and interpretations of that violence, which the women attributed to their differing cultural backgrounds and family upbringing. These cultural variances present some of the greatest challenges to American pastors and professional counselors when confronting and breaking the cycle of abuse in the faith community.

From our experience in working in this setting, we see the following challenges and complexities that face multiethnic churches that choose to confront domestic violence: differing definitions of abuse; differing cultural norms (e.g., individualism vs. community) and language barriers; cultural assimilation or concern of being ostracized by one's cultural community; traditional interventions vs. American psychological interventions; the possibility of deportation with accompanying shame, guilt, and loss of financial support; lack of sufficient relationship between pastor and immigrant community; and lack of pastoral awareness of domestic violence issues among diverse populations.

Although research is sparse concerning domestic abuse and multiethnic churches, it is our hope that our study has provided a glimpse through the window of domestic violence across generations and cultures. This work may encourage other studies raising the issue of ethnicity to

a higher level within domestic violence literature and practice. Additionally this work may encourage and challenge the faith community to engage in a more open dialogue, exposing destructive violence that erodes the fabric of our families and society, impacting the spiritual and emotional health of our church communities.

While "church as refuge" is not a reality yet, this study provided us with an invitation to invest in the lives of ethnic women in a deeper, more authentic and transparent way. Further dialogue on the topic is planned through multiethnic women's conferences that will address family issues, including the difficult topics of domestic and child violence. Our aim is to develop greater understanding and connection between diverse women within our church, with the goal of building a bridge for women in our neighborhood and city who are suffering the pain of domestic violence, to help them cross over and find the refuge and safe haven they seek.

References

Adeyemi, A., Irinoye, O., Oladimeji, B., Fatusi, A., Fatoye, F., … Ola, B. (2008). Preparedness for management and prevention of violence against women by Nigerian health professionals. *Journal of Family Violence*, *23*, 719–725. doi:10.1007/s10896-008-9197-0.

Anderson, B., Marshak, H., Hebbler, D. (2010). Identifying intimate partner violence at entry to prenatal care: Clustering routine clinical information. *Journal of Midwifery and Women's Health*, *47*(5), 353–359. doi:10.1016/S1526-9523(02)00273-8.

Ezechi, O., Kalu, B., Ezechi, L., Nwokoro, C., Ndububa, V., & Okeke, G. (2004). Prevalence and pattern of domestic violence against pregnant Nigerian women. *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, *24*(6), 652–656.

Foss, L., & Warnke, M. (2003). Fundamentalist Protestant Christian women: Recognizing cultural, gender influences on domestic violence. *Counseling and Values*, *48*(1), 14–23.

Grimstad, H., Backen, B., Jacobsen, G., & Schei, B. (1999). Interpersonal conflict and physical abuse in relation to pregnancy and infant birth weight. *Journal of Women's Health and Gender-based Medicine*, *8*, 847–853.

Heggen, C. (1996). Religious belief and abuse. In C.C. Kroeger & J.R. Beck (Eds.) *Women, abuse, and the Bible: How scripture can be used to hurt or to heal*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Izugbara, C. (2008). Masculinity scripts and abstinence-related beliefs of rural Nigerian male youth. *Journal of Sex Research*, *45*(3), 262–276.

Kalunta-Crummpton, A., & Onyeozili E., (2011). Nigerian women in deadly intimate partner violence in the United States. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, *37*(2), 239–264.

Katz, J. (2006). *The macho paradox: Why some men hurt women and how all men can help*. Naperville, Ill: Sourcebooks, Inc.

Krug, E., Mercy, J., Dahlberg, L., Zwi, A. (2002). Public health. The world report on violence and health. *Lancet*, *360*(9339), 1083–1088.

Murdaugh, C., Hunt, S., Sowell, R., & Santana, I. (2004). Domestic violence in Hispanics in the Southeastern United States: A survey and needs analysis. *Journal of Family Violence*, *19*(2), 107–115.

Oyediran, K., & Isiugo-Abanihe, U. (2005). Perceptions of Nigerian women on domestic violence: Evidence from 2003 Nigeria demographic and health survey. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, *9*(2), 38–53.

Rasche, C. (1988). Minority women and domestic violence: The unique dilemmas of battered women of color. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Science*, *4*(3), 150–171.

Riviera, J. (1994). Domestic violence against Latinas by Latino males: An analysis of race, national origin, and gender differentials. *Boston College Third World Law Journal, 14,* 231.

World Health Organization. (2013). WHO report highlights violence against women as a 'global health problem of epidemic proportions'. Media centre. http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2013/violence_against_women_20130620/en/. Accessed 5 Aug 2013.

Domestic Violence in Muslim Communities

20

Rafia M. Hamid

Domestic Violence in Muslim Communities

Domestic violence exists in all cultural and religious groups (Krantz and Garcia Moreno 2005), yet its prevalence and existence in the Muslim community has often been attributed by outsiders to the teachings of Islam. Particularly in the post-9/11 world, the religion of Islam has come to bear the brunt of negative stereotypes in general, and its treatment of women in particular. Islam promotes gender equality and rejects violence against women (Al-Hibri 2000; Hassan 1996). Yet, domestic violence is prevalent today in many countries with a sizable Muslim majority, and manifests itself in culturally specific ways (Ammar 2006; Haj-Yahia 1998). Within the USA, estimates of domestic violence amongst the Muslim population vary from 10% (Alkhateeb 1999) to about 30%, with 14% of the women reporting physical abuse in their current marriage and 17.5% in previous marriage (Ghayyur 2009). These estimates are at par with those of the general American population (NCADV, n.d.).

Stereotypes of Muslims

Stereotyping of social groups is ubiquitous and provides us with the schema or organized set of knowledge or beliefs about a particular group or category of people. Stereotypes are largely formed based on our knowledge and understanding of a group of people depending on how our culture characterizes them (Lippmann 1922). They may be accurate reflections of a particular group in question, or may largely exaggerate those characteristics in question. Further, stereotypes may be explicit in that we are aware of them, either privately or express them publicly (Dovidio et al. 2002). They may be implicit in that the individuals may largely be unaware of holding them, and may even run counter to their conscious beliefs. Recent historical events, particularly post-9/11, have heightened the interest of the general public, both internationally and within the USA, in Islam, its politics, and culture. Despite some attempts at informing the public at large that these abhorrent acts of terror were carried out by a small group of individuals who identify themselves as Muslims, public opinion continues to veer in the direction of negative attitudes toward Muslims (Sides and Gross 2013). Research has shown that Americans hold negative attitudes toward Islam and Muslim Americans (Davis 2007; Panagopoulos 2006) which emanate from American's general concerns about terrorism (Huddy et al. 2005) as well as their consideration of Muslims as racial and cultural out-groups (Kalkan et al. 2009). Historically,

R. M. Hamid (✉)
Domestic Harmony Foundation, Westbury, NY, USA
e-mail: rafiamh@aol.com

Muslims have often been depicted in the media and entertainment as hostile (Karim 2003; Shaheen 2009), and are often referred to or cast in the role of terrorists, extremists, or fundamentalists. Whether identified as Muslims or Muslim Americans, they are described by a large majority of Americans as violent and untrustworthy (Sides and Gross 2013). An often limited, biased, and inaccurate understanding of Islam found in sensational reporting by the media has also led to the perpetuation of many stereotypes about Islam and Muslims. The greatest area of misrepresentation concerns the status, rights, and roles of Muslim women (Haque-Khan 1997), with a general misunderstanding that the teachings of Islam prescribe and condone domestic violence. To address these stereotypes, it is important to have a basic knowledge of the teachings of Islam as well as women's rights in Islam within its historical context.

Basics of Islam

Islam is a religion of more than 1.6 billion people around the world, making up about 23.4 % of the total world population (Pew Research Center 2011). Worldwide, most Muslims live in countries in which Muslims comprise the majority of the population. Only 3 % of the world's Muslims live in developed countries such as the USA, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. Islam is the second largest religion in Europe with an estimated Muslim population of 44.1 million (Pew Research Center 2011). In the USA, estimates of the Muslim population vary between 2.6 million (Pew Research Center 2011) to 7 million (Bagby 2012). As a group, American Muslims are racially and culturally diverse, young, relatively well-educated, and financially as well off as the general American population (Pew Research Center 2011).

Islam is one of the three Abrahamic faiths, along with Judaism and Christianity, with a belief in God's revelations, his prophets, the ethical and moral responsibility of humankind, and accountability for one's actions. The word Islam means to surrender and submit to the will of *Allah* (God

in Arabic). Islam proclaims the oneness of Allah (*Tawhid*) as its first principle. This is followed by the assertion that Muhammad (peace be upon him [pbuh]) is the messenger of Allah, the one and only God who is All-compassionate and All-merciful. Allah has no physical form. Although the masculine pronoun is used as a convenience, Allah is neither male nor female. Muslims believe that Islam is not a new religion that started in seventh-century Arabia, rather the message of Islam is the continuation and culmination of God's revelations to guide humankind throughout the course of human history, beginning from Adam and Eve and culminating in Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Thus, Muslims are taught to believe in and respect all the prophets sent by God, such as Noah, Solomon, David, Moses, Abraham, and Jesus (peace be upon them) (Qur'an 4:163–4).

Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was born in 570 CE in Mecca, Arabia. From a young age, Muhammad (pbuh) was known for his truthfulness and honesty; his goodness of character and conduct earned him the title of *al-Amin* ("the trustworthy"). He was known to be wise and sought to resolve disputes among the Meccan clans. Muhammad (pbuh) was deeply disturbed by the moral degradation of the Arabian society, and in particular, how they treated the impoverished and disenfranchised members such as the elderly and women. Muhammad's (pbuh) own experiences with women in his lifetime, as well as his intense concerns over issues of social justice, shaped his views and treatment of women (Heath 2004). He was born to a widowed mother and fostered by a Bedouin woman. His first wife, Khadijah, was his closest companion, supporter, and confidante who comforted him during the most trying period of his life when he first received revelation and was subjected to torture and persecution in Mecca. Muhammad (pbuh) was a loving father of four daughters; he served his family (Al-Bukhari, Vol. 8, no. 6039 in Khan 1997), and participated in errands and chores such as milking sheep, and mending clothes and shoes.

Sharia literally means "road" or the path and is believed by the Muslims to represent divine guidance, and forms the basis of Islamic Law.

Unfortunately, a lot of misunderstanding exists in the mainstream media about Sharia, which is often viewed negatively, and there is a common misperception that Muslims want to impose "the Sharia Law" on the world. Sharia encompasses rules on religious rituals, civil and criminal matters, business transactions, as well as ethical and moral principles governing the day to day life of a Muslim. The primary source of Sharia is the Qur'an. The Qur'an, literally meaning "recitation," is believed to be the word of God, brought by Archangel Gabriel to the Prophet Mohammed. Although the translations of the Qur'an abound, Muslims believe only the Arabic text to be the Qur'an; there are discrepancies among translators as to some of the original words, transliteration, meaning, and interpretation. Additionally, Shariah is also derived from the teachings and life examples of the Prophet Muhammad, who interpreted the Qur'anic injunctions (*Hadith*) and also exemplified them in his life (*Sunnah*). The rules of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) are based on human reasoning and analysis, arrived at by the consensus of opinion of jurists (*ijma*). They are therefore subject to change based on social customs (*urf*) or public interest (*maslaha*).

The Qur'an acknowledges and celebrates diversity (Qur'an 49:13), which was also reiterated by Prophet Muhammad on many occasions. This allowed Islamic jurisprudence, derived from the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, to be dynamic and adapted to suit the times, needs, and cultural practices of the society. The major schools of Islamic jurisprudence also looked at the societal norms and practices and deemed them legitimate to include into the Islamic legal system, as long as they did not contradict the basic tenets of Islam (Kamali, 1991, as cited in Al-Hibri 2000). *Ijtihad* is a juristic technique that literally means "striving hard" but technically connotes a reasoning process which seeks to find answers to "new" situations when the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* are silent on a particular subject. *Ijtihad* is a means by which the Islamic legal doctrine can potentially continue to evolve while providing guidance to its adherents in new situations and times. However, the doors of *ijtihad* were permanently closed after the emergence of the four schools of juristic thought in the ninth century A.D. (Khalafallah 1984) which led to a denial of the legal tradition of plurality in Islam, essentially rendering the Sharia static and rigid.

According to the Qur'an, human beings are God's vicegerents (*Khalifah*) on earth and they are created with purpose. God has endowed humans with the capacity to reason and reflect so that people may realize their full human potential. People are naturally inclined (*fitrah*) to do good, though they can stoop to the lowest of the lows too (Qur'an 95:4–5); therefore, humanity is presented with an eternal challenge in an unceasing moral struggle. The Qur'an reiterates repeatedly that all human action, both individual and collective, in the form of harm or injustice perpetrated on another person(s), is ultimately and literally an injustice to oneself or *Zulm al-Nafs* (Qur'an 2: 231; 28:16; 3:117; 7:23, 7:160). Growth and self-transformation occurs when an individual is able to protect the self against the harmful consequences of one's actions, arising out of a sense of acute moral responsibility and conscience (Rahman 1980). This is denoted by the term *taqwa*, often translated as piety or God-consciousness. The spiritual fulfillment thus attained leads to a self (*Nafs al-Mutma'inna*: the contented/peaceful soul) that attains serenity and calm by realizing its full human potential.

The principles of equality and diversity are the basic elements in the value system of Islam. All men and women are equal in the sight of God. The only attribute that earns one distinction with God is piety and goodness of character. This is stated in the Qur'an as follows:

> O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that you may despise each other). Verily the most honored of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. (49:13).[1]

Thus, the whole of humanity is created by One Eternal God who traces its roots to a common parentage, Adam and Eve. God with his *Rahma* (compassion and mercy) is just and kind to every-

---

[1] All quotes of the translated Qur'an in this chapter come from Ali (1999).

one and each person is judged based on his own actions. Each person is enjoined to demonstrate the same qualities of compassion and kindness to other fellow beings (Qur'an 16: 90–91, 97).

The Qur'an was revealed in its entirety over 23 years; during all his years of receiving revelations, the Prophet (pbuh) promoted a just social order and defended the rights of the beleaguered, disenfranchised members of society. He was a strong proponent of eliminating distinctions based on class, gender, and wealth; and spread Islam's message of equality, virtue, and freedom. He spoke against racism and promoted the rights of women, the poor, and the orphans, and the manumission of slaves. The Prophet, in particular, stressed the importance of treating women honorably and with kindness. According to Jennifer Heath (2004), when seen in light of historical context, Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was a feminist who liberated Arab women, established their individuality, and laid out a systematic framework of their rights and obligations. These revolutionary changes cannot be fully appreciated without having knowledge of the conditions that existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, particularly in reference to women's rights.

The period before the arrival of Islam in Arabia, spread over centuries, is often referred to as the *Jahiliyah*, or the age of ignorance. Infanticide was practiced in pre-Islamic Arabia as it is known to be practiced in many other communities throughout the ages. In particular, girls were considered more of a cost or burden, therefore newborn girls were often the victims of this abhorrent practice. The Qur'an abolished this practice by questioning the burial of infant girls (Qur'an 81: 8–9) and condemned the unfavorable and inhospitable attitude of some parents upon the birth of a baby girl:

> When news is brought to one of them, of (the birth of) a female (child), his face darkens, and he is filled with inward grief! With shame he hides himself from his people, because of the bad news he has had! Shall he retain it on (sufferance and) contempt, or bury it in the dust? Ah! what an evil (choice) they decide on. (16: 58–59)

Women in the tribal society of pre-Islamic Arabia were deprived of their basic rights. Their consent was not sought for marriage, as it was primarily arranged between the fathers and husbands. The husband would pay a dowry to the father of the bride. She could not get a divorce if her father failed to return the dowry. Further, women could not inherit from their family or engage in trade and own property. Islam brought about revolutionary changes in the rights of women, restoring their status to that of a full human being; it brought the message of equality, freedom, and justice regardless of one's tribal affiliation, race, or creed.

Gradualism as the Philosophy of Change

Individuals often resist those messages that are perceived as direct attacks on their existing attitudes (Knowles and Linn 2004); this may either result in no noticeable change, or occasionally, create boomerang effects (Abelson and Miller 1967; Brehm 1966) leading to even less favorable attitudes toward the issue than originally held. This is even truer of those deep-seated attitudes and beliefs that may be described as "ego-involving" (Hovland and Pritzker 1957, p. 260). Individuals holding more extreme positions may become more resistant to change, producing an effect in which the greater the change advocated, the greater the resistance produced (Hovland and Pritzker 1957). Further, once a message is resisted successfully, there is even less likelihood of that person accepting that message again, as it creates resistance and strengthens the original attitude (McGuire 1964). The teachings of Islam presented a challenge to the prevailing norms and practices in the seventh century Arabia, which introduced a model aimed at transforming the society toward a life of virtue and moral excellence. Given that the Qur'an was revealed over a period of 23 years, its verses are also a reflection of the particular historical events during the time of Prophet Muhammad (AbuSulayman 1993). Because some of the teachings were so different from what was prevalent at the time, particularly in matters of social change, this was achieved through the practice of gradualism in some aspects of life. Practices that were

less central to the norms of the society, such as the usury, were immediately banned as they required no acclimation or adjustment to the new injunction. In contrast, alcohol was not prohibited abruptly, but rather was curbed gradually by first advising a limit to the amount of alcohol consumption, then prohibiting its consumption during times of prayer, until finally an absolute ban was implemented. Likewise, the Qur'anic revelations concerning women also suggest gradual change by first affirming the equality of men and women, and then changing the prevailing conditions gradually. According to Al-Hibri (2003), the Qur'an intended to bring about social change to a society that still contained many practices from *Jahiliyah*, especially in regard to men's treatment of women. Men who had migrated from Makkah (Mecca) to Medina, treated their women harshly and were used to hitting their wives. In Medina, the Prophet's wife Umm Salama was spearheading a movement that encouraged women to demand equal participation. This resulted in a profound change in the status of women in Medina, who with the Prophet's support were able to express their thoughts, disagree with men, seek happiness, and participate in the management of military and political matters (Mernissi 1995). Islam also imposed serious limits on polygamy (Sayeh and Morse 1995). During *Jahiliyah*, men could marry up to 100 women, with some tribes having no conditions or limits on the number of wives a man could take. Islam's view on polygamy must be understood within the context in which the ruling was revealed to the Prophet (pbuh). These verses of the Qur'an were revealed after the battle of Uhud, in which a significant number of Muslim men died, leaving behind scores of widows and orphans with no means of supporting themselves. Marrying up to four wives was made lawful so as to provide for the widows and orphans and with the condition that the man must deal justly with them (Qur'an 4:3). This ruling was followed up with another verse: "You are never able to be fair and just as between women, even if it is your ardent desire" (Qur'an 4:129). According to Sayeh and Morse (1995), these two passages from the same chapter of the Qur'an must be read as a whole and repre-

sent "a microcosm of the gradualism inherent in Islam" (p. 328).

Gender Roles

The Qur'an equates the spirituality of man and woman as they were created from a single soul with no specified hierarchy in creation (Qur'an, 4:1; 6:98, 7:189). It is repeatedly mentioned that it is not gender, or race, or social status that determines a person's status; rather the acts of righteousness and piety determine the person's standing in the eyes of God (Qur'an 49:13). The Qur'an declares in clear terms that humans, male and female, are free, equal, and responsible agents called upon to pursue the path of righteousness:

> For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast (and deny themselves), for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in God's praise, for them Allah has prepared forgiveness and great reward (Qur'an 33:35).

Islam restores the position of Eve and reestablishes her moral equivalence with Adam. Eve alone is not responsible for the expulsion from the Garden of Eden as both Adam and Eve were equally tempted; both repented and were forgiven by the compassionate God. The Qur'an asserts this moral and spiritual equality on numerous occasions. As opposed to the teachings of the Qur'an that establishes male–female equality, classical Muslim exegesis of the Qur'an, in reference to the story of Adam and Eve, departs drastically from the original scripture and instead relies heavily on *Hadith* (with questionable authenticity) and Bible-related sources (Stowasser 1994). These interpretations of women's origin as well as her nature divest women of rational faculty or moral responsibility. In the Qur'an, woman is not responsible for Adam's fall, but in classical exegesis she becomes a tool of Satan and imbued with moral, mental, and physical shortcomings (Stowasser 1994). Materials derived from the

Hadith, with questionable authenticity, that confirmed the woman's inferior status were readily accepted by the consensus (*ijma*) of the religious scholars and theologians, which largely reflected the prevailing social norms and customs and were a sharp departure from the egalitarian teachings of the Qur'an.

Although a distinction is made between social roles of men and women, nothing in the Qur'an suggests that they are unequal in the eyes of God. Traditionally, men have been assigned a leadership role, with the responsibility of providing financially for their families. Women, because of their exclusive ability to bear and nurse children, are the primary caretakers of household matters including children. Yet, Islam also recognized the importance of financial security to the woman as a way to prevent oppression. Although family violence cuts across all cultural, economic, racial, and gender lines, studies have also demonstrated that household wealth and education are the strongest and most consistent negative predictors of acceptance of wife-beating among men and women (e.g., Rani et al. 2004). The teachings of Islam emphasize education for both men and women and prescribe many ways of ensuring financial stability for women regardless of marital status. Thus, a Muslim woman has the right to be financially independent; she can own property independently in her name and engage in business transactions. She is a *sui juris* (legal person) and can independently enter into contracts, and buy and sell property. She is allowed to work and has the right to keep her earnings (Qur'an 4:32). The Prophet's wife Khadijah was an independent business woman and the Prophet was employed by her in his youth.

Another source of economic empowerment for the Muslim woman is her inheritance. One of the misperceptions of the Islamic system of inheritance is that women receive an inheritance equal to half of the man's inheritance. However, the laws of inheritance are quite complex in Islam. Although the male sibling may inherit double the amount inherited by his sister, he is responsible to continue to support the other women, elderly men, and children in his family, including the sister herself (Al-Hibri 2000).

In contrast, women do not have any such obligation and have independence in regard to how they use their inheritance. Further, the rule of greater inheritance for men applies to only four specific cases within the comprehensive Islamic inheritance system. There are 10 cases in which a woman receives the inheritance equally, 14 cases where a woman inherits more than a man, and 5 cases in which a woman inherits but a man does not (Gomaa 2013a). Her wealth does not transfer to her husband and become his property upon marriage, although she may lend it to her husband. In addition, she is entitled to the full possession of her dower or *mehr*, a gift she receives from her husband at the time of marriage or after divorce (Qur'an 4:4). *Mehr* is a necessary condition in the Muslim marriage contract. It is mutually agreed upon before the marriage and there is no limit as to how high the amount may be. *Mehr* is not to be confused with the "bride-price." *Mehr* is due upon marriage but can be deferred (at the choice of the woman) to some later specified time (such as divorce). In case of a husband's death, any amount owed in *mehr* has to be paid first from the husband's wealth and takes precedence over all other debts (Abu Zahrah as cited in Al-Hibri 2000). Women may choose to spend the *mehr* in whatever manner they like; they may use the money to invest, do business, or dispense it in charity.

Marriage in Islam

Marriage in Islam is essentially a contract based on the divine guidance that aims to satisfy the physical, social, and emotional needs of the man and woman, within the specified terms of rights and obligations laid out in the Qur'an. Marriage must be fulfilled as a religious duty, but is enjoined only upon those who can fulfill the responsibility. The marriage contract is an important means for allowing the parties to mutually agree upon the terms and conditions of their lives together. To be valid, the free consent of both parties to marry is essential. It is recommended that the contract be put down in writing to avoid any potential confusion in the future (The Muslim

Institute 2010). If desired, the marriage contract could emphasize mutual consultation, the financial independence of the husband and wife, and their cooperation in supporting the family. It can stipulate any financial obligations toward ones children from a previous marriage. As described above, one of the most important components of the marriage contract is the *mehr*, which may be in the form of money or goods given by the bridegroom to the bride; the payment of *Mehr* may be immediate (*Mu'ajjal*) or deferred (*Mu'wajjal*). A woman can also set a precondition in the marriage contract that she can divorce her husband if he fails to meet certain preconditions. (Gomaa 2013b). However, in reality very few women are able to exercise this right because of cultural factors that divest her of any role in setting the conditions in her marriage contract independently.

All forms of violence against women are completely antithetical to the teachings of Islam. Marriage is considered a sign of God's blessing, and the marital relationship is characterized in the Qur'an as a means of providing peace, tranquility, comfort, protection, kindness, justice, mercy, and love for both partners (Qur'an 2:187; 2:229–237; 4:19; 9:71):

> And among His Signs is this, that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that you may dwell in tranquility with them, and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts): verily in that are Signs for those who reflect (30:21).

The Qur'an instructs men in clear and unequivocal terms, that they should remain with their wives in kindness, or separate from them in kindness, and that they should not retain their wives to do harm to them (2:229, 2:231). It envisions spousal relations in terms of equality and consideration in which decisions within the family are carried out using a process of mutual consultation (2:233). The main objective of the marital union in Islam is to provide for the natural inclination of human beings to find tranquility (*sakina*) in a peaceful, soothing, comforting, and intimate relationship with one's spouse. The closeness and mutuality resulting from such a loving and peaceful relationship gives rise to an intimacy that is expressed in the Qur'an as such:

> They are your garments and you are their garments (2:187).

Like garments that serve to cover one's physical body, both husband and wife provide mutual protection and privacy, and cover each other's weaknesses. They are a source of comfort, warmth, and security, and complement each other's positive attributes.

The teachings of the Qur'an were embodied in the life of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and he gave specific instructions to his companions to treat their wives with kindness, affection, and due consideration of their feelings. One of the Prophet's *Hadiths* states: "The believers who show the most perfect faith are those who have the best behaviors, and the best of you are those who are best to their wives" (An-Nawawi 1999, p. 271). It is narrated that some men mistreated their wives at the time of the Prophet (pbuh); when women came to the Prophet complaining of their husbands' abusive behavior, the Prophet admonished the men and said that those who treated their wives poorly are not the best of men (An-Nawawi 1999). One of the companions of the Prophet (pbuh) asked him, "What do you say about our wives?" The Prophet replied, "You should give her food when you eat, clothe her when you clothe yourself, not strike her on the face and do not revile her" (An-Nawawi 1999, p. 271). Further, he counseled women against marrying men who were known to be abusive.

The Prophet's (pbuh) own relationships in his household were characterized by mutual love, respect, and open communication. His wife Aishah openly expressed her views and expressed her disagreement to the Prophet repeatedly (Al-Hibri 2003). Aishah would refer to God as the God of Muhammad, but when she was annoyed with the Prophet, she referred to God as the God of Abraham (Al-Bukhari, Vol. 7, no. 5228 in Khan 1997). When her father came to know about it, he tried to strike her but the Prophet intervened and disapproved of his behavior. (Al-Hibri 2003). Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) also assisted in carrying out household chores and childcare. He advised men to look for agreeable traits in their wives if they wished to benefit from marriage

(An-Nawawi 1999). Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) further stated that husbands and wives are partners who should consult one another in decision making, support and comfort each other in moments of distress, encourage each other to live a righteous life, care for each other's needs, and protect each other from harm.

Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), in his last sermon during his last pilgrimage to Mecca, addressed thousands of pilgrims and said among other things:

> O people! You have rights over your wives and your wives have rights over you. Treat your wives with love and kindness. Verily you have taken them as the trust of God, and have made their persons lawful unto you by the words of God. Keep always faithful to the trust reposed in you, and avoid sins (Abd al-Ati 1997, p. 243).

Divorce The Qur'an also stipulates guidelines to address disputes (*nushuz*) that may arise within the marriage (Qur'an 4:128–130; 4:34, 4:35). During these times, the Qur'an reminds men and women that they are in a mutual covenant, and commands them to be kind and charitable to each other as their duty to God. However, if the marriage does not work for any reason, it may be terminated in kindness and peace:

> When you divorce women, and they fulfill the terms (of their Iddat)[2] either take them back on equitable terms or set them free on equitable terms; but do not take them back to injure them, (or) to take advantage: if anyone does that, he wrongs his own soul (Qur'an 2:231).

The husband may not keep her and then inflict harm on her; in instances, when a husband mistreats his wife, she has the right to demand freedom from the marital bond. Thus, divorce is available as an option when all others are exhausted so as to protect both parties from experiencing any harm or from situating themselves in positions where they may violate the rights of each other out of their own suffering.

---

[2] A prescribed waiting period a woman must observe after the death of her husband or after a divorce. During this period, she may not marry another man.

Verse 4:34: The Verse of Abuse

The verse which is most misinterpreted in the Qur'an is Verse 34 in the Chapter "Nisa" (Woman), which is often used to justify the abuse:

> Men are the protectors and maintainers (*Qawwamun*) of women, because God has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient (*Qanitat*), and guard in (the husband's) absence what God would have them guard. As to those women on whose part you fear disloyalty and ill-conduct (*nushuz*), admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly) (*daraba*); but if they return to obedience, do not seek against them means (of annoyance): For God is Most High, Great (Qur'an 4:34).

There are several ways in which this verse has been interpreted. However, before proceeding with an analysis of this verse, it is important to reiterate Islam's position on domestic violence. Both the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* prohibit domestic violence. Any form of coercion and violence used to oppress another member of the household is unacceptable in Islam. Historically, and in modern times, Muslim jurists have considered abuse against wives as a form of injustice (Qur'an 5: 8; 42: 42–43) and therefore, have prohibited it. Exegetes have also addressed the key terms of the above verse in order to understand the full meaning and implications of the passage. These will be described briefly as follows:

Men Are Qawwamun of Women

Qawwamun is not only variously rendered in the different translations of the Qur'an, but has also been interpreted differently by the jurists from both medieval and modern times. These interpretations range from men's authority over women to educate, guide, and discipline them to their responsibility in providing for and taking care of women's interests. Conservative scholars interpret Qawwamun as men's guardianship over women in the context of their different roles and responsibilities, but stress that neither is to be oppressed (Stowasser 1994). Other scholars,

who follow a more contextual and holistic view of the Qur'an regarding women's rights, read it somewhat differently. Engineer (1996) views this "slight" edge of the man over woman not due to any inherent weakness on her part; rather it is construed within the framework of the social context and different functions of men and women which may necessitate male guidance and caring. Yet, wives may surpass their husbands in intellect, knowledge, physical strength, and earning power. According to Al-Hibri (2003), a male's *qawama* over a woman can only be recognized if he is supporting her financially, and if he "has been favored by God in certain matters he is advising the woman about (and about which he knows more at that time)" (p. 9). In the absence of these conditions, the male cannot assume the role of *qawama*. Unfortunately, this verse by itself has often come to represent the sole authority of the men to all women in all matters at all times (Al-Hibri 2003). By restricting women in attaining their due rights, such as a right to education and work, and limiting her movement, patriarchal societies have kept women dependent and always in need of support and advice from their better educated husbands. Furthermore, even in cases in which a woman is a highly educated professional she still has to defer to the authority of her husband or other males in the household. This also has negative repercussions for the marital relationship as it promotes male superiority, his word as the last word, and denies mutual consultation (*shura*) to arrive at a decision.

Obedience and Disobedience

The adjective *qanitat* refers to the act of being devoutly obedient to God. For some jurists, qanitat refers to obedience to husbands (e.g., Al-Razi, as cited in Al-Hibri 2003; Ibn Kathir, as cited in Eissa 1999) given that this verse was revealed within the context of marital relations. Jurists emphasize that obedience is required only in matters that do not contradict the teachings of Islam, for there is no obedience to the created if it involves disobedience to the Creator (Qur'an 29:8). Al-Hibri (1997) argues that in Islam, ab-

solute obedience is owed only to God in matters of self-discipline and those that entail mutual responsibility, and not to husbands. In regard to *nushuz*, several medieval and modern exegetes suggest in their interpretation as the wife's disobedience towards her husband. However, an interpretation of *nushuz* that forces the wife to subject her will to her husband's goes against the spirit of marital relationships and the female role models in early Islam, including the Prophet's wives, who did not hesitate to speak their mind. Further, the Qur'an also uses the term *nushuz* for husbands (4:128) which is usually taken as a grave and known sin (adultery); therefore, *nushuz* on the part of the wife implies sexual lewdness (Abou El-Fadl 2006) or adultery (Haddad 2000). Al-Hibri (2003) sums this up as follows:

> righteous women are those who honor their marital covenants, even in the absence of their husbands (with whom those covenants are undertaken). Consequently, *nashiz* women are those who do not honor their marital covenants, and hence disobey God. Thus, the focus of obedience here is God, not the husband (p. 214).

If at any point, the wife ceases the *nushuz*, the husband must immediately stop his actions (Al-Hibri 2003). Any authority of the husband, thus implied, is not like an unjust ruler. Rather, the relationship must be characterized by intimacy, affection, and tranquility in keeping with the teachings of the Qur'an and the Hadith (Qur'an, 30:21). However, if the condition of *nushuz* continues, it has serious implications for the marriage, as it is the one condition that revokes the wife's right to be maintained by her husband (Abd al-Ati 1977), and where the third condition of "*idribuhunna*" (often translated as beat them) may apply.

Idribuhunna—The Beating Measure: Permissible or Not

The verse 4:34 has been interpreted especially in reference to the word *idribuhunna* which is commonly taken to mean hit, beat, strike, or scourge (lightly). AbuSulayman (2003) suggests an exegesis of its root verb "*daraba*" based on

the various connotations and its derivatives in the Qur'an; there are 17 distinct nuances or representations of the term *daraba* in the Qur'an that signify to isolate, to separate, to depart, to distance, to exclude, and to move away. Therefore, to "chastise" a woman in her home, in the context of streamlining a difficult marital relationship and bringing the spouses back to harmony and responsibility, it should be construed as to "leave" the nuptial nest, to "move away," or to "separate." Laleh Bakhtiar (2007), the first woman to translate the Qur'an (www.sublimequran.org), extrapolates this point further. She argues that although the verb *daraba* is translated in English as "spank" and "hit," the Prophet (pbuh) never practiced this imperative in his life. Instead, he chose to "go away" and separated temporarily when he faced difficulties in his marital relations. Further, the Qur'an warns men not to harm, hurt, or injure their wives, and to retain them in kindness or leave them in kindness (2:231). Failing to do so would be an injustice to not only the woman but also to the man himself who acted in defiance to God's teachings. Therefore, based on the Prophet's (pbuh) *Sunnah*, Bakhtiar (2007) translates *daraba* as to "go away." If this does not work, the next step would be the mediation of arbiters from their respective families (Qur'an, 4:35). The aim is to either stay together on equitable terms or separate peacefully without causing harm or injury.

However, the scholars who believe that *Idribuhunna* means to "beat" read the recommendation in the verse *sequentially* suggesting a *progressive* implementation of the corrective measure often culminating in light beating or symbolic tap with a toothbrush (*miswak*) or a scarf. They stress the importance of carrying out the steps sequentially in a spirit of reconciliation and healing so as to prevent divorce (Abu Firas, 2000, as cited in Ammar, 2007). These jurists also outline several conditions to justify the beating, including the husband's fulfillment of all the conditions laid out in the marriage contract, and that the beating to be light and/or symbolic, away from the face, used as the last resort, or avoided in the spirit of reconciliation. Any discipline measure, thus undertaken, should be a means of

the husband's intention to display his concern and love that he has for his wife rather than a means to inflict injury (Badawi 1995). Further, the wife's behavior should clearly qualify as *nushuz*, and that the striking is not carried out in anger or retaliation (Abu Shaqah, 1994, as cited in Ammar 2007). However, the notion that a man can beat his wife, even with these restrictions, contradicts the Qur'anic model of a harmonious spousal relationship which proclaims husband and wife as friends (*waliya*) (Qur'an 9:71) and garments for one another (Qur'an 2: 187). The prophet instructed his followers not to beat their wives even after the husband has commanded or prohibited her to do something. Instead, it is better to express his anger (verbally) at her refusal, for the Prophet said, "those who take to beating their wives are not the best of men" (An-Nawawi 1999, p. 272). Classical jurist Imam Shafi'i stated that it is better not to hit a woman at all (Asad 1980). Scholars also prohibit the husband to use this measure if he knows that this alternative will not be helpful, humiliate his wife, or sever the amicable ties between them. (Gomaa 2013b).

The verse 4:34 is reported to be revealed in a context when a woman complained to the Prophet that her husband hit her. In response to that, the Prophet chastised men who resorted to hitting their wives and also allowed the wife the right for an equal retribution. In the meantime, this verse was revealed which reflected the Qur'an's philosophy of gradualism as it "severely limited both the act and concept of 'hitting,' so as to empty both from their harmful content" (Al-Hibri 2003, p. 208). When read in the context of the rest of the Qur'an, that articulates a higher standard of gender relationship, this verse "radically transformed the concept of 'hitting' into a non-violent symbolic act" (Al-Hibri 2003, p. 208).

However, this verse was "unjustifiably misconstrued" by Muslim men who were still steeped in the ethos and mores of the *Jahiliyah*. With their fallacious reasoning, these men ignored the Prophet's efforts and *Sunnah* and sanctioned the oppression of women for centuries (Al-Hibri 2003). These steps are aimed at creating barriers to deter men from hitting, which was a widespread practice. Furthermore, this limita-

tion is augmented by the Qur'anic model of ideal spousal relations, and the Prophet's repeated instruction to his community that outlined kind and just treatment to women. In modern times, the scholar Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) has argued that the limitation strategy that qualifies the beating of a "disobedient" wife as light and non-harmful (*ghair mubarrih*) combined with the prophetic guidance to his followers in which he dissuaded his followers from beating their wives amounts to virtual abrogation of what the verse allows (Mahmoud 2006). Given the overall message of justice, equality, compassion, and mercy, it is argued that Qur'an will never promote a position that would cause excesses toward women and promote *zulm* or injustice; any exegesis that reads injustice and inequality into the Qur'an should be considered a misreading (Barlas 2002) since it attributes *zulm* (oppression and injustice) to the *Rahim* (merciful and compassionate) God.

Verse 4:34 and Contemporary Muslim Society

Some scholars have focused on the contextual aspects of the message of the Qur'an (Engineer 1996; Rahman 1982). Although the overall message of the Qur'an is believed to be universal, certain verses were revealed within the social and cultural context of the prevailing norms in Arabia at the time of Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, Muslims from other periods and contexts must reflect on the original intent and make practical applications according to how it applies to their circumstance. Muslim scholars argue that the Islamic law or Sharia has an inner dynamism which allows for its adaptation to new settings (Al-Hibri 2003; Rahman 1982). A new situation may arise leading to a different interpretation of an existing ruling based on three conditions: (1) necessity or public interest, (2) change in the facts on which the original law was based, and (3) change in the customs or usage that led to the original law. Thus, jurists may adapt existing law to the new situation as long as it does not contradict the Qur'an (Sayeh and Morse 1995). However, because the doors of *ijtihad* were closed in

the tenth century in Sunni Islam, judges' ability to adapt and be flexible in applying the principles of interpretation is severely limited (Sayeh and Morse 1995). A rereading of the Qur'an also sets the stage for "*ijtihad*" and might be more willingly accepted by Muslims as an internal struggle to reform the Muslim community (*Ummah*). As Al-Hibri (2003) suggests, most Muslim women would not readily follow attempts made by the secular forces to "liberate" them; however, if they understand that these reforms are based on Muslim jurisprudential principles, they will be more willing to pursue a rich and meaningful life as their divinely bestowed right.

Islam and Cultural Practices

Addressing culture in understanding domestic violence may lead to confirming stereotypes that certain cultures are inherently bad. However, failing to highlight the culture-specific factors that perpetuate domestic violence as well as its impact, often felt in culturally specific ways (Grewal 2009), may lead to a very shallow and incomplete understanding of violence in the lives of minority women. Some Muslims distance themselves from exploring domestic violence in their communities by making a distinction between religion, which condemns domestic violence, and culture, which oppresses women into subjugation and abuse. However, by doing so they are substituting one form of stereotype with another, essentially subverting any serious efforts toward critical inquiry into all those traditions and practices that allow violence to happen. Although cultures have strengths that provide support to women, both in creating structures that prevent abuse and providing intervention and relief when violence actually happens, it is also important to address ways in which cultural practices are used to perpetuate violence, silence women, and give absolute authority to men and/or powerful members within the family.

Muslims do not belong to a monolithic community. The Qur'an describes human diversity as God's divine will, and that it is an opportunity to test human capacity for right conduct, peace, and

harmony (Qur'an 49:13; 5:48). As Islam spread throughout different regions of the world, local political, economic, and social structures were often retained as long as they did not violate Islam's core teachings. This openness to cultural differences also led to a dynamic interaction between Islamic jurisprudence and local customs ('*urf*), as well as enabled Islam to adapt to different regions of the world creating opportunities for growth in fine arts, humanities, and broad aspects of science. However, this interaction also led to the incorporation and/or maintenance of many social norms and cultural values that were in stark contradiction to the teachings of Islam. Men's responsibility and guardianship (*qawama*) of women was used to justify tribal, male-dominated, and authoritarian cultural practices that seriously limited the rights and roles of women. On the other hand, Islam's emphasis on the equal but complementary roles of men and women was misunderstood as oppressive to women and led to many stereotypes about Islam and Muslims.

Given the large diversity within the Muslim population, their specific religio-cultural interpretation determines how they define and address domestic violence. Despite their diverse backgrounds, Muslim Americans as a group emphasize family loyalty, respect for elders, and hierarchical structures within families in which men take precedence over women. Older members of the household have significantly greater authority and obedience from the younger members is expected. In many collectivistic or group-oriented cultures including Muslims, a family's "honor" (*izzat* in Urdu and Persian, *ird* in Arabic) is located in its female members while men are guardians of women (Afshar 1994). The woman is expected to carry this responsibility in both thoughts and actions, and transfer it to the next generation. In some communities, an early marriage and limited education may further limit a woman's agency and ability to negotiate her day-to-day life, especially when faced with the prospect of leaving an abusive relationship.

Marriage is highly recommended in Islam, and since dating is discouraged in most of the Muslim world, marriage is the only permissible form of sexual activity, as well as a means of achieving personal and spiritual fulfillment (Hassouneh-Phillips 2001). Individuals, especially women, who are not married are often pressured to marry as existing Muslim social structures do not accommodate single women well (Ayyub 2000). Because of the paramount significance of marriage, these values are internalized by Muslim women (Haj-Yahia 1998) who tolerate significant abuse for years, before they disclose it to anyone. Instead of men's leadership (*qawama*) being seen as their responsibility in empowering, supporting, and liberating women, it is perceived as controlling, demanding and repressing a woman's legitimate physical, emotional, and psychological needs. Likewise, because of misogynistic interpretations of the religious teachings, as well as patriarchal cultural practices sanctioning men to dominate, men often expect "obedience" and acquiescence from their wives (Hassouneh-Phillips 2001). For women who do want to leave abusive marriages, their families may voice opposition, as a divorce in the family may tarnish the image of other women in the family. In most Muslim families, both mother and father are considered integral to the upbringing of children, and therefore many women are reluctant to seek separation or divorce so as not to deprive their children of the affection of their father. It is very difficult for them to realize that an abusive husband is not a good model and influence in the psychological development of their children.

Although the Muslim *marriage contract* is a requirement for marriage and is a potentially powerful instrument for keeping the woman's rights in balance to that of her husband, most marriage contracts are drafted with minimal conditions. If the marriage was solemnized Islamically (*nikah*) but without a civil contract, the woman may not have a legal recourse to ensure that her contract was enforced (Hossouneh-Phillips 2001). Further, many Muslim women are denied the right to a dowry (*mehr*) and thus are deprived of the possibility of benefitting immediately or at a later time. In many societies, *mehr* is set too low merely as a "symbolic" gesture. In case of larger amounts, the father may take the *mehr* and use it for the wedding expenses or the husband may pressure the wife to lend it

or concede the deferred part (Al-Hibri 2000). In some cases, especially when *mehr* is set low to please the groom or his family, it is often given in charity. These practices thus deprive the woman from a very important measure of security in case of divorce or her husband's death.

The practice of polygamy was prevalent and practiced before Islam in Arabia, and was regulated and restricted by the Qur'an (Qur'an 4:3). However, polygamy continues to be practiced and may be a constant source of psychological and emotional abuse. An abusive husband may threaten the woman that he will take a second wife, or actually carry out this threat. Many Muslim women may decide to stay married, even if symbolically, as leaving a marital relationship is akin to "social suicide" (Latif 2011, p. 37). In the case of a polygamous marriage in the USA, only one wife can have legal status, even though the other marriage(s) can be solemnized religiously, which may further deprive women in such situations of their rights within the American legal system.

Muslim groups may vary in terms of immigration and acculturation status. Immigrant Muslim women may come from cultures with many provisions in place to stop a woman from being abused. The husband's accountability to the community at large may stop him or the in-laws from perpetuating excessive abuse on the woman. Family elders may resolve issues of difference between the spouses. However, immigrant couples lose these resources when they move to another county. Language may be another barrier limiting the woman's ability to go out independently for resources, because of her fear of not being able to negotiate the outside world. In short, she may be completely and exclusively dependent on her husband and therefore, more vulnerable in case of abuse. When faced with domestic violence, an immigrant woman may be concerned about her immigration status, fear deportation, have language barriers, fear that her children might be taken away, and lack social and familial support that would be available in her extended family and/or community. A close-knit community structure may lend support to minority and immigrant groups, and insulate them against racism and/or discrimination; it also makes it difficult for women to seek help when they experience violence in their lives.

The Muslim Wheel of Domestic Violence was developed by Dr. Sharifa Alkhateeb (2006), through adapting the Power and Control Wheel of the Domestic Abuse Project of Duluth Minnesota (Pence et al. 1993). It describes some of the ways in which abusive Muslim husbands may distort the teachings of Islam to justify abuse against women and children in the family. A Muslim husband may manipulate verses from the Qur'an to justify physical violence against his wife; by virtue of her "*qawama*" or guardian, he may feel entitled to control all aspects of her life; he may abuse her emotionally by calling into question her religious knowledge and piety; he may claim to have an Islamic "right" to abuse his wife and children and that she would be transgressing religious limits if she reported the abuse. The husband may violate her religious rights such as not supporting her financially, not honoring the marriage contract, and taking all her earnings. He may warn her against disclosing the abuse to anyone, because it is her duty to respect her husband's privacy and God will condemn her for it. He may threaten that he will spread the word that she is an adulteress or that he will marry another wife. He may humiliate her in front of the children and encourage them to be disrespectful to their mother. And last but not least, he may also influence the local imam in stating that the abuse is the wife's fault.

The awareness of domestic violence in the Muslim community leaders and imams is gradually rising, and some Muslim communities have made great strides in bringing the issues to the fore. However, more often than not, when an abused woman seeks help from the imam to stop the violence perpetrated by her husband, her concerns are not acknowledged or validated; instead, she is often advised to pray and be patient. Few Islamic centers and mosques have the resources to help the victims and survivors, or the knowledge of the nature of domestic violence and the multiple ways in which it is expressed. The following sections describe culturally relevant interventions for Muslim women and their abusive partners.

Interventions to Address the Needs of Muslim Women

Reports of an incident in a minority community often evoke and reinforce racial and gender stereotypes, such as whether the victim instigated the violence or whether the community itself is inherently violent. This is especially true for Muslims in the USA whose culture and religion are often blamed for the violence. The current racial climate with which Muslim Americans are confronted also reduces the victims to the stereotypic image of an oppressed Muslim woman who needs to be rescued from her own culture by the enlightened West. Muslim women who wear the headscarf, either out of choice or religious/cultural obligation, are quickly judged as oppressed by their men, and by extension their religion. Majority culture individuals often automatically assume they are in need of liberation and empowerment (Aziz 2012). Unfortunately, such stereotypes only serve to discourage a battered Muslim woman from seeking help, as she may be conflicted and choose to protect her community from racism at the cost of her own safety.

Even after overcoming these initial barriers, if a Muslim woman decides to seek help this may be the first time that she is approaching an outside agency independently. Once she seeks help, she may be shunned from her own community, may be labeled as a traitor even in known cases of violence, or may actually be blamed for bringing the abuse on herself. The woman's husband may threaten to spread rumors about her ill-conduct (Alkhateeb 2006.), which in light of maintaining deeply internalized ideals of chastity and modesty, may be devastating to her. In some cases, her own family members might be unsympathetic to her plight and prefer silence in the face of ongoing abuse and violence rather than seeking safety and help. For a Muslim woman, leaving the relationship often entails leaving the community which is a source of identity, deep social connections, and access to resources.

Awareness of domestic violence in the Muslim community as well as the need for culturally relevant interventions has existed for at least the past two decades. Many authors believe that

Western feministic approaches are not effective for Muslim women who are oppressed in multiple and interlocking systems, such as traditional patriarchal beliefs within Islam as well as anti-Muslim racism and Islamophobia, particularly exacerbated after 9/11 (Al-Hibri 2003; Desai and Haffajee 2011). Therefore, many of the strategies of the mainstream programs need to be adjusted in innovative ways to accommodate the specific needs of the Muslim community. The following are some of the factors associated with providing culturally relevant services to Muslim women seeking support and services for issues related to domestic violence.

Acknowledging Limitations and Biases

Both secular advocates and faith leaders must be aware of their limitations and biases in order to effectively address the needs of an abused woman. Secular advocates may feel impatient in regard to the woman's insistence on holding on to her religious beliefs and cultural traditions, which might be viewed as limiting her options and perpetuating her victimization. Faith leaders may have their own biases about the "appropriate" roles of women, and seeking assistance from secular resources such as the criminal justice system. Having an understanding of their own personal limitations and biases and seeking knowledge to redress them will help serve abused women more effectively.

Collaboration between Mainstream Agencies and Faith-Based Communities

Mainstream providers often underestimate the importance of community and family to the abused woman, and that leaving her community may be very difficult if not impossible. If she is an immigrant, she may have given up too much already; she has left her family and community and its inbuilt support structures. Leaving an abusive relationship may mean living in a lifetime of

"exile" in an unfamiliar landscape full of ongoing social and financial risks; therefore, an additional concern is how to provide support to women for whom leaving is not an option. Some of the other prominent concerns include addressing abuse when it is perpetuated by not only the husband but also the extended family such as the in-laws. Outreach efforts to include religious communities enable service providers to provide services within the context of her community; providing access, effective interventions, and creating options for them. The same community whose "misinformed" ideals have created a situation in which her safety is endangered may be transformed to one which provides her with comfort and support, and opens doors for options with far reaching consequences in empowering her and promoting a life free from abuse and trauma.

Ensuring Safety: Woman-Defined Advocacy

A Muslim woman in an abusive relationship may not want to leave the relationship or go to shelter; she may not be willing to press charges or secure an order of protection. However, she does want the abuse to stop. Therefore, it is crucial to assess personal risks, strategize, and make decisions that protect the woman and her children. She is in the best position to have knowledge of her partner's behavior as well as what she recognizes to be the greatest risk. Thus, advocates from secular agencies and religious communities can assist her in reviewing the plans that she may already have, and help her identify and assess her options. She can be provided access to services such as support groups, English language/literacy classes, legal consultation or advocacy, access to social services/public assistance, counseling for herself and traumatized children, financing for a training program to obtain employment, and access to transportation and/or driving lessons.

Shelter may not be the primary intervention strategy but nevertheless it is a necessary option for a Muslim woman wishing to leave an abusive relationship. However, before proceeding with any such suggestions, it is important for her to understand that it is just one step toward safety, which will be a temporary support until she finds a firm footing. It is very helpful if she talks to other Muslim women who have experienced living in a shelter who can tell her what she should expect. Linking with other activist women from her own community may also provide important sources of support once she leaves and seeks shelter services; they may come to see her, brainstorm various options, and provide emotional sustenance and support.

Empowering Survivors through Rights Education

A batterer's complete control over his partner's rights may crush the woman's ability to make choices and decisions. Further, a Muslim woman may not even be aware of her rights in marriage as she may have been exposed to only the misogynistic interpretations of the sacred texts influenced by the patriarchal culture in many Muslim communities. Educating the woman of her rights is the first step for her to feel empowered and believe that she can live a meaningful life free from abuse. This also enables her to participate more fully in devising plans for her immediate safety as well as her future course of action. The client's belief in *Al-Qadr* (predestination) may cause her to resign to her faith and feel that whatever is happening in her life is God's will and therefore, she cannot change anything. Reminding her that she also possesses agency and that there is a great focus in Islam on striving for a better life, will be conducive to the therapeutic process, and lead to healing and change.

Maintaining Confidentiality

Many survivors of abuse are reluctant to speak to anyone out of fear that their situation will be made public or cause the abuser to retaliate. They often want to avoid intervention by the authorities such as the criminal justice system, social services, or immigration officials. This is even more true of small close-knit communities where

people share personal problems and concern with each other more readily and where both the batterer and the abused woman are known. It is imperative, therefore, to maintain confidentiality as this will keep the woman safe. Faith leaders and secular advocates must familiarize themselves with the local laws to see if there are any mandates as to the limits of confidentiality or reporting requirements, and share it with the abused woman before any further details are disclosed (Dabby and Poore 2007). This will also confirm her agency and empower her to speak about her experiences in a safe setting.

Addressing Religious/Spiritual Concerns

Clients often report that the importance of religion in their lives is frequently overlooked or undermined by service providers. Understanding the client's problem from a spiritual perspective allows the therapist to better account for the client's personal and environmental strengths and facilitates coping and recovery (Hodge 2001). This requires having knowledge and understanding of the client's basic religious and spiritual beliefs, and how they inform her personal and social relationships. Given that there are many misconceptions about Islam and little knowledge about the religion and its followers (Pew Research Center 2011), it is imperative for the practitioner to know the basic facts about Islam and see how they impact on the client's day-to-day functioning.

Many women experience abuse for years without any recourse or relief; they have often been invalidated by others including their family members, their community, and their religious leaders. They may have been privy to other women in abusive relationships who are shunned and looked down upon, and may want to keep the façade of a happy marital life. Spirituality may help women in attaining calm and relaxation, and articulating one's wishes and feelings in prayer. Faith in a higher power may create resilience and a psychological barrier against despair. Some women may believe that the abuse resulting in

pain and suffering is a test and trial from God (Qur'an 3:186). They may believe that these trials and tribulations will serve to expiate for their sins and increase good deeds, thereby increasing the rewards in the Hereafter (Al-Bukhari, Vol. 7, no. 5640-42 in Khan 1997). They may also believe that by resigning to the Will of God (*tawakkal*), they will attain a state of peace and tranquility. When such a belief is manifested, it is important to remind her of the Prophet's (pbuh) traditions and sayings invoking justice, compassion, and kindness to women. Further, enduring afflictions with patience and maintaining firm belief and reliance on the Will of God, does not exclude the importance of taking action and finding relief from suffering, injustice, and oppression.

Interventions to Address the Needs of Muslim Men

The stereotypic image of Muslim men as fundamentalist, violent, and abusive toward women may often pose a challenge to service providers who need to be aware of their personal biases and to seek an accurate understanding of the faith as well as be aware of multiple forms of oppression that confront minority communities. Likewise, it is important also to understand the harmful consequences of the stereotype threat (Steele and Aronson 1995) which occurs when an individual perceives cues in the environment which are associated with stereotypes salient to that group. Stereotype threats trigger several physiological and psychological processes such as anxiety (Spencer et al. 1999), negative thoughts and feelings (Keller and Dauenheimer 2003), and reduced effort (Stone 2002), self-control (Smith and White 2002), and working memory capacity (Schmader and Johns 2003). Further, the stereotype threat may result in producing more guarded ways in which individuals from different groups interact with each other (Goff et al. 2008), reduced ability to process information, and lower effort and motivation in following recommendations (Stone 2002).

While it is important to be aware of one's biases, it is also necessary to understand Islam's

position on addressing oppression within the Muslim community. Muslims view themselves as a community of believers (*ummah*) who share responsibility for each other's well-being. They are enjoined to help the weak and oppressed members of the society, assist each other in good deeds, and prevent wrong-doing (Qur'an 5:2; 9:71). Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) likened the mutual love, kindness, and compassion of Muslims for each other to that of the human body; if one part of it is in agony, the entire body feels the pain (Al-Bukhari, Vol. 8, no. 6011 in Khan 1997). The Prophet (pbuh) enjoined his followers to help both the oppressed by relieving them of their pain and suffering, and the oppressor by preventing him from oppressing others (Al Bukhari, Vol. 3, no. 2444 in Khan 1997). He held abusive men accountable, admonished them, and stated that men who beat their wives are not good men. Based on these guidelines, Muslim communities need to acknowledge and take a firm stand against domestic violence in their midst, participate actively in addressing men's violence against women, and develop programs and services for both abused women and violent men.

Batterer Accountability and Victim Safety

In addressing batterer intervention programs, it is important that the faith community and the religious leader hold the batterer accountable for his behavior while ensuring safety for the abused woman and her children. Sanctions against batterers and sanctuary for the victims are two main aspects that have been shown to be protective factors against domestic violence (Campbell and Soeken 1999). Many activists within the Muslim faith community have proposed a zero tolerance policy for domestic violence (e.g., Islamic Social Services Association [ISSA 2011]) which entails sanctions against abusers, such as asking them to leave the community, refraining from doing business with them, and not recommending them for marriage (Abdullah 2007). Their inclusion in the community must be contingent upon completing a batterer's intervention program, seeking appro-

priate counseling, and stopping the abuse of their partners. However, caution must be exercised in adopting aggressive and punitive policies that shun the perpetrators completely as it may discourage both the victims and perpetrators from seeking help from their religious leaders (Grewal 2009). This is even more pertinent since a majority of Muslim Americans reach out to imams to address mental health issues (Ali et al. 2005).

Before pursuing any community-wide program, it is important to make provisions that would provide immediate support in case of more women coming forward for support and services. Such a program may anger some men, especially those who are abusive, believe in narrowly defined and misogynistic interpretations of Islam's teachings, and view such outreach and intervention efforts as interference from the outside. This may put some women at risk and further isolate them.

Understanding the Implications of Male "Guardianship"

Mainstream human rights and feminist discourse considers gender inequality as the root cause of violence (Dobash et al. 1992), and that if men and women were equal, men would not get away with perpetrating violence against their partners. However, within the Islamic discourse, there is a strong preference for viewing male–female relationships as complementary, with men's guardianship over women construed as vital in maintaining harmonious and cohesive family relationships. For Muslim communities, it is important to understand the implications of male guardianship and emphasize that this entails a higher level of accountability rather than being "expressed through unquestioned dominance" (Angarola et al. 2013, p. 3) and permission to perpetrate violence. While a model of equal/equitable gender roles and harmonious relationships based on the true teachings of Islam is important to pursue, it is paramount to declare unequivocally that Islam condemns domestic violence at the outset and support this assertion from within the right Islamic framework.

Providing Culturally Relevant Interventions

Traditional batterer intervention programs may not work because Muslim men may not fully subscribe to it, believing that these programs are based on the Western notions of gender equality and thus do not fit within their framework of spousal roles. However, if presented within a religious framework with support from imams and other leaders within the religious community, these programs may be more successful.

Muslim men may be reluctant to disclose personal information, attitudes, and feelings to a group of strangers and counselors with whom they do not identify. They may also view some of the behaviors they are asked to change as normative, part of their religious and cultural identity, and essential for maintaining their family structure as they understand it. They may also be suspicious of social services in general, because the world view promoted by the majority culture may be very different from how they conceptualize male–female relationships. Culturally focused batterer interventions have been found to be useful for minority men based on a curriculum that identifies specific cultural topics, a response to emergent cultural issues, and includes racially homogeneous groups that encourage disclosure (Gondolf and Williams 2001). Applying this framework to Muslim men who batter, an intervention program could explicitly identify those religious/cultural views that reinforce violence or identify issues that present barriers to stopping violence. This also enables the counselor to create a curriculum that reiterates Islamic principles of human equality and its paradigm of harmonious family/spousal relations. Men's *qawama* or guardianship should be construed as men's greater responsibility and accountability. Developing skills for mutual consultation and alternate, peaceful ways of resolving conflicts must be taught, role played, and applied in daily life. Counseling and batterer intervention programs which are culturally relevant may reduce resistance, enable clients to disclose and share their attitudes and behavior comfortably, and feel less alienated from the program.

Acknowledging an individual's small changes, valued characteristics about self and faith, and personal strengths may create openness to interventions and set the stage for addressing more negative aspects of one's attitudes and behaviors. A strong focus should be on affirming those values and traditions that promote equality, diversity, and living life free from oppression. Barriers to change such as history of trauma, multiple oppressions, and destructive social norms need to be recognized and worked through to facilitate change.

Interventions at the Community Level

In promoting change and healing in men who batter, it is important to understand oppressive social structures and cultural needs that perpetuate violence against women, and take a collective stance as a community to acknowledge and take responsibility for community actions. The religious community can also understand the needs of the batterer, without sacrificing accountability, and understand the source of violence. For Muslim men, an assessment could be made in regard to the factors associated with abuse and violence. These might include deeply misogynistic attitudes and beliefs which distort the teachings of the Qur'an and the Hadith, history of witnessing abuse as a child, multiple oppressions and trauma, or a lack of communication skills. Support groups and individual counseling could facilitate healing from trauma, shed light on the familial nature of abuse and intergenerational transmission of trauma, and confront views that condone violence based on the misleading interpretations and understanding of the religious texts.

Social norms within the community also need to be changed. Abused women need to be supported instead of being blamed. Perpetrators need to be held accountable for stopping their violent behavior. Presenting sermons on such issues once or twice a year is not effective; domestic violence should be addressed frequently, openly, and named as such. The Prophet (pbuh) immediately took action and admonished men to change their behavior toward their wives; this example should be followed by imams and community leaders.

The Role of the Imams

One of the foremost concerns noted by domestic violence survivors and advocates pertains to their religious and community leader's failing or refusing to acknowledge the existence of domestic violence in their communities. Besides acknowledging the violence, imams also need to look at how their cultural upbringing has influenced their perception of women's rights, particularly in the context of the marital relationship. Many imams themselves do not have much information about understanding different forms of violence (e.g., physical, emotional, psychological, spiritual), signs of domestic violence, and how to differentiate between intimate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple's conflict (Johnson 2005). Imams may view the abuse as day-to-day couple's conflict and may not support the woman and acknowledge the abuse. They must be vocal about the Sharia's perspective which considers domestic violence as an injustice (Alkhateeb 2007).

Domestic violence advocates, usually women serving their communities, are often viewed with suspicion as people who break up families (Alkhateeb 2007). Having an imam support their views and be vocal about domestic violence in sermons empowers the survivors as well as service providers and lends credence to their efforts. Imams may be discouraged by the stance of powerful men in the community who do not want to promote "feminist" or "pro-Western" thinking in their community. These individuals often cite the breakdown of the American family, the high rate of divorce, and its impact on children as a consequence of women's liberation or feminist ideology. Unfortunately, this fear of losing their cultural values also leads to a denial of the prevalence of domestic violence in their community, which is completely in contradiction to Islamic ideals of spousal relations.

Imams can also play a significant role in creating a culture that affirms Islam's position on domestic violence as an abhorrent practice and reiterate the Prophet's enjoining of kind treatment toward women and disapproving of men who perpetuate violence. Muslim communities often hesitate to acknowledge domestic violence in their midst (Ayyub 2000); however, without an open acknowledgment, it is difficult for the community to participate effectively in providing appropriate services and interventions or to collaborate with mainstream agencies. Awareness within the community could be raised by periodic sermons, brochures, and posters that detail the importance of kind and fair treatment of women, and Islam's position on domestic violence, as well as information on accessing support and services.

Implications for Professional Practice and Future Research

Service providers need to gain knowledge about Muslim beliefs and practices to be effective and to avoid pitfalls associated with prevalent stereotypes and prejudices against Muslims in the popular media. Forming relationships and forging alliances with Muslim community members are important steps in effective outreach programs. For the religious Muslim community, it is important to realize that they may be holding some negative stereotypes about American society, and these should be addressed and dispelled as well. An increased understanding and knowledge of the Muslim community by the mainstream agencies and providers will build respect and trust (Harrell and Bond 2006), and sustain effective collaborations.

Increased effort and allocation of resources within the Muslim community are needed to raise awareness about domestic violence and its harmful consequences for families and society. Despite efforts and ongoing outreach by Muslim activists, most of whom are women, some Muslim communities are still resistant and are therefore not open to any discussion about domestic violence. Programs that are already established need further support from the community to sustain them. It is important that men also get involved, especially with community-wide prevention efforts, changing gender norms that oppress women, and addressing masculinity and how it is shaped within the society. They must

understand that masculinity is often associated with power, aggression, and dominance, and is consolidated socially and culturally. Strict gender socialization in which males assume greater power and authority over females, based on the pervasive ideology of inherent male superiority, is often legitimized by patriarchal interpretations of religious teachings which further reinforce oppression of women. Developing a healthy relationship curriculum within the framework of Islamic teachings, and creating programs for various age-groups such as young children, adolescents, young men and women, as well as older individuals, will be instrumental in creating community norms that foster healthy, respectful relationships. It must be reiterated that in Islam, men and women are equal before God, and have mutual rights and obligations. The Prophet (pbuh) counseled men to treat the women well. He encouraged women to seek knowledge and affirmed their right to economic independence. The life and examples of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) demonstrate clearly that a harmonious marital relationship is characterized by mutual respect, affection, and consultation (*shura*). His wife Aishah could openly argue with him, ask questions repeatedly, and disagree with the Prophet (pbuh) (Al-Hibri 2003). Further, the Prophet (pbuh) served his family at home and participated in many household tasks (Al-Bukhari, Vol. 8, no. 6039 in Khan 1997). Imams and community leaders can play a significant role in reinforcing these teachings, raising awareness, and providing batterer intervention programs, as well as enforcing compliance and collaborating with mainstream agencies.

Besides developing community-wide prevention programming to address all forms of violence in the family, established and successful community programs should reach out to smaller congregations at the local and national level, provide support, and serve as models for them. Community-based advocacy programs are found to be effective, especially when led by highly trained advocates. Women in such programs report experiencing less violence over time, higher quality of life, and social support as well as better access to community resources (Sullivan 2000). Mosques

and Islamic centers need to allocate resources to train imams and other interested community members to serve as advocates.

Research is needed to understand how widespread domestic violence is within Muslim communities, taking into consideration both mosque-attending and non-mosque-attending groups. The role of religious beliefs in preventing or perpetuating abuse also needs to be examined. Study of factors specific to various Muslim cultural groups that lead to violence, as well as effective interventions to address those causes, and factors that increase batterer accountability and ensure safety for women are needed. Systematic study of the adverse consequences of domestic violence on children in Muslim communities is also needed. Additional research should focus on the extent to which substance abuse contributes to violent behavior and the impact of past trauma on perpetrators.

Tightly prescribed gender roles are established by men in patriarchal societies but often reinforced by women. This is evident in practices such as a mother who encourages her son's violence and discourages affection toward his wife, or a mother insisting that her daughter should stay in an abusive relationship (Dabby and Poore 2007). Studying these factors will contribute toward a better understanding of the dynamics and culturally competent interventions for Muslim families. Shelter programs are the most effective ways to ensure safety for abused women (Gordon 1996) or reduce the likelihood that they would be abused again (Berk et al. 1986). However, given that Muslim women may be reluctant to go to a shelter, alternative community-based services should be developed to ensure safety. Outreach to local shelters imploring them to include concerns of Muslim women in creating culturally competent, safe programming should also be considered.

Muslim scholars acknowledge the importance of *ijtihad* (Abou El-Fadl 2006; Al-Hibri 2003; Gomaa 2013b), so as to adapt to societal norms, particularly in the realm of gender relations, and increase participation of women in all aspects of public life. Islamic law can keep up with the progress of modern times, while remaining true

to its religious core beliefs and cultural identity. Within Islam, there has been a growing change in using an approach that aims to reclaim and re-interpret religion in a manner that respects wom-en's rights (Kirmani and Phillips 2011). Sev-eral organizations worldwide, ranging from UN agencies to national and local NGOs and com-munities, have utilized religiously-grounded ap-proaches to gender-related advocacy. They have encouraged the involvement of religious leaders in the promotion of women's rights, as well as inspired women themselves to gain knowledge and understand interpretations of religious texts that pertain to gender-related issues (Kirmani and Phillips 2011). However, focusing on only religious-based interventions is mired with chal-lenges, including the possibility of legitimizing structures of power that may have an agenda of reinforcing the power of local men rather than engaging women to reclaim their rights. Certain specific beliefs or misinterpretations of religious texts within faith traditions are often inappropri-ately used to justify harmful practices against women; therefore, collaboration with faith com-munities with inclusive participation by both men and men, and developing faith-based com-munity programs have a tremendous potential to promote women's rights and safety within rela-tionships.

Summary

Islam established guidelines for spousal relation-ships based on mutual love, compassion, and mercy. The Qur'an declares unequivocally that both males and females are free, equal and re-sponsible agents who are called upon to pursue the path of righteousness, and each will be ac-countable for their own actions. However, men's leadership role and greater accountability to safeguard the rights of women are construed by some men as permission to use abusive behavior. Within marital relationships, men are instructed to live with their wives in kindness or leave them in kindness, and that they should not harm them. Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) instructed his com-panions and followers to be kind to women and stated that the best of men were those who were best to their wives. He also admonished men who mistreated and abused women.

Some men misinterpret verse 4:34 in the Qur'an which charges men to be financially re-sponsible for their wives, owing to their greater physical strength and ability, to support and pro-tect women. This verse spells out several sequen-tial steps of conflict resolution that a husband may take in case of his wife's indecency, which start with verbal admonishment and may even-tually culminate in a light tap with a toothbrush (*miswak*) or a scarf. Several traditional and me-dieval scholars interpret this verse in light of the higher principles of compassion, love, and mercy laid out in the Qur'an and the Prophet's teach-ings; they suggest that men should refrain from this last step. Also, all scholars agree that Islam condemns domestic violence. In order to redress gender inequity, several Muslim scholars have proposed "*ijtihad*," which entails understanding the teachings of Islam, guided by its own prin-ciples, to adjust to the changing roles and obliga-tions of men and women in modern times.

Muslim communities need to acknowledge do-mestic violence in their midst, and participate in community-wide programs that promote healthy relationships, condemn domestic violence based on the teachings of Islam, and provide culturally competent interventions for Muslim women and men. Imams and religious leaders need to hold perpetrators accountable and ensure the safety of women and families. Collaboration with main-stream agencies will provide access to a wide range of support services for abused women and their children, and ensure that batterers complete the mandated batterer intervention programs. Un-derstanding the nature and dynamics of domestic violence as well as differentiating between inti-mate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple's conflict will enable religious leaders to make sound treatment decisions and ensure the safety of women. Networking with existing faith-based and mainstream programs will further en-hance training options and expedite safe referrals and interventions.

References

Abd al-Ati, H. A. (1977). *The family structure in Islam*. Baltimore, MD: American Trust Publications.

Abd al-Ati, H. A. (1997). *Islam in focus*. Nasr City, Cairo: Al-Falah Foundation.

Abdullah, K. (2007). A peaceful ideal, violent realities: A study on Muslim female domestic violence survivors. In M. B. Alkhateeb & S. E. Abugideiri (Eds.), *Change from within: Diverse perspectives on domestic violence in Muslim communities* (pp. 69–89). Great Falls, VA: Peaceful Families Project.

Abelson, R. P., & Miller, J. C. (1967). Negative persuasion via personal insult. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 3*(4), 321–333.

Abou El-Fadl, K. (2006). *The search for beauty in Islam: A conference of the books*. Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield.

AbuSulayman, A. A. (1993). *Towards an Islamic theory of international relations: New directions for methodology and thought* (Y. T. DeLorenzo, Trans.). Herndon, VA: International Institute of Islamic Thought.

AbuSulayman, A. A. (2003). *Marital discord: Recapturing the full Islamic spirit of human dignity*. Herndon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought.

Afshar, H. (1994). Muslim women in West Yorkshire: Growing up with real and imaginary values amidst conflicting views of self & society. In H. Afshar & M. Maynard (Eds.), *The dynamics of "race" and gender: Some feminist interventions* (pp. 127–148). London: Taylor & Francis.

Al-Hibri, A. Y. (1997). Islam, law and custom: Redefining Muslim women's rights. *American University Journal of International Law and Policy, 12*(1):1–44.

Al-Hibri, A. Y. (2000). Muslim women's rights in the global village: Challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Law and Religion, 15*(12), 37–66.

Al-Hibri, A. Y. (2003). An Islamic perspective on domestic violence. *Fordham International Law Journal, 27*, 195–224.

Ali, A. Y. (1999). *The Qur'an translation*. Elmhurst, NY: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an.

Ali, O. M., Milstein, G., & Marzuk, P. M. (2005). The Imam's role in meeting the counseling needs of Muslim communities in the United States. *Psychiatric Services, 56*(2), 202–205.

Alkhateeb, S. (1999). Ending domestic violence in Muslim families. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 1*(4), 49–59.

Alkhateeb, S. (2006). *The Muslim wheel of domestic violence*. Retrieved from http://www.lfcc.on.ca/muslim_wheel_of_domestic_violence.html. Accessed 09 July 2012.

Alkhateeb, M. B. (2007). Affecting change as an Imam. In M. B. Alkhateeb & S. E. Abugideiri, (Eds.), *Change from within: Diverse perspectives on domestic violence in Muslim communities* (pp. 187–202). Great Falls, VA: Peaceful Families Project.

Ammar, N. H. (2006). Beyond the shadows: Domestic spousal violence in a "democratizing" Egypt. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 7*(4), 244–259.

Ammar, N. H. (2007). Wife battery in Islam: A comprehensive understanding of interpretations. *Violence Against Women, 13*(5), 516–526.

Angarola, A., Steiner, S. E., & Zimmerman, S. (2013). *Engaging men in women's rights and empowerment in South Asia and the Middle East*. United States Institute of Peace: Peace Brief. Retrieved from http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PB145-Engaging-Men-in-Women%27s-Rights.pdf. Accessed 15 May 2013.

An-Nawawi, A. Y. (1999). *Riyad-us-Saliheen*. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Darussalam.

Asad, M. (1980). *The message of the Qur'an*. Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus.

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237–248.

Aziz, S. F. (2012). *The Muslim "veil" post-9/11: Rethinking women's rights and leadership*. Policy Brief. A joint publication from the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding and the British Council. Retrieved from http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/ISPU_Brief_AzizTerrMuslimVeil_1126_(1).pdf). Accessed 12 May 2013.

Badawi, J. (1995). *Gender equity in Islam: Basic principles*. Plainfield, IN: American Trust Publications.

Bagby, I. A. W. (2012). *The American mosque 2011: Report no. 1*. Washington DC: Council on American-Islamic Relations. Retrieved from http://sun.cair.com/images/pdf/The-American-Mosque-2011-part-1.pdf. Accessed 05 Dec 2012.

Bakhtiar, L. (2007). *The sublime Quran: Translated by Laleh Bakhtiar*. Chicago, IL: Kazi Publications.

Barlas, A. (2002). "*Believing women*" *in Islam: Unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Berk, R. A., Newton, P. J., & Berk, S. F. (1986). What a difference a day makes: An empirical study of the impact of shelters for battered women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 481–490.

Brehm, J. W. (1966). A theory of psychological reactance. In W. W. Burke, D. G. Lake, & J.W. Paine (Eds.). *(2008). Organization change: A comprehensive reader* (pp. 377–390). New York, NY: Jossey-Bass.

Campbell, J. C., & Soeken, K. L. (1999). Women's responses to battering over time: An analysis of change. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14*, 21–40.

Dabby, C., & Poore, G. (2007). *Engendering change: Transforming gender roles in Asian and Pacific Islander communities*. San Francisco, CA: Asian and Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence (APIIDV). Retrieved from http://www.apiidv.org/files/Engendering.Change-Report-APIIDV-2013.pdf. Accessed 14 Oct. 2012.

Davis, D. W. (2007). *Negative liberty: Public opinion and the terrorist attacks on America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Desai, S., & Haffajee, Z. (2011). Breaking the silence: Reclaiming Qur'anic interpretations as a tool for empowerment and liberatory praxis for dealing with domestic violence in Canadian Muslim communities. *Canadian Woman Studies, 29*(1–2).

Dobash, R. P., Dobash, R. E., Wilson, M., & Daly, M. (1992). The myth of sexual symmetry in marital violence. *Social Problems, 39*, 71–91.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*, 88–102.

Eissa, D. (1999). *Constructing the notion of male superiority over women in Islam. The influence of gender stereotyping in the interpretation of the Qur'an and the implications for a modernist exegesis of rights*. Ocassional Paper 11: Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML). Retrieved from http://www.wluml.org/sites/wluml.org/files/import/english/pubs/pdf/occpaper/OCP-11.pdf. Accessed 03 Nov. 2012.

Engineer, A. (1996). *The rights of women in Islam*. Islamabad: Vanguard Books.

Ghayyur, T. (2009). *Domestic violence survey analysis*. Retrieved from http://www.soundvision.com/info/domesticviolence/2009survey.asp. Accessed 10 Aug. 2012.

Goff, P. A., Steele, C. M., & Davies, P. G. (2008). The space between us: stereotype threat and distance in interracial contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*(1), 91–107.

Gomaa, S. A. (2013a). *Women: Do women take unequal shares of inheritance in Islam*. Ali Gomaa: Grand Mufti of Egypt. Retrieved from http://www.ali-gomaa.com/?page=scholary-outputso_details=16. Accessed 12 Feb. 2013.

Gomaa, S. A. (2013b). *Fatwas: Family issues*. Ali Gomaa: Grand Mufti of Egypt. Retrieved from http://www.ali-gomaa.com/?page=fatwasfatwa_details=489. Accessed 12 Feb. 2013.

Gondolf, E. W., & Williams, O. J. (2001). Culturally focused batterer counseling for African American men. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 2*(4), 283–295.

Gordon, J. S. (1996). Community services for abused women: A review of perceived usefulness and efficacy. *Journal of Family Violence, 11*(4), 315–329.

Grewal, Z. (2009). *Death by culture?: How not to talk about Islam and domestic violence*. Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU). Retrieved from http://www.ispu.org/pdfs/ISPU%20-%20Domestic%20Violence.pdf. Accessed 13 April 2013.

Haddad, G. F. (2000). *Living Islam: Questions and answers*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.se/~m9783/fiqhi/fiqha_e32.html. Accessed 10 Oct. 2012.

Haj-Yahia, M. M. (1998). Beliefs about wife beating among Palestinian women. The influence of their patriarchal ideology. *Violence Against Women, 4*(5), 533–558.

Haque-Khan, A. (1997). Muslim women's voices: Generation, acculturation, and faith in the perceptions of mental health and psychological help. *Dissertation Abstracts, 58*(5-B).

Harrell, S. P., & Bond, M. A. (2006). Listening to diversity stories: Principles for practice in community research and action. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 37*(3–4), 365–376.

Hassan, R. (1996). Religious human rights and the Qur'an. *Emory International Law Review, 10*, 85–96. Retrieved from http://cslr.law.emory.edu/fileadmin/media/PDFs/Journal_Articles_and_Book_Chapters/10.EILR.Hassan.Religious_Human_Rights_and_the_Qur_an_01.pdf. Accessed 09 Oct. 2012.

Hassouneh-Phillips, D. S. (2001). "Marriage is half of faith and the rest is fear Allah": Marriage and spousal abuse among American Muslims. *Violence Against Women, 7*, 927–946.

Heath, J. (2004). *The Scimitar and the veil: Extraordinary women of Islam*. Mahwah, NJ: Hidden Spring.

Hodge, D. R. (2001). Spiritual assessment: A review of major qualitative methods and a new framework for assessing spirituality. *Social Work, 46*(3), 203–214.

Hovland, C. I., & Pritzker, H. A. (1957). Extent of opinion change as a function of amount of change advocated. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 54*(2), 257–261.

Huddy, L., Feldman, S., Taber, C., & Lahav, G. (2005). Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies. *American Journal of Political Science, 49*(3), 593–608.

Islamic Social Services Association (ISSA). (2011). *ISSA joins the many muslim voices call to action: Increased domestic violence awareness and intervention*. Retrieved from http://www.issaservices.com/issa/domesticviolenceawarenesscampaign.html. Accessed 10 Dec. 2012.

Johnson, M. P. (2005). Domestic violence: it's not about gender–or is it? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67*(5), 1126–1130.

Kalkan, K. O., Layman, G. C., & Uslaner, E. M. (2009). Bands of others? Attitudes toward Muslims in contemporary American society. *Journal of Politics, 71*(3), 847–862.

Karim, K. H. (2003). *Islamic peril: Media and global violence*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Khalafallah, H. (1984). Closing the door of thought. *Index on Censorship, 13*(3), 30–31.

Khan, M. M. (1997). *The translation of the meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Darrussalam.

Keller, J., & Dauenheimer, D. (2003). Stereotype threat in the classroom: Dejection mediates the disrupting threat effect on women's math performance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*, 371–381.

Kirmani, N., & Phillips, I. (2011). Engaging with Islam to promote women's rights exploring opportunities and challenging assumptions. *Progress in Development Studies, 11*(2), 87–99.

Knowles, E. S., & Linn, J. A. (2004). Approach–avoidance model of persuasion: Alpha and omega strategies for change. In E. S. Knowles & J. A. Linn (Eds.),

Resistance and persuasion (pp. 117–148). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Krantz, G., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2005). Violence against women. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 59*(10), 818–821.

Latif, Z. (2011). The silencing of women from the Pakistani Muslim Mirpuri community in violent relationships. In M. M. Idriss & T. Abbas (Eds.), *Honour, violence, women and Islam* (pp. 29–41). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace.

Mahmoud, M. A. (2006). To beat or not to beat: On the exegetical dilemmas over Qur'an, 4: 34. *Journal of the American Oriental Society, 126*(4), 537–550.

McGuire, W. J. (1964). Inducing resistance to persuasion: Some contemporary approaches. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*. New York: Academic Press.

Mernissi, F. (1995). Arab women's rights and the Muslim state in the twenty-first century: Reflections on Islam as religion and state. In M. Afkhami (Ed.), *Faith and freedom: Women's human rights in the Muslim world* (pp. 33–50). Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV, n. d.). *Domestic violence facts*. Retrieved from http://www.ncadv.org/files/DomesticViolenceFactSheet(National).pdf). Accessed 14 Dec. 2012.

Panagopoulos, C. (2006). The polls-trends: Arab and Muslim Americans and Islam in the aftermath of 9/11. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 70*(4): 608–624.

Pence, E., Paymar, M., Ritmeester, T., & Shepard, M. (1993). *Education groups for men who batter: The Duluth model*. New York: Springer Pub. Co.

Pew Research Center. (2011). The future of the global Muslim population: Projections for 2010–2030. *The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life*. Retrieved from http://www.pewforum.org/The-Future-of-the-Global-Muslim-Population.aspx. Accessed 16 Aug. 2012.

Rahman, F. (1980). A survey of modernization of Muslim family law. *International Journal of Middle East Studies, 11*(4), 451–465.

Rahman, F. (1982). The status of women in Islam: A modernist interpretation. In H. Papanek & G. Minault (Eds.), *Separate worlds: Studies of purdah in South Asia* (pp. 285–310). Delhi: Chanakya Publications.

Rani, M., Bonu, S., & Diop-Sidibe, N. (2004). An empirical investigation of attitudes towards wife-beating among men and women in seven sub-Saharan African countries. *African Journal of Reproductive Health, 8*(3), 116–136.

Sayeh, L. P., & Morse Jr, A. M. (1995). Islam and the treatment of women: An incomplete understanding of gradualism. *Texas International Law Journal* (30), 311. Retrieved from http://www.law-lib.utoronto.ca/Diana/fulltext/saye.htm. Accessed 04 Aug. 2012.

Schmader, T., & Johns, M. (2003). Converging evidence that stereotype threat reduces working memory capacity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*(3), 440–452.

Shaheen, J. (2009). *Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people*. Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press.

Sides, J., & Gross, K. (2013). Stereotypes of Muslims and support for the war on terror. *The Journal of Politics, 1*, 1–16. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022381613000388.

Smith, J. L., & White, P. H. (2002). An examination of implicitly activated, explicitly activated, and nullified stereotypes on mathematical performance: It's not just a woman's issue. *Sex Roles, 47*(3–4), 179–191.

Spencer, S. J., Steele, C. M., & Quinn, D. M. (1999). Stereotype threat and women's math performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 35*(1), 4–28.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*(5), 797.

Stone, J. (2002). Battling doubt by avoiding practice: The effects of stereotype threat on self-handicapping in white athletes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(12), 1667–1678.

Stowasser, B. F. (1994). *Women in the Qur'an, traditions, and interpretation*. Oxford University Press.

Sullivan, C. M. (2000). A model for effectively advocating for women with abusive partners. In J. P. Vincent & E. N. Jouriles (Eds.), *Domestic violence: Guidelines for research-informed practice* (pp. 126–143). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

The Muslim Institute (2010). *Muslim marriage contract*. Retrieved from http://muslimmarriagecontract.org/contract.html. Accessed 09 Nov. 2012.

Violence Against Women Through a Buddhist Lens

Shanta Nishi Kanukollu and Quyen Epstein-Ngo

While there are a number of works on Buddhism and gender (Cabezon 1992; Faure 2003; Gross 1993), there is a paucity of dialogue and available literature on the topic of violence against women (VAW) in Buddhist communities. This may be related to a common assumption that VAW does not, or cannot, occur in a religious community that is commonly known for its tenets of compassion, mindfulness, and nonviolence. Even while working on this chapter, we found ourselves often needing to explain the necessity of this chapter to others and the need for a discussion on the relationship between religion and gender violence, without an exclusion of Buddhism. Little association or understanding of VAW in Buddhist communities seems to be common. Findings from a study in Bhutan, a country in South Asia

S. N. Kanukollu (✉)
Division of Psychological Services, Nineteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Lake County, Waukegan, IL, USA
e-mail: snishik@gmail.com

Q. Epstein-Ngo
Institute for Research on Women and Gender, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Substance Abuse Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Injury Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

Michigan Institute for Clinical & Health Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

where Buddhism is the state religion and where a vast majority of the 700,000 citizens identify as Buddhist, a majority of women endorsed the belief that their husbands had the right to beat them. The head of Bhutan's Commission for Gross National Happiness, Karma Thiteem, reportedly called these findings "surprising" and "shocking" and shared that these attitudes were "totally inconsistent" with Buddhist teachings (Arora 2011). This belief that husbands have the right to beat their wives appears to reflect a disconnect between broader Bhutanese culture and society, and the contrasting voice of Buddhism's deeper, more ancient egalitarianism which could subvert existing gender hierarchies. We believe that this disconnect is not unique to Bhutan, and we hope to explicitly highlight how the fundamental core beliefs of Buddhism are incongruent with VAW. We hope that this chapter encourages more dialogue in and out of Buddhist communities, while not ignoring the realities of everyday practices and social structures. More specifically, in this chapter, we will (1) briefly describe the history of Buddhism and its import to America, (2) examine the status of women and the role played by gender and feminism in varying Buddhist contexts, (3) discuss considerations for treatment providers, community leaders, and religious and spiritual leaders to keep in mind when working with those in Buddhist communities who are impacted by VAW, and (4) briefly discuss implications and future directions for clinicians, researchers, and religious and community leaders.

Our discussion in this chapter is by no means comprehensive due to the breadth and depth of Buddhism and the way in which it is practiced in varying cultural contexts. The term "Buddhism" does not refer to a monolithic entity but covers a number of practices, doctrines, and ideologies, which become increasingly complicated by variations based on the specific Buddhist tradition under discussion (e.g., Tibetan Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, etc.). Also, while we discuss a few ideas central to Buddhism, such as The Eightfold Path, it should be noted that Buddhism encompasses a number of other values and tenets as well that are not distinctively Buddhist and can be found across religions, such as compassion and love. For the scope of this chapter, however, we limit our discussion to understanding how The Eightfold Path, an important piece of Buddhist practice across all traditions, and other basic principles within Buddhism may be used to address VAW at both the individual and community levels.

History, Immigration, and Demographics

The tradition of Buddhism is founded on the vision of a royal prince named Siddhartha Gautama, also known as Shakyamuni or Buddha (the Awakened One), who was born in what is currently known as Nepal sometime between 663 and 563 B.C.E. Scholars believe that Shakyamuni left his family and worldly power at the age of 29 to find enlightenment, which he reportedly found after 6 years of intense meditation and practice (Lopez 2001). The teachings spread by Buddha provided clear guidance in achieving a release from everyday struggles and suffering and were especially attractive in India during a time where the main religion of the time, Hinduism, offered rigid social and ritualistic structure. Today, in varying contexts and languages, teachers of the Buddhist tradition convey the basic principles taught by Buddha and the practices that he believed led to his awakening. While the main crux of Buddhist teachings are related to releasing oneself from human suffering, the actual

means to do this vary by the particular type of Buddhism being practiced.

According to the Pew Research Center, Buddhists comprise 0.7 % of the overall adult population in the USA with half of them belonging to one of three major groups—Zen, Theravada, or Tibetan Buddhism. Additionally, about a third (32 %) of Buddhists in the USA are Asian while a majority (53 %) are white (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life 2008).

Buddhism was first brought to America by early Asian immigrants in the late 1800s with the opening of the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 and the migration of Asians who came to work on the Transcontinental Railroad between 1863 and 1869. Additionally, a number of American troops who fought in World War II brought back with them their Japanese, Buddhist brides and had an increased awareness of Eastern religions and philosophy. Furthermore, with the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959, many Buddhist refugees found a home in the USA, impacting the growth of Buddhism in the West. This paralleled Japanese missionary movements that sought to offset the conversion of Buddhists to Methodism in the USA, bringing currently relevant and large organizations such as Soka Gakkai to the West (Hadley 2011).

Today, a few centuries after Buddha's passing, the expression of Buddhism differs based on the interpretation and practice of Buddhist teachings coupled with variations of culture. Indeed, a number of Buddhist communities and organizations have emerged across the world, impacted by varying sociopolitical factors, language, and other cultural influences. Buddhism to this day has no single central leader, still honoring Buddha and his teachings, and has no unifying rituals besides honoring the "Three Jewels," sometimes referred to as the "Three Treasures" (Soka Gakkai 2002b). Additional underlying Buddhist beliefs are The Four Noble Truths and The Eightfold Path, which will later be described in more detail. Buddhist schools of thought, however, are generally identified as belonging to one of three streams of thought, Theravada ("Teaching of the Elders"), Mahayana ("Great Vehicle"), and Va-

jrayana ("Diamond Vehicle"; Aiken and Strand 2005).

Buddhist Schools of Thought

Theravada Buddhism has been said to promote teachings that are the closest to the original teachings of Buddha and his disciples. In this school of thought, a Buddhist member's role is to acquire good karma or merit by supporting the spiritual leader's role through donations, financially or otherwise. Practices reinforced in this form of Buddhism include meditative exercises and are based on texts written in an ancient Indian language. Theravada Buddhism is most popular in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, and parts of China. There are a number of traditions within Theravada Buddhism with one of them being Vipassana or Insight Meditation (Aiken and Strand 2005).

Mahayana Buddhism, in the meantime, discusses the importance of awakening oneself to one's "Buddha nature," which can be described as an individual's inherent wisdom and compassion. Followers of Buddha are encouraged to meet the Bodhisattva Ideal, which emphasizes the postponement of one's own liberation to help others also reach the final goal of Buddhism known as Nirvana, a transcendent state where there is no suffering, desire, or sense of self. Bodhisattvas, those enlightened individuals who assist others on the path to Nirvana, are expected to cultivate the Six Perfections—generosity, good conduct, patience, vigor, meditation and wisdom—and are encouraged to transcend the ideas of self and greed (Lyall 2008). Additionally, Mahayana Buddhism is known for its egalitarian perspective as people of all socioeconomic, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds can achieve enlightenment or tap into their "Buddha nature." Buddhist groups that fall under the umbrella of Mahayana tradition include all forms of Zen, Lotus, Tibetan, and Pure Land Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism has become popularized by the monk known as the Dalai Lama while Lotus Buddhism is most well known in the USA by the lay-based organization known as Soka Gakkai International (SGI). The impact of Mahayana Buddhism is evident particularly in Tibet, China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and Nepal.

Lastly, Vajrayana Buddhism, an extension of Mahayana, focuses on distinctive practices in pursuing enlightenment and is named for the *vajra*, a symbol of the imperishable diamond, of thunder and lightning. This school of Buddhism developed in Tibet, Nepal, northern parts of India, Mongolia, and parts of China and is centered around the religious figure known as the *lama* (Lyall 2008). For more information on Buddhism and its history, the authors of this chapter suggest a review of works such as Smith and Novak (2003) and Hagen (1997). Especially for those mental health professionals who may work with individuals and/or families who identify as Buddhist, a better understanding of basic Buddhist concepts, which is outside of the scope of this chapter, is key in providing the best possible care.

Buddhism has been very attractive to many in America who are interested in cultivating their spirituality and holistic self-care. This is evident by the number of Buddhist values cited in movements for peace, ecology, animal rights, and with the use of terms associated with Buddhism such as "Zen" in marketing strategies for everything from food to cosmetic products. Some individuals may even adopt Buddhist values without converting officially to the Buddhist religion. They may read about Buddhism and incorporate its principles into day-to-day life without allegiance to a specific temple or set of traditions. This phenomenon has been called "nightstand Buddhism," according to Thomas Tweed (2002), a professor of religious studies at the University of North Carolina, who asserts that there are those who read about this religion and may identify as Buddhist but do not necessarily belong to any of the three schools of Buddhist thought mentioned earlier. Due to this wide spectrum of Buddhist practices and conceptualizations, it is challenging to discuss gender violence within this religious context in a way that addresses all individuals who identify with this religion. Consequently, for the purposes of this chapter, we focus on the common threads found in Buddhist schools of thought—the Three Treasures, the Four Noble

Truths, and the Eightfold Path—and their relationships with gender and gender violence. Additionally, the general message of Buddhism is discussed in relation to this social issue.

Gender and Feminism in Buddhism

There is sparse literature with, at times, conflicting messages on the topics of gender, gender roles and gender violence within Buddhism in both the academic and nonacademic contexts. While the West has had a fascination with Eastern philosophies and spirituality over several decades, there is very little research on the status of women in Buddhist communities or on how Buddhism shapes women's lives. Additionally, the little research available on these topics is limited in scope, focusing on the differing treatment of monks versus nuns or on Buddhism in the Thai cultural context. Moreover, a number of these works are not empirical in nature, based on observation or personal experience, and do not represent all Buddhist schools of thought.

Gender roles in the Theravada tradition in Thailand, for example, are molded by a hierarchy of social rules and protocols known as *kreng jai* which play a large role in Thai family structure, habits, and social interactions from early childhood (Klunklin and Greenwood 2005). These rules do not apply to other schools of Theravada Buddhism. In this cultural context, however, only males are permitted into formal priesthood and always precede women in religious celebrations while women are allowed to become nuns but have a lower status in the temple, cooking and cleaning for the monks (Klunklin and Greenwood 2005). Women may even be forbidden to be in physical proximity to a monk in Thailand due to a fear of contaminating him (Lyttleton 2000). This is reflective of traditional Thai constructions of gender and gender roles. The idealized vision of a Thai woman is known as *kulasatri* and is defined as being proficient in household duties, graceful in appearance and social manners, and conservative sexually (Sittitrai and Brown 1994). The *kulasatri* is complementary to the ideal Thai man, the *chaaii chaatri*, who is expected to be

hypermasculine, getting into physical altercations and being sexually insatiable. This is just one example of how religion can be closely intertwined with, and informed by, traditional cultural belief systems. In this example, we see how gender roles in the Buddhist context are shaped by traditional Thai constructions of gender that may have been created prior to or after the introduction of Buddhism to Thailand. Indeed, the way in which religion is performed or acted out in a community may be a reflection of that community's interpretation of a religion, which in turn, is impacted by age, gender, educational attainment, socioeconomic status, and personal history. Here, the idea of intersectionality, or the understanding that a person's experiences and personal identity are informed by their different social locations and personal as well as cultural assumptions, helps to both frame and highlight the complexity of the associations between religion and gender in the context of specific cultures at specific times. The way in which religion is understood and the manner in which its rituals or ceremonies are performed is further complicated by its import and evolution in the immigration context. Using the aforementioned example of gender roles in Thai Buddhism, the immigration context may shape these beliefs further with the additional influences of acculturation, generational differences, and bicultural identity.

In contrast, despite sexist practices found in some Buddhist institutions, there are other schools of thought that call attention to the closeness between Buddhism and feminism. Rita Gross (1993) discusses how Buddhism and feminism have at least four important similarities to one another. First, she stresses how both began with experience and cannot deny or repress the relevance of experience when attempting to internalize conventional views and dogmas. Second, she brings to attention how both Buddhism and feminism hold on to important truths and have the capacity to go "against the grain" at any cost. With Buddhism's nonconventional teachings of the lack of salvation from external sources, the nonexistence of a permanent abiding self, and about the importance of suffering, it is set apart from how other religions view life and what they

generally promise. Similarly, feminism has been known to exalt unconventional and unpopular truths about conventional gender privilege and hierarchy. Third, both feminism and Buddhism explore how mental constructs have the power to breakdown or perpetuate problematic barriers to liberation. In Buddhism, the ego and its habitual tendencies are examined while in feminism social conditioning and its relationship to gender stereotypes and conventional gender roles are explored. Indeed, there is no known work about how Buddhism understands these often painful gender conventions but it does question the basic human patterns and processes that prevent well-being. Lastly, Gross (1993) discusses the overlap in Buddhism and feminism as they both yearn for liberation from a certain existence. In Buddhism, liberation is conceptualized as freedom from the world and its inherent suffering as well as freedom from these struggles while in the world. Feminism, in the meantime, communicates liberation as freedom from gender roles, gender stereotypes, and oppression (Gross 1993).

Feminism fits nicely within the framework of Buddhism for additional reasons, with both being important viewpoints from which to discuss VAW. In an interview published in the online magazine *Tricycle*, Nancy Baker Sensei, a professor of philosophy at Sarah Lawrence College, draws attention to Buddhism and feminism's shared practice of letting go of labels and identities that can be limiting. The label of "victim," for example, is one that is inherently disempowering and can feed into the cycle of patriarchy. This does not equate to silencing the emotions that victims of violence are entitled to experience, including anger. Instead, Baker Sensei discusses the importance of feeling, allowing and acknowledging the anger that is justifiably there but not acting out from this place of anger. She states, "in an oppressive situation where anger is in some sense appropriate, we need to think about different ways of being angry. If I just blindly react with anger, it's not very productive compared to responding with something like righteous indignation, which has some dignity and rationality about it" (Rubenstein et al. 2001). Indeed, this discussion of feminism and its re-

lationship to Buddhism differs greatly from the earlier one on gender roles in the Thai Buddhist context. In the latter context, labels based on gender and social standing seemed to go hand-in-hand with Buddhist practices whereas the Buddhism discussed by Baker Sensei encourages a more compassionate practice that strives to end suffering. This is not to say that problematic gender roles or assumptions of gender fall exclusive in the domain of Thai Buddhists. Indeed, one can find examples of unhealthy, sexist attitudes and practices in any culture, such as messages given to women and girls in the USA concerning self-worth and body image that can become intertwined with religion in various ways. The point we hope to raise here is that gender and religion do inform each other, that these topics can be discussed from various perspectives, and that additional research examining the interrelationship between gender and religion could provide very useful information regarding the occurrence of and reduction in VAW. The wide gap in the discussion of gender roles and ideology within Buddhism urges greater exploration of the basic tenets of Buddha's teachings and how to differentiate them from ritualistic practices present in some cultural contexts.

Buddhist Principles and Implications for Gender Violence

Despite the conflicting messages apparent in the discussion of Buddhism, there are commonalities across all schools of Buddhist thought which include the Three Treasures, The Four Noble Truths, and the Eightfold Path. Each of these assist individuals in achieving enlightenment, or the awakening to the true nature of life, and together cover a wide range of values and topics essential to Buddhist practice. The Three Treasures include the *Buddha, Dharma*, and *Sangha* (Aiken and Strand 2005; Soka Gakkai 2002b). The *Buddha* can be interpreted literally as referring to the founder of Buddhism, Siddharta Gautama, or to one's own "Buddha Nature," which is considered to be the consciousness and cognitive power to attain enlightenment (Dalai Lama 2010). *Dhar-*

ma refers to the path Buddhist practitioners are encouraged to follow to obtain enlightenment, which includes The Four Noble Truths and The Eightfold Path as fundamental concepts. Lastly, the *Sangha* refers to the gathering or community of individuals that strive to live in a Buddhist manner and may include religious leaders, monks, nuns, and lay individuals. These community members are encouraged to preserve and pass on the teachings of Buddha, ensuring that future generations reap the benefits of his practice. While we are not familiar with any works that relate gender violence with the Three Treasures, it is important to note their relationship to one another and their impact on survivors and perpetrators of VAW within the Buddhist community.

The belief in each individual's capacity to understand their own Buddhahood may cause some to ignore the reality that perpetrators may exist within this religious group. The Lotus Sutra, one of the teachings of Buddha, discusses that one can attain Buddhahood in one's ordinary, mortal form (Soka Gakkai 2002a). A question that may arise then is how to balance a social issue, such as gender violence, with the belief that an individual striving for enlightenment may also be battling their own "demons" and engaging in interpersonal violence. Similarly, a question that survivors of violence may have is how to balance feelings of anger towards their perpetrator while working towards attaining their own Buddhahood by following Buddha's *Dharma*. Indeed, it may prove to be very challenging to actually live the truths established by Buddha when the emotional and physical sequelae of gender violence persist in a survivor's daily life. Moreover, individuals who are in the midst of an abusive relationship may wrongly believe that wanting their abuse to end is another desire that will continue or worsen their suffering. However, there is a difference between knowing that in this moment you are in an abusive relationship and assuming that you should be in an abusive relationship for the entirety of your earthly existence. Buddha could have remained a privileged prince with the assumption that his wealth, power, and privilege were deserved. However, he did not. He left and sought

to grow and learn and to find a path that felt right to him. In the same token, victims of abuse need not remain in their abusive relationships, but can follow their dharma so that they can also grow, learn, and find their path to enlightenment.

Alternatively, some women may feel that the abuse they receive or the assault they experienced was a result of the karma they have built up in previous lifetimes, and that their suffering in this lifetime is payment for previous bad deeds. Karma, however, is not a form of punishment meted out against those with transgressions from past lives; it does not call for passive acceptance of or mere endurance of what happens to one. In fact, karma has to do with the law of consequences (that every action has consequences) and the idea that every person is responsible for what they do. In terms of abusive relationships or sexual assaults, this places the responsibility of violence perpetration squarely on the shoulders of the perpetrators and NOT their victims. It also urges victims to be responsible for their own individual actions when possible in terms of accepting help when offered and fostering compassion for themselves, without putting blame on them for their painful situations.

For women who have received violence from others, Buddhism can be a path to healing and forgiveness. The earthly ties we have to our partners or significant others are not what will give us enlightenment. Enlightenment is an internal state. If one truly follows the tenets of Buddhism, then we see that being compassionate and accepting also applies to compassion and acceptance of ourselves. This means understanding that every life is sacred, including our own, and that it is perfectly in accord with Buddhist ideals to seek safety and protection so that we can continue to grow and reach enlightenment. For some women, the best option may be to stay until a clear safety plan can be formulated. For others, immediately leaving the situation may be the best option. Karma can be viewed as a mechanism through which we learn the lessons that we failed to learn previously. Perhaps that lesson is one of self-love and care. This highlights the importance of the role played by religious leaders in the lives of survivors of gender violence as they may have

insight into how to honor another's Buddhahood while holding them accountable for unacceptable behaviors and while following one's own *Dharma*. It is therefore imperative for leaders to be aware of their attitudes towards rape myths (e.g., the woman did something to deserve or cause the sexual assault; Burt 1980) and domestic violence myths (e.g., the abuse was caused by the woman who instigated the arguments; Peters 2008), as conscious or unconscious acceptance of these myths in conjunction with a misinterpretation of Buddhist principles (e.g., all abuse and bad events in a person's life are deserved because of bad karma) can merge to create a situation in which women are blamed for the violence they experience rather than receiving the help and support they need from their community.

These responsibilities also rest on the *sangha*, the gathering or community of individuals dedicated to following Buddha's teachings. A large body of research highlights the importance of social support for female survivors of VAW as it is related to lower levels of suicide risk, mental health difficulties, and general distress (Adkins and Kamp Dush 2010; Kaslow et al. 2000; Mitchell and Hodson 1983; Thompson et al. 2000). Informal social supports seem especially important with two thirds to all VAW survivors accessing support from family and friends, whether or not they also access formal services such as health care providers or shelters (Goodman et al. 2003; Hamby and Bible 2009; Levendosky et al. 2004; Rose et al. 2000). This is due to a number of reasons including fear of stigma for betraying one's own community, concerns about the chain of events that may occur after seeking help from a formal institution, a possible gap between what formal services can offer versus what a survivor may actually need, or a belief that one's family or friend circle knows the situation or person better than someone outside of the community (Goodman and Smyth 2011). Gender violence occurs within a community context that has the power to maintain or alleviate the problem, and within the Buddhist community, the *sangha* offers a network that has the opportunity to assist survivors emotionally, physically, and spiritually.

According to the teachings of Buddha, The Four Noble Truths assert that (1) life invariably entails pain, anguish, stress, or dissatisfaction (i.e., *dukkha*), (2) the cause of *dukkha* is the deluded craving in all forms (i.e., the desire or craving for things to be different than they are), (3) the cessation of *dukkha* can be found through the relinquishment and abandonment of deluded cravings, and (4) the path leading to the cessation of *dukkha*, or to enlightenment, can be achieved through a method known as the Noble Eightfold Path (Aiken and Strand 2005). While it is possible for The Four Noble Truths to be interpreted as conveying a negative or pessimistic worldview, it can be seen instead as a pragmatic perspective that highlights the reality of life and attempts to rectify it. The avenues offered to rectify the experience of suffering are described in The Eightfold Path, which encourages Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Concentration, Right View, and Right Resolve (Aiken and Strand 2005). The three categories into which the Path is divided include: good moral conduct (Understanding, Thought, Speech), meditation and mental development (Action, Livelihood, Effort), and wisdom or insight (Mindfulness and Concentration; Bodhi 2011).

One can draw a connection between these teachings of Buddha to gender violence, a form of suffering. The Eightfold Path can be paralleled, for instance, to tools used by mental health practitioners to treat those suffering from emotional distress. Rational emotive behavior therapy (REBT), for example, a type of cognitive behavioral therapy introduced by Albert Ellis suggests that therapists help clients determine which cognitions create stress and suffering and then work to get rid of them (Ellis and Ellis 2011). This is similar to Buddha's concepts of Right Effort and Right Mind within the Eightfold Path, which encourages practitioners to examine their minds and determine if there are helpful or harmful mental states present. Once these mental states are identified, harmful mental states can then be abandoned while helpful ones are cultivated (Sullivan 2011). As described by Albert Ellis' widow, "…Vipassana [Buddhism] and

REBT both encourage skeptically and healthily evaluating one's thinking, and both encourage the use of reason to choose beliefs that are most life-enhancing" (Sullivan 2011).

In the context of gender violence, women who are in violent relationships can be empowered to examine their situation and understand how their environment is contributing to their negative mental states. For example, when one honors one's own Buddhahood, there can be an understanding that when Buddhism teaches that all life is precious, this includes our own lives and our own selves which are not meant to be abused, demeaned, or degraded in an abusive relationship. Remaining in an abusive relationship, even if there are "honeymoon" periods of apologies and regret, is not in service to honoring the Buddha within us. Through meditation, mental development, and reliance on their *Sangha*, women experiencing abuse may be able to honor their own Buddhahood and gain insight on how to safely break the cycle of violence in their lives and protect themselves. Similarly, perpetrators may be encouraged to understand how their own harmful mental states lead them to engage in negative and violent behaviors, whether in the form of emotional, physical, or sexual abuse, and to explore the suffering within themselves that needs to be healed and addressed. For example, men may abuse their partners because of their expectations regarding how a spouse "should" act or how a partner "belongs" to them in some way. Alternatively, others may abuse their partners because of anger or frustrations in other parts of their lives. All of these factors are related to assumptions and expectations that inevitably lead to disillusionment, disappointment, and anger which can culminate in abusive behaviors towards those closest to us.

It is important to note that though life is described as including suffering in The Four Noble Truths, it by no means encourages acceptance of this suffering to the point of helplessness or resignation. As mentioned earlier, Buddhism's very existence stemmed from going "against the grain" and questioning social roles and hierarchy that were felt to be problematic. The same spirit can and should be tapped into by the Buddhist

community with no tolerance for VAW and greater use of Buddhist principles to stop this form of violence.

Considerations for Religious Leaders, Community Members, and Treatment Providers

All members of the Buddhist community, including religious leaders and lay individuals, have the potential to interrupt the cycle of violence at the individual, familial, and community levels. Informal support systems such as one's religious community can play an important role in providing support for survivors of VAW as well. Research suggests that even when women who are abused seek professional help from a community agency or mental health professional, they report that the long-term support that assists in resolving the violent relationship is more likely to come from informal networks and supporters (Mancini et al. 2006). Unlike a formal support system, members within a survivor's religious or spiritual community can provide support in a wide variety of ways including childcare, financial assistance, transportation to and from health-related appointments, emotional support at all hours of the day, and advice that incorporates religious or spiritual components. What follows is not a comprehensive discussion of how Buddhist teachings may be related to gender violence but rather a starting point for Buddhist leaders and community members to consider when addressing the needs of VAW survivors, perpetrators, and their families. Specifically, in this section, we highlight ways in which The Eightfold Path can be utilized in supporting both survivors and perpetrators of VAW. Examples are provided using several factors of The Eightfold Path but further examination of how these Buddhist tenets can be used to counter patriarchal systems that promote or condone gender violence are encouraged.

The Eightfold Path includes Right View and Right Intention as two of the eight factors that can help cultivate the wisdom needed to move towards the ultimate goal of ending suffering. As mentioned earlier, The Eightfold Path is divided

into three categories, with Wisdom as one of the three categories, consisting of Right View and Right Intention. Right View is considered a guide for all other factors and proposes that one's right view leads to right actions which ultimately lead to freedom from suffering (Bodhi 2011). This, of course, is a very simplified version of a rich and complex philosophical concept, but, for the purpose of this chapter, Right View may be understood in this manner. This may be a relevant factor for religious leaders to consider when working with perpetrators of gender violence. Rather than shying away from working with these individuals, religious leaders are urged to understand and shift the views perpetrators have towards their partners and towards their gender roles in the home. According to Buddhist philosophy, Right View involves an accurate understanding of the Buddha's teachings and its accurate application in one's life, including how to express oneself and how to conduct oneself. Additionally, actions are recognized as being wholesome or not based on their underlying motives and moral quality (Bodhi 2011). This perspective within Buddhism can directly guide discussions with male perpetrators regarding the incongruence between the teachings of Buddha and VAW in order to break the cycle of violence with the assistance of spirituality.

Right Intention can be described as the cognitive aspect of Right View and includes the intentions of renunciation, good will, and harmlessness. To achieve these goals, the Buddha noticed thoughts related to desire, ill will, or harmfulness, reflected on them and then strengthened thoughts of the opposite nature to expel the less desirable ones (Bodhi 2011). Interestingly, this echoes principles of cognitive-behavioral therapy within the field of psychology, which proposes that cognitive activity affects behavior, may be monitored and altered, and can lead to desired behavior change through cognitive change (Dobson and Dozois 2010). Treatment providers may thus use basic principles of cognitive-behavior therapy to facilitate change in the cognitions of perpetrators and survivors who identify as Buddhist while paralleling it to the concept of Right Intention in The Eightfold Path.

The next three steps in The Eightfold Path—Right Speech, Right Action, and Right Livelihood—may be grouped together as they all pertain to moral discipline. Right Speech includes abstaining from negative forms of speech such as false speech, slanderous speech, harsh speech, and idle chatter. Right Action is described as abstaining from the taking of life, abstaining from taking what is not given, and abstaining from sexual misconduct. Right Livelihood, in the meantime, encourages one to earn their living in a righteous way (Bodhi 2011). These statements can be interpreted literally to discourage the abuse of women in intimate partner relationships through harsh speech and action but may also be understood in terms of what values should be encouraged instead. The idea of abstaining from the taking of life, for example, discourages the destruction of anything that has consciousness but also implies the encouragement and development of kindness and compassion for all other beings.

Interestingly, compassion is a topic that has received much attention in the world of psychology, with a number of positive outcomes related to showing others kindness and altruism. Individuals engaged in contemplative practices such as meditation, for example, have been found to be less prone to feeling guilty, less prone to depression and anxiety, and are higher in openness, general agreeableness, and altruism towards strangers (O'Connor 2012). Compassionate altruism, in turn, is related to a happier life and may even be a preventative measure for forms of abuse such as VAW. Indeed, Buddhism discusses the notion of "self" and "no-self" and encourages people to not differentiate between themselves and others. Whether this is followed from a Buddhist perspective or from a secular one, compassionate altruism promotes community members to care for one another and ensure their safety, happiness, and satisfaction. This is something community members, religious leaders, and treatment providers can all encourage to put an end to violence in their communities. It is important to note that compassion not only means protecting others from harm but also protecting oneself from emotional, physical, and psychological violence. Right Action does not only mean abstaining

from certain negative actions, but it should also include compassion for one's own traumas and feelings as well as kindness to oneself by creating boundaries and distance from those that are unsafe or harmful. Nancy Baker Sensei, a professor of philosophy and Buddhism, discusses the concept of "compassionate allowing," which is not the same as condoning, as it is a nonviolent resistance and a form of bearing witness. She states, "If I am going to help other women and not just myself, the truth of oppression has to be seen for what it is by everyone. I need to invite the whole world to bear witness with me. When Rosa Parks refused to go to the back of the bus, she sat still long enough so that everyone could see the truth" (Rubenstein et al. 2001). When working with survivors of VAW, religious leaders and Buddhist community members are urged to keep this concept of "compassionate allowing" in mind, permitting feelings of the anger and sadness that are only natural given the circumstances.

Implications and Future Directions

Clinical Treatment providers may work with survivors of gender violence from a number of different theoretical perspectives and in varying modalities (i.e., individual therapy, group therapy, etc.). They may also have spiritual backgrounds of their own that can interact with those of a Buddhist client. Irrespective of the professional or personal background of a service provider, we strongly suggest that Buddhist values and the cultural context of the client be incorporated into treatment based on their needs or identification with these factors. Once the safety of the client has been assessed and established, it is important for treatment providers to assess how their clients identify in terms of religiosity and spiritual beliefs. As mentioned earlier, individuals who identify as Buddhist in the USA range from being "nightstand Buddhists," reading about Buddhist practices such as mindfulness and meditation in their spare time, to those who belong to a specific Buddhist organization or differentiate themselves

as Theravada Buddhist, Tibetan Buddhist, etc. Knowing to what extent an individual comprehends and internalizes Buddhist beliefs can help tailor the ways in which clinicians build rapport with their clients and guide them in interrupting the cycle of violence.

Second, given the common ground between Buddhism and feminism (see Gender and Feminism in Buddhism section above), it may be important for clinicians and other treatment providers to utilize techniques that involve an experiential component when working with survivors of VAW. Examples include using mindfulness techniques and meditation to regulate mood and encourage a "compassionate allowing" of emotions. There is increasing research on the use of mindfulness-related techniques in psychological therapy, which should be explored as an option for female clients that may feel comfortable with and benefit from this type of intervention. These experiential-based practices should be utilized only after a solid understanding of these interventions and an exploration of the client's comfort level in engaging in them. We recommend an exploration of literature on dialectical behavior therapy (Linehan 1993), mindfulness-based cognitive therapy (Segal et al. 2002; Williams et al. 2007) and Buddhist psychology (Davidson and Harrington 2001; De Silva 2000).

Lastly, this discussion on the use of important Buddhist tenets (i.e., The Three Jewels, The Eightfold Path) in treatment urges clinicians to consider other ways in which religious beliefs can be used to interrupt the cycle of violence. At its truest form, we believe that religion and spirituality have egalitarian views that promote love, compassion, and overall well-being. This chapter provided some examples of how Buddhist beliefs can help heal and empower women that have experienced VAW. We hope that other examples can be found and discussed in and out of the Buddhist context and that religious leaders can be brought into this dialogue. Having a partnership between treatment providers and the religious community is key, given the relevance of both these perspectives and the importance of

informal support systems for survivors of inter-personal violence.

Research As previously discussed, there is little to no research on the topic of using Buddhist values or teachings to prevent and interrupt the cycle of VAW. We hope to emphasize the strong need for future work to be conducted on this topic as Buddhists comprise a significant percentage of the population in the USA and may even be bigger than reported due to varying definitions of what it means to identify with this religion or way of life. What follows are a few ideas on future directions on this topic as this chapter is simply a starting point for a much-needed dialogue between treatment providers, religious leaders, and community members.

First, current research and literature on Buddhist communities in the USA seem to focus on one group or geographic area at a time. Though a daunting task, it may be important to explore differences between Buddhist groups with particular focus on how each understands gender and gender violence in their respective communities. By doing so, one can avoid "lumping" all Buddhist groups together and honor important intra-group differences that are important to consider when working with survivors of VAW. Second, with contradicting views on the status of women based on varying sociocultural contexts, a study that explores how survivors of VAW use their spirituality and religious communities is greatly warranted. The voices of these women may be silenced by shame or fear of the consequences of disclosure, making it more important for researchers, community members, and clinicians alike to listen carefully to these women's needs. Third, similar research is needed on men in the Buddhist community. More specifically, research should explore men's understanding of their gender roles and of masculinity and the intersection of both with Buddhist ideals. We believe that men benefit from mutually respectful relationships and would gain emotional wellbeing as sons, fathers, and brothers who do not condone gender violence. Lastly, while there is some lit-erature that urges a more "network-oriented approach" (Goodman and Smyth 2011), there is no known research on how mainstream domestic violence services can connect with existing Buddhist organizations to improve survivors' safety and well-being. Future work should explore how to create a partnership between the Buddhist community and mainstream domestic violence system, given the centrality of social networks to the daily lives of VAW survivors.

Conclusions

Despite the basic tenets of love and compassion taught within Buddhism, we know that VAW occurs. We also know that we do not know enough about this issue within Buddhist communities, nor do we know enough about how best to support and treat victims of VAW from Buddhist communities in spiritually competent and relevant ways. That VAW is incongruent with the teachings of the Buddha is supported by the Right View on the Eight-Fold Path. Yet, we know that we all fall short of our ideal selves, that who we are is informed not only by who we hope to be but also by the experiences that we have and the context in which we live. On the one hand, we know that life is as it is and that to expect it to be different, according to Buddhist traditions, is the source of suffering. Yet, we all strive to grow and to do better, and as part of our growth is the hope that things can and will get better. So, there is this tension between acceptance of what is and our striving for growth. Tangled within this struggle is the context of our lives; the mundane, every day interactions that may lead us to accept the idea that husbands have a right to beat their wives, or that nuns should subjugate themselves to their monk counterparts. If instead we can remember that at the core of Buddhism, indeed at the core of most religions, are the ideals of love and compassion, or right-mindedness and right action, then that is the seed that can be nurtured to both heal the wounds of VAW and prevent the cycles of violence from continuing.

References

Adkins, K. S., & Kamp Dush, C. M. (2010). The mental health of mothers in and after violent and controlling unions. *Social Science Research, 39*, 925–93.

Aiken, B., & Strand, C. (2005). *A reporter's guide to Buddhism in America*. http://www.sgi-usa.org/newsandevents/newsroom/americanbuddhist.pdf. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Arora, V. (2011). Buddhist Bhutan wrestles with 'shocking' abuse study. *The Huffington post: Religion*. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/10/buddhist-bhutan-wrestles-_n_821606.html. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Bodhi, B. (2011). *The Noble Eightfold path: Way to the end of suffering* [Kindle DX Version]. Amazon.com

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38*, 217–230.

Cabezon, J. I. (Ed.). (1992). *Buddhism, sexuality, and gender*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Dalai Lama. (2010). *On Buddha nature*. http://www.pbs.org/thebuddha/blog/2010/may/3/impossible-choices-thinking-about-mental-health-is/. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Davidson, R. J., & Harrington, A. (Eds.). (2001). *Visions of compassion: Western scientists and Tibetan Buddhists examine human nature*. Oxford: Oxford Press.

De Silva, P. (2000). *An introduction to Buddhist psychology* (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Dobson, K. S., & Dozois, D. J. A. (2010). Historical and philosophical bases of the cognitive-behavioral therapies. In K. S. Dobson (Ed.), *Handbook of cognitive-behavioral therapies* (3rd ed., pp. 3–38). New York: The Guilford Press.

Ellis, A., & Ellis, D. (2011). *Rational emotive behavior therapy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Faure, B. (2003). *The power of denial: Buddhism, purity and gender*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gross, R. (1993). Buddhism is feminism. Abridged from *Buddhism after patriarchy: A feminist history, analysis and reconstruction of Buddhism*. http://www.trinity.edu/rnadeau/asian%20religions/Lecture%20Notes/Mahayana%20Buddhism/Buddha%20Gross%20Feminism.htm. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Goodman, L. A., & Smyth, K. (2011). A call for a social network-oriented approach to services for survivors of intimate partner violence. *Psychology Of Violence, 1*(2), 79–92.

Goodman, L. A., Dutton, M. A., Weinfurt, K., & Cook, S. (2003). The intimate partner violence strategies index: Development and application. *Violence Against Women, 9*(2), 163–186.

Hadley, B. (2011). *The growth of Buddhism in America* (unpublished paper). Spiritual studies from a global perspective: The ongoing East-West dialogue. Unity Institute, Unity, Missouri.

Hagen, S. (1997). *Buddhism: plain and simple*. New York: Broadway Books.

Hamby, S., & Bible, A. (2009). *Battered women's protective strategies*. Harrisburg, PA: VAWnet, a project of the National Resource Center on Domestic Violence/Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence. http://www.vawnet.org

Kaslow, N. J., Thompson, M. P., Brooks, A. E., & Twomey, H. B. (2000). Ratings of family functioning of suicidal and nonsuicidal African American women. *Journal of Family Psychology, 14*, 585–599.

Klunklin, A., & Greenwood, J. (2005). Buddhism, the status of women and the spread of HIV/AIDS in Thailand. *Health Care for Women International, 26*, 46–61.

Levendosky, A. A., Bogat, G. A., Theran, S. A., Trotter, J. S., von Eye, A., & Davidson, W. S. (2004). The social networks of women experiencing domestic violence. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 34*, 95–109.

Lopez, D. S. (2001). *The story of Buddhism: A concise guide to its history and teachings*. San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers.

Linehan, M. M. (1993). *Cognitive behavioral treatment of borderline personality disorder*. New York: Guilford Press.

Lyall, G. (2008). *The rise of the Mahayana*. http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/buddhistworld/maha2.htm. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Lyttleton, C. (2000). *Endangered relations: Negotiating sex and AIDS in Thailand*. Amsterdam: Harwood academic.

Mancini, J., Nelson, J., Bowen, G., & Martin, J. (2006). Preventing intimate partner violence: A community capacity approach. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 13*(1), 203–227.

Mitchell, R. E. & Hodson, C. A. (1983). Coping with domestic violence: Social support and psychological health among battered women. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 11*(6), 629–654.

O'Connor, L. E. (2012). Meditation, happiness and compassionate altruism. *Psychology Today*. www.psychologytoday.com/blog/our-empathic-nature/201207/meditation-happiness-and-compassionate-altruism. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Peters, J. (2008). Measuring myths about domestic violence: Development and initial validation of the domestic violence myth acceptance scale. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment, and Trauma, 16*, 1–21. doi:10.1080/1092677080 1917780

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. (2008). *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey: Religious beliefs and practices: Diverse and politically relevant*. http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Rose, L. E., Campbell, J., & Kub, J. (2000). The role of social support and family relationships in women's responses to battering. *Health Care for Women International, 21*, 27–39.

Rubenstein, A., Greenstein, T., & Dzialo, C. (2001). Of samurai and sisterhood. *Tricycle, Spring 2001*. http://

www.tricycle.com/-archives/samurai-and-sisterhood. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Segal, Z. V., Williams, J. M. G., & Teasdale, J. D. (2002). *Mindfulness-based cognitive therapy for depression: A new approach to preventing relapse*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Sittitrai, W., & Brown, T. (1994). Risk factors in HIV infection in Thailand. *AIDS, 8*(Suppl., 2), S143–S153.

Smith, H., & Novak, P. (2003). *Buddhism: A concise introduction*. New York: Harper San Francisco.

Soka Gakkai. (2002a). Buddhahood. In *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* (p. 59). Tokyo: Author.

Soka Gakkai (2002b). Three treasures. In *Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*. (p. 733). Tokyo: Author.

Sullivan, M. S. (2011). The Buddha and Albert Ellis: The Eightfold Path meets the ABCs of REBT. *Psychology Today*. http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/ratio-nal-buddhism/201107/the-buddha-and-albert-ellis-the-eightfold-path-meets-the-abcs-rebt. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Thompson, M. P., Kaslow, N. J., Kingree, J. B., Rashid, A., Puett, R.,… Matthews, A. (2000). Partner violence, social support, and dis- tress among inner-city African American women. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 28*, 127–143.

Tweed, T. A. (2002). Who is a Buddhist?: Night-stand Buddhists and other creatures. In C. S. Prebish & M. Baumann (Eds.). *Westward dharma: Buddhism beyond Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Williams, M., Teasdale, J., Segal, Z., & Kabat-Zinn (2007). *The mindful way through depression*. New York: Guilford Press.

Religious Syncretism and Intimate Partner Violence in the Chinese American Community

<div style="text-align: right;">**22**</div>

Quyen Epstein-Ngo and Shanta Nishi Kanukollu

Asian Americans are often lumped together in mainstream discussions about ethnic minority groups in the USA. This chapter attempts to highlight the complexity and richness of Chinese American history as it pertains to its religious roots and how these roots inform our understanding of violence against women in the Chinese American community. Because violence against women is a relatively broad term, we will specifically focus on intimate partner violence (IPV), as the majority of assaults against women are perpetrated by someone they know, usually a partner or spouse, with nearly one third of female homicides being committed by intimate partners (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control 2003). Although there are few studies addressing IPV in Chinese American communities, estimates of

prevalence rates for IPV among Chinese Americans range from 18–27 % (Yu 2005).

Attempts at understanding Chinese sensibilities have resulted in numerous writings regarding the historical, cultural, political, and religious context of China and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese diaspora. Chinese Americans, like many immigrant groups in the USA, are caught at the intersection of the norms of their country of ancestry (China), the USA, and factors associated with immigration. These complex interactions are especially salient during this time in US history when Asian Americans have become the fastest growing racial minority group in the USA, with Chinese Americans representing the largest proportion of this racial group (Pew 2013). Moreover, the vast majority of Chinese Americans in the USA today are immigrants, with 76 % reporting that they were not born in the USA (Pew 2013).

We argue that the majority of what has been written regarding Chinese Americans is framed in terms of *Chinese hegemonic* discourse, which emphasizes, among other things, the role of patriarchy, collectivism, and filial piety. What is less central to mainstream discussions with and about Chinese Americans, is the marginalized, pro-egalitarian, pro-woman counter-discourse that has existed within the Chinese and Chinese American community for more than a century (Chen 1995; Schein 1997; Woo 2006; Yung 2008). These counter-discourses have challenged mainstream Chinese American beliefs as well as broader US stereotypes and assumptions about

Q. Epstein-Ngo (✉)
Institute for Research on Women and Gender, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA
e-mail: qen@med.umich.edu

University of Michigan Substance Abuse Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Injury Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

University of Michigan Addiction Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

S. N. Kanukollu
Division of Psychological Services, Nineteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Lake County, Waukegan, IL, USA

Chinese Americans. These discourses are relevant to the discussion of IPV as they can give voice to survivors of IPV while promoting change within the larger community with regard to empowering and supporting victims. In a community, like many others, where looking away from and accepting violence against women has been justified for the sake of presenting the face of a harmonious family or community, these counter-discourses are key in shifting the status quo.

Counter-discourses are not completely absent from writings about Chinese Americans but they are more often related to racial oppression and disregard issues of sex and gender (i.e., Chinese male perspectives). We attempt to centralize this discussion around the counter-discourses which argue for gender equality in order to engage religious leaders, lay people, a-religious individuals, and mental health professionals. We recognize that it is imperative to engage Chinese American men and women from varying perspectives in these discussions, with particular attention to the role of religion in preventing and intervening with current and future violence. It is only through the commitment and collaboration of all members of the Chinese American community and their allies that violence against women can be remediated.

In the course of this chapter, we will (1) briefly describe the immigration history and current demographic trends of the Chinese American community; (2) briefly examine the major religions associated with Chinese Americans; namely, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity,; (3) review the implications and consequences of violence for a community; (4) examine current treatments and interventions in the field; and (5) discuss considerations for religious and spiritual leaders, community leaders, and formal mental health service providers who wish to work in this realm.

Our approach throughout this chapter will use the lens of intersectionality to explore, examine, and challenge what we understand about the role of religion in violence against Chinese American women. Theories of intersectionality examine identity as a complex and ever-changing structure in which an individual's racial, cultural, gen-

der, and socioeconomic identities are intertwined and informed by personal experiences (Collins 1989; Deaux and Stewart 2001). This approach acknowledges the heterogeneity within Chinese American communities; that the identity and experiences of a first-generation Chinese American immigrant from Taiwan will be tremendously different from a third-generation Chinese American whose family came from the mainland of China. Moreover, intersectionality suggests that these identities will be informed by the individual's gender and social class, geographical location within the USA, and a myriad of other factors that are unique to that person. The diversity of family histories and immigration stories within Chinese American communities dictates that this chapter be relatively broad in scope. It scratches the surface of the many complex issues that community and religious leaders along with formal mental health service providers face when addressing IPV among Chinese Americans.

Finally, although our chapter focuses on Chinese American churches, the syncretistic nature of Chinese religions and spirituality requires an overview of the major Chinese religions in order to understand the religious and spiritual context of Chinese Americans today. In other words, Chinese religions interact dynamically with each other and with Chinese culture more broadly to create fluid, dynamic, and unique expressions of spirituality that are adaptable and inventive. As Tak-Ling Terry Woo describes it, "a woman can simultaneously hold Confucian values, belong to a Taoist temple, and pray for help to Guanyin, a Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion—and all without exclusive allegiance to any particular monk, nun, priest, priestess, or organization" (Woo 2006, p. 208). This explains how Confucian values can continue to live within Chinese American churches, or how a Chinese American individual can simultaneously believe in Jesus Christ, and the Buddhist ideals of compassion and self-discipline.

This syncretism may explain why Chinese Americans who are atheist or who claim no religious affiliation continue to participate in religious events or practices within the community. The fluid nature of Chinese religions may be due,

in part, to the fact that some of the major Chinese religions are viewed as a life philosophy, rather than a formal, theistic religion. Our hope in writing this chapter is that this examination of the complexity of Chinese American communities and religions will offer a common language, understanding, and goal towards ending violence against women.

Immigration, Current Demographics, and Characteristics

Immigration and Sociohistorical Context Like many who were lured by the promise of wealth during the 1849 Gold Rush in the USA, the first wave of Chinese émigrés came with dreams of quickly finding gold with which they could return home in order to improve the economic situation of their families in China. However, the Chinese miners faced prejudice and racism with little real opportunity of gaining wealth.

Discriminatory immigration laws, including the Page Act of 1875 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, stemmed the flow of Chinese immigrants into the USA, hitting a low of 50,000 in 1890 (Pew 2013). Despite the hardships and challenges endured by early Chinese immigrants, the perseverance of these small communities speaks to their resilience and strength. Chinese Americans of the time combated violent pogroms using civil disobedience and lawsuits, arms when necessary, and sheer determination and refusal to leave their new homes (Pfaelzer 2007). Chinese American women carried an additional burden of needing to wage a war on sexism and patriarchal domination within their own community.

A content analysis of one of the major Chinese language newspapers from 1900 to 1911 reveals efforts to advocate for women's education, to eliminate footbinding, and to end prostitution within the community, exemplifying a pro-woman counter-discourse of the time (Yung 2008). These efforts were informed by the political context and activism in China, and were framed as a way of making China and the Chinese diaspora stronger (Yung 2008) and more "Western." Interestingly, it is unclear if this comparison to the "modern West" was a reflection of the internalization of racist constructions of Chinese people and culture, or if this was an effort by Chinese American women to use the discourse of the day to promote their efforts for gender equality in their communities.

Current Demographics and Characteristics Racist immigration policies remained in place in the USA for nearly a century until their repeal in 1943 and 1965 with the Immigration and Nationality Reform Acts (Lee 2006). The lifting of anti-Chinese immigration policies in the USA led to significant changes in the landscape of the Chinese American community, with the majority of Chinese Americans currently reporting that they are foreign-born, though 69% of Chinese immigrants today are US citizens (Pew 2013). This group reports being generally more satisfied with their lives than other Americans, with greater emphasis placed on having a good marriage (59% report being married in comparison with the national average of 51%) and being good parents (Pew 2013). Moreover, Chinese Americans are, on average, more highly educated, with 51% of adults over the age of 25 years holding a college degree, which is well above the national average (Pew 2013). However, Chinese Americans are also more likely to report problems with prejudice and racism than other Asian American communities (Pew 2013). While the median income for Chinese Americans is higher when compared to other Asian American groups or the US population at large, Chinese Americans are also more likely to live in poverty than other Asian Americans or the US population at large, revealing a wide range in socioeconomic status within these communities (Pew 2013).

Gender and Culture in Chinese America Despite the long-standing counter-discourse regarding the need for gender parity, Chinese culture today is still typically characterized as patriarchal (Ho 1990). In a traditional Chinese family, males often hold the authority as heads of the households (Bradshaw 1994). A key relationship within the family is between father and son, with power and leadership passed on patrimonially

(Bradshaw 1994). Echoing the possible views of Confucius, Chinese women are expected to be submissive, nurturing, and complementary to the man's role (Uba 1994).

The relationship between these traditional gender role beliefs and IPV among Chinese American women is unclear. Yick (2000) found that for one Chinese American sample with histories of domestic violence, gender role beliefs did not predict physical victimization over a 12-month period. More widespread and general research, however, indicates the contrary. Crossman et al. (1990) suggest that men who endorse more traditional gender role attitudes tend to sanction the use of violence and hit their wives more often. Also, hypermasculine men have been found to be more aggressive, in general, and in particular towards those who violate feminine gender role norms (Reidy et al. 2009). It is possible that gender role beliefs do not predict physical revictimization but do influence the sanctioning of violence and aggression towards women within Chinese American communities. It is likely that perceptions of domestic violence are influenced, as well, with women being blamed and held more responsible than their perpetrators for violence against them. Indeed, Yu (2005) reports that Chinese American women often refuse to seek help as they fear "losing face" or the negative perceptions that they may incur as a result of revealing their abuse. The uneven power structure in the home may also decrease the likelihood of disclosure of violence within the family. With Chinese women expected to maintain social harmony in the family (Woo 2006), they may feel obligated to remain silent about IPV to uphold familial and social harmony. In the immigration context, this pressure is compounded by the stereotype of Chinese Americans belonging to the "model minority."

The Model Minority Myth The term "model minority" was originally proposed to explain the success of Japanese Americans (Petersen 1966, as cited in Cheng 1997), but in recent years, has been applied to all Asians (Cheng 1997; Hirschman and Wong 1986; Tang 1997). The internalization of this stereotype as an ideologi-

cal identity has been considered to be beneficial in producing a host of positive mental health outcomes (Mahalingam 2006; Haritatos 2005). The low utilization of mental health services among Asians at first glance seems to bolster this claim. However, recent research suggests that when Asian patients are more closely examined, their mental health conditions are in fact significantly more severe and chronic than patients of other cultural backgrounds (Lin and Cheung 1999). Depression has been found among Chinese American immigrants and refugees, especially, which may be a consequence of social isolation, lowered status, grief, acculturation stress, war trauma, financial problems, and other social stressors (Lee 1997). More attention is needed towards understanding the negative impact of the model minority stereotype and the pressures that come with it. Little to no research has been done specifically on the relationship between the model minority myth and gender violence. For example, how does being stereotyped as the model minority impact the disclosure of IPV? Does the need to maintain the model minority stereotype create a barrier in seeking treatment or in addressing short- and long-term consequences of gender violence?

A Brief Overview of Chinese Culture and Religions

Approximately 52 % of Chinese Americans are religiously unaffiliated, 31 % identify as Christian, and 15 % identify as Buddhist; yet, these religious, or a-religious, identities are likely more complicated than these numbers can reveal (Pew 2012). In this section, we briefly review the primary religions found among Chinese Americans (i.e., Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity; for a more in-depth look at contemporary Chinese religions, see Miller 2006). As previously mentioned, we cover all of these religions because of the syncretistic nature of Chinese religions. Moreover, some Chinese Americans identify as unaffiliated religiously, yet still participate in religious traditions to remain connected to their Chinese culture.

Confucianism Confucianism dates back to over 2000 years ago and is a Chinese philosophy that has immense control over the Chinese social structure, moral value system, and way of thinking (Huang and Charter 1996). While Chinese Americans may identify with a specific religion like Christianity, the Confucian way of life is embedded in the Chinese family and community and can work hand in hand with varying religious beliefs. Confucianism is sometimes viewed as a religion, but other times, it is considered more of a philosophy or way of life. It suggests that a stable hierarchical social structure is basic for personal and social harmony. It also asserts that personal desire, without regard for others, is the primary cause of personal and social disharmony (Huang and Charter 1996). By following the demands of role and duty, Confucius believed that individuals could follow a lifestyle characterized by altruism and righteousness. These roles and duties were prescribed by a rigid system with each member of society complying accordingly.

Bradshaw (1994) and other scholars suggest that Confucius spoke disparagingly of women, praising them as mothers, yet expressing that they were difficult to cope with. Women were held responsible for child rearing (Chia 1989) with emphasis on supervision of children, family cohesion, achievement, and maintenance of control through guilt and shame (Sue and Chin 1983). Presumably, guilt and shame, in this instance, refers more to Braithwaite's (1989) conceptualization of reintegrative shame, in which guilt and shame are used to bring individuals back into their communal relationships following the confrontation and resolution of a perceived misstep. This is in contrast to Braithwaite's concept of disintegrative shame, in which individuals are treated as outcasts and personally immoral (Ahmed et al. 2001; Braithwaite 1989). However, it is likely that within Chinese American communities, there may be a combination of reintegrative and disintegrative shame used to socially manage community members. Further research on this subject is needed to better understand the use of guilt and shame in the Chinese American community, particularly with regard to IPV, as well as their potential utility in reducing or eliminating violence against women (for a more comprehensive discussion of guilt, shame, and crime, see Ahmed et al. 2001 and Braithwaite 1989).

Although many believe that the "traditional" autocratic family system is analogous to the vision of Confucius and his teachings, some scholars believe otherwise. Tong (2008) suggests that Confucian philosophy was exploited by the ruling elite of Imperial China in order to control the overwhelming numbers in the general population. Whether Confucianism was altered to serve the political and social needs of a ruling class or whether it has been passed down among the generations in its original form may be a point of debate. What can be agreed upon is that it plays a role in Chinese American families today, directly impacting views on women, family, and division of labor within the home, and indirectly influencing views on violence against women and disclosure of this abuse.

Buddhism Along with Confucianism, Buddhism is considered a "tradition"(*jiao*), which signifies more than its English meaning and refers to something handed down from generation to generation (Woo 2006). The Chinese have infused Buddhism with characteristically Chinese elements over time, though it was originally considered to be a "foreign" religion due to its beginnings in South Asia. It is now considered to be one of the most widespread and visible forms of Chinese religious practice with the ideas of karma and a cosmology of demons, paradises, and saviors now a standard feature of popular Chinese thought (see Chap. 21, for more on Buddhism).

Today, there are a number of sects of Chinese Buddhism that are shaped by and differ by geography, social history of a region, economic well-being of an area, the mission of the monk or nun who founded the sect, and varying levels of intersecting Confucian or Taoist thought. The Buddhist Association for the Merit of Overcoming Difficulties and Compassionate Relief, for example, was created by a nun who challenged popular Buddhism and stressed the need for greater social activism (Woo 2006).

The position of women within Chinese Buddhism varies depending on sect and the extent to

which less traditional values, Confucian beliefs, and individual differences play a role. Today, there appears to be a tension between the perceived traditional misogyny of Buddhism and contemporary opinions of gender equality. On one hand, the founder of Fo Guang Shan, a successful Buddhist organization in Taiwan, has worked on removing the historical differential treatment of monks and nuns, while on the other, the *Lotus Sutra* explicitly states that women have to be reborn as men to achieve enlightenment (Woo 2006).

Taoism (Daoism) The third "tradition" in traditional Chinese religion, Taoism (also known as Daoism), emerged parallel to Confucius intellectual heirs who shaped how we understand Confucianism today. Some consider Taoism to be synonymous with folk religion in China, while others consider them to be separate schools of thought. Unfortunately, what is currently known about Taoism is vague in comparison to other religions in China due to challenges in tracing Taoist individuals, communities, and groups (Woo 2006). This picture is made more complex by the fact that new forms of Taoism began to emerge as the original Taoist community spread throughout China.

In contrast to Buddhism and Christianity, females seem to have more of a presence in the Taoist arena. First, in comparison to these other religions, Taoism includes many female deities (Woo 2006). There are a number of female spirits in Taoism such as Tian Hou in Hong Kong, the Old Mother of Mount Li in a village near Xian, and Nuwa, the female creator god in Chinese mythology. Additionally, the creator deity of the people of Hua-Xia is known to institute marriage and create the eight moral treasures of filial piety, fraternity, loyalty, decorum, trustworthiness, righteousness, incorruptibility, and honor (Woo 2006). Giving a female spirit this amount of importance within the religious and spiritual world seems to conflict with the cultural notion in the Chinese community of women not being suitable as heads of the household or leaders in the religious community. Additionally, according to Woo (2006), in Taoism, men and women are

both believed to have the capacity to become immortals, though the practices to obtain immortality may differ due to the physiology of each sex.

In the present day, Taoist beliefs and traditions can be seen in the continued meditation and visualization practices. Additionally, Taoist figures may be found alongside Buddhist and Confucian ones in restaurants and shops in China and abroad. Similar to other "older" religions of the world, the extent to which Taoist practices and traditions are still upheld varies depending on generation, internalization of more "modern" practices, and the ways in which these traditions are transmitted from one generation to the next.

Christianity Christianity was first brought to China in the sixteenth century by Catholic missionaries and grew steadily until the Opium War in 1839 when the Chinese began to take a more negative view of this religion, associating it with Western imperialism. Years later, Chinese Christians showed their loyalty to a Communist regime but were still persecuted during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 (Alumkal 2003). Once the revolution ended, the Chinese people seemed disillusioned by Communist ideology, allowing for a revival of Christianity in China. The path of Christianity in Taiwan differed slightly. After the takeover of the Communist government in mainland China, Christian missionaries turned their attention towards Taiwan. With more than a million people fleeing mainland China with experiences of trauma and drastic economic, political, and social change, Christianity and missionary efforts were soon adopted. Indeed, the sociopolitical environment in China was key in fostering the growth of religions such as Christianity (see Chaps. 10–12, and 18 for more on Christianity).

In the meantime, in the USA, the Immigration Act of 1965 led to a rapid increase in Chinese immigrants and a new era for Chinese American Christian Churches. This may be due to the match between traditional Confucianist views with those of conservative denominations of Christianity, and exemplifies the syncretism that can exist within Chinese religions. Another school of thought proposes that Christianity was appealing to Chinese women, specifically, for

other reasons and was important in the missionary history of China. Muse (2005) discusses that Chinese women appreciated Christianity's promotion of education among women and its fight against practices occurring in Chinese society at the time such as footbinding, infanticide, prostitution, arranged marriage, and concubinage. Interestingly, while in the early nineteenth century, early Chinese Christian churches (CCCs) acted as a vehicle to combat gender inequality, some contemporary Chinese churches, with their roots in the more conservative sects of Christianity, seem to have become a vehicle to promote traditional Confucian thinking around the subjugation of women both within the family unit as well as in church leadership.

Implications and Consequences of Violence against Women

The physical health, psychological, and financial toll of violence against women is significant. Although no numbers exist for the Chinese American community specifically, the annual economic cost of IPV in the USA is US $5.8 billion, the majority of which (US $4.1 billion) is attributable to direct medical and mental health services (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control 2003). The economic, physical, and psychological cost of the damage inflicted by batterers is the burden of the *entire* community, whose responsibility it is to recognize and address this issue by supporting victims and holding batterers accountable.

Physical Consequences The physical consequences of IPV for an individual survivor can range from minor injuries to chronic physical issues. Interpersonal violence can be fatal when women are murdered by their partners or die from severe or repetitive physical injuries. According to the World Health Organization (2012), health effects of intimate partner and sexual violence can include headaches, back pain, abdominal pain, fibromyalgia, gastrointestinal disorders, limited mobility, and poor overall health. It can also lead to unintended pregnancy, induced abor-

tions, gynecological problems, and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV. For women who experience violence during their pregnancies, IPV also increases the likelihood of miscarriage, stillbirths, preterm delivery, and low-birth-weight infants. While these physical health consequences are not culture specific, they are found among Chinese American survivors of IPV.

Mental Health Consequences Interpersonal violence has been found to be associated with a number of psychological outcomes. IPV, for example, has been linked with depression (Plichta and Weisman 1995), anxiety (Kemp et al. 1995), posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; Kubany et al. 2000), dissociation (Briere et al. 1997), somatization (Ullman and Brecklin 2003), eating disorders, suicide attempts (WHO 2012), and substance abuse. Alcohol consumption rates, for instance, have been estimated to be about five times greater among victims of IPV than among the general population of women (Grant et al. 1994). In another study of women from various community mental health settings, 46.4% of those reporting IPV also reported current drug or alcohol abuse compared to 15.3% of women who did not reported IPV (McCauley et al. 1995). It should be noted that not all survivors of IPV experience the above psychological sequelae of violence to the same extent. Research has indicated that age, educational attainment, victim–offender relationship, ethnicity, and other contextual factors likely play a role in how individuals manifest mental health symptoms. Most studies, however, have not indicated ethnic/racial differences in post-assault psychological distress. Future research on the mental health consequences of IPV survivors should draw specific attention to the mental health consequences of Chinese American IPV survivors as well as other ethnic and racial minority women.

Familial Consequences In addition to individuals, families also suffer as a result of IPV. Children who witness violence between their parents are more likely to be involved in violence and other delinquent behaviors such as alcohol and drug abuse as adolescents and adults (Ireland and

Smith 2009; Kendra et al. 2012; McFarlane et al. 2003). Moreover, children exposed to frequent violence are more likely to view violence as normative and resort to violence more frequently in resolving disputes (Margolin and Gordis 2000). They are also more likely to be depressed, anxious, and exhibit symptoms of PTSD (Margolin and Gordis 2000; McFarlane, et al. 2003). Additionally, as women tend to be the primary caretakers for children, injured mothers may have more difficulty completing household chores (e.g., meal preparations), assisting children with their homework, or supporting their children in other important ways. IPV can also take a financial toll on families when women need to seek medical care, mental health care, or stay home from work because they are unable to work (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control 2003).

Current Trends in IPV Treatment

Treatment for survivors and perpetrators of IPV is offered in various forms and modalities. This includes screening interventions for survivors in acute and primary health care settings, referrals for services as needed, individual and group counseling, as well as social policy interventions and advocacy interventions. Literature on interventions for ethnic minority survivors of IPV, including Chinese Americans, is an area that is slowly gaining momentum. Specifically, since the late 1990s an increasing number of Asian American women have been conducting research and working in mainstream domestic violence programs (Dasgupta and Warrier 1996; Yoshihama 1999). Additionally, a number of programs throughout the nation now focus on IPV among Asian American women, working to build support for these women who often lose family ties in order to be safe. Examples of such programs and organizations include Apna Ghar (Chicago, IL), Asian Womens Shelter (San Francisco, CA), Asian Task Force Against Domestic Violence, Inc. (Boston, MA), Manavi (NJ), Sakhi (New York City, NY), and Narika (Berkeley, CA). Many of these programs not only provide direct clinical services for female survivors of IPV but also facilitate non-direct services such as community outreach, trainings for law enforcement and other professionals, panel discussions, and focus groups. While these programs are growing in different parts of the USA, there are still barriers to obtaining treatment and limitations to what is available for Chinese American women.

According to information obtained from focus groups held with IPV survivors of varying Asian backgrounds (Warrier 2004), there is a need for services that are sensitive to both documented and undocumented battered immigrant women. Additionally, women in these groups indicated being concerned about the judicial system and its lack of trained interpreters and its tendency to push women to prosecute their batterers. This is not always best for the Asian American woman who depends on her family and community for financial and emotional support in the immigration context. Furthermore, existing IPV interventions or the settings in which they are offered have the potential of stereotyping and tokenizing Chinese American survivors, causing additional trauma as a result of the institutionalized racism against Asian Americans and immigrants. Moreover, all participants agreed that more effort needed to be placed in primary prevention in their specific ethnic communities.

Interventions that try to engage the community in the healing process include advocacy and social support interventions (Constantino et al. 2005). These interventions aim to enhance abused women's self-care by helping them make sense of the situation, identify potential solutions, and achieve the goals they have set. One study achieved these goals of empowering Chinese survivors by linking them to community services, providing telephone social support, and informal counseling (Tiwari et al. 2010). Women in this study found the advocacy intervention to be useful in improving their intimate relationships and in helping them resolve conflicts with their partners. This study did not focus on Chinese American survivors alone but highlights the importance of social support and community for women who have experienced IPV. Other research indicates that a woman's perceived availability of social support plays a key role in the response to IPV,

while availability of a supportive environment improves health and interpersonal relationships (Campbell and Soeken 1999). With the cultural emphasis on social harmony and family within Chinese American communities, advocacy interventions may be especially relevant for IPV survivors and their families.

Violence Against Women in the Chinese American Context

The intersection of the religious traditions discussed above, the patriarchal hierarchy characteristic of the Chinese family, traditional cultural gender roles, and the difficulties associated with immigration can create a context that silences discourses around the violence committed against women. To date, much of the writing on IPV in the Chinese American community has framed the issue as a "men versus women" debate, with an emphasis on the elevated role of men within Chinese families and society. We argue that centering this debate around male power within the community further marginalizes the voices of women and their allies (including men) who speak out against violence against women.

Framing this discussion around Chinese cultural values of family unity and community strength and solidarity continues to honor Chinese values while challenging aspects of the underlying patriarchal establishment which has traditionally looked the other way in these matters. As Chinese American women in the early 1900s questioned, How can the Chinese American community reach its full potential if half of its population is uneducated or suffering from violence (Yung 2008)? Additionally, if Chinese American men hope to find fulfilling and lasting life partnerships, they also suffer in their attempts to coexist and co-parent with their female partners who are victims of gender violence at their hands. By committing violence against their wife and partner, Chinese American men deprive themselves of satisfying, loving, and contended relationships. Similarly, in childhood, Chinese males may personally suffer from gender violence by witnessing abuse towards their mothers, sisters,

and other female family members, resulting in internalized feelings of anger and depression. Both men and women are impacted by gender violence and would benefit from actively interrupting its vicious cycle in the Chinese American community.

Building Collaborative Relationships Between Chinese American Religious Communities and Service Providers

Considerations for the Religious and Spiritual Community Whatever the religious affiliation of the individual or family, religious and spiritual leaders within the Chinese American community have the potential of interrupting the cycle of violence. It should be noted that the following considerations discussed are broad in nature and are meant to be a starting point for a much needed larger discussion.

First, it appears that greater education and dialogue is needed within the community about IPV and its short- and long-term consequences. With underreporting of violence among Asian Americans in general, the relevance of this issue often goes unnoticed. This is where it is imperative for leaders within the religious community to remove the stigma around discussing this topic, highlighting its relevance and impact at the multiple levels. Doing so would provide an important precedent and model the importance of talking about social issues, such as IPV, in the community and even in a religious setting.

A second consideration for religious and spiritual leaders is their own biases or assumptions about IPV, with reflection on their views of gender roles and ideology. Within the Chinese Christian context, for example, there appears to be ambivalence on whether women are suitable for ordainment in the church and leadership within the home. In a study that interviewed one CCC, the vast majority of members argued that the Bible does not allow women's ordination or argued that having female church leaders would undermine male headship in the family (Alumkal 2003). Several other members shared a similar sentiment but could not indicate why they felt that

way, stating that they just felt "uncomfortable" with the practice of women as church leaders. In the domain of careers, however, the majority of members thought that men and women were both capable of having the same types of careers. These views are likely to impact how religious leaders view women, how they discuss IPV with other community members, and how they understand the IPV dynamic. Similar to mental health treatment providers, these views should be acknowledged and reflected upon when working with female survivors and even their abusers. No matter how "traditional" or culturally ingrained a practice is, it is imperative for religious or spiritual leaders, along with their community members, to question it when it leads to physical or psychological injury or impairment.

Third, there is some research that highlights the relationship between migration-related stressors and "collective racist trauma" to aggression in the home, including domestic violence. As eloquently put by Tong (2008), "long before an Asian American abuses spouse or children, he has already suffered flagrant and wholesale abuse. This preceding history is not simply traceable to troubles in that universe of experience known as family of origin: it is at the same time bound up with nothing less than the entire fabric of Asian American history and culture itself" (p. 187). Indeed, the experiences of various forms of discrimination outside of the home may impact the psychological well-being of males who are generally accustomed to holding positions of power. The pressures of needing to maintain the image of the "model minority" compounds this stress as many immigrants strive to live a better life in their host country. This is where it is important for religious and spiritual leaders to provide support and opportunity for dialogue to buffer against aggression in the home. Many already play this role in their communities but may need to pay more attention to how frustration in the immigration context is coped with in the home and how it made lead to IPV. In the meantime, it would be important for religious and community leaders to provide shelter for IPV survivors in the Chinese community when they are in need of protection and safety. This would provide survi-

vors with necessary social support during a challenging time while giving an important message of solidarity and intolerance for violence to the larger community.

Lastly, it would be important for Chinese American religious leaders to review specific cultural or religious concepts and explore how they may play a role in preventing or interrupting gender violence. Leaders within the community are their own "experts" of their field so we will not attempt to provide detailed guidance on this topic. Possible examples include a reconceptualization of the role played by the male "head of the family" in the Chinese home. Perhaps the eldest male member can be encouraged to protect their family by interrupting any form of gender violence in the home and promoting the disclosure of such situations. Additionally, Asian American women may hold a strong belief in the power of prayer and may place more importance on spirituality than on health care providers (Ashing et al. 2003). These individuals may also be less inclined to actively participate in decision making and would benefit from guidance from religious leaders on how to pray and turn to God while making steps towards safety.

Acts of resistance to traditional patriarchy are also important from both men and women in the religious community. As the Buddhist Dharma master Xingyun in Taiwan has done, men and women within the religious communities in Chinese America need to act decisively to remove the gender distinctions traditionally seen in religious organizations (Woo 2006). Xingyun has specifically worked to challenge the eight special rules that elevate monks above nuns and require deference of the latter to the former. In an instance in which a junior monk complained to Xingyun that a senior nun had not bowed to him, he replied that, "deference must come from the heart, with respect gained from experience…" (Woo 2006, p. 228). Chinese American religious leaders and community members can challenge rules, assumptions, and traditions that have similarly promoted sexism and the subjugation of women. Why not value the work that women do to bring harmony to the community, to teach our children, and to support our families by also including

them as religious leaders within our communities? What strengths, innovations, and wisdom do we lose when we refuse to listen to each other—to all members of our community? Culturally appropriate considerations and answers to these questions would undoubtedly emerge from dialogue within the community itself and with pertinent religious leaders.

Considerations for Service Providers Irrespective of the professional background and training of the service provider, the authors of this work strongly suggest that certain cultural factors be considered when working with Chinese American women who have experienced IPV. First, it is essential that one's own assumptions or biases about Chinese Americans be acknowledged and reflected upon. Without doing so, treatment providers run the risk of pushing Chinese American survivors towards a decision regarding their partners that may not be suitable for them, or worse, will do more damage than good. The decision to leave a violent partner, for example, may seem appropriate based on the treatment providers own experiences or cultural views but may negate what is best for the Chinese American survivor. Many Chinese American women rely on their partners, families, and communities both financially and emotionally, making the decision to leave their batterers a complicated one. Leaving the batterer may also mean leaving the only community from which they receive support. It is thus imperative for service providers to be mindful of their own biases and cultural perspective while providing services for their clients. This is applicable to individuals within the legal system, mental health profession, medical profession, and any other field that interacts with survivors of IPV.

Second, service providers should be mindful of using a "one-size-fits-all" approach when working with Chinese American IPV survivors. A Chinese American woman who is second generation in the USA may hold values that differ from the Chinese woman who recently immigrated to this cultural context with her partner. One may be more religious or more educated, impacting the comfort level with which she discloses her histo-

ry of violence or trusts a service provider outside of her community. The intersectionality approach may be a useful lens for service providers to use for this purpose. It presents a useful paradigm for understanding the unique embodiments and complex life and health outcomes that have been witnessed for women in various groups (Cole and Zucker 2007; Mahalingam et al. 2006; Pessar 1999; Stewart and McDermott 2004). Acknowledging the uniqueness and specific intersection of social identities for each woman as opposed to lumping them into broad categories such as "woman," "Chinese," or "IPV survivor" is essential in providing them with the most ethical and culturally competent care.

Third, service providers are encouraged to be aware of how they and their Chinese American counterparts define domestic violence. According to Warrier (2004), Asian American participants who had previously experienced IPV shared their thoughts on the term "domestic violence" needing to be better defined or clarified. They shared that without this clarification, identifying victims and perpetrators would be problematic. Two participants suggested extending the definition to include the judicial and immigration systems that perpetuates the victimization of Asian women by denying them access to services. Another participant noted the need to distinguish between the batterer and those that condoned the violence by staying silent about it due to the structure of their family or community. Similarly, Yick and Agbayani-Siewert (1997) found that Chinese Americans were less likely to label behaviors that are typically classified as psychological abuse as domestic violence compared to physical abuse. Additionally, Chinese students were less likely than White students to define dating violence as psychological abuse, possibly because in Chinese culture, there is no dichotomy between the mind and body (Yick and Agbayani-Siewert 1997). These definitions are likely to impact the types of interventions suitable for IPV survivors as well. For a Chinese American individual who resonates with Buddhist philosophy, for instance, meditative techniques may be suitable for emotion regulation.

Other considerations for service providers to think about when working with Chinese American survivors of IPV include the use of bilingual individuals on the treatment team, protection against multiple relationships if translators or other service providers are familiar with the survivor and their family, and collaboration with grass roots efforts dedicated to developing culturally appropriate interventions.

Conclusions

Chinese Americans make up diverse, complicated, resilient, and strong communities. In this changing landscape where Chinese American communities are increasingly first-generation immigrants, the intersection between culture and religion can play a key role in addressing violence against women. The cost of IPV is immense both in terms of economics, physical and mental health, and the effects on younger generations of Chinese Americans. Although first-generation Chinese immigrants may be viewed as more patriarchal and sexist because of US assumptions regarding China, it is important to remember that there are also political movements within China to push for equal rights for men and women which can influence recent émigrés. The limiting factor for these recent immigrants is whether there are supportive, effective resources for women who seek help, and this will depend largely on support from the Chinese American community, in collaboration with formal service providers.

Although we all hold assumptions about groups of people, it is imperative in our efforts to eliminate IPV that broader social assumptions about Chinese Americans be examined. Additionally, it is key for community members, religious leaders, and mental health professionals to reflect on sexist and gendered assumptions based on one's membership in the Chinese American community and to work together to create change. One model, particularly relevant to the CCCs, that can guide the work to end IPV is that of Jesus Christ; a social activist who advocated for the most needy, regardless of age, gender, or

disease, and who spoke up against the greatest injustices of his time. His words, which echo teachings from Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, charge us to, "do to others what you would have them do to you."

References

Ahmed, E., Harris, N., Braithwaite, J., & Braithwaite, V. (2001). *Shame management through reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alumkal, A.W. (2003). Asian American evangelical churches: Race, ethnicity, and assimilation in the second generation. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing.

Ashing, K.T., Padilla, G., Tejero, J., & Kagawa-Singer, M. (2003). Understanding the breas cancer experience of Asian American women. *Psycho-oncology, 12*, 38–58.

Bradshaw, C. P. (1994). Asian American women. In L. Comas-Díaz & B. Greene (Eds.), *Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy* (pp. 72–113). New York: Guilford Press.

Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame, and reintegration*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Briere, J., Woo, R., McRae, B., Foltz, J., & Sitzman, R. (1997). Lifetime victimization history, demographics, and clinical status in female psychiatric emergency room patients. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 185*, 95–101.

Campbell, J.C., & Soeken, K. L. (1999). Women's response to battering: A test of the model. *Research in Nursing and Health, 22*, 49–58.

Chen, X. (1995). Fathers and Daughters in Early Modern Chinese Drama: On the problematics of Occidentalism in cross-cultural/gender perspectives. In X. Chen (Author). *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (pp. 137–156). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cheng, C. (1997). Are Asian American employees a model minority or just a minority? *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 33*(3), 277–290. doi: 10.1177/0021886397333002.

Chia, R. C. (1989). Pilot study: Family values of American versus Chinese-American parents. *AAPA Journal, 13*(1), 8–11.

Cole, E. R., & Zucker, A. N. (2007). Black and White women's perspectives on femininity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*, 1–9.

Collins, P. H. (1989). The social construction of Black feminist thought. [Article]. *Signs, 14*(4), 745–773. doi: 10.1086/494543.

Constantino, R., Kim, Y., & Crane, P.A. (2005). Effects of a Social Support Intervention on Health Outcomes in Residents of a Domestic Violence Shelter: A Pilot Study. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 26*, 575–590.

Crossman, R. K., Stith, S. M., & Bender, M. M. (1990). Sex role egalitarianism and marital violence. *Sex Roles, 22*, 293–304.

Dasgupta, S. D., & Warrier, S. (1996). In the footsteps of "Arundhati" Asian Indian women's experience of domestic violence in the United States. *Violence Against Women, 2*(3), 238–259.

Deaux, K., & Stewart, A. J. (2001). Framing gendered identities. In R. S. Unger (Ed.), *Handbook of the psychology of women and gender* (pp. 84–97). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Grant, B., Harford, T., Dawson, D., Chou, P., Dufour, M., & Pickering, R. (1994). Prevalence of DSM-IV alcohol abuse and dependence: United States 1992. *Alcohol Health & Research World, 18*(3), 243–24.

Haritatos, J. (2005). Becoming American: The intersections of cultural, ethnic, and gender ideals in predicting levels of perceived stress and mental and physical health among Asian immigrants. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Michigan.

Hirschman, C., & Wong, M. G. (1986). The extraordinary educational attainment of Asian-Americans: A search for historical evidence and explanations. *Social Forces, 65*(1), 1–27.

Ho, C. K. (1990). An analysis of domestic violence in Asian American communities: A multicultural approach to counseling. *Women & Therapy, 9*(1–2), 129–150. doi: 10.1300/J015v09n01_08.

Huang, D. D., & Charter, R. A. (1996). The origin and formulation of Chinese character: An introduction to Confucianism and its influence on Chinese behavior patterns. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 2*(1), 35–42. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.2.1.35.

Ireland, T. O., & Smith, C. A. (2009). Living in partner-violent Families: Developmental links to antisocial behavior and relationship violence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(3), 323–339. doi: 10.1007/s10964-008-9347-y.

Kemp, A., Green, B.L., Hovanitz, C., & Rawlings, E.L. (1995). Incidence and correlates of posttraumatic stress disorder in battered women: Shelter and community samples. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 10*, 43–55.

Kendra, R., Bell, K. M., & Guimond, J. M. (2012). The impact of child abuse history, PTSD symptoms, and anger arousal on dating violence perpetration among college women. *Journal of Family Violence, 27*(3), 165–175. doi: 10.1007/s10896-012-9415-7.

Kubany, E.S., Leisen, M.B., Kaplan, A.K., & Kelly, M. (2000). Validation of the Distressing Event Questionnaire (DEQ): A brief diagnostic measure of posttraumatic stress disorder. *Psychological Assessment, 12*, 192–209.

Lee, E. (1997). Chinese American families. In Lee, E. (Ed.), *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Lee, J. H. X. (2006). Contemporary Chinese American religious life. In J. Miller (Ed.), *Chinese religions in contemporary societies* (pp. 235–256). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

Lin, K. M., & Cheung, F. (1999). Mental health issues for Asian Americans. *Psychiatric Services, 50*(6), 774–780.

Mahalingam, R. (2006). Cultural psychology of immigrants: An introduction. In R. Mahalingam (Ed.), *Cultural psychology of immigrants*. Mahwah, NJ.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Mahalingam, R., Philip, C., & Balan, S. (2006). Cultural psychology and marginality: Exploring the immigrant psychology of Indian diaspora. In R. Mahalingam (Ed.), *Cultural psychology of immigrants*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Margolin, G., & Gordis, E. B. (2000). The effects of family and community violence on children. [Research Support, U.S. Gov't, P.H.S. Review]. *Annual Review of Psychology, 51*, 445–479. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.51.1.445.

McCauley, J., Kern, D.E., Kolodner, K., Dill, L., Schroeder, A.F., … Derogatis L. R. (1995). The "battering syndrome": Prevalence and clinical characteristics of domestic violence in primary care internal medicine practices. *Annals of Internal Medicine, 123*, 737–746.

McFarlane, J. M., Groff, J. Y., O'Brien, J. A., & Watson, K. (2003). Behaviors of children who are exposed and not exposed to intimate partner violence: An analysis of 330 black, white, and Hispanic children. *Pediatrics, 112*(3), E202–E207. doi: 10.1542/peds.112.3.e202.

Miller, J. (Ed.). (2006). *Chinese religions in contemporary societies* (pp. 235–256). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

Muse, E. A. (2005). The Evangelical church in Boston's Chinatown: A discourse of language, gender, and identity. New York: Routledge.

National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. (2003). *Costs of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in the United States*. Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Pessar, P. R. (1999). Engendering migration studies: The case of new immigrants in the United States. *American Behavioral Scientist, 42*, 577–600.

Pew. (2012). *Asian Americans: A Mosaic of Faiths*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center: Forum on Religion and Public Life.

Pew. (2013). *The Rise of Asian Americans*. Washington, D. C.: Pew Research Center: Social and Demographic Trends.

Pfaelzer, J. (2007). Driven out: The forgotten war against Chinese Americans. New York: Random House.

Plichta, S.B., & Weisman, C.S. (1995). Spouse or partner abuse, use of health services, and unmet need for medical care in U.S. women. *Journal of Women's Health, 4*, 45–53.

Reidy, D. E., Shirk, S. D., Sloan, C. A., & Zeichner, A. (2009). Men who aggress against women: Effects of feminine gender role violation on physical aggression in hypermasculine men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(1), 1–12. doi: 10.1037/a0014794.

Schein, L. (1997). Gender and Internal Orientalism in China. *Modern China, 23*(1), 69–98. doi: 10.2307/189464.

Stewart, A. J., & McDermott, C. D. (2004). Gender in psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology, 55*, 519–544.

Sue, S., & Chin, R. (1983). The mental health of Chinese American children: Stressors and resources. In G. J. E. Powell et al. (Eds.), *The Psychosocial Development of Minority Group Children* (pp. 385–397). Larchmont, NY: Brunner/Mazel Publishers.

Tang, J. (1997). The Model Minority thesis revisited: (Counter)evidence from the science and engineering fields. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 33*(3), 291–315. doi: 10.1177/0021886397333003.

Tiwari, A., Fong, D.Y.T., Yuen, K.H., Yuk, H., Pang, P., … Bullock, L. (2010). Effect of an advocacy intervention on mental health in Chinese women survivors of intimate partner violence: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 304*(5), 536–543.

Tong, B. R. (2008). Asian-American domestic violence: A critical psychohistorical perspective. In R. Carrillo & J. Tello (Eds). *Family violence and men of color: Healing the wounded male spirit* (2nd ed., pp. 181–194). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Co.

Uba, L. (1994). Asian Americans: Personality patterns, identity, and mental health. New York: Guilford Press.

Ullman, S.E., & Brecklin, L.R. (2003). Sexual assault history and health-related outcomes in a national sample of women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 27*, 46–57.

Warrier, S. (2004). (Un)heard voices: Domestic violence in the Asian American community. San Francisco, CA: Futures Without Violence.

Woo, T. -L. T. (2006). Women in contemporary Chinese religions. In J. Miller (Ed.), *Chinese religions in contemporary societies* (pp. 207–234). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

World Health Organization (2012). Violence against women: Fact sheet No. 239. http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs239/en/index.html. Accessed 16 Oct 2013.

Yick, A. (2000). Predictors of physical spousal/intimate violence in Chinese American families. *Journal of Family Violence, 15*(3), 249–267. doi: 10.1023/a:1007501518668.

Yick, A., & Agbayani-Siewert, P. (1997). Perceptions of domestic violence in a Chinese American community. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12*, 832–846.

Yoshihama, M. (1999). Domestic violence against women of Japanese descent in Los Angeles: Two methods of estimating prevalence. *Violence Against Women, 5*(8), 869–897.

Yu, M. (2005). Domestic violence in the Chinese American community. In T. D. Nguyen (Ed.), *Domestic violence in Asian American communities* (pp. 27–37). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Yung, J. (2008). The social awakening of Chinese American women as reported in *Chung Sai Yat Po*, 1900–1911. In V. L. Ruiz & E. C. DuBois (Eds.), *Unequal sisters: An inclusive reader in U.S. women's history* (Fourth ed., pp. 259–270). New York, NY: Routledge.

(Un)Holy Connections? Understanding Woman Abuse in Hinduism

Shamita Das Dasgupta

(When creating them) Manu allotted to the women (a love of their) bed, (of their) seat, and (of) ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct. (Manu N.D., p. 9, Verse 17)

Day and night woman must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control. (Manu N.D., p. 9, Verse 2)

The codifier of social laws in Hinduism, Manu, thus marked women as unworthy creatures who must be kept under continual subjugation by men in their families. Contradicting himself, Manu also said, "Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rites yields rewards" (Manu N.D., p. 3, Verse 56). Although Manu created his "laws" some 3000 years ago, the edicts seem to have influenced Hindu societies in varied forms to date. Critics have often traced the secondary status of women and woman abuse in Hindu societies to misogynist religious directives that began with Manu. When analyzing violence against women, scholars and lay people alike have given most weight to the scriptural prescriptions of woman abuse in Hinduism while virtually ignoring the positive directions for respecting women. Moreover, due to the tremendous variability in concepts and practices among Hindus, it is not easy to pinpoint the religion for either disenfran-

chisement of women or empowerment. Manu's directives are neither linear nor clear-cut. Thus, it is important to examine Hinduism and its cultural contexts to understand the connections between the religion and violence against women.

Hinduism in Brief

Although Hinduism is one of the oldest religions in the world, it does not belong to the group of world religions that have originated from a "book" such as Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. Hinduism is considered to have risen out of human living and resultant experiences. Thus, the first noteworthy characteristic of Hinduism is variability. There is no *one* Hinduism and the religion is marked by multiplicity and accommodation of diversity. It might be best understood as *ways* of life in search of perfection or *moksha*. This perfection is not an objective phenomenon residing outside of oneself, but is considered to be absolute and dormant in every human. Thus, reaching perfection would mean liberating the latent power to fulfill one's potential and realizing the "self" or soul. Although this pursuit of the perfect self seems apparently individual, the task cannot be achieved in isolation of society and must be accomplished in the context of one's interpersonal relationships and social obligations. The *process* of reaching the goal of perfection is considered as important as the ultimate goal itself.

Hinduism is a living tradition where growth does not mean destroying the old and making

S. D. Dasgupta (✉)
Manavi, New Brunswick, NJ, USA
e-mail: shamitadas@hotmail.com

way for the new, but recreating the old in the new. While Western logic is linear, in Hinduism, thought is circular, spiraling from a center thesis; thereby incorporating and integrating the past in the present. Hindu reasoning is often nonlinear and collective, with a profound sense of continuity. Although Hinduism does not rest on the notion of one god or even multiple gods, almost all variations of Hinduism acknowledge the idea of an amorphous supreme power, a power that is the founding principle of the cosmic system.

In Hinduism, the many different belief systems, often contradictory, can be gathered into ten essential underpinnings or motifs of life (Organ 1974). These are:

1. The universe is real and knowable. That is, divine knowledge is accessible to humans.
2. The universe is orderly. Hindus do not recognize the dichotomy of the natural and the divine, but consider both as expressions of the same cosmic order.
3. All life is unity. Hindus believe that the soul or self is the same and only expressions differ.
4. Each birth is a rebirth. In keeping with the belief in continuity, the self is considered eternal. Reincarnation does not signify continuity of individual consciousness, but continuity of self.
5. Each birth is determined by *karma*. The belief in causality or *karma* arises out of the concept of continuity and assumes that an act is the result of "forces" set in motion by previous acts (even in a prior life).
6. The human condition is one of misery, but there is also the opportunity for eliminating it.
7. *Atmansiddhi* (realization of self) is the goal of human endeavor.
8. Techniques of *atmansiddhi* can be different. This provides the basis of plurality and tolerance of multiplicity in Hinduism.
9. Each person is free to choose his/her own technique of *atmansiddhi*. Although *karma* fixes the individual in his/her position in life, the method of *atmansiddhi* is an individual choice.
10. If one faithfully follows techniques of *atmansiddhi*, results are assured.

The above principles are lived every day and have been integrated in the belief systems of most individuals born and raised in the Hindu faith. Furthermore, many of these values and resultant rituals have seeped into the living conditions of communities of other faiths (e.g., both Muslim and Christian communities in South Asia express some belief in the concept of *karma* and rebirth).

Hinduism is not an organized religion; thus, there is little compulsion of attending a place of worship, worshiping a particular god, reading specific texts, or even declaring oneself as a theist. An atheist can also be a Hindu, as Hinduism is based on lifestyle practices rather than the belief in any particular god/s or a supreme being. Indeed, Hinduism accommodates as many gods (or idols) as human imagination can conjure up, since it recognizes that believers in the "supreme power" may have difficulty in understanding the supreme power in the abstract. Gods and goddesses are still being created in Hindu cultures, and their sources may be varied and often incredulous such as Bollywood films. Hindu cultures have also integrated many practices of other religious communities.

Unlike other religions, the responsibility of priests is quite limited in Hinduism and is mainly confined to conducting rituals and properly guiding the observant congregation to perform them. Priests do not influence individuals' decision making, offer counsel in crises, or provide emotional support in times of need. In contrast, spiritual leaders (known as *gurus*), hold more power over the emotional and spiritual lives of their disciples. Generally, a *guru* is not a priest and may be of either gender and originate from any class, caste, social position, and even religion. Spiritual leaders, who are believed to be divinely inspired, emerge fortuitously. While some spiritual leaders may gather large followings, others remain limited to small local communities. *Gurus* are not tied to congregations or consistent places of worship.

Features of Hindu Cultures

Hinduism is characterized by personal, local, regional, and national variations. Thus, it might be more appropriate to discuss Hinduism in

terms of *a* culture of the region, rather than *the* culture of a religion. Hinduism is best understood as a variety of cultures with some common themes. While extracting shared features from these diverse cultures may result in reducing them to stereotypes and overlooking the fine distinctions as well as innumerable exceptions and complexities that enrich them, it might also facilitate an overall comprehension of the dynamics of violence against women. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that attempts to distill commonalities of Hindu cultures leads to discounting of the tremendous intra-cultural variance and nuances as well as the exuberant changeableness inherent in them.

The following is a brief summary of fundamental characteristics of Hindu cultures. The summation is an overly simplistic presentation of a set of complex features (Dasgupta and Warrier 1997). These features are not unique to Hindu cultures but are common to other religious cultures in South Asia:

- *Collective identity*: Hindu cultures promote collective identity, where an individual is known by family and group reference. In synchrony with the communal identity, the traditional and admired family structure is extended. Conversely, the dominant Euro-American cultural community emphasizes individual identity, which again is reinforced by the desired nuclear family unit.

- *Personal humility:* Personal modesty and effacement are considered highly positive traits and indicative of healthy personality in Hinduism. Contrarily, the dominant Euro-American cultures might consider a reasonably assertive personality as healthy.

- *Familial authority:* Unlike Euro-American cultures that normalize peer relationships among adults, age and gender determine the seat of authority in Hindu families. In the best instance, this authority is benevolent and deployed in collaboration with others. For members lower in age and power in the family, surrendering decision-making control to elders and respectful obedience indicate wholesome adjustment.

- *Insider versus outsider:* Privacy is an important aspect in both Hindu and Euro-American cultures. The codes of both cultures demarcate family as the legitimate recipient of "private" information. While professionals, as experts, may gain access to private information in Euro-American cultures, such leniency is virtually absent in Hindu contexts. Outsiders, only when they become insiders by establishing kinship and spiritual gurus, may be privy to confidential information. Professionals who are paid for their work can hardly assume such positions.[1]

- *Gender roles:* Hindu cultures tend to view gender roles as complementary and powerful in their own realms. Although men and women's spaces are designated as public and household, respectively, these were not originally conceived as unequal in power. In Hindu cultures, women are considered parts of the omni-powerful goddess, active and inspirational, while men are their supporters and wisdom-givers. On the other hand, traditional gender roles in Euro-American cultures are different with occasional overlaps. Social spaces for the two genders are not categorically separate with the female gender considered the weaker counterpart of the male.

- *Belief in karma:* In accordance to the theme of continuity in Hindu cosmology, the belief in *karma* or reaping the consequences of one's actions plays a major role in understanding one's life experiences. Life in Hindu cultures is regarded as not limited to one's birth and subsequent death, but as extending over several lifetimes. Thus, birth, death, and rebirth are conceived as points in a circle going round and round.

These notions do not remain theoretical concepts in Hindu societies but are woven into socialization patterns of children and every day behaviors of adults. Although both South Asian men and women are socialized in this pattern, women are indoctrinated more strictly and monitored more

---

[1] A prominent Indian psychoanalyst, Sudhir Kakar's writings emphasize this cultural feature. See, *The Indians: Portrait of a people* (2007) and *Indian identity* (2007).

stringently than their gender counterparts. While misbehavior in men may be lamented, transgressions by women meet with serious censure and ostracism at best, and life-threatening violence at worst.

Traditional Family Structure and Violence Against Women

Hindu family structures are not visibly different from family configurations in the region of South Asia. That is, family structures are more a factor of regional South Asian cultures than of religion. South Asian family structures are diverse and, as in other cultures, are related to both economy and traditions. The customary family in South Asia is extended or joint, patrilocal or virilocal (i.e., brides move into husbands' family-homes after marriage), and intergenerational, with the grandparents living with sons, their families, the grandchildren, and their families. The extended family can be even larger, with cousins and distant relatives living under the same roof. Extended family structure seems to be the preferred system, even by the younger generation of Hindu men (Derné 1995). As stated above, in South Asian families, authority is generally hierarchical and distributed according to age and gender. That is, the eldest male holds maximum power in the family while the eldest female holds power over her sons and the women in the household.

Such extended families are often sources of strength for women who may live their lives surrounded by loving elders and peers. Young brides may begin their marriages with few responsibilities and enough free time to get to know their spouses, as there are many people to share household duties. Extended families provide tremendous support for child rearing also. Furthermore, at times of conflicts between couples, the presence of other family members serves as a restraining influence on abusive conduct. Often, older women serve as counselors and intervene to resolve quarrels between couples and shield young women from their husbands' violence. Similarly, a benevolent patriarch may hold younger men in the family accountable for their abusive behavior toward their wives.

However, extended families can be a source of abuse for women as well. The youngest bride enters at the lowest position in an extended family and is often viewed as a threat to family cohesiveness and integrity. Consequently, older women take on the task of indoctrinating young brides into the family's ways. At times, such resocialization can be abusive and has become infamous as "mother-in-law abuse" (Fernandez 1997; Raj et al. 2006; Rew et al. 2013). Since women gain power in the family as they become mothers of sons, the tensions created between the mother-in-law and the son's wife, as they struggle for control over the son/husband, their source of power in the family, is easy to understand (Kandiyoti 1988). Patrilocality and the extended family structure intensify this struggle and the vulnerability of the young bride.

Unmarried or widowed daughters and sisters are not allowed a stable place or position in their natal families and are assumed to be occupying a temporary space while they await entry into their "permanent" or husband's home; after which they are considered loved "visitors" (Rew et al. 2013). Widows are expected to remain with their husbands' families and may lead a life in limbo if their natal or husbands' families do not want them. This lack of a permanent space for daughters in the natal family often leaves women without material and emotional support and renders them vulnerable to abuse in their husbands' households.

The joint family system remains strong in certain localities, regions, and communities. Even though the tradition of extended/joint family is slowly eroding due to urbanization, migration, and social mobility, a psychological semblance of it continues in many instances. Even after families amicably split up due to limited physical space and migration, the joint-family decision-making structure may persist for years. In the South Asian American community, although the extended family may not be a common physical reality due to the demands of migration, its psychological grip on individuals often lingers. For example, a couple living in the USA as nuclear family may still psychologically depend on their elders, living thousands of miles away, to provide guidance in significant decisions they

make. Consequently, an immigrant battered woman in the USA might defer making unilateral decisions about leaving her partner or taking any action against him even though her own life might be at stake, while she seeks opinions of her elders and other family members who live in her country of origin.

As families gradually reconfigure in the USA by adding members to a South Asian immigrant woman's household (e.g., her husband's parents and siblings), the sources of abuse also keep expanding. In the South Asian community in the USA, perpetrators of domestic violence are not just limited to spouses and intimate partners. Often, a woman's in-laws participate vigorously in her abuse. In the North American environment, which supports a nuclear family structure, power struggles between the in-laws and the young wife are not unusual. Thus, the South Asian mother-in-law in an extended family in the USA may engage in personally abusing her daughter-in-law and instigating her son to abuse his wife as a way of obtaining the younger woman's subservience. Frequently, a husband is a passive observer/participant in his wife's battering, which reinforces the woman's belief that the removal of extended family members would end all violence in her life. In fact, the control of a woman by members other than her intimate partner in the marital family benefits the husband who can assert power without getting his hands dirty. However, abuse of older women (mothers-in-law) is not unheard of in the South Asian American social contexts.

Cultural Characteristics and Domestic Violence

Cultural characteristics of a community affect people in significant and contradictory ways. Such effects are rarely unadulterated good or bad. In a given situation, each cultural feature can be either a source of strength or a source of violence to women and men. For example, the emphasis on individual identity in the Euro-American culture can allow a person to be autonomous and self-sufficient but at the same time may lead to alienation, self-absorption, and indifference to

others' feelings. The following is a brief exploration of the South Asian cultural features elaborated above, as they may play out in violence against women in the family:

- *Collective identity:* The emphasis on collective identity can lead to strong feelings of connectedness in the family and community, while it can also usurp an individual's ability to make independent decisions and survive as a self-reliant being. In most South Asian cultures, a compelling sense of family responsibility is instilled in individuals, especially women, beginning in childhood. In the case of South Asian women, collectivism may imply that women's identities are defined by the men in their lives: fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons. Ultimately, this may result in a sense of helplessness if such relationships are severed by violence. Furthermore, a battered South Asian woman's collective identity may make her vulnerable to prolonged abuse as she might hesitate to make unilateral decisions to end a violent relationship, lest she lose her connections to family and community. For example, before she decides to end an abusive relationship, a South Asian woman may consider not only the opinions of her immediate relatives but also those of prominent community members.

  Collective identity also has significance for intervention in domestic violence, especially if it calls for separating from the intimate batterer. Leaving the abuser may mean not only escaping violence, but also leaving behind one's identity that has hitherto been defined in terms of family and community.

- *Personal humility:* The teaching of personal humility and self-effacement may develop attractive modesty but simultaneously heighten risks for abused women. Due to socialization in humility, women may minimize the violence they have experienced and sacrifice their own safety and happiness for the sake of the children, family, and community. In addition, it may allow abusers to perpetrate violence with impunity.

  Many battered Hindu women are reluctant to leave their abusive spouses for the sake of

sparing their parents distress, saving family honor, and preserving their siblings' eligibility for contracting desirable marriage alliances. In addition, a South Asian woman may be reluctant to describe her abuse and distress clearly, as she plays down her own welfare. Since assertiveness and self-care are viewed as negative characteristics in Hindu cultures, many women tend to dismiss the violence they experience and continue to be silent about their own needs.

On the positive side, such humility foregrounds caring for family members and balances happiness of others with one's self-interests. Furthermore, it could play an important part in the recovery of self-respect in survivors of violence. Since selflessness and humility are viewed as products of advanced moral development in Hindu cultures, survivors might feel high self-esteem and self-value for their humble caregiving roles. For other members of the family, it could lead them to the role of protectors of the abused.

- *Familial authority:* The teaching of respect for age-authority in South Asian cultures creates an honored space for elders in the family and community. It also ensures that young people learn from the wisdom collected through experience. At the same time, it may result in oppression within the family, particularly of women and children, and thwart the growth of their autonomy. Elders in a family may disregard a daughter's safety and wishes for the benefit of family reputation, tradition, and collective advantage. Relatives or parents may encourage their battered daughter to preserve the marriage and not break the sacred union between a husband and wife, thereby jeopardizing her safety. In Hindu cultures, the pressures of keeping marriage intact have frequently led to characterization of abuse of women as an uncomplicated "adjustment problem" or the routine "wear and tear" of married life.

- *Insider versus outsider:* While the distinction between insider and outsider can help create belongingness and cohesiveness within a family, it can also cloak problems in a shroud of silence. Strict codes of privacy may suppress women's ability to seek help outside (i.e., from professionals or rights-based organizations) and leave them at the mercy of "insiders" who may be motivated by interests other than a woman's safety and well-being.

Traditionally, interactions between the spouses, abusive or not, are regarded as private matters not to be taken outside the home. The concept of protecting such private information from "outsiders" may lead Hindu women to avoid seeking professional help. Since anyone who is not a family member is considered an outsider, women tend not to trust professionals. For the same reason, Hindu women may also be reluctant to seek help from law enforcement, local service providers, or domestic violence agencies. To the majority of South Asian women, intervention of law enforcement officers in their families is unacceptable. Police are generally feared, avoided, and considered a source of social embarrassment. In addition, they may view mental health services with great suspicion and mistrust. This issue becomes critical in legal and immigration related cases, as US courts often consider professional testimonies and affidavits as credible evidence of a woman's abuse.

- *Gender roles:* In the best of circumstances, complementarity of gender roles can mean individuals engage in tasks that they enjoy and which society values equally. Contrarily, such separation of tasks and roles may engender, as we know already, devaluation of women's work and their degradation in society. In South Asian cultures, strict dichotomy of gender roles has led to devaluation of all things feminine by establishing hegemony of the masculine.

- *Belief in karma:* Karma is a critical concept in Hindu sensibilities, particularly in the intervention with battered women. The notion of *karma*, although based on individual free will and action, is most frequently understood as fate over which one has no control. Quite the opposite, *karma* underscores the connection between actions and consequences as well as

continuity of life. Nonetheless, many South Asian battered women believe that *karma* signifies the inescapability of their current life situation and, therefore, it is futile to try to change it. Others in the family may also utilize the concept of *karma* to explain the abuse a woman experiences as her due in life arising out of her misdeeds in a previous incarnation. Thus, it may lead to "victim blaming" attitudes among individuals around the battered woman. At the same time, enduring abuse with forbearance and kindness may be viewed as not only the canceling of previous bad actions but also sowing of beneficial outcome for the next birth. Successful intervention might have to circumvent such beliefs in inexorable fate and highlight the aspect of causality embedded in the concept of *karma* (i.e., just actions to change one's life would result in ending violence in one's current life).

The notion of karma might be utilized in batterers' intervention programs also. Hindu abusers may pay heed to the idea that their violent behavior in this life would bring about consequences not only in the current social situation (e.g., legal sanctions) but also in subsequent rebirths.

Systems of Marriage, Divorce, and Domestic Violence

In keeping with the ideas of collectivism and familial authority, traditionally in Hindu families, elders arrange marriages of both sons and daughters (Jejeebhoy et al. 2009). The arranged marriage system is also the norm of the region of South Asia. Although the concept of arranged marriage elicits an automatic negative response in the West, it is not particularly abusive, but only a system of organizing marriage. In the best of circumstances, arranged marriages are neither coercive nor oppressive. These marriages occur through a process of complex family negotiations where the groom's potential to safeguard the bride's economic and emotional well-being is taken into consideration. Since group relationship is given more value than individual love in Hindu marriage systems, it becomes immaterial

whether the bride and groom fall in love with each other. In fact, a close conjugal bond, even after marriage, is often discouraged, as it may rend a joint family structure (Sonpur 2005). Thus, marriages in Hindu families are considered family affairs rather than the business of two individuals, and arranging for a marriage allows all family members to be involved in the process. Even though the practice of arranged marriage might be changing somewhat in cosmopolitan urban areas, it is still the most common form of marriage in South Asian communities.

South Asians do not view arranged marriages and autonomy to be oppositional. For instance, many families encourage their daughters to seek higher education and responsible occupations and simultaneously expect them to accept marriages that are arranged for them. Today, a number of variations of the traditional model of arranged marriage exist where both the bride and groom have a voice and are encouraged to meet with their intended partners before the wedding.

Although there is no connection between the system of arranged marriage and domestic abuse, conferring immense value to marriage often causes South Asian women to become vulnerable to spousal violence. For Hindu women, marriage is the most important social institution. An unmarried adult woman has a tentative position or role in society and thus is deemed "a problem." Consequently, family members try to get a daughter married as soon as possible and at all costs (e.g., giving dowry, expensive gifts, etc. to the groom's family, overlooking signs of abusive behavior in the groom, etc.). Even the most highly educated woman is considered to have little value if she has no male legitimizing her existence in society.

Correspondingly, Hindu women are socialized to accept male superiority, especially the supremacy of their husbands. Like women in most other societies, they are trained to be responsible for the maintenance of marriage as well as family harmony, and will often go to extraordinary lengths to keep both intact. As marriage is considered a permanent bond, a Hindu battered woman may maintain an abusive relationship beyond the call of duty or reasonableness.

Moreover, suffering is valorized in Hindu cultures and may actually give the victim a sense of moral superiority over the abuser when she tolerates violence of her intimate partner stoically (Waters 1999). Yet, research indicates that as a part of adhering to traditions, Hindu women accept and simultaneously resist violence (Basu 2005; Bradley 2010). Even when a Hindu woman is ready to leave her abusive relationship, respect for authority and family may paralyze her as she might wait for instructions and suggestions from elders or other authority figures in her life.

In most religious communities around the world, divorce has limited acceptance. This, of course, makes it difficult for women to leave abusive relationships. Similarly, divorce is generally an unacceptable alternative in Hindu families as marriage is considered divinely ordained.[2] Societal expectations require the natal family of a woman to encourage her to remain married regardless of the abuse she faces from her intimate partner and/or in-laws. Thus, even if she is being battered, a woman's parents may insist that she "endure" abuse to uphold her marriage vows. As a result, the high premium paid to marriage and maintaining the "married" status leave women vulnerable to various abuses in the affinal family such as beatings, emotional torture, economic control, repeated dowry demands,[3] day to day mistreatments, silencing, and even death.

If an unmarried woman's position is tenuous in society, a divorced woman's situation is categorically worse (Bradley 2010). Since, traditionally, divorce is an alien concept in Hindu cultures, a woman who has been divorced is considered "tainted," "damaged goods," and a "traitor" to cultural traditions. The very act of being divorced seems to proclaim to society at-large that there is something wrong with the woman, morally, psychologically, culturally, and perhaps even physically. Consequently, a divorced woman's parents may reject her outright and deny her their protection. They may disassociate from a divorced daughter because she has brought "shame" upon them and they have "lost face" in society because of her actions. Other members of her extended family and the community as a whole may also ostracize a divorced woman to save themselves from "guilt by association" and the resultant social censure. Often, such disapproval turns into verbal and physical abuse as well as other kinds of violence such as harassment, social ostracism, emotional withdrawal, and financial deprivation (Dasgupta 2000). Although this attitude may be changing somewhat, especially in urban areas, divorce is still far from being common, simply permissible, or easily acceptable.

Issues of Sexual Violence

Stigmatization of sexual assault is a problem that battered Hindu women may commonly experience. Since virginity and sexual chastity are considered supremely important virtues for girls and women (Hunjan and Towson 2007), any sexual violation tends to bring with it stigmatization and blame upon the victim (Dasgupta 2012). Furthermore, marital rape is a problematic concept in Hindu and South Asian cultures

---

[2] Although divorce has been legalized in India among Hindus, it is not so in all South Asian countries. For example, in Bangladesh, the law does not allow divorce among Hindus (*Daily News* 2012, June 27; *Lawyers Bangladesh* N.D.).

[3] Dowry is the cash, goods, and immovable property given to a daughter by her parents and relatives at the time of the wedding. The concept is similar to that of "trousseau" or "hope chest" in the West. The historical origin of dowry lies in the idea that daughters would receive a one-time share of parental wealth. The sons would then inherit the rest of the property after parents' demise. Dowry was also considered a gift to start a newlywed couple toward a life of comfort and prosperity. Over time, dowry has deteriorated into a practice of extraction of excessive property from the bride's family and even blackmail by the husband and in-laws, with the woman's happiness and well-being held at ransom. In the 1970s, this phenomenon reached extreme proportions and international notoriety when large numbers of women were murdered for

noncompliance with their in-laws' dowry demands.The giving and taking of dowry is prohibited in India by the Dowry Prohibition Act (*Government of India* 1961), although the practice is rampant and thriving at the connivance of law enforcers. Courts in India have come up with unique ways of dealing with dowry related complaints by ruling it as *stridhan* (literally, a woman's property), over which a woman may claim total control.

(Mazumdar 1998). As many young women are sheltered from knowledge about sex, rape within marriage is difficult to grasp and identify. Often, women are socialized to believe that a husband has the right to his wife's body, and thus coerced sex by a husband is not perceived as rape. Men may still adhere to the stereotype that women really mean yes when they say no to sexual advances (Roy 2000). Many Hindu battered women clearly recognize and discuss having "forcible sex" with their partners, but do not consider the action "rape." In the USA, such coerced sex may take different forms. For instance, a batterer may sexually abuse his wife by forcing unwanted sexual practices on her while leading her to believe that such sexual conduct is the norm in the country. Some abusive spouses may force their wives to support their relationship with mistresses. An abusive husband may also withhold emotional and/or sexual intimacy to isolate his spouse in an environment where she has no support, force her to abort pregnancies when the sex of the fetus is unwanted, and/or restrict use of birth control (Abraham 1999, 2000).

Men, Masculinity, and Violence Against Women

Although there is some research on masculinity in the Hindu context, it is neither adequate nor comprehensive. Indian men are legendarily desired and privileged in society, particularly in Hindu families (Bumiller 1991; Hegde 1999a; Kakar 1988). This favoritism manifests as virulent son preference, which not only leads to indulgent excusing of men's indiscretions and violence, but also systematic female feticide and infanticide in society (Gupte 2003; Hegde 1999b; Malhotra 2002; Weiss 1995). However, masculinity among Hindus is not monolithic but is marked by regional, class, caste, and ethnic variability.

Historically, Hindu men were marked as effeminate in the colonial discourse (Nandy 1983; Sinha 1995). The British defined Indian men as less than men while the Western male was deemed ideal in masculinity. During the same period, nationalist movements in India concentrated on reclaiming Indian masculinity and defining it in their own terms. Charu Gupta (2011) writes,

> Masculinity was expressed in various ways: from Vivekananda to Gandhi, from Sanatan Dharmists to Arya Samajists, from notions of brahmacharya (celibacy) to the images of a warrior Krishna. All these images overwhelmingly constructed national manhood as Hindu and that too upper caste. (p. 442)

The image of Hindu masculinity that was laid out during the colonial times was one of controlled power, devoted nationalism, spiritual sharpness, and unwavering commitment to community welfare. This positive Hindu masculinity was contrasted with the negative Muslim image, from whom the community and particularly women had to be protected (Gupta 2011). Thus, central to the revival of Hindu masculinity was "protective" aggression and quiet competency. This militant Hindu masculinity may have been questioned by Gandhi, but it never yielded to his notion of nonviolence. In the years to come, it raised its head again and again in various parts of the country to proclaim Hindu male superiority over other minorities.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, Hindu nationalism (dubbed Hindutva) grew tremendously in India in the form of masculine political and social power. This rise of masculinity can be linked to the concurrent increase in sex selective female feticide, dowry related abuse, control of female sexuality and sexual discourse in the country (Vijayan 2012), as well as communal and caste violence. The resurgence of this confrontational masculinity may be partly due to the emasculation of Hindu men in the colonial times and partly due to the various emergent social changes that range from feminist movements, to institution of affirmative action type policies for marginal communities, and economic globalization in modern times (Basu and Basu 1999). These sociopolitical activities challenged Hindu men's traditional role as the sole provider and protector of family, and the master of the household and community. In response, Hindu masculinity, although diverse in many ways, came to be constructed and most readily expressed around gender lines and power over women. Even in its

most benevolent form, Hindu masculinity in contemporary society has moved toward control of women, in the domestic and public spaces, and if necessary, with violence.

But forceful control of women is not a new anxiety for Hindu men. Rather, Hindu men were traditionally expected to control and protect women's sexuality, as female chastity was considered to be the repository of each family's honor and reputation (Dube 2001; Yim and Mahalingam 2006). Inability to control a woman or protect her virginity (or *izzat*) brought a sense of failure and deep shame on her husband, brother, father, and other men in the family. Commenting on this contradiction of masculinity protecting the feminine "virtue" through violence, Rahul Roy (2012, December 28) writes,

> …(M)asculinity…is in a perpetual state of crisis because it valorizes itself at the cost of the feminine, it is obsessed with the idea of controlling female sexuality, it takes for granted that being male guarantees you with a set of power. It gathers a range of privileges and then neatly divides them amongst men on the basis of class, caste, sexual disposition, etc. Men fight with each other over the share of these privileges but also unite when it comes to the question of women. (p. 3)

In addition to maintaining privileges, the control of females has become linked to Hindu male sexuality, which has eroticized men's dominance and women's subjugation in intimate relationships (Derné 1999).

Conclusion

Violence against women is neither prescribed nor categorically proscribed in Hinduism. However, the laying out of the gender roles leaves ample space for the development of unequal power relationships between men and women resulting in the domination of one over the other. The contradictions embedded in the Hindu religion, further complicated by the effects of colonial forces, make it difficult for practitioners to intervene without deep understanding of the dynamics of abuse in the culture.

Despite various barriers illustrated above that might hinder intervention in situations of

domestic violence, successful intervention must take into account not just a Hindu woman's current situation but also her cultural background. In the understanding of an individual's cultural background, religion must be given serious consideration. In the case of Hinduism, we need to understand not only the foundations of the religion but also the culture of the region from where it originated, and its relationship to violence against women. Similar to all religions and cultures, Hinduism has particular features that empower as well as disenfranchise women. Unfortunately, the disempowering segments frequently overshadow the empowering parts of the religion. Nonetheless, it does not take too much of an effort to find woman-affirming references in Hinduism.

Perhaps Hinduism is the only major religion in the world that still places goddess worship at the center of its religious life. The feminine principle is venerated in Hinduism as the all-powerful life-giving force. Numerous formidable goddess warriors such as *Chandi, Durga,* and *Kali* who liberate gods and humankind alike from evil and compassionate ones such as *Saraswati, Lakshmi,* and *Jagadamba* who preside over knowledge, prosperity, and well-being rule Hindu cosmology and households. These divine deities are not just confined to religious realms, but the ideologies derived thereof are implemented in everyday lives (Dasgupta and DasGupta 1996; Wadley 1988). For example, strong female figures are frequently labeled as *shakti,* the powerful feminine principle in Hinduism. "From the queen of Jhansi, Lakshmibai, to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, from nationalist freedom fighters to modern feminists, women activists and social leaders are perceived as embodiments of Shakti" (Dasgupta and DasGupta 1996, p. 237). Contrastingly, gentle and good-natured girls and women are routinely considered representations of *Lakshmi* or *Saraswati.*

Revered female figures are not just confined to the sphere of gods. For the faithful Hindu, reciting the names of the mythological *panch kanya* (five daughters), *Ahalya, Draupadi, Kunti, Tara,* and *Mandodari,* all supposedly human beings, means washing away of accumulated sins. Thus, for many Hindus, a day must begin by reciting the names of these five sacred women.

The blurring of boundaries between the mythical and human is common in Hinduism (Das 1989; Roland 1988), and fabled figures are often presented as role models to be emulated.

Furthermore, Hindu mythology cherishes male consorts, gods, and humans who represent justice and steadfast love for their partners such as *Vishnu, Krishna,* and *Shiva,* as well as *Rama, Bhima,* and *Jayadeva*. The list of decent and dutiful husbands in Hinduism includes gods and mythical figures, as well as humans. Hindu mythology, regional folklore, and current history have many examples of devoted couples who have worked together for justice, peace, and the betterment of the world. As a part of the Hindu wedding ceremony, both the bride and the groom are exhorted to follow the conduct and path of loving and committed legendary conjugal couples. Such models can be utilized in batterer intervention programs to instigate discussion around men's abusive behavior. It is for the intervention workers to find meaningful role models that would inspire changes in those victims and abusers who are culturally and religiously observant Hindus. By providing examples from their own cultures, Hindu men can be encouraged to move from aggressive manliness to the alternative of caring and honorable masculinity.

Interventions with Hindu women and men need to distinguish and highlight the features that celebrate and pay tribute to powerful women and peaceful men. For practitioners who are not familiar with Hinduism, this can be a daunting task; and yet, this is the only way we can ensure that intervention with Hindus are effective.

References

Abraham, M. (1999). Sexual abuse in South Asian immigrant marriages. *Violence Against Women, 5,* 591–618.

Abraham, M. (2000). *Speaking the unspeakable: Marital violence among South Asian immigrant in the United States*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Basu, S. (Ed.). (2005). *Dowry and inheritance*. Delhi, India: Women Unlimited.

Basu, A., & Basu, R. (1999). India: Of men, women, and bombs. *Dissent, 46,* 39–43.

Bradley, T. (2010). Religion as a bridge between theory and practice in work on violence against women in Rajasthan. *Journal of Gender Studies, 19,* 361–375.

Bumiller, L. (1991). *May you be the mother of a hundred sons: A journey among the women of India*. New Delhi, India: Penguin Books.

Daily News. (2012, June 27). Bangladesh's Hindu women fight for divorce rights. Retrieved from http://india.nydailynews.com/newsarticle/4feb0407b1e35dc514000014/bangladeshs-hindu-women-fight-for-divorce-rights. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Das, V. (1989).Voices of children. *Daedalus (Fall), 118,* 263–294.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2000). Charting the course: An overview of domestic violence in the South Asian community in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9,* 173–185.

Dasgupta, S. D. (2012). South Asians in the United States. In J. L. Postmus (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of sexual violence and abuse* (pp. 593–595). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC–CLIO.

Dasgupta, S. D., & DasGupta, S. (1996). Public face, private space: Asian Indian women and sexuality. In N. B. Maglin & D. Perry (Eds.), *"Bad girls," "good girls": Women, sex, & power in the nineties* (pp. 226–243). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Dasgupta, S. D., & Warrier, S. (1997). *In visible terms: Domestic violence in the Asian Indian context. A handbook for intervention* (2nd ed.). Union, NJ: Manavi, Inc. Available from Manavi (manavi@manavi.org).

Derné, S. (1995). *Culture in action*. New York: SUNY Press.

Derné, S. (1999). Making sex violent: Love as force in recent Hindi films. *Violence Against Women, 5,* 548–575.

Dube, L. (2001). *Anthropological explorations in gender: Intersecting fields*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fernandez, M. (1997). Domestic violence by extended family members in India. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12,* 433–455.

Government of India. (1961, May 20). Dowry Prohibition Act. Act No. 28 or 1961. Retrieved from http://wcd.nic.in/dowryprohibitionact.htm. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Gupta, C. (2011). Anxious Hindu masculinities in colonial north India: *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. *Cross Currents, 61,* 441–454.

Gupte, M. (2003). A walk down memory lane: An insider's reflections on the campaign against sex-selective abortions. *Genetics and Society*. Retrieved from: http://geneticsandsociety.org/downloads/200308_gupte.pdf. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Hegde, R. S. (1999a). Sons and (m)others: Framing the maternal body and the politics of reproduction in a South Indian context. *Women's Studies in Communication, 22,* 25–44.

Hegde, R. S. (1999b). Marking bodies, reproducing violence: A feminist reading of female infanticide in South India. *Violence Against Women, 5,* 507–524.

Hunjan, S., & Towson, S. (2007). "Virginity is everything": Sexuality in the context of intimate partner violence in the South Asian community. In S. D. Dasgupta (Ed.), *Body evidence: Intimate violence*

against South Asian women in America (pp. 53–67). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Jejeebhoy, S. J., Singh, A., Santhya, K. G., Mohanty, S., Acharya, R., Ram F., & Ram, U. (2009). Spouse selection practices and gender relations within marriage among young people in Tamil Nadu: Findings from the *Youth in India: Situations and Needs* study. http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/papers/92640. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Kakar, S. (1988). Feminine identity in India. In R. Ghadially (Ed.), *Women in Indian society: A reader* (pp. 44–68). New Delhi, India: Sage.

Kakar, S. (2007). *Indian identity*. New Delhi, India: Penguin India.

Kakar, S., & Kakar, K. (2007). *The Indians: Portrait of a people*. New Delhi, India: Penguin India.

Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender and Society, 2,* 274–290.

Lawyers Bangladesh. (N.D.). Family matter: Divorce, divorce law and divorce lawyers in Bangladesh. Retrieved from http://lawyersbangladesh.com/?page_id=30. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Malhotra, A. (2002). *Gender, caste, and religious identities: Restructuring class in colonial Punjab*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Manu. (N.D). *The Manu Samhita: The laws of Manu, 3,* Verse 56 (Trans. G. Bühler). Retrieved from http://oaks.nvg.org/pv6bk4.html. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Manu. (N.D). *The Manu Samhita: The laws of Manu, 9,* Verse 17 (Trans. G. Bühler). Retrieved from http://oaks.nvg.org/pv6bk4.html. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Manu. (N.D). *The Manu Samhita: The laws of Manu, 9,* Verse 2 (Trans. G. Bühler). Retrieved from http://oaks.nvg.org/pv6bk4.html. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Mazumdar, R. (1998). Marital rape: Some ethical and cultural considerations. In S. D. Dasgupta (Ed.), *A patchwork shawl: Chronicles of South Asian women in America* (pp. 129–144). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Nandy, A. (1983). *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*. Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.

Organ, T. W. (1974). *Hinduism: Its historical development*. NY: Barron's Educational Series, Inc.

Raj, A., Livramento, K. N., Santana, M. C., Gupta, J., & Silverman, J. G. (2006). Victims of intimate partner violence more likely to report abuse from in-laws. *Violence Against Women, 12,* 936–949.

Rew, M., Gangoli, G., & Gill, A. K. (2013). Violence between female in-laws in India. *Journal of International Women's Studies, 14,* 147–160.

Roland, A. (1988). *In search of self in India and Japan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Roy, R. (Director & Producer) (2000). *When four friends meet* (documentary film). See, http://www.persistenceresistance.in/festival2011/synopsis/when-four-friends-meet.html. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Roy, R. (2012, December 28). What do men have to do with it? *Kafila*. Retrieved from: http://kafila.org/2012/12/28/what-do-men-have-to-do-with-it/. Accessed 20 June 2013.

Sinha, M. (1995). *Colonial masculinity: The "manly" Englishman and the "effeminate" Bengali in the late nineteenth century*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.

Sonpur, S. (2005). Marriage in India: Clinical issues. *Contemporary Household Therapy, 27,* 301–313.

Vijayan, P. K. (2012). *Making the pitribhumi: Masculine hegemony and the formation of the Hindu nation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, International Institute of Social Studies. Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Netherlands.

Wadley, S. (1988). Women and the Hindu tradition. In R. Ghadially (Ed.), *Women in Indian society: A reader* (pp. 23–43). New Delhi, India: Sage.

Waters, A. B. (1999). Domestic dangers: Approaches to women's suicide in contemporary Maharashtra, India. *Violence Against Women, 5,* 525–547.

Weiss, G. (1995). Sex-selective abortion: A relational approach. *Hypatia, 10,* 202–217.

Yim, J. Y., & Mahalingam, R. (2006). Culture, masculinity, and psychological well-being in Punjab, India. *Sex Roles, 55,* 715–724.

Violence Against Women and Hmong Religious Beliefs

24

Pa Der Vang

Background of the Hmong

Hmong are an Asian ethnic minority group whose early history has been documented as mountain villagers in Chinese literature dated as early as 220 AD. This historical designation remains true today as Hmong who can still be found in their Southeast Asian homelands prefer to build their villages in the pristine highlands (Cha 2010). However, Hmong are now scattered throughout most of Asia living in both rural and urban areas. Hmong made their living as farmers and skilled tradesmen, and were known to shy away from the intrusion of host governments. Hmong kept their communities insular as a means to protect their culture and traditions by resisting assimilation into the dominant culture. Efforts by the Chinese Government to assimilate the Hmong resulted in several uprisings and rebellions by the Hmong. As a result of frequent conflict with the Chinese, many Hmong migrated from China to several parts of Southeast Asia including Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. The vast majority of Hmong refugees in the USA are from Laos due to their participation in the US Secret War during the Vietnam War.

The US Department of State granted entry to Laotian Hmong refugees due to their involvement in the CIA's Secret War in Laos (Vang 2008). The Secret War was an operation by the CIA based in Laos to stop the transport of arms

through Vietnam. During the Vietnam War, thousands of Hmong men were recruited as soldiers to fight on the side of the USA.

While Hmong husbands were away at war, women and their children remained living with their in-laws. If husbands were killed in the war, the widows were often married to their husbands' younger brother even if he was already married; a practice called levirate. In Hmong levirate marriages, widows were married to their younger brothers-in-law in order to keep the children within the family and to ensure that the widows and their children were taken care of physically and spiritually upon their deaths (Hillmer 2010; Lee and Tapp 2010). Levirate comprises only a small portion of polygamous Hmong marriages.

Although Hmong saw increases in polygamy as a result of their involvement in the war; polygamy also occurs as a result of men's desire to have more than one wife or their desire to have a son with another woman (Lee and Tapp 2010; Symonds 2004). The Hmong remain ambivalent about polygamy (Lee and Tapp 2010). Although levirate served as a community function to provide for widows and their children, men who engaged in polygamy outside of levirate were viewed as selfish and greedy (Lee and Tapp 2010), and community members maintained a sympathetic glance toward Hmong women in polygamous marriages. A Hmong woman whose husband takes a second wife may not accept the new wife and tension may arise between her and her husband. However, since husbands maintain the right to marry a second wife, the first wife's pleading typically falls on deaf ears. She often chooses to stay in the marriage to avoid the

P. D. Vang (✉)
School of Social Work, St. Catherine University,
St. Paul, MN, USA
e-mail: pdvang@stkate.edu

isolation, shame, and lack of clan ties that result from divorce. The second wife consents to the marriage because she wishes to be married rather than risk being a spinster and unattached to a clan. Polygamy is still practiced among Hmong Americans but it is difficult to determine its prevalence in the USA because it is rarely reported. Hmong do not register their polygamous marriage with the American legal system; rather, polygamous marriages are officiated in traditional weddings and typically go unrecognized by the American system. Husbands of polygamous marriages are usually legally married to one of his wives while the remaining wives are recognized by the American system as single mothers.

When the American effort in Vietnam ended in 1975, communist factions in Laos considered the Hmong traitors for siding with the Americans. Many Hmong men were targeted for imprisonment and execution. Thousands of Hmong fled to refugee camps scattered throughout Thailand. Hmong families waited from months to years in these camps to eventually be relocated to various host countries throughout the world, including the USA, France, Canada, Australia, and Papua New Guinea (Vang 2008). The first wave of Hmong immigrants to the USA included approximately 3500 Hmong by December 1975 (Yau 2005). Hmong families were scattered throughout the USA depending on the location of Voluntary Agencies (VOLAGs) that served as the initial sponsors of refugee families. VOLAGs received funds from the US State Department to provide resettlement assistance to the new families. Immigration to the USA continued between 1975 until 2004 when the final refuge site in Thailand for Hmong refugees, Wat Thamkrobak, was closed. Since 2004, the immigration of new Hmong refugees has slowed substantially. Secondary migrations from other host countries have led to the growing Hmong population in the USA. The 2000 Census reported 102,773 foreign born who self-identified themselves as Hmong (Yau 2005), and finally, in 2010, the Census counted over 260,000 Hmong in the USA with over 70,000 Hmong in Minnesota, 80,000 in California, and 50,000 in Wisconsin. The median age of Hmong in the USA is 20 years with 57 % of Hmong over the age of 18 (Asian Pacific American Legal Center and Asian American Justice Center 2011). Hmong continue to face challenges as they transition to life in the USA. Lack of education, low English proficiency, and few vocational skills continue to create barriers for Hmong refugees, making it difficult for Hmong to find gainful employment. The lack of gainful employment resulted in high poverty rates in the USA among the Hmong. Sixty one percent of Hmong obtained a high school degree (as compared to 85 % in the total population) while only 14 % obtained a 4 year college degree (compared to 28 % in the total population; Asian Pacific American Legal Center and Asian American Justice Center 2011). The Asian American Center for Advancing Justice (Asian Pacific American Legal Center and Asian American Justice Center 2011) reported that 91 % of Hmong over the age of five still speak Hmong at home with 43 % of Hmong still reporting limited English proficiency. Hmong continue to be the lowest earners of all Asian groups at $10,949 per capita compared to $27,100 in the total population, with 26 % of Hmong reporting poverty level incomes as compared to 10 % in the total population (Asian Pacific American Legal Center and Asian American Justice Center 2011).

It is difficult for many Hmong to condemn violence against women for fear of disrupting the patriarchal and collectivist traditions and values that form the foundation of Hmong culture. Hmong culture is patriarchal, patrilineal, and collectivist. Men are considered leaders of their families, clans, and communities (Lee and Tapp 2010). Hmong say that, "Nine girls are not as worthy as one son" [*cuaj leeg ntxhais zoo tsis cuag ib leeg tub*]. The births of boys are prized in Hmong families for many reasons. Hmong men carry on the clan name and families are organized according to paternal lineages. In addition, men oversee and perform cultural and traditional rituals that have major implications for the well-being of clan members from birth to death. Therefore, Hmong believe that Hmong men hold the culture and its people together (Lee and Tapp 2010; Symonds 2004).

Because Hmong culture is collectivist, individual Hmong identity is woven with Hmong group identity in which a Hmong person is not considered to possess personhood unless he or she is connected to a clan. If a Hmong person is not connected to a clan, upon their death—as a result of spiritual clan rules that state no one belonging to a specific spiritual clan may taint the sanctity of their spiritual clan by facilitating the funeral of a deceased from another spiritual clan—few people are willing to facilitate their funeral and burial. Therefore, Hmong individuals feel a strong desire to maintain association with their own clan as well as the Hmong community as a whole.

Hmong Culture and Religion

It is difficult for Hmong animists to separate culture and religion (Her 2005). The patriarchal elements of the culture are infused into religious practices. It is difficult to determine whether cultural and religious practices formed the foundation for this patriarchal society, or if patriarchy led to the cultural and traditional religious practices that center on and elevate men. In addition, one cannot say for certain whether or not animism is the foundation of Hmong culture, but it is certain that animism has a strong presence in Hmong culture (Lee and Tapp 2010). Although many Hmong have converted to Christianity (Lee and Tapp 2010; Vang 2010), it is difficult to determine the number of Hmong Christians in the USA due to the lack of data. Hmong began converting to Christianity well before their arrival to Western nations as a result of the work of the Chinese Christian missionaries in China, and eventually French Christian missionaries in Laos (Lee and Tapp 2010, p. 40). In America, Hmong Christian churches exist in large numbers with congregations growing in membership each year (Vang 2010). Vang (2010) reported that although no empirical study has been conducted to determine the prevalence of Hmong Christians in the USA, it has been estimated that as many as 50 % of the Hmong in the USA considered themselves Christians. Many but not all Hmong Christians

have ceased the practice of many animist traditional rituals such as animal sacrifice and spirit callings (Vang 2010). Some believe that if one is a Christian, all animist traditions must not be observed, however, because animism is infused in many Hmong cultural practices, some families do not delineate between the two.

Although many Hmong have converted to Christianity, animism is recognized as the most commonly practiced religion among Hmong (Livo and Cha 1991). Animists believe that all objects, both animate and inanimate, possess a spiritual essence (Livo and Cha 1991). Hmong animists honor the spirit of the deceased and are in constant communication with the dead. The ancestral spirits of each clan are believed to oversee each household (Lee and Tapp 2010). Since clans are patrilineal, men pass down their clan names through the birth of sons and men are considered permanent members of the clan by birthright. Due to their permanent position and status in the clan, Hmong men are responsible for maintaining and carrying out religious and cultural rituals specific to each clan. Daughters, on the other hand, are seen as "other's wives" and are transferred to another clan upon marriage (Lemoine 2012, p. 16). Daughters "borrow their mother's wombs" to give them life and their destiny is to find a home with another clan (Lemoine 2012, p. 16). This is not to say that Hmong parents do not love their daughters and sons equally.

Lemoine (2012) states that Hmong men have a monopoly on religious performances while women are completely excluded (p. 17). Examples of Hmong men's dominant roles in religious practices can be seen during funerals. Funerals are major events for the Hmong where the deceased are honored and their spirits carefully led into the spirit world. During the funeral, men (*txiv qhuab ke/txiv taw ke*) are in charge of communications with the dead to lead the deceased into the spirit world (Leepaolao 2013a; Symonds 2004). Along with chanting, men (*tug txiv qeej*) play a traditional bamboo pipe instrument (*qeej*) to lead the spirit along this journey (Leepaolao 2013a). Only men are allowed to play this instrument at funerals. On this journey, the deceased must retrieve his coat (placenta) before enter-

ing the spirit world. In the past, the placentas of baby boys were buried at the center post of the house because males were perceived as the center and strength of the family while the placentas of baby girls were buried in the parents' bedroom under the bed (Lee and Tapp 2010; Vang 1997). Furthermore, at funerals, only men are allowed to make gift offerings to the spirits and to settle debts with the deceased (Lee and Tapp 2010; Symonds 2004). For this reason, parents value the birth of sons over daughters since only sons can ensure that upon their death, parents will have all the riches and nourishment they need in the spirit world (Lee and Tapp 2010). Female relatives of the deceased may make offerings but only via their husbands, or if widowed, through male relatives (Symonds 2004). Even single daughters of the deceased are prevented from offering gifts to her deceased parent since women are considered the property of other spiritual lineages; even if she is unmarried it is expected that eventually she will enter the spiritual household of another clan (Lee and Tapp 2010). The spirits of a different clan have absolutely no role in facilitating the delivery of the deceased into the spirit world since it would go against cultural rules surrounding spiritual health. Therefore, clans are hesitant to perform funerals for divorced women who belong to no clan.

Women's roles at funerals are to guard the body of the deceased and to provide cooked food for the guests and family (Symonds 2004). Although men also cook at funerals, this is one of the few times women's formal roles are mentioned in a text on Hmong funerals where women are referred to as "women who cook" (*niam ua mov*) (Leepaolao 2013a). The sister of the deceased is referred to as "sister aunt" (*muam phauj*), the sister of the deceased male and a symbolic female figure who must oversee the funeral of her brother. *Muam phauj* is given recognition when she receives word of her brother's death, but she must in turn prepare a meal and provide a stipend for the messengers who delivered the news of her brother's death (Leepaolao 2013a). The sister of the deceased is mentioned again in the funeral process when the sacrificial animal is divided and distributed as gifts to family members. In addition, the mother of the deceased is honored during the funeral. Other female family members may communicate their preferences regarding the funeral proceedings, however, in general, women must ask their husbands, or if widowed, a male relative to speak on their behalf (Symonds 2004). Due to men's predominant role in the funeral, men are prized by Hmong parents because only men can give their parents and clan members proper funerals upon their death.

Cultural traditions and religious practices influence an individual's roles within Hmong society where individual roles are prescribed in order to maintain the social order. Outside influences that disrupt these social roles, or individual efforts to reject prescribed roles may cause disruptions to community efforts to maintain long held traditions and often result in strong reactions from families and other members within the Hmong community.

Case Scenario

The case scenario below provides an insight into the life of one Hmong woman. This case study will serve as a reference for the discussion of Hmong cultural and religious gender-related practices, and aspects of the Hmong culture that might be helpful in understanding violence against Hmong women. The names and any unique individual references in this story have been changed to protect the identity of the persons in this story. This is just an example and does not represent all Hmong American marriages.

> My name is Sheng. When I was 14 years old, I met a 19 year old Hmong man (T.Y.) at a Hmong New Year celebration. He lived four states away so for the first two years all we could do was write letters to each other. He came to see me during Christmas and summer breaks. When I was 16, T.Y. came to visit me one last time and took me to his uncle's home because his parents' home was too far way. His uncle blessed us at the front door with a rooster. This was done in order for the spirits to accept me into his family. Because I was blessed at the door, I had consented to marriage with T.Y. and it would be too late to change my mind later. Traditionally, a Hmong girl who enters a man's home and is blessed at the door is consenting to

marriage. I was told to stay in the house for three days while T.Y's relatives made arrangements for our wedding. I was not to talk to anyone during this time until we were officially married.

The wedding took place at my parents' house. T.Y. was able to gather $6000 from his relatives to pay my bride price. T.Y. was made to promise to take care of me or he would lose the bride price. If I had an affair or was a bad wife, he could return me to my parents and ask for a return of the bride price. When we were about to leave my parents' house, my mother said to my husband "She is not a very good daughter and will not be able to do all the things you'd like her to do but please be patient with her." I was now Mrs. T to the world and daughter-in-law to my new family (Nyab). We lived with his parents for two years while I finished high school and T.Y. finished his undergraduate studies.

While we lived with T.Y.'s parents, I was allowed to go to school but I was to cook and clean in the evenings and care for his ailing grandmother and aunt. I eventually found a part time job at a fast food restaurant which freed me up from many of these domestic obligations. Eventually, I got pregnant at age 17 and went on welfare and WIC. I continued with my education. I graduated from high school while I was six months pregnant. After giving birth that summer, I began my college courses at a community college. Because I did not drive, I took the city bus to school. On occasion, T.Y.'s mother would ask me about my bus schedule and if I was actually at school. My whereabouts were subject to much scrutiny by his family because I was a married woman. At times, I was discouraged from going to college because they feared I would have an affair with the men at school. His mother asked that my husband follow me to school to make sure I was really going to school. Another fear the family had was that with the knowledge I gained from my education, I could potentially "wear the pants" in the relationship.

As I continued my schooling, my relationship with T.Y. and his family began to sour. He and his mother would ask where I was all day when I came home from school and I was told that as a wife and mother, my place was at home. The collective efforts from his family to discourage my schooling empowered my husband to begin mistreating me. He started by unplugging my alarm clock each night so that I would be late for class. Eventually, he began to hit me whenever he was upset about anything. On one occasion, he beat me in the basement while his mother talked on the phone upstairs and his brother watched TV. During the beating, I could hear his mother saying to the person on the other end of the phone that the noises I was making were inappropriate. His brother seemed not to notice what was going on. I sought help from a female cousin on his family's side but she was

powerless and could not help me. She could not get in the middle of her cousin's marriage for fear of upsetting the family. His mother would say to her relatives that I was an awful daughter-in-law. My parents told me I needed to be a better wife and to be patient.

At age 22, I left the marriage. It was not easy. By this time, my parents had moved fairly close to where we lived, so I drove myself to my parents' house. When I arrived at my parents' house and told them what happened, they responded by saying that I had shamed them and that I needed to go back and beg my husband to take me back. My parents were not only afraid that they would lose face; they were concerned that I would be without a spiritual home; that no one could bury me later. My parents would not be able to perform my funeral because I was no longer a member of their spiritual lineage. Eventually, my father-in-law called my parents to inquire about what to do next. T.Y's father could ask that I return to their son or they could let me go if I refused to return. The elders agreed that they would let us try to figure things out. I stayed at my parents' home for two days and was lectured relentlessly. On the third day, my mother asked me to leave because I would not obey her wishes to return to my husband. They stated that I was no longer their daughter. I stayed with a friend for a week until I was able to secure an apartment of my own.

For one year, I lived my life on my own. I could not afford childcare so my son lived with his father. After that year, because I refused to return to my husband, my father-in-law called my father and said "We are letting her go. She is free to marry whomever she wants." My father-in-law was letting me go from his spiritual household without asking for a return of the bride price. If he were to demand a return of the bride price, my parents would have had to enter into negotiations and make reparations with his family. Because my father-in-law had released me from his spiritual household, I was considered a lost soul. No Hmong person would be able to bury me in the future unless I joined another clan through marriage.

When a Hmong woman marries, the male head of household, typically her new father-in-law, must grant her permission to enter his house. Permission is granted via a cleansing ceremony (*lwm qaib*) where a rooster is used to sweep away her past and any bad spirits that she may have brought with her (*tu sub/lwm sub*) (Leepaolao 2013b). Hmong families fear that women from other clans may bring *sub* (bad spirits) into their household. The notion that Hmong women may possess bad spirits is consistent with the idea that

Hmong women are inferior and must be connected to a clan whose spirits may protect the women from *sub*. Following the *lwm qaib* ceremony, she is transferred from the spiritual lineage of her birth parents to that of her new husband's clan. As a new wife, she is expected to join her husband's family as a new clan member; and throughout her life, she will demonstrate her commitment to the clan by obeying and emulating the practices and lifestyle of her new family and his clan. Her membership in his clan will guarantee that, upon her death, the living will honor her life by performing the prescribed funeral rituals to lead her to the land of the spirits. If she is a disobedient wife, she can be cast out of her husband's clan through divorce. Since an individual must belong to a spiritual clan line and women are considered the property of her father-in-law's clan, it was difficult for Sheng to leave the marriage. The elders prohibit a woman from exiting a clan without their permission, since it would be neglectful to allow someone under their care to leave the protection of their spirits. Her father-in-law and his clan could risk criticism from her parents for allowing her to leave the clan without his consent. Without the consent of the elders, she would not be able to join another clan through remarriage. In Sheng's case, her birth parents feared that if she were to leave her husband's clan, no one would be able to facilitate her funeral in the future.

Males are rarely confronted in Hmong culture due to their status in the Hmong community. This explains why her parents and her husband's parents failed to confront her husband in Sheng's case above. His parents displayed support for him because they needed to ensure that their son would care for them in their old age, and send them into the spirit world upon their death. If they destroyed their relationship with their son, he could potentially refuse to care for them in the future and their reputation could be harmed. In addition, Hmong men are considered leaders and authority figures and their actions are typically tolerated by the larger community. The next sections in this paper will provide further insights about Hmong immigration, culture, and religion that shape Hmong women's experiences.

Effect of Migration

Traumatic migration experiences have contributed to high levels of emotional, behavioral, and psychological distress among the Hmong refugees (Chung 2001; DHHS 2001; Nicholson 1997; Westermeyer 1987; Williams and Berry 1991). Violence, trauma, loss of family members, and loss of home and place are just a few examples of the experiences endured by Hmong refugees, as a result of their involvement in the Vietnam War. Many Hmong witnessed the death of loved ones, suffered separation from family members and the community to which they were accustomed, and many were victims of violence themselves (Nicholson 1997; Ng 1998; Uba 1994). Many Hmong soldiers were captured and, if they were not executed, were imprisoned and tortured. Villages were destroyed and the Hmong who survived the attacks left behind their homes and belongings, and fled with only the clothing on their backs and what little amount of money they could sew into the linings of their clothes.

The distress associated with immigration trauma is linked to higher levels of anger, anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among refugees (Chung 2001; Chung and Kagawa-Singer 1993; Nicholson 1997; Perez-Foster 2001; Pumariega et al. 2005; Williams and Berry 1991). Prolonged trauma among refugees may lead to emotional withdrawal, lower ability to form attachment with others, anger, and responses to events that remind the individual of their loss and trauma (Haene et al. 2010). Hmong men are less likely to seek services for grief and loss and other psychiatric disturbances. Left untreated, the effects of their traumatic experiences may affect their relationships with their spouses, children, and other members of society. At the same time, few services are available for refugees suffering from the effects of their migration experience, especially for refugee men who suffer from the lack of skills to cope with the strong feelings associated with trauma and loss. Hmong men involved in domestic violence are often treated with Western treatment methodologies that have been normed on white males. The current services for men who batter, focus on gener-

al anger management and improvement of inter-personal skills rather than responses to traumatic loss and its effects on emotions and relationships.

In addition to traumatic loss, Hmong men suffered a host of losses related to social status and social networks. These include loss of social networks, loss of previous social and familial status, and role loss as a result of changes in family and social structures (Bliatout 2003; Hirayama et al. 1993; Lee 1988; Nicholson 1997). During the refugee resettlement process in the USA, families were divided and resettled throughout several states (Vang 2008). This caused a fragmentation in the social networks and social support that Hmong men relied on in their home countries. Traditionally, married men's leadership behaviors were witnessed and affirmed by members outside of the family, such as extended family members and those who lived in the same village. In addition, it was the responsibility of the men to forge relationships and maintain reciprocal exchanges with extended family members and community members. Since Hmong families and communities were scattered throughout the USA, Hmong men suffered a sudden role loss.

Traditionally, Hmong men entered into visible leadership roles in their families and communities upon marriage. As their communities were scattered, Hmong men lost these traditional leadership roles and the community networks that supported them in these roles. Hmong men had to forge new connections with other Hmong in their new communities which was challenging due to the clearly defined lines between clans. Hmong men who lacked family support, in turn, lacked social status and recognition. Large secondary migrations were observed among new refugees soon after their arrival in the USA as families moved to be geographically closer to their clans of origin (Vang 2008). In addition, due to low socioeconomic status and institutionalized racism, it is difficult for Hmong men to establish similar levels of social status to which they were accustomed. As visible minorities, Hmong refugees suffer racism and discrimination in the predominantly white American society. Hmong men are especially vulnerable because they must compete with white men for employment and leadership positions. Institutionalized racist social structures may result in a majority of Hmong men being marginalized and powerless in the USA. Only recently have Hmong men been able to enter political arenas and higher employment status as evidenced by the recent elections of Hmong men into legislative offices, and increased entrance into higher paying employment positions as a result of education attainment. Studies have shown that exposure to racism and discrimination can result in emotional distress and if not addressed, can be harbored as ongoing anger and resentment (Uba 1994; U.S. Surgeon General 1999). As our society lacks safe spaces for victims of racism to voice their emotional experiences, strong emotions are often taken out on their families and those closest to them.

Not only have Hmong men faced a role loss within the community, they often suffer role loss within their families. Hmong refugee families experience role reversals among children and parents due to the low English proficiency of parents who must rely on their children to translate communications with English speaking Americans (Lee 1988; Lee 2002). The parentification of children may render Hmong men powerless within their households. Hmong American children often assume responsibilities well beyond what is commonly seen in the USA, including translating and interpreting for parents and extended family members, taking on employment for income that is directed toward family bills (for young children employment came in the form of farming labor), caring for younger siblings including attending parent–teacher conferences in place of their parents and providing income for younger siblings' activities (Lee 1988). Hmong men who were accustomed to providing for their families in their homeland found themselves in poverty, either relying on welfare or working in menial jobs and relying on their own children for support (Bliatout 2003). In addition, American values that encourage independence and assertiveness among children clash with the traditions of Hmong who honor elders as traditional authority figures in the household. Hmong men must relinquish their role as the sole authority figure in the household to make room for the autonomy of

their children. In addition, traditionally, physical punishment of children has been a long accepted form of discipline in many Hmong families. Hmong refugee parents who have little education have not had exposure to alternative forms of discipline. American laws that prohibit physical discipline of children result in feelings of helplessness and loss of control for Hmong parents who are not equipped with alternative parenting strategies (Lee 1988). As Hmong become educated in the USA, they gain parenting skills that do not fall in the range of physical punishment, however, for new refugee parents with low English speaking skills, their capacity to participate in parenting education is limited; thus, efforts to maintain customary practices remain strong.

The impact of migration on traditional gender roles among Hmong has long been documented. Traditionally, Hmong men held total power and authority over the women and children in their families. In addition, men were valued above women within Hmong society for several reasons. Men passed on the family lineage because children assumed their father's last name. Men also assumed the care of their parents in old age. These traditional roles have been challenged as Hmong transition to life in the USA. As Hmong women become educated and obtain gainful employment, the knowledge, skills, and personal power women acquire through educational and work force environments threatens traditional gender roles. Hmong women gain insight into different life opportunities that they would not have had otherwise. Rather than seeing women's successes as contributions to the family and community, many Hmong feel that women who choose to pursue their educations and careers are failing to fulfill their traditional roles as wife and mother. Women who earn more money or are more educated than their husbands are seen as threats to the security of the family because families fear that women may choose their independence over their families or control her husband. The time and resources women devote to their personal successes are often viewed as time and resources that are taken away from their men and children. Thus, women often suffer violence and abuse at the hands of their husbands due to irra-

tional fears that women may forego their roles as wife and mother or control the man of the house.

Hmong men have suffered multiple losses including loss of social networks, social status, and control as a result of migration to the USA. Frequently, these losses have resulted in emotional and psychological distress, which has manifested as violence against the women in their lives. The following sections provide an insight into several aspects of Hmong culture and social structure that maintain a patriarchal social structure within Hmong society.

Hmong Culture

Patriarchy and Gender

Men are at the center of Hmong society where they are in charge of making major decisions, leading the family, and representing the family within the community. The roles of both genders are focused on helping men to fulfill these roles. With the help of their wives, men must maintain authority and competence. To support the men, women are socialized to be obedient and unquestioning of men's authority. Women are socialized as caretakers. Daughters are taught caretaking skills at an early age including food preparation, household chores, caring for younger siblings, and serving family members and guests. For example, at an early age, girls must provide much of the care for younger siblings, girls learn how to cook meals for the family, and girls are taught how to greet guests and serve them food and drink. A girl who does not offer drinks to guests upon their arrival to the house are considered ignorant of customs (*tsis paub kev cai*). Girls are taught to "never cross over men" (*tsis txhob hla txiv neej*). This can be translated literally to not let your body parts such as an arm or leg cross over any part of a man to prevent close contact with men and to prevent women from intruding upon men's personal space in a public setting. In addition, the saying "never cross over men" can also mean a girl must never talk or behave in a way that could be perceived as being above men. Thus, girls are prevented from interjecting when

men speak, and girls must maintain the appearance of lower intelligence and less power than men.

Men's Roles in Patriarchy

It goes without saying that Hmong men also have gender specific roles within a patriarchal society. Men must learn the traditional cultural and religious practices, as well as pass these practices on to their children. Men receive heavy pressure to have many children, especially boys, in order to pass on these traditions. Thus, Hmong couples tend to have many children and more value is placed on male children because males carry on the traditions and the family's last name. Men must actively participate at family events where they are in charge of butchering and preparing animals for meat. As stated before, men are also in charge of traditional rituals that honor ancestral spirits and elders, learning traditional chants, kowtowing to elders when it is called for, and socializing with extended relatives. Hmong men's financial well-being is affected by their membership in a collectivist patriarchal society because they must designate a portion of their family's earnings to be given generously to extended family during events such as funerals, marriages, and healing ceremonies. As the Hmong society is collectivist, Hmong men accept these responsibilities with the expectation that their benevolence will be reciprocated at a later date by other Hmong men. In this manner, men gain social capital and social status within their community. Men who fail to fulfill their traditional roles typically lack status among their families and community.

Men must also sit at the main table at family events. The table is symbolic in Hmong culture. It is a place where decisions are made, where money changes hands, where negotiations take place, and it is a place reserved only for men with status in the family. Typically, married men who have children may sit at the table. Along with being married with children, men must show that they are capable of carrying out traditions and leading their own families. Men who are not at the table are not considered respectable or honorable leaders. A Hmong woman whose husband is not at the table with the other men may feel ashamed that her husband is not an equal among other men. Therefore, a woman must assume a large role in her husband's life to ensure that her husband is also at the table with other men. The husband's role in the community reflects on the reputation of the family as a whole. Due to the women's desire for their husbands to be perceived as leaders, many Hmong women uphold many cultural traditions that in turn oppress them as women. When a husband is respected in the community, his wife and their children also receive respect. In this manner, Hmong women may only obtain respect and honor via a man. Traditionally, a woman without a husband is rarely given honor and respect within the Hmong community.

Women's roles are to support men in carrying out their duty to extended family members and other community members. A woman who fails to carry out her duty to maintain her man's position at the center of the family and society may be subjected to physical and verbal abuse by her husband. She may also be looked down upon and ridiculed by her family and community members. It is considered very important that every man have a wife who is industrious and intelligent to support him emotionally and instrumentally so that he can carry out his responsibilities. The wife's intelligence must not be outwardly or pretentious. Hmong women must lead from behind closed doors. It is considered a wife's duty to support her husband in his roles and responsibilities without taking credit for his accomplishments. Hmong believe every man must have a woman to help him in order to succeed in life. A woman who fails to provide proper support to her husband is said to be a bad wife and this may bring shame onto her husband. The husband may physically punish her, ask his male relatives to reprimand her, or he may marry another wife. Parents train their daughters to listen to their husbands and to do as he says. Parents are known to tell their daughters before she marries "you must do what your husband says" (*Yus tus txiv hais li cas, ces yus yuav tsum ua li ntawv*). Women are expected to accept and join her husband and

in-laws, and contribute to their well-being rather than cause disruptions to her husband's family and their way of life.

Hmong came from an agrarian-based economy where families maintained farms and livestock and specialized in skilled crafts as a means of survival. Every family member contributed their labor to ensure the survival of the family. Daughters contributed largely to the survival of the family by assuming roles such as caring for younger siblings and elders, daily food preparation and storage, and household care. When daughters reached marrying age, men who wished to marry them had to pay a bride price as compensation to her parents for the loss of her labor and to acquire her labor into the groom's household. The bride price is also considered compensation to her parents for raising her. This is called "the price of milk and burden" (*nqi mis nqi nog*). Some state that the bride price may protect the wife against mistreatment by her husband and his family. If the wife voluntarily leaves the marriage due to mistreatment, the wife's parents are not obligated to return the bride price to her husband. However, if the marriage falls apart due to reasons such as adultery or lack of industriousness on the part of the wife, her parents must return the bride price to her husband so that he may marry another wife. Some also believe that the price indicates the value of the bride; the higher the bride price, the higher the value of the bride. The reasons a bride would fetch a lower bride price include premarital pregnancy (even when the father of the baby is the groom), being unattractive, lazy, or unintelligent. Divorced women are considered of no value and parents do not charge the husband a bride price. Instead, the parents state they give their daughter to the groom for free. Whether a wife came with a bride price, or if she was "free", she is on the losing end. If she came with a bride price, folklore states that the husband's family may complain that "We paid such a high price for you, so you must live up to that price." If she was a free bride, folklore states "You're such a bad person, no wonder you were free." The culture sets the stage for the poor treatment of Hmong women where she must bear the blame regardless of the context. This double

bind can be seen across cultures. For example, on one hand, in India, where the bride's family must pay a substantial price to the groom, male babies are prized because families are often unable to afford the dowry that female babies may incur later (Shenk 2007). The dowry was prohibited in 1961 in India. On the other hand, in Hmong culture, where the tables are turned and the groom must pay a price to the bride's family, male babies are still prized and the bride's price is used punitively against women in their adulthood.

Collectivism

Hmong culture is highly collectivist where members are interdependent and view themselves as a part of a collective group. Hmong first identify themselves by the group with which they are most closely affiliated. A woman must first identify with a husband or, if she is single, her closest male relative such as her father, but a man must first identify with a clan. In this manner, Hmong women lose their identity with their first names upon marrying. They become *Niam* (meaning both Mrs. and Mother). Men, when first greeting another Hmong they are unfamiliar with, must typically state the clan with whom they are affiliated. For example, a man may introduce his name and then ask "Whose clan do you belong to?" (*Nej yog leej twg pab?*) A man can be subject to ridicule if he does not know the clan to which he belongs and a married woman is looked down upon if she introduces herself by her first name.

Each member of the family, extended family, and community are obligated to specific roles and duties in order to maintain harmony within the group. Members of the community are expected to follow cultural traditions, hierarchical rules, and specific social roles according to gender, age, and birth order. Individuals who deviate from these collectivist practices are viewed negatively by family and community members and may be subjected to verbal, emotional, physical, and social consequences which could stem from negative labeling, exclusion, and violence. This collectivist quality of Hmong society ensures that all members of the society abide by the social

order. Within this collective culture, women's roles are to ensure that men can maintain their positions as leaders in the community and men's roles are to ensure that all individuals under their control do not shame the clan. Men whose wives do not follow social rules accordingly are accused of not being able to control their women. Often, many men will resort to physical abuse as a way to control their wives. Many family and community members hesitate to condemn the violence. To do so would harm the relationship family members would have with the male relative and harm would be done to the harmony of the group. In other words, to voice objection toward your male relative could potentially harm relationships within the family or community. In Sheng's case above, her cousin-in-law could not speak out on her behalf for fear of harming her relationships with her extended relatives. Causing harm to current relationships could result in harmful consequences to your future relations within the Hmong community. The Hmong hold very high the importance of maintaining smooth relationships with other families and individuals in the Hmong community. The type of relationships one has with families and members in the community could come into play later on when their help is needed or if one's child marries one of their children. This is why many Hmong fail to report domestic violence to authorities because they fear the far reaching consequences.

Hierarchy and Clan

Hmong society is hierarchical with elder men at the top of the hierarchy. Gender determines power followed by age. Older males have the most power and authority. The eldest son follows his father in the chain of command. It is common for mothers and adult daughters to submit to the authority of sons and brothers. Children are the lowest in rank in the hierarchical structure (Leepaolao 2013a). Following this hierarchical structure, Hmong women must obey the men and elders. Hmong women who fail to obey the elders and men are accused of disrupting the social order and may be disciplined or punished by their

family and members of their community. In the USA where physical punishment renders legal consequences, women are instead shamed and ostracized from the community. Often, Hmong women would rather follow the rules than risk being ostracized and isolated.

Hmong organize themselves according to clans. In a clan system, families are organized according to kin. Clans are identified through last name, family lineage, and sacred spirit (*dab*). Members of each clan treat each other as family even if they are not directly related. Each clan consists of subsets of kin groups having the same last name. Kin groups identify themselves by the eldest leader of their clan who is often an eldest grandfather or uncle. The clan leader rises to leadership through a combination of having been born to a previous clan leader, benevolence, and demonstrated leadership. A clan leader will have spent most of his life participating in family and community functions and contributing to major family and clan decisions. The clan leader is not always one who has lived a life that should be emulated by others. Hmong men are perceived as leaders if they are willing to devote their time to resolving family and marital conflicts. They avail themselves to extended family members at a moment's notice; often at the expense of their immediate family. Many times, clan leaders may have multiple wives. Traditionally, having multiple wives from different clans increased the kin relationships a man could have with different clans which elevated his social capital and social status within the Hmong community. Hmong leaders are also expected to place the needs of their nuclear family second to those of the community. Again, within Hmong culture, it is important to maintain the harmony of the whole community rather than to focus only on one's own needs. Those who ignore the needs of the community to tend to their own immediate family's needs are considered selfish and unreliable community leaders. Therefore, it is not uncommon that Hmong men spend a majority of their free time at clan meetings, funerals, weddings, and healing ceremonies while their wives and children must maintain the day to day functions of family life on their own. In addition, the safety of women

comes second to the demands the community places on their male leaders. Wives are expected to place their needs second to the needs of the community at large.

As previously stated, when a Hmong woman marries, she not only becomes a member of her husband's clan but she also comes under the purview of the sacred spirits of her husband's clan. She becomes the property of her husband, his clan, and his spirits. Her family of origin becomes guests in her life because they are of a different spiritual group. Women are not considered to have sacred spirits of their own, instead women must be affiliated with a man and come under the care of his sacred spirits (Symonds 2004).

If a woman encounters a problem in her marriage, the husband's clan bears responsibility for resolving the problem. Family problems are resolved using the clan system of hierarchical decision making. The husband's parents are consulted first. If the problem cannot be resolved by the husband's parents, then an extended family member, such as a close uncle, is consulted. If the problem still cannot be resolved, an elder who is considered a leader of the clan would be consulted. Typically, several members of the family including extended family members convene at a meeting in the home of the husband's parents to hear both the husband's and the wife's side of the story.

At any time in this process, the wife may involve her birth parents. Women are discouraged from involving their birth parents because it may indicate that the husband's clan is ineffective at resolving the problem, or that they have abused her. If her parents choose to be involved, they may do one of two things. They may demand that actions be taken to right the wrong against their daughter, or they may ask the husband's clan to resolve the problem. Parents may fine the husband's clan or *kho* (heal her spirit). The practice of fining a family involves asking for monetary reparations. This practice is outdated and hardly enforceable. Spiritual healing requires the husband's family to sacrifice an animal and conduct a spiritual healing ceremony for his wife. Fining a family or asking for spiritual healing are considered very extreme requests that may lead to

long-term damage to the relationship between the two families since these requests may dishonor the husband's clan. Therefore, birth parents are hesitant to request these types of reparations. Typically, birth parents state that it is the husband's clan's responsibity to repair the situation on their own and to ensure that the marriage stays intact and their daughter is safe. By doing this, the birth parents do not risk damaging the relationship with their son-in-law's clan. Since the wife "belongs" to her husband's clan, his clan bears primary responsibility for resolving the conflict. Any requests from her parents that suggest his clan is unable to manage the problem may cause harm to the relationship between the two families. Unfortunately, when it is left to the husband's clan to resolve the problem, the husband and his clan typically fall back on patriarchal practices that lift the man's status and minimize the woman's safety.

Abuse of Women

Typically, a Hmong woman who is being abused by her husband is asked to be patient with her husband as stated above, to obey him, and to resurrect any "wrongs she did to cause the abuse." The blame is typically shifted onto the female, while the male is considered to have the right to discipline his wife in the manner of his choosing. A Hmong woman who seeks help for abuse from mainstream providers is often encouraged to distance herself from her abuser. This includes moving her to a safety shelter, police intervention, obtaining a restraining order, individual therapy, and speaking up for herself. These actions go against the traditional Hmong method of resolving marital abuse where his family is heavily involved in resolving the conflict and women are to obey the requests of her husband and his family. In addition, Hmong value keeping the marriage intact and toward this end, all efforts will be made to keep the couple and their family together. Traditionally, women risk being ostracized from their community if they leave their husband for two reasons: they are accused of abandoning their roles as wife and mother and

since they no longer belong to a spiritual clan, and they are considered lost souls.

Mainstream providers must consider the collectivist and patriarchal nature of Hmong culture in their plans for treating the abuser and his victim. The severity of culturally specific consequences that Hmong women face is rarely understood by the mainstream providers who are unfamiliar with collectivist cultures. The loss of family role and community connections is detrimental for both the victim and the abuser due to the collectivist nature of the culture. Hmong women victims are caught in a double bind. If she chooses to leave her husband, she risks being ostracized from the community; however, if she stays in the relationship, she faces continued abuse. If a woman elects to leave her abuser, it is important that the victim secure new support systems and community connections once she has left the marriage. She will likely be ostracized from her community and face shame and blame from her family members and the Hmong community. She is not likely to feel safe and few Hmong will reach out to her. It is important for providers to connect the victim to community resources and social supports such as an advocate, a safety shelter, stable housing with strong neighbor and community connections, and connections to other Asian women who are in similar situations. If the woman elects to stay in the marriage, it is important for her to have a safety plan in the event of future abuse; in addition, the victim must receive education regarding her options, her right to autonomy in the individualistic context of the American legal and social structure, and information about how cultural practices will continue to impact her if she stays. Typically, Hmong men have a strong desire to have the wife return to the home in order to keep the family together. Hmong men face shame and often lose community connections if they are unable to keep their families intact since a strong family contributes positively to the reputation of the clan. As mentioned above, Hmong men need to be connected to a wife and children in order to be respected by clan and community members. Hmong men whose wives leave them are viewed as incompetent because they are unable to control their wives or keep their families intact. For this reason, Hmong men will try very hard to prevent wives from leaving, often with deadly consequences. Hmong men may feel betrayed by wives who attempt to leave because women who leave are accused of destroying the family.

Using Cultural Strengths in Treatment

Hmong in the USA are survivors of war and trauma. Their migration experience has had damaging effects on many Hmong's ability to cope with the transitions as they adjust to life in the USA. It is important for providers to acknowledge the effect of war and trauma on refugees and to address the impact of grief, loss, and trauma on Hmong men.

Due to their collective orientation, Hmong value family and the connections that stem from familial relationships. Family is necessary for Hmong who value kinship and community. A large intact family with strong ties to their extended family signifies strong male leadership and collaboration between man and wife. One's individual membership in a family and a strong identification with family increases one's social status within the Hmong community. Highlighting this value with Hmong men, speaks to their leadership and contribution to their communities and will serve as motivation for Hmong men to mend their relationship with their spouse.

The collective nature of Hmong culture also leads to Hmong's strong desire to save face. Actions that could lead to the disintegration of the family system could harm one's reputation and bring shame not only to Hmong men but to their family and clan. Hmong men may not be criticized by their community for the breakup of their family, but they may still lose their social status within their clan and their community. As stated before, a Hmong man must have a woman supporting his efforts within the community or he could be considered as having less competence and authority. A Hmong man could lose face if his community no longer honors and respects his authority.

It is important to address the role loss suffered by Hmong men. The loss of previous social status, the loss of community networks, and the loss of the role of provider and authoritarian within their nuclear families can have detrimental effects on how Hmong men view themselves. Role loss and loss of status can harm self-esteem and confidence and result in longstanding emotional pain. Mainstream providers must assist Hmong men in understanding the impact of role loss on their mental health. Not only must Hmong men grieve the loss of their previous roles, but Hmong men must also develop skills such as cognitive flexibility that may help to reframe their situations and to adjust to their new roles. They must find ways to come to terms with the absence of their previous role and status, and develop new skills so that they can be successful in their new roles. In other words, even though their previous networks are now absent and their roles as leaders in their traditional community may no longer be relevant in the USA, Hmong men can still find ways to forge new networks and gain leadership skills within the context of their new homeland by acquiring education, work skills, and participating in civic engagement. It is also helpful for Hmong men to gain awareness of their roles within patriarchal society, and to examine the effects of patriarchy on the women in their lives. As Hmong men inherently care about their daughters, it is pertinent for Hmong men to see the impact of patriarchy on the lives of their daughters within the context of American society. It is difficult for Hmong men to accept the loss of traditions and cultural practices that have maintained their status for most of their lives. Culture loss is not an area that is adequately addressed in the literature (Dow 2011).

Hmong men, who are given the responsibility of preserving Hmong cultural practices and passing them onto their children suffer a loss of the traditions and values as their children and spouse may resist their attempt to pass on these values as a result of acculturation to Western society. Hmong men may feel dishonored and disregarded, triggering strong emotions. It is important to set a context for Hmong men that can help Hmong men understand the changing nature of

culture. Again, providers must assist Hmong men in developing cognitive skills to accept and adapt to the changes in Hmong culture that are a result of interaction with American society.

Finally, mainstream providers must be able to see the situation from the viewpoint of their clients when treating Hmong men. Typically, mainstream interventions are designed with Western clients in mind. Westernized treatment methodologies are designed and applied within a framework of individualism, progressive attitudes regarding gender roles, and less emphasis on spirituality and religion. Hmong culture is highly influenced by collectivism, strict patriarchal norms, and animism. It is essential that mainstream providers incorporate these cultural themes in their treatment of Hmong men who batter.

Conclusion

Consistent with animist tradition, Hmong concern themselves with maintaining strong ties to their spiritual lineage. The belief that each member of the Hmong community possesses a spirit that must be led back to the land of the spirits upon death is an ingrained belief that contributes to members' desires to maintain membership with the Hmong community and their spiritual lineage. In order to maintain membership with a spiritual lineage, members must follow social rules specific to gender, age, and familial roles. Hmong women who fail to obey men and elders may risk consequences such as physical, verbal, and emotional abuse. A Hmong woman who chooses divorce rather than endure violence voluntarily severs her ties with her husband's spiritual lineage, leaving her without a spiritual clan to facilitate her funeral in the future. This behavior is discouraged, resulting in women having to endure abuse rather than leave their abuser.

The patriarchal nature of Hmong society places many burdens on Hmong men. They are obligated to fulfill cultural traditions and practices that uphold and maintain their spiritual lineage. It is necessary for Hmong men to marry and keep their family together in order to fulfill their cul-

tural and community obligations. Hmong men may go to extremes to keep their family intact because the Hmong community maintains their right and privilege to do so. Hmong men who abuse their wives in order to maintain a sense of order in their household face almost no consequences because the community believes it is the man's right to maintain order in his household.

The migration of Hmong to the USA has resulted in role reversals between genders and generations leading to role loss and disruptions of cultural traditions for first generation Hmong refugees. In addition, Hmong refugees suffer from loss of culture and traditions and face cultural, language, and economic barriers as they transition to life in the USA. Hmong men must cope with the myriad of losses and the traumatic experiences of war-related migration as they adjust to life in America. It is necessary that Western providers take into account the plethora of culturally specific loss issues and spirituality-based decision-making processes of the Hmong in the treatment of Hmong men who batter.

References

Asian Pacific American Legal Center & Asian American Justice Center. (2011). *A community of contrasts: Asian Americans in the United States: 2011*. Washington, DC: Asian American Center for Advancing Justice.

Bliatout, B. T. (2003). Social and spiritual explanations of depression and nightmares. In K. A. Culhane-Pera et al. (Eds.), *Healing by heart: Clinical and ethical case stories of Hmong families and western providers* (pp. 209–221). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Cha, Y. P. (2010). *Introduction to Hmong culture*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Publishers.

Chung, R. C. (2001). Psychosocial adjustment of Cambodian refugee women: Implications for mental health counseling. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 23*(2), 115–126.

Chung, R. C., & Kagawa-Singer M. (1993). Predictors of psychological distress among Southeast Asian refugees. *Social Science Medicine, 36*(5), 631–639.

Department of Health and Human Services, U.S. [DHHS]. (2001). *Mental health: Culture, race, and ethnicity—A supplement to mental health: A report of the Surgeon General*. Rockville: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse, and Mental Health Services Administration, Center for Mental Health

Services. http://www.mentalhealth.samhsa.gov/cre/default.asp. Accessed 21 May 2006.

Dow, H. D. (2011). An overview of stressors faced by immigrants and refugees: A guide for mental health practitioners. *Home Health Care Management & Practice, 23*(3), 210–217.

Haene, L., Grietens, H., & Verschueren, K. (2010). Adult attachment in the context of refugee traumatisation: The impact of organized violence and forced separation on parental states of mind regarding attachment. *Attachment & Human Development, 12*(3), 249–264.

Her, V. K. (2005). Hmong cosmology: Proposed model, preliminary insights. *Hmong Studies Journal, 6*, 1–25.

Hillmer, P. (2010). *A people's history of the Hmong*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Hirayama, K. K., Hirayama, H., & Cetingok, M. (1993). Mental health promotion for Southeast Asian refugees in the USA. *International Social Work, 36*, 119–129.

Lee, E. (1988). Cultural factors in working with Southeast Asian refugee adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence, 11*, 167–179.

Lee, E. (2002). *Cultural diversity series: Meeting the mental health needs of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans*. Alexandria: National Technical Assistance Center for State Mental Health Planning.

Lee, G. Y., & Tapp, N. (2010). *Culture and customs of the Hmong: Culture and customs of Asia*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Leepaolao, T. (2013a). *Hmong funeral procedures*. (Trans: X. S. Lor, T. Lee, & K. Yang). St. Paul: Hmong Cultural Center.

Leepaolao, T. (2013b). *Hmong wedding procedures*. (Trans: X. S. Lor, T. Lee, & K. Yang). St. Paul: Hmong Cultural Center.

Lemoine, J. (2012). Commentary: Gender-based violence among the (H)mong. *Hmong Studies Journal, 13*(1), 1–27.

Livo, N. J. & Cha, D. (1991). *Folks stories of the Hmong: Peoples of Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam*. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, INC.

Ng, F. (1998). *Adaptation, acculturation, and transnational ties among Asian Americans*. New York, NY: Palgrave McMillan.

Nicholson, B. L. (1997). The influence of pre-emigration and post-emigration stressors on mental health: A study of Southeast Asian refugees. *Social Work Research, 21*(1), 19–31.

Perez-Foster, R. (2001). When immigration is trauma: Guidelines for the individual and family clinician. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 71*(2), 153–170.

Pumariega, A. J., Rothe, E., & Pumariega, J. B. (2005). Mental health of immigrants and refugees. *Community Mental Health Journal, 41*(5), 581–97. doi:10.1007/s10597-005-6363-1.

Shenk, M. K. (2007). Dowry and public policy in contemporary India: The behavioral ecology of a "social evil". *Human Nature, 18*, 242–263.

Symonds, P.V. (2004). *Gender and cycle of life: Calling in the soul in a Hmong village*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Uba, L. (1994). *Asian Americans: Personality patterns, identity, and mental health*. New York: The Guilford.

U.S. Surgeon General. (1999). *Mental health: A report of the Surgeon General*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. http://www.mentalhealth.samhsa.gov/media/ken/pdf/SMA-01-3613/sma-01-3613 A.pdf. Accessed 21 May 2006.

Vang, K. (1997). Hmong men's adaptation to life in the United States. *Hmong Studies Journal, 1*(2), 1–22.

Vang, C. Y. (2008). *Hmong in Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Vang, C. Y. (2010). Hmong America: Reconstructing community in diaspora. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Westermeyer, J. (1987). Prevention of mental disorder among Hmong refugees in the U.S.: Lessons from the period 1976–1986. *Social Science Medicine, 25*(8), 941–947.

Williams, C. L. & Berry, J. W. (1991). Primary prevention of acculturative stress among refugees. *American Psychologist, 46*(6), 632–641.

Yau, J. (2005). *The foreign born Hmong in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?ID=281. Accessed 20 March 2012.

Violence Against Women in the Sikh Community

Muninder K. Ahluwalia, Sailume Walo-Roberts and Anneliese A. Singh

Women around the globe experience high rates of violence across cultures and communities (VanderEnde et al. 2012). In this chapter, we describe how violence against women is experienced within the South Asian cultural context, highlight key information about Sikhism, and suggest methods of practice and intervention that are helpful with Sikh women. Throughout the chapter, attention to intersectionality of identities, advocacy, and case examples are used to highlight pertinent multicultural and social justice concerns.

Who Are Sikhs?

Sikhism is the fifth largest organized religion in the world (Leifker 2006), with approximately 25 million Sikhs worldwide. However, only about 2 % of Indians are Sikhs. With this minority status in India comes the negotiation between the dominant religion and culture (i.e., Hinduism) and Sikhs' own religious and cultural values. Sikhs are marginalized in mainstream Indian culture. "Sikhs in India experience particular stereotypes (i.e., based on their involvement in the military and being from Punjab, an agriculturally rich state), both positive and negative (e.g., heroic and strong, but lacking intelligence)" (Ahluwalia and Alimchandani 2013, p. 933).

Sikhs believe in reincarnation, that everything occurs in *hukam* (God's will), and *karma* is a result of both good and bad deeds done in previous lives (Ahluwalia and Alimchandani 2013). Negative events, therefore, can be "understood alternately as God's will or as a natural result of what one has done in a previous life, like a spiritual justice system of sorts" (Ahluwalia and Alimchandani 2013, p. 935).

The Sikh code of conduct includes directives and prohibitions. Religious prohibitions are for both genders, and include alcohol, tobacco, and substance abuse, as intoxicants alter one's judgment. There are five Sikh symbols (the "five Ks") that both Sikh men and boys and Sikh women and girls exhibit, including *kes* (uncut hair), *kanga* (a small comb), *kachhehara* (underwear), *kara* (a steel bangle worn on the right wrist), and the *kirpan* (a small symbolic sword; Singh 2004). As Indian women remain "carriers of culture" (Ahluwalia 2002) across religious groups, many Sikh women wear a *salwar kameez* (tunic and pants) in religious spaces and at cultural events, whereas Sikh men often wear Western attire. Very few Sikh women wear a turban. Some Sikh women wear a *chuni* (long scarf) on their heads, but in the USA most Sikh women only do so in religious spaces. For Sikh boys, their uncut *kes* is tied in a *joora* (a topknot) and covered with a *patka* (snugfitting cloth that covers the hair) or

M. K. Ahluwalia (✉) · S. Walo-Roberts
Department of Counseling and Educational Leadership,
Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ, USA
e-mail: ahluwaliam@mail.montclair.edu

A. A. Singh
Counseling & Human Development Services,
The University of Georgia, Athens, GA, USA

hankie, while Sikh men wear a turban. Therefore, the women in the community may not be as easily identifiable as Sikh as are Sikh men when wearing Western clothing (Ahluwalia and Alimchandani 2013).

South Asian Cultural Context of Violence for Sikh Women

Within this context of South Asian culture, there are messages about women's gender roles and the value of women, which directly influence the treatment of women (i.e., as subservient) (Singh 2009). These cultural messages impact the community's silent acceptance of violence against women. Patriarchy typically shapes the structures of South Asian society and families, and in turn, develops gender hierarchies that are male-dominant (Kallivayalil 2010). This is not to say that South Asian women are solely submissive or passive recipients of male domination, nor that all South Asian men are participants in this particular brand of patriarchy. However, the undervaluation of women due to South Asian patriarchal values becomes a complicit endorsement of violence towards women in South Asia and the diaspora.

The levels of violence against women are challenging to assess accurately in South Asian contexts. For many women, there is fear of disclosing experiences of violence they have had due to societal, marital, and family ostracization. Some of this fear is because the dominant American Western culture's societal messages about South Asian women typically are dichotomous. On the one hand, South Asian women are viewed through a lens where they are "innocent." On the other hand, they are viewed as sexual objects. These opposing societal gender messages for South Asian women are disempowering as the dichotomy does not leave room for complex conceptions of women's roles in family, relationships, work, sexuality, and other domains of their lives. The types of violence South Asian women experience include intimate partner violence and violence from family of origin and extended family (e.g., in-laws), including, physical abuse, psy-

chological abuse, sexual violence, child abuse, and neglect amongst others. Given a number of factors, including shame, stigma, fear, etc., the statistics of violence against women (which we report later) are understood to be vastly underreported.

Sociopolitical Context of South Asia

Understanding the role of violence in the lives of Sikh women entails an understanding of the sociopolitical violence that has occurred in South Asia since the 1900s (Daiya 2008). Previous to 1900, there was significant violence amongst religious groups within South Asia. However, the recent impacts of British colonization seemed to have a significant influence on the context of violence for Sikh women (Prasad 2001). For instance, during the Partition of India, the major Sikh settlement of Punjab was divided between India and Pakistan in 1947. During this Partition, millions of Sikh and Muslim communities were forced to move from their communities, leaving the ancestral homes they had established over generations. Sikhs moved east to what was now designated as India, and Muslims moved west to a newly designated Pakistani region. During the Partition, there was significant physical violence due to the displacement (Prasad 2001). Although not documented, Sikh women experienced violence during the Partition of India, including sexual violence during this time period (Menon and Bhasin 1998).

An additional recent influence on the context of violence for Sikh women has been the sociopolitical violence of the 1980s. Operation Bluestar was formed in 1984 by the Indian Government to target Sikh "militants" in the epicenter of their holiest place—the Golden Temple. This government violence also impacted Sikh women pilgrims in this temple, throughout the Punjab and in large cities such as New Delhi (Arora 2009). Many of the Sikhs—including Sikh women—who experienced this political violence were raped, tortured, went missing, and/or sought refuge through hiding. The examples of partition violence coupled with the government violence

against Sikhs has indeed shaped not only how generations of Sikhs have experienced sociopolitical violence but also the risk and protective factors that Sikh women have for responding to violence within their own communities. One must, therefore, consider gender roles within the Sikh community related to violence alongside the tremendous histories of sociopolitical violence.

Sociopolitical Climate for Sikhs in the Diaspora

It is important to consider the sociopolitical climate in which Sikhs in the diaspora are situated. The creation of the Indian diaspora complicates identity and identity navigation. For example, when we consider that there are approximately 500,000 Sikhs in the USA (Sikh Coalition n.d.), there are additional layers of dominant culture (i.e., white, male, Christian) that Sikhs have to interface with and negotiate in this country. Indian Sikhs, along with other Asian Americans, were often touted as a "model minority" (Takaki 1998) and positioned against other racial groups (e.g., African American and Latino/Latina). As Joshi (2006) explains, however, Indians in the USA have also been stereotyped and classified according to their religious identity groups: Muslims as dangerous, Hindus as exotic yet safe, and Sikhs as strange. After 9/11, however, Sikhs in the USA have seen a significant shift in how they are perceived, often misidentified as Muslim and thus perceived as strange *and* dangerous (Ahluwalia 2011; Ahluwalia and Pellettiere 2010).

Sikhs' belief in *hukam* and *karma* can immobilize Sikhs from acting in the face of negative events or experiences. It may not be perceived to be culturally acceptable to be active. At the same time, heroism and martyrdom, core values in Sikhism, can be adaptive coping mechanisms but can also to the contrary negatively influence how Sikhs feel they should react to traumatic stress, injury, and oppression (Ahluwalia and Alimchandani 2013). As Ahluwalia and Alimchandani (2013) explain, some Sikhs may feel unable to freely express reactions such as fear or pain because it does not seem culturally acceptable.

Hukam, *karma*, heroism, and martyrdom can all play into how women who experience violence, and significant others around them, react (or not) in a situation. This includes the discriminatory experiences that Ahluwalia and Alimchandani (2013) discussed but also other negative experiences such as the violence that women experience.

Simultaneously, there is one important caveat that the reader should be aware of which is in terms of the tension that exists internationally when discussing violence against women in South Asian contexts and women's gender roles. Often, Western individuals (e.g., US psychologists) focus on the "submissive gender roles" and "problem" of violence in South Asian culture and contexts. However, it is important to note that the rates of violence against women in the West are extremely high (e.g., one in three US women experience sexual violence). Although accurate statistics about the levels of violence against Sikh women are not known and there is little research on the experiences Sikh women have of violence in their families and communities, it remains important to explore how their religious context may influence both their experience of and coping with violence. Therefore, as we describe in the following sections, the specific issues that influence the lives of Sikh women and their experiences of violence, it is critical not to view violence against women as inherent to the culture. In addition, it is important not to generalize this information to every Sikh woman and remember that each case is nuanced and unique.

South Asians in the USA

South Asians make up a sizable number of the US immigrant community, with the population at approximately 3.4 million. Those identified as South Asians come from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. While there is a tendency to lump this group of people together as belonging to one culture, they are far from being homogenous. Although they share similar immigration histories, this community has an array of diverse ethnicities,

languages, and religions. In addition to English, some of the more common languages spoken by South Asians are Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, and Bengali. Religions that are practiced by South Asians include Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism (SAALT 2012). More than 75 % of South Asians were born outside of the USA and hold a wide range of immigrant statuses including naturalized citizens, legal permanent residents (Green Card holders), work and student visa holders and their dependents, and undocumented immigrants. Many South Asians are highly educated and hold careers in the technology and medical fields, while others are entrepreneurs owning many small businesses in the community. This visibility of success has factored into the perception of the dominant culture to view South Asians as a "model minority," but also at the other end of this spectrum are South Asians who have low-income jobs such as taxi drivers, fast food and other restaurant workers, and cashiers (SAALT 2012).

Like most communities, the South Asian community is neither immune from, nor interchangeable with violence against women. Violence against women is not unique to this community. However, when compared to other women in the USA, based on a national survey, South Asian women experience a higher rate of violence against them and have a higher incidence of intimate partner violence (Mahapatra 2012; Tjaden and Thoeness 2000). Anywhere from 41 to 61 % of Asian women report physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner during their lifetime (Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence 2012). A study conducted by Raj and Silverman (2002) on South Asian women in the Boston area found that 40.8 % reported experiencing sexual and/or physical abuse at the hands of a partner. Of the 40.8 % reporting abuse, only 3.1 % sought a restraining order. Mahapatra (2012) found that psychological abuse was more prominent than all other forms of abuse, accounting for 52 %. While the data do suggest a higher rate of violence against women in the South Asian

community, it is important to note, however, that the same factors that influence intimate partner violence in the general population also influence violence against South Asian women. These factors include societal/cultural attitudes that condone such behaviors, gender role conflict, lack of support, and isolation, among others. Key among these influences is the dominant societal/cultural attitude towards violence against women as it has a greater impact in the way victims are perceived; how certain communities are stereotyped and marginalized by the dominant culture; who is blamed and who is not; and who speaks out and who does not. The tendency to believe, in the South Asian community, that women who are of a higher socioeconomic class are not abused, keeps many women who are abused from speaking up. Additionally, fear of ostracization and social isolation also prevents many from seeking help. The myth of South Asians as being a "model minority" is often a deterrent for women who do not want to shatter this image, and who do not want to present the image of South Asian men as violent (Shankar et al. 2013).

General attitudes in the dominant Western culture and in some bodies of literature seem to imply or present violence against women as inherent in the South Asian culture, but it is important to take a critical view of these assumptions before forming a conclusion. If we are to view violence against women through a historical lens, we can see that some of these assumptions can be challenged. We may also begin to see that some of the so-called gender norms that are now acceptable in the culture were not always the case. Shankar and colleagues (2013) used discourse analysis to examine the privileging of males over females and how those values subsequently translated to ascribed gender roles. The authors took a historical journey through ancient times by using the Vedas to analyze the values and expectations placed on men and women and the roles they served in the larger Indian society. The Vedas communicate gender positions clearly: "The birth of a son is a great blessing" while "Daughter is the pride of the family" (p. 251).

Hinduism as Historical Context and Emergence of Sikhism

In ancient Indian societies, as much as sons were revered, daughters were also valued and given access to the same resources as their male siblings, such as education and a choice in the selection of marital partners. Daughters also took on substantial roles in running the households of the family. Indian society was, as it is now, a patriarchy, and as is endemic of patriarchal societies, preferences are given to males as they are seen as responsible for carrying on the family bloodlines. Nonetheless, this privileging did not present a dichotomous outlook for the girl child during this time. The female had power in her own right and was seen as capable of achieving as much as her male counterpart, if not more. Thus, the need for dowries was at a minimum during these ancient times (Shankar et al. 2013). Additionally, during this period, the relationship between a man and a woman (husband and wife) was one of mutuality (i.e., respect, devotion, loyalty, and equality). This attitude soon changed as the region began to experience new waves of cultures from invaders and conquerors from the West and other parts of the world with different value systems. Some of these values slowly eroded the current systems and placed a strong emphasis on materialism, colorism, and the superiority of men. A caste system, which was barely mentioned in earlier versions of the Vedas, began to feature prominently in later works and quickly became ingrained in the culture (Chandra 2005). As a reaction to the rise in a hierarchical caste system, newer religions such as Buddhism and Jainism presented an inclination towards asceticism, thus drawing more women to this practice. However, asceticism had several implications for women in that ascetic schools of that era, both in the East and the West, began to paint an image of women as corrupted and bad. In the West, Socrates maintained that: "Woman is the source of all evil" (as cited in Shankar et al. 2013, p. 255). Aristotle viewed woman as an "agreeable blunder of God" and "an erroneous development" (as cited in Sidhu 1977, p. 5). While Tertullian, who is viewed as the father of Latin Christianity and Western theology,

proclaimed that "woman is the gate of hell and the mother of all evils" (as cited in Shankar et al. 2013, p. 255).

The tides had changed in how women were viewed. In India, ascetic schools required men to reject all things worldly. Primary among these "worldly" things were women. To strengthen their case in the renunciation of women, women were painted in a very negative light and were described as the personification or cause of all societal ills, largely through their sexuality. Thus, the way to help a man redeem himself was for a woman to downplay her sexuality. During this time, we also see a decline in the status of women portrayed in the Vedas. These new additions to the Vedas are in conflict with the original writings that it is suggested to be the work of anonymous authors throughout different periods (Shankar et al. 2013). Whereas a woman's equality to man was previously extolled, she was now portrayed as a creature incapable of independent thought, who was now to be protected by her father, husband, and/or son. In earlier versions of the Vedas, we see the praise and respect women are given portrayed below:

Women are worthy of worship. They are the fate of the household, the lamp of enlightenment for all in household. They bring solace to the family and are an integral part of Dharmic life … Even heaven is under the control of woman (as cited in Shankar et al. 2013, p. 253). In a further example: "…the dearest friend, the essence of all kinship … a veritable treasure…" (as cited in Shankar et al. 2013, p. 254). We then see a drastic change from the way women were later portrayed in the Vedas: "women are by nature petty and narrow-minded, jealous, and prone to anger and fickleness" (p. 254). The changing gender perception and subsequently gender roles at this time quickly placed women as inferior—intellectually, physically, and spiritually. This made them more vulnerable to abuse, as fathers, male siblings, spouses, and in-laws could now be justified in their violence. Women slowly came to accept these views as true, to internalize this oppressive positionality, and to accept their subservient roles, often unaware of the history of powerful and educated women throughout the

centuries who were equal to men in every way. These patriarchal discourses went unchallenged. During this time, "Pativrata" became a popular concept. *Pativrata* is the notion that a wife lives to serve her husband. She is bound to his wishes and desires as a sign of her devotion, even when it is not reciprocated (Shankar et al. 2013).

The Sikh Religion and Women

At a time when the Indian culture was deeply stratified, Sikhism presented a revolutionary concept that stressed equality among all, and particularly among the sexes. Sikhism sought to challenge the dichotomy of women and men as good versus evil, and restore the society to the true intentions of the early Vedas: equality of the sexes, an end to a caste system, and a challenge to society's obsession with material acquisition. Sikhism promoted the egalitarian nature of the understanding of gender relations from the outset of the religion, which is counter to the dominant culture of its time.

The first of ten gurus and the founder of Sikhism, Guru Nanak preached the unity of humankind and fought against oppression "of Hindus under Mughal rule, of lower-caste Hindus by upper-caste Hindus, and of women by men" (Ahluwalia and Zaman 2009, p. 471). Sikhism is monotheistic, and Sikhs follow the teachings of the holy book, the *Guru Granth Sahib*. The teachings in the *Guru Granth Sahib* direct Sikhs to believe in universal brotherhood and the oneness of humanity, and to work for the welfare of everyone regardless of differing identities, including race, religion, nationality, gender, and social class (Chilana 2005). Further, heroism and martyrdom are core values in Sikh historiography (Brass 2006), with community narratives of Sikhs fighting against injustice at the core (including injustices experienced by individuals of different faiths).

In affirming the equality of all humanity, it is written in the Sikh spiritual text, the *Guru Granth Sahib* that: "There is only one breath; all are made of the same clay; the light within all is the same.

The One Light pervades all the many and various beings. This Light intermingles with them, but is not diluted or obscured" (p. 96). On the status of women, the Sikh scripture unequivocally lauds the irreplaceable value of women, stating that:

> From woman, man is born; within woman, man is conceived. To woman he is engaged and married. Woman becomes his friend; through woman future generations come. When his woman dies, he seeks another woman; to woman he is bound. So why call her bad? From her, kings are born. From woman, woman is born; without woman, there would be no one at all (p. 473).

The influence of Hinduism was clearly prevalent in the Sikh community, but it is also important to consider the influences of Islam on the practice of the religion. Prophet Mohammad "meticulously laid down the rights of women" (as cited in Sidhu 1977, p. 3); however, in the practice of Islam women were considered lower than men, even property of men. Women's judgment was not to be trusted as stated in the Qur'anic verse: "And get two witnesses out of your men and, if there are not two men, then a man and two women such as ye choose for witnesses, so that if one of them errs, the other can remind her" (as cited in Sidhu 1977, p. 3).

During the evolution of the Sikh religion, Punjab and the rest of India was ruled by oppressive Moghul (Muslim) rulers who reinforced the secondary role of women. Thus, the revolutionary Sikh ideas of women as equal to men in every sphere of life were not completely adopted by all Sikhs. Sikhism, therefore, espouses equality while the realities of the cultures Sikhs live in do not (e.g., Indian culture, Western culture).

Complications of Intersectionality

It is important to note, however, that not all Indian women subscribe to these ideologies. Many continue to challenge these values, forging their own sense of identity and agency. Nonetheless, the ability to speak up and challenge these ide-

ologies is dependent on other identities held by the woman such as her socioeconomic status and the level of education attained. A woman who is dependent on her husband for financial support may have little choice in exercising agency as she understands that challenging her husband may lead to a loss of income and a means of survival. In the same regard, a woman who has no or little education may come to accept the cultural messages that her role in the relationship is to be subservient to her husband. She may come to equate femininity with passivity and submission. The implications of these beliefs is that many South Asian women have internalized this patriarchal oppression throughout the generations and have come to view these values as the norm and thus do not question their validity. They have come to see these practices as inherent religious and cultural values and as such do not wish to challenge them. It is important to note that while many South Asian women and men subscribe to these ideologies that were not historically a cultural norm, many outsiders have come to view this narrative as *the* South Asian way of being, without also questioning its accuracy.

What does all this mean for the South Asian man? The research suggests that the less acculturated a South Asian man, the more likely he is to subscribe to traditional patriarchal roles that hold the female to stereotypical notions of femininity. Gender role attitude is often heightened when the sexes are segregated, as they so often are in South Asian cultures. Bhanot and Senn (2007) suggest that more egalitarian attitudes correlate with more interaction between the sexes as peers. They found that it is more about the interaction between peers and the impact of positive relationships (i.e. friendship) that influence the change in gender role attitudes more so than acculturation itself. This is particularly important to note as acculturation to the dominant Western culture is often seen as a panacea for sexist gender attitudes. South Asian men are often encouraged to be more liberal and to adopt more Western attitudes regarding gender roles, forgetting to take into account the fact that the dominant Western culture is not without its own problematic notions of femininity and masculinity.

Addressing Resilience in the Lives of Sikh Women Survivors of Violence

A recent body of literature (Singh 2009; Singh and Hays 2008; Singh et al. 2010) has sought to explore not only the experiences of violence that South Asian women have but also the resilience strategies they use to cope with violence in their lives. Although this body of literature has addressed South Asian women in general, there are implications for Sikh women and their healing from violence as well. These researchers define resilience as the strategies that women may use to overcome adversity in their lives (Singh et al. 2010).

In their study of South Asian survivors of child sexual abuse in the USA, Singh and colleagues (2010) found resilience strategies were shaped by four components of the South Asian context, including gender, family, ethnic identity, and acculturation experiences. For instance, the women discussed—as this chapter has already noted—the salient role that gender played in the ways that the women coped with their abuse. The women also discussed how their role as a female within their family created a demand for silence about their experiences of abuse, which in turn often cut them off from their South Asian families and communities. For these women, their ability to cope with their abuse experiences was also influenced by the time and energy they had to invest into the acculturation process, and to the extent they had supports through this process. The specific resilience strategies these women used included specific self-care of their minds and bodies, access to social support (e.g., counseling), maintaining a sense of hope about their own healing, and social advocacy (e.g., giving back to community). In applying these findings to Sikh women who have survived violence, there is an important reminder to acknowledge not only the violence they have experienced but also the ways they resist this violence and nurture their own healing.

Case Examples of Violence Against Sikh Women

In this section, we examine a few high-profile cases of violence against Sikh women in the Indian diaspora of Canada and the UK. Reynolds (2013) tells the story of a Sikh woman in Canada, Ravinder Kaur Bhangu. In July 2011, Ravinder, a 24-year-old Sikh woman living in British Columbia, Canada, was butchered to death by her estranged 26-year-old husband, Manmeet Singh. Manmeet, who believed that his recently separated wife was having an affair, stormed into the offices of a local Punjabi–English newspaper, where she worked as an administrative assistant, and proceeded to hack and stab her to death. Armed with an axe and knives, he struck her in the head and then stabbed her at least 30 times, also injuring a bystander who tried to intervene on her behalf. While his wife lay dying in his arms, Manmeet then called the police to report the murder. Manmeet was sentenced to life in prison, with no eligibility for parole for 16 years. At his trial, his defense attorney claimed that Manmeet's crime must be viewed in the cultural context of which it happened, stating that Manmeet grew up in a "misogynistic" culture that viewed wives as property, hence her rejection of him, and his perception that she had been unfaithful to him, led him to commit the violence against her.

In the above case, the implication is that Indian men who commit violent acts against their wives or girlfriends are to be understood, if not excused, as being victims of a culture that devalues women. Here, violence against women is placed in a normative sociocultural context that leaves little room for other contributing factors. Instead, the explanation for Manmeet's violence reinforces the stereotype of a poor helpless man, devoid of any agency, and who is a victim of his misogynistic upbringing.

In the case of Karanjit Ahluwalia, we again see the perpetrators of violence portrayed as individuals lacking agency and who are a product of the violent culture from which they descend. Karanjit had suffered emotional and physical abuse at the hands of her husband, Deepak, from the moment she arrived in the UK as his wife in 1979 at the age of 24. During their 10 years of marriage, she raised their two sons and continued to endure extreme physical, sexual, and psychological abuse. In 1989, after a heated exchange where Deepak physically assaulted her and threatened her with a hot iron, Karanjit poured gasoline on his ankles and set them afire while he slept. Deepak succumbed to his injuries 5 days later and Karanjit was charged with his murder. In her defense she stated that she "couldn't see an end to the violence," and "decided to show him how much it hurt. At times I had tried to run away, but he would catch me and beat me even harder. I decided to burn his feet so he couldn't run after me" (Bindel 2007). Karanjit was sentenced to life in prison and her case immediately drew international attention. It became the cause célèbre of advocacy groups like Southall Black Sisters, and celebrities like Princess Diana. Karanjit successfully appealed her case in 1992, pleading to manslaughter due to sudden and temporary loss of control. The court accepted her plea and Karanjit was sentenced to time served (Southall Black Sisters n.d.).

In the discourse following the Karanjit trial, much of the conversation centered around her culture. Attitudes about arranged marriages and family honor seemed to factor primarily into the conversation (Roberts 2007). The pervasive and underlying message in this discourse is that Indian culture is inherently violent; Indian men, as a byproduct, are also considered violent. Poor Indian women are seen as victims of this culture-based violence, and the way to escape such violence is to become more Westernized. While it may be helpful to examine both cultures and their stance as it pertains to violence against women, the Karanjit Ahluwalia case may pose a dangerous dichotomy in that becoming more Western is seen as better; liberation from one's cultural roots is equated with liberation from violence.

This notion of Western liberation is deceptive as it allows women and men to embrace the subtle nuances of violence against women that is embedded in the dominant culture. Thus, Indian women who are being abused may trade in one form of oppression for another, without really

examining the implications of the new culture. An Indian woman who rejects an Indian man because he is too "macho" or "sexist" and chooses to instead date someone from the dominant culture may be trading in a different (racist) form of sexism (oppression) where she is objectified and sexualized as the exotic other, without any guarantee that sexism will not also exist.

Implications for Advocacy and Counseling

There are numerous South Asian nonprofit and community-based organizations that have formed to address issues of violence. Still, these organizations are in dire need of resources (e.g., financial) and operate more with a remediation than a prevention focus. In addition, there needs to be a shift in how these organizations separate the effects of patriarchy from the victimization of South Asian women and the denouncement of South Asian men. Organizations sometimes elevate Western culture as the ideal, implying that violence against women does not exist in the West, while seeing South Asian culture as "backwards" and one that condones violence against women. It is through the work of grassroots organizations like Southall Black Sisters in the UK, or Manavi and Sakhi for South Asian Women in the USA, that the voices and issues personally impacting Indian women have been given credence. Organizations such as these have worked independently and collaboratively with mainstream organizations to help provide culturally competent care for Indian women. Service providers often come with their own biases. Many of these biases are based on the mentality of wanting to "save" these poor Indian women. Service providers working with Sikh women must recognize these women have agency. In addition, it is important to consider the many identities that intersect and come to bear on how a Sikh woman seeks and accepts help. For some, counseling is considered a viable option, while for others it may be seen as the last resort or even unhelpful. It is important to consider that for many Sikhs, *path* (prayer) and the *Guru Granth Sahib* can be

a source of strength and healing. Additionally, if mental health services are offered and received, adjustments must be made to the one-size-fits-all way of helping, that is often based on the service providers' background and culture.

Finally, more research needs to be done on Sikh women who experience violence. There needs to be an adjustment in the Western cultures' perception of all South Asian women, which views them as passive and compliant, lacking agency, and victims of a backward, oppressive culture (Burr 2002). Sikh women have been victims of violence from within and outside their community, and though many have remained silent, some have fought back on behalf of themselves and others.

References

Ahluwalia, M. K. (2002). The selfways of Indian-American women. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, 1607. http://search.proquest.com/docview/619950951?accountid=12536. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Ahluwalia, M. K. (2011). Holding my breath: The experience of being Sikh after 9/11. *Traumatology*, *17*(3), 39–44.

Ahluwalia, M. K., & Alimchandani, A. (2013). A call to integrate religious communities into practice: The case of Sikhs. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *41*(8), 931–955.

Ahluwalia, M. K., & Pellettiere, L. A. (2010). Sikh Men post-9/11: Misidentification, discrimination, and coping. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *1*(4), 303–314.

Ahluwalia, M. K., & Zaman, N. (2009). Counseling Muslims and Sikhs in a post-9/11 world. In J. G. Ponterotto, M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (3rd ed., pp. 467–478). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Arora, K. S. K. (2009). Breaking the silence: The impact of political violence in Sikh diaspora. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 70*(11–B), 7263.

Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence (2012, June). Fact sheet: Violence against Asian and Pacific Islander women. http://www.apiidv.org/files/Violence.against.API.Women-FactSheet-API-IDV-6.2012.pdf. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Bhanot, S., & Senn, C. Y. (2007). Attitudes towards violence against women in men of South Asian ancestry: Are acculturation and gender role attitudes important factors? *Journal of Family Violence, 22*, 25–31.

Bindel, J. (2007, April 3). 'I wanted him to stop hurting me.' *The Guardian Newspaper*. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/apr/04/gender.ukcrime. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Brass, P. R. (2006). Victims, heroes or martyrs: Partition and the problem of memorialization in contemporary Sikh history. *Sikh Formations, 2*(1), 17–31.

Burr, J. (2002). Cultural stereotypes of women from South Asian communities: Mental health care professionals' explanations for patterns of suicide and depression. *Social Science and Medicine*, *55*(5), 835–845.

Chandra, R. (2005). *Identity and genesis of caste system in India*. New Delhi, India: Kalpaz Publications.

Chilana, R. S. (2005). Sikhism: Building a basic collection on Sikh religion and culture. *Reference & User Services Quarterly*, *45*, 108–116.

Daiya, K. (2008). *Violent belongings: Partition, gender and postcolonial nationalism in India*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Joshi, K. Y. (2006). The racialization of Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism in the United States. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, *39*(3), 211–226.

Kallivayalil, D. (2010). Narratives of suffering of South Asian immigrant survivors of domestic violence. *Violence Against Women*, *16*(7), 89–811.

Leifker, D. (2006). Investigating anti-Sikh discrimination in a post 9/11 world. *Sikh Spectrum*. http://www.sikhspectrum.com/112006/denise.htm. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Mahapatra, N. (2012). South Asian women in the U.S. and their experience of domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, *27*, 381–390.

Menon, R., & Bhasin, K. (1998). *Borders and boundaries: Women in India's partition* . New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Prasad, V. (2001). *The karma of brown folk*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Intimate partner violence against South Asian women in greater Boston. *Journal of American Medical Women Association*, *57*(2), 111–114.

Reynolds, S. (2013, June 10). Man admits to slaying wife at Surrey Newspaper office. *Surrey Leader*. http://www.surreyleader.com/news/210854921.html. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Roberts, A. (2007, April 3). Princess Diana told me to hold my head high. *London Evening Standard*. http://www.standard.co.uk/goingout/film/princess-diana-told-me-to-hold-my-head-high-7199335.html. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Shankar, J., Das, G., & Atwal, S. (2013). Challenging cultural discourses and beliefs that perpetuate domestic violence in South Asian communities: A discourse analysis. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *14*(1), 248–262.

Sidhu, G. S. (1977). *A brief introduction to Sikhism*. Gravesend, Kent: Sikh Missionary Society.

Sikh Coalition. (n.d.). FAQ. http://www.sikhcoalition.org/resources/about-sikhs/faq. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Singh, S. P. (2004). Caring for Sikh patients wearing a kirpan (traditional small sword): Cultural sensitivity and safety issues. *Psychiatric Bulletin*, *28*, 93–95. doi:10.1192/pb.28.3.93

Singh, A. A. (2009). Helping South Asian immigrant women use resilience strategies in healing from sexual abuse: A call for a culturally relevant model. *Women and Therapy*, *32*(4), 361–376.

Singh, A. A., & Hays, D. G. (2008). Feminist group counseling with South Asian women who have survived intimate partner violence. *Journal of Specialists in Group Work*, *33*, 84–102.

Singh, A. A., Hays, D. G., Chung, Y. B., & Watson, L. S. (2010). South Asian immigrant women who have survived child sexual abuse: Resilience and healing. *Violence Against Women*, *16*(4), 444–458.

Southall Black Sisters. (n.d.). *Kiranjit Ahluwalia*. http://www.southallblacksisters.org.uk/campaigns/kiranjit-ahluwalia/. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

South Asian Americans Leading Together (SAALT). (2012). Resources and Factsheets. http://saalt.org/south-asians-in-the-us/factsheets-and-resources/. Accessed 28 Oct 2013.

Takaki, R. (1998). *Strangers from a different shore*. New York: Little, Brown.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000). Prevalence and consequences of male-to-female and female-to-male intimate partner violence as measured by the National Violence Against Women Survey. *Violence Against Women*, *6*(2), 142–161. doi:10.1177/10778010022181769.

VanderEnde, K. E., Yount, K. M., Dynes, M. M., & Sibley, L. M. (2012). Community-level correlates of intimate partner violence against women globally: A systemic review. *Social Science & Medicine*, *75*(7), 1143–1155.

Part III

Best Practices in Working with Clergy and Religious Communities

Consultation and Educational Programming

26

Rafia M. Hamid and Kushalata Jayakar

One of the primary functions of religion is to help people deal with adversity (Pargament 1997) and provide spiritual fulfillment, comfort, and solace to its followers. Congregants often find meaningful relationships with others in their places of worship, based on common spiritual beliefs and practices. Relationships among members of a faith group are analogous to an individual's relationship to God and entail having trust and belief in the good will of others (Simmel 1905). An increasing number of people are seeking help for their problems from clergy due to their accessibility and high level of trust placed in them (Chatters et al. 2002). Likewise, members of the clergy are playing an increasingly active role in providing counseling and mental health services to their congregants.

Religiosity is correlated in research findings with increased marital satisfaction and increased commitment and fidelity (Bahr and Chadwick 1985; Thomas and Cornwall 1990). Religious faith and/or beliefs have also been indicated in other studies as one of the top five facilitative factors in successful long-term (25–35 + years) marriages (Kaslow and Robinson 1996; Robinson and Blanton 1993). Because marriage is viewed as a sacred bond, often sanctified by a cleric, seeking help from clergy may seem as a natural step for a battered woman within a religious community (Beaman-Hall and Nason-Clark 1997).

For many battered women, members of the clergy may be the first outsiders sought as trustworthy figures to provide comfort, support, and guidance (Pagelow and Johnson 1988). Victims may feel comfortable approaching clergy because they may already have an ongoing relationship with their religious leaders for spiritual guidance and family/premarital counseling. However, a faith leader's tolerance of abuse, advice to the woman to be patient and forgive, and to keep the marriage intact at all costs, can contribute to her ongoing victimization.

Although a variety of services and programs are offered by mainstream secular organizations, these services may not be accessible to certain groups of domestic violence survivors (Fowler et al. 2011). Women living in rural and or isolated areas (Van Hightower et al. 2000), older women (Straka and Montminy 2006), and ethnic minority women may not feel comfortable in seeking help from mainstream agencies and shelters. Professionals in the mainstream secular agencies may hold the battered woman's religious beliefs as a primary reason for the violence and may convey to the victim that she needs to let go of her faith in order to free herself from abuse. Likewise, religious leaders and clergy may also be reluctant to make referrals to outside agencies and secular professionals with the exception of highly trained or experienced religious leaders who use referral networks and a team approach when addressing situations of intimate partner violence (Nason-Clark and Neitz 2001). Orthodox communities may be afraid that the victim's

R. M. Hamid (✉) · K. Jayakar
Domestic Harmony Foundation,Westbury, NY, USA
e-mail: rafiamh@aol.com

A. J. Johnson (ed.), *Religion and Men's Violence Against Women,*
DOI 10.1007/978-1-4939-2266-6_26, © Springer Science+Business Media New York 2015

faith might be questioned, she will be encouraged to seek divorce (Ringel and Bina 2007), or that it may harm the faith community's reputation in the general public, thereby undermining the actual safety for the woman and her children. In general, many faith communities have not denounced the use of violence within the domestic realm, often invoke teachings of patience and forgiveness, and sometimes even support abuse as permitted in some situations. Unfortunately, the act of forgiving an abuser without justice or repentance may actually perpetuate the cycle of violence (Fortune 1988) and promote practices that misuse religious teachings to justify oppression.

There are not many studies documenting faith leaders' perspectives on domestic violence, yet the few that exist suggest that clergy do not have adequate training and experience to address intimate partner violence in their communities (Wolff et al. 2001). In a survey of evangelical clergy, Beaman-Hall and Nason-Clark (1997) found that clergy often provided limited personal attention to abused women and instead delegated the task to churchwomen or transition house workers. This practice not only reduced the perceived importance of abuse among the congregants but also left the victims to be attended by untrained staff or members. Similar findings were reported in a study on the experiences of women survivors of intimate partner violence and faith leaders in an orthodox Jewish community (Ringel and Bina 2007). According to these women survivors, rabbis were often helpless, ineffective, and sided with the perpetrators by expressing a patriarchal point of view. Further, communication between rabbis and women survivors was another obstacle because of strict religious laws. Muslim women seeking help from imams (Muslim religious leaders) often face similar difficulties because of the imam's limited knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence, strict gender segregation practiced in many Muslim communities, and limited interaction between religious leaders and female congregants.

Despite reported dissatisfaction with the resources in their faith communities, survivors with high spirituality might themselves prefer to utilize faith-based services (Fowler et al. 2011). For immigrant, minority, and hard to reach populations, religious institutions such as church, mosques, temples, and synagogues are particularly effective locations because of these populations' isolation, remote location, inadequate means of transportation, and inadequate or paucity of social services for families (Strickland et al. 1998). Religious leaders are often in a position to mobilize resources within their community and can be particularly effective partners in addressing sensitive gender-related issues. Further, they have a unique position of reducing resistance to prevention and intervention efforts by the mainstream secular agencies that are often viewed as outsiders. Minorities and new immigrants to the USA can particularly benefit from faith-based initiatives as they may only be connected to their local community and religious group due to multiple barriers such as English language proficiency, lack of knowledge regarding state and federal laws, and the abuser's attempts at isolating her.

With increased awareness of domestic violence in faith communities, some religious leaders themselves may be concerned about interpretations of religious teachings that assign disproportionate power to men and teach female submission, which could lead to intimate partner violence. Levitt and Ware (2006) explored similar issues in their study on exploring Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious leaders' understanding of the intersection of intimate partner violence and religion. These leaders not only described a successful marriage based on respect, communication, and love but a majority of faith leaders were concerned that teachings of submission could be interpreted to support abusive behavior. However, a number of faith communities in large cities, small towns, and rural landscape of America continue to maintain silence or deny the existence of domestic violence in their communities, and thus are unable to provide effective prevention and intervention services to their congregants.

An Ecological Framework in Addressing Domestic Violence in Religious Communities

An ecological framework posits that human behavior is reciprocally shaped by factors at multiple levels, including individual, family, community, and larger society (Bronfenbrenner 1979). When applied to domestic violence, each level of an ecological model must be recognized to develop effective prevention and intervention strategies. Given that domestic violence occurs overwhelmingly against women (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000, 2006), it is important to understand the various structures within a society including family, cultural and religious beliefs and practices that are used to favor men and oppress women.

Evidence from research on the etiology of intimate partner violence suggests considerable heterogeneity in pathways and contexts toward perpetration and encompasses risks at individual, community, and societal levels. At the individual level, men who hold conservative views about the social status of women are more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence (Jewkes et al. 2002; Sugarman and Frankel 1996). Also, numerous studies on immigrant and multicultural populations suggest that men tend to hold significantly more traditional attitudes and behaviors than women regarding family hierarchy and social roles of men and women (e.g., Tang and Dion 1999). Women who hold more liberal ideas may be at greater risk of domestic violence (Sugarman and Frankel 1996), and more educated women are more liberal about their role and position in relation to men (Jewkes et al. 2002).

Abuse experiences in childhood, especially of sexual victimization, are strongly correlated with later sexual violence (Nagayama Hall et al. 2005) and physical abuse (White and Smith 2004). The intergenerational cycle of violence has also received empirical validity; sons whose mothers are beaten are more likely to beat their partners (Ellsberg et al. 1999) as experiences of violence in the home are likely to teach children that violence is acceptable in familial settings.

In regard to larger community and societal norms, societies that hold stronger ideologies of male dominance (Jewkes 2002) and conflicts about transgressing traditional/cultural gender stereotypes of "good" womanhood (Jewkes et al. 2002) have greater incidence of intimate partner violence. On the contrary, findings from a cross-cultural study suggest that the likelihood of being abused is significantly reduced in societies where women are valued and have the right to greater autonomy (Levinson 1989). Ideologies endorsing traditional male gender roles and subjugation of women impact on female autonomy, access to political systems, participation in higher education and arts, and economic empowerment. Further, these ideologies also affect how reports of women's abuse are treated by the legal, police, and criminal justice systems and whether violence against women is criminalized (Jewkes 2002).

Although most great religions of the world affirm equality of men and women, patriarchal teachings are also embedded in many of these traditions which are understood by many to be oppressive toward women. Faith groups that endorse hierarchical structures based on male dominance and female submission may not necessarily demonstrate increased rates of intimate partner violence (Ellison and Anderson 2001). However, religious teachings promoting hierarchical marital structures may lead to increased tolerance for domestic violence (Ayyub 2000; Walker 1979, 1988), justification by batterers to support their beliefs about wife abuse (Adelman 2000; Hassouneh-Phillips 2001), and a decreased likelihood of identifying a woman as a victim of domestic violence (Ahmad et al. 2004). Views such as men are designated by God as leaders with morally superior judgment and women with weaker moral/mental capacity foster attitudes that permit husbands to control their wives and "discipline" them if necessary. Patriarchal beliefs may also lead to limitation of women's roles in leadership, her involvement in religious rituals, and the belief that men have a greater connection to God. These embedded beliefs may prescribe passivity and compliance, making it difficult

for women to raise their voice against injustices committed in the name of religion (Levitt and Ware 2006). Such beliefs also lead to internalized ideals that put undue pressure on women to be "obedient" to their husband, and often assign blame to women who approach the community elders for help. Addressing these social norms from a religious perspective at the individual, community, and society levels can lead to lasting change in how male and female relationships are negotiated within the domestic realm.

Primary Prevention Programming in Religious Communities

Most programs addressing intimate partner violence focus primarily on interventions after the problem has already been identified and has caused significant social, emotional, and physical harm. Often grouped as *secondary and tertiary interventions*, these strategies have mostly focused on protection of victims during crisis, safety planning, and criminal justice system interventions to keep the perpetrator from doing further harm (Edleson 2000). While the secondary prevention strategies may involve intervening early, such as teachers assisting students who have witnessed domestic violence at home, tertiary prevention strategies require a greater collaboration between various agencies in preventing further harm to victims and children (Wolfe and Jaffe 1999) and enabling them to survive with dignity. For example, battered women's shelters provide survivors with job assistance, English as a second language (ESL) classes, counseling and legal advocacy, transitional housing, and other support services.

However, a new paradigm of *primary prevention* strategies has been more prominent in the last few years in the public health field. These programs focus on prevention and address the root causes of domestic violence. The goal of primary prevention is to change the values, thinking processes, and relationship skills that foster nonviolent relationships based on mutual trust and respect and that promote effective conflict resolution skills (Wolfe and Jaffe 1999).

Principles of Effective Prevention Programs

Based on a literature review of empirical research, Nation et al. (2003) identified nine characteristics that are consistently associated with effective prevention programs. Further, these nine principles are associated with three broad areas of prevention programming: (a) program characteristics, (b) matching programs to target population, and (c) implementing and evaluating prevention programs.

Principles related to program characteristics The following five principles have been associated with program characteristics. These are presented in order of the strength of their support for the program's effectiveness.

1. *Effective prevention programs are comprehensive*. Comprehensive programming entails using strategies with multiple interventions and multiple settings to address the salient risks and protective factors of domestic violence in a specified community. Multiple interventions include utilizing a combination of strategies focused on increasing information and awareness, promoting ability to take action, and providing outreach and advocacy services to victims of domestic violence by means such as distributing pamphlets and brochures and sermons by clergy and prominent leaders. Effective programs also identify important risk and protective factors that have an impact on the problem behavior and provide interventions in multiple settings (e.g., Sunday school, youth group, religious classes) and/or appropriate programming for the youth, bystanders, survivors, and male batterers as well as the general community/congregation.

2. *Effective prevention programs include varied teaching methods*. Effective prevention programs involve active skills-based components in preventive interventions (Nation et al. 2003) and provide skill-building hands on interactive instruction (Dusenbury and Falco 1995). Helping participants develop nonviolent conflict resolution strategies, effective

communication skills, stress management techniques, comfort with their partner's agency and autonomy, and skills in making decisions together fosters their capacity to initiate and maintain healthy relationships. Further, hands-on experiences such as role play and verbal and written practice will allow participants to develop and practice their new skills.

3. ***Effective prevention programs provide sufficient dosage***. Dosage refers to the intensity of the program and may be measured in quantity or quality of contact hours. Carnahan (1994) suggests that the dosage should be in proportion to the needs and/or deficits of the participants. Effective interventions also include follow-up sessions to maintain and support durability of impact. Continued partnership on an ongoing basis to address all aspects of prevention and possible consultation with the clergy on appropriate interventions will likely maintain positive outcomes.

4. ***Effective preventive programs are theory driven***. Etiological and intervention theories are the two basic types of theories that have been employed in prevention programming. Etiological theories pertain to causes of the targeted problem whereas intervention theories address the best methods for mitigating and/or eliminating those risks. Within the context of men's violence against women, several theories have been proposed in regard to etiological factors including but not limited to feminist theory, social exchange theory, the theory of planned behavior, and social cognitive theory (Yoshihama et al. 2012). The basic tenet of feminist theory focuses on intimate partner violence as a manifestation of unequal power relationships between men and women that originate in traditional beliefs and are maintained by social institutions, legal systems, and interpersonal practices in social, educational, economic, and political realms (Bograd 1988; Dobash and Dobash 1979; Schechter 1982). Conceptualized as such, it is important to address the patriarchal ideology that sustains domestic violence and to provide interventions grounded in feminist

models of participatory engagement (Yoshihama and Carr 2002) in order to prevent domestic violence.

Other theories that may support prevention efforts include social exchange theory (Blau 1964) and social learning theory (Bandura 1971). Social exchange theory posits that the benefits of engaging in the behavior (such as increased power in the relationship) outweigh the costs (e.g., social sanctions; Gelles 1983) and provide support for the use of coercive power to influence social relationships. Increased incidence and magnitude of punishment yield increased power to the aggressor, reinforcing the notion that punishment will produce compliance (Molm 1994). Perceived benefits of nonviolence (e.g., respect and healthy relationships, spiritual beliefs on social justice and compassion) have to outweigh the repercussions (e.g., impact of domestic violence on children and families) of engaging in abusive behavior for domestic violence prevention programming to be effective. According to social learning theory, gender roles are learned from cues derived from ones social environment by way of imitating and observational learning (Denmark et al. 2000). In this framework, children learn violence from their parents who are their most influential models. This theory explains both imitation of violence as a result of situational couple's violence as well as incorporation of patriarchal values and cultural stereotypes about women that are then preserved and passed from generation to generation.

5. ***Effective prevention programs provide opportunities for positive relationships***. Effective community programs involve opportunities for its various stakeholders to develop strong positive relationships. This may involve strengthening relationship between religious leaders and members of congregation, parents and children, significant others, community members, and teachers. The World Health Organization's report (2010) on domestic violence prevention efforts worldwide describes an intimate partner prevention program in Ecuador consisting of

close friends or relatives being assigned to newly married couples to intervene in case of serious conflict or disagreement. Other programs have targeted engaging boys and men by providing them with positive role models and mentors from within their community. Mentor and peer education programs such as the Bystander Approach to Violence Prevention (Banyard et al. 2005) and the Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) Model (Katz 1994) are other relationship-building approaches that utilize the influence of student leaders and mentors among their peers.

In regard to matching programs to the target group, the following two principles have been identified

1. ***Effective prevention programs are appropriately timed***. Interventions will be most effective when they are presented at a time that will likely produce the most benefit. Premarital counseling sessions for couples or age-appropriate programs on healthy relationships targeted at children, teens, and adults are examples. Programs directed at changing the community's norms should also be designed according to the awareness and readiness of the community to deal with this problem. In some conservative religious communities, domestic violence prevention programs may be better received when presented as strategies to increase family harmony and cohesion instead of explicitly and directly challenging gender norms. Similarly, altering the message according to developmental level of participants has been associated with positive outcomes in studies of adolescent sexual behavior (Miller and Paikoff 1992).

2. ***Effective prevention programs are socioculturally relevant***. Perhaps the most important aspect of the effectiveness of any prevention program pertains to its relevance to the community's sociocultural norms and includes community members as participants in the planning and implementation stages of the program (Dryfoos 1990; Janz et al. 1996). Culturally competent individuals and organizations value diversity, engage in self-assessment, are aware of and manage the dynamics of differ-

ence, acquire cultural knowledge, and adapt to diversity and the cultural context of their clients (Cross et al. 1989). Being culturally competent requires being open minded and empathetic as well as acknowledging and being aware of one's own biases and prejudices (Warrier 2000). It is important to recognize that even seemingly homogeneous groups have a great deal of diversity and such diversity may initially not be apparent. Some congregations serve individuals from a variety of racial, cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds, and readiness to address these complexities may impact on collaboration and effectiveness of the program. Within religious/cultural communities, it is always challenging to find a balance between the belief system of the community and open discussion about gender norms, empowerment of women, and the safety of women and children. It is important to identify and build on community values that condemn domestic violence (Mitchell-Clark and Autry 2004) and foster healthy couple and family relationships.

Finally, two principles were found to be related to program implementation and evaluation:

1. ***Effective prevention programs include outcome evaluation***. Anecdotal or case study evidence is rarely enough to evaluate the effectiveness of prevention programs. Evaluation and outcome strategies that emphasize ongoing quality improvement (Wandersman et al. 1998); measures to evaluate attitudes toward domestic violence at baseline and various intervals; feedback from community members, particularly battered women, in regard to the program's effectiveness in addressing domestic violence in their lives; individual and community norms and attitudes; and increased awareness of advocacy, legal, and shelter services are some important indicators of positive outcomes for prevention programs.

2. ***Effective prevention programs involve well-trained staff***. The implementation and effectiveness of prevention programs is enhanced when the staff members receive sufficient training, support, and supervision (Lewis et al. 1990), and apply their skills with sensitivity and competence. Cross-training that

involves the religious group's perspective from the "inside" to develop cultural competency as well as the mainstream organization's expertise and range of services, options, and interventions could facilitate understanding of each person's respective role and add to the cohesiveness of the program. Informal conversations, in-service training, understanding the cultural nuances and religious/cultural metaphors will also build relationships and a deeper grasp of the religious community's needs and strengths.

Effective Consultation and Educational Programming within Religious Cultural Communities

Engaging the community is of vital significance in the success of any domestic violence intervention or prevention program. When an intervention is perceived as coming from external sources, it is less likely to succeed. Long-term viable changes are more likely when the community engages in a reflective analysis of its own practices and situation. The empowerment of the community as a catalyst for change and improving its situation lie at the crux of successful engagement practices. Such a community is able to participate and take increased responsibility for the content and style of raising awareness but also ensuring wider implementation of any prevention program. The ability to garner the cooperation of the community also makes them willing partners in efforts to bring attention to domestic violence within their community, delve into difficult discussions about the religious and cultural determinants of their practices, and view these practices within the wider theological/spiritual framework.

Understanding the Religious Community

Communities are not homogeneous entities; they are comprised of diverse groups with different beliefs, value systems, worldviews, and social structures. Getting to know the identified religious community entails understanding the common values, sociocultural history, beliefs and practices, identity, language, and their ways of relating to each other as well as outside groups. Further, understanding the cultural dynamics of specific groups is crucial to building effective collaboration, and building respect and trust (Harrell and Bond 2006; Minkler and Wallerstein 2004).

Culture is a dynamic and complex process and requires understanding of the shared meanings and explanatory models that the community employs to discuss their problems. Recognizing one's own culture and how it shapes one's beliefs and worldviews, acknowledging diversity, and understanding how society produces privilege and inequalities in power are central to effective community engagement. Such an approach not only protects against engaging in repressive patterns of engagement (Krieger et al. 1999) but also enables collaborations that utilize the community's religious/cultural framework to bring about lasting change.

Assessing Awareness and Readiness to Change

The Transtheoretical Model (TTM) of change (Prochaska 1979) may provide a useful framework to assess a community's awareness of domestic violence in their community, acceptance that the problem exists, understanding its own strengths and barriers, and taking action to make changes. The TTM of change outlines five stages of behavior change: (1) precontemplation, in which the organization and/or religious leader has no intention to change their approach to domestic violence; (2) contemplation, in which the organization/person is seriously interested in changing, but no commitment to taking action is made; (3) preparation, in which one is committed to change, and is considering various ways of changing; (4) action, in which an actual attempt is made to change one's behavior, experience, or environment to overcome the behavior/practices; and (5) maintenance, in which the organization/religious leader has successfully worked to eliminate the problem behavior and is in the process of consolidating and maintaining gains.

Studies of men in batterer intervention programs suggest that men who perceive a match between self-identified problems and the content of the treatment program are less likely to drop out of treatment (Browne et al. 1997; Cadsky et al. 1996). Conversely, men who see limited need for treatment, deny having hit their wives, or perceive a mismatch between their own goals and the treatment objectives tend to drop out of treatment (Cadsky et al. 1996). Thus, religious leaders can facilitate consciousness raising in individuals who are at the precontemplation stage (Prochaska et al. 2001) by communicating information about the benefits of the program and consequences of failure to change. For individuals who are already in the action stage, providing concrete help and resources will help sustain the changes.

Groups may vary in regard to strategies and awareness about domestic violence in their community and openness to intervention from within and outside groups. For example, some Muslim communities may be confined in areas where they may not have access to trained imams and priests, and therefore ritualistic prayers within their mosque may be led by a community elder with varying levels of religious knowledge and training. Even in situations where imams are available to lead their congregation, their main task may be limited to performing religious ritualistic obligations rather than community outreach. In addition, these imams may be recent immigrants with not much exposure to and little knowledge or awareness of the prevalence of gender-based violence. In such cases, outreach efforts may be more complex and may require reaching out to any receptive member(s) of the community concerned about the issue of social justice in the community and possibly participate in this collaborative effort.

Building Mutual Understanding and Communicating Respect

At the core of all productive and beneficial relationships lies building mutual understanding and communicating respect. Awareness of one's own assumptions, values, and biases assists in understanding of the worldview of a culturally different individual and/or community (Sue et al. 1996). This also facilitates understanding of the complex processes of that community's particular construction of their worldviews, attitudes, values, and norms (Maruyama 1992). Mutual understandings enable both groups to become aware of their biases and stereotypes and helps them develop a productive partnership despite their differences. Open and frank discussions about including representative members from the community, goals and limitations of the project, and statistics about domestic violence in general and in religious communities in particular are some of the ways in which understanding can be deepened and mutually productive ways of collaboration can be devised.

Establishing and Maintaining Trust

Establishing and maintaining trust involves both the external parties initiating the outreach and the community's members and representatives. This requires maintaining sincerity and credibility in reaching out to the group by communicating clearly, consulting regularly, and following through the agreements made. Trust also fosters commitment and motivation (Ganesan and Hess 1997), strengthens relationships, and leads to successful organization transformations (Lusch et al. 2003). Essential to building trust is one's ability to look within and recognize how one's own personal biases and assumptions and professional position impact on looking for innovative ways to attain common goals. Creating safe spaces to address assumptions based on cultural/religious stereotypes may be the most challenging aspect of building collaborative partnerships (Rosewater and Goodmark 2007).

Developing a Collaborative Framework

A successful collaborative effort requires establishing an equitable partnership characterized by mutual cooperation and responsibility, and

reflects the community's needs and interests. Religious/cultural communities often are misunderstood and perceived as resisting integration or collaboration with outside agencies; this in turn serves to further isolate these communities and keeps them within the bounds of entrenched power dynamics and hierarchical, authoritarian structures which limit participation and full inclusion of women in the affairs of the community. In situations where women have been traditionally marginalized and/or excluded, close attention needs to be paid to the conditions that might prevent women from participating. In some congregations, women may not feel free to speak up; leadership may be dismissive of their opinions; and meeting schedules might conflict with time of the day when women are needed to fulfill their household commitments.

Conducting a Community Needs Assessment

After building trust and entry into the system, it is important to conduct a community needs assessment, which may formally or informally be done by holding meetings and focus groups where individual and community needs are identified. In each community, there are some "key" people who represent the community in its various religious, cultural, and/or social realms; identifying these people through formal and informal networks and seeking their input could provide vital initial information about the community's concerns about domestic violence. They could be individuals who already have professional and/or voluntary ties with organizations concerned with domestic violence and could serve as a "bridge" to addressing these concerns with the religious leadership. This should include women who have been involved in grassroots efforts to prevent violence as well as men who could play a positive role in prevention activities and promote violence prevention programming to other men and boys (Mehta et al. 2007). Within some communities, there will be a great deal of diversity, such as people from different ethnocultural backgrounds attending one church, synagogue,

or mosque. In such situations, it is also important to assess in what way the individuals represent the microcosm of the community, and how the collaborative partnership can effectively include their needs and concerns. During such meetings, community members may be made aware of existing services and programs for abused women and seek ways to making those programs culturally relevant to this population. It is crucial that such information incorporate theological constructs relevant to the group that promote positive relationships and condemn injustice and violence. In some communities, discussion of gender equality, power differentials, and domestic violence may be most effective when they are presented in single-sex groups (Harvey et al. 2007) at least initially. Mixed-gender discussion could be carried out after initial assessments of men and women's comfort in discussing these issues.

Involving the Men in the Community

Most advocacy services in many cultural groups to help women are initiated and carried out by women who have been more acutely aware of domestic violence in the community, based on their personal experience or that of a close relative. However, these efforts might not succeed fully without widespread participation in the community. Established cultural norms have played a key role in desensitizing people in both accepting a culture where violence pervades every aspect of the society and viewing it as normal. Men have a primary responsibility to expose, confront, and transform the prevalent norms on gender relations and domestic violence. The purpose of their involvement is not to blame them as perpetrators but rather to recruit them as allies and partners in changing deeply misogynistic beliefs and practices. Men must realize that all members of the community are impacted by violence, and it is some men's violence against women that affects the lives of millions of women, whom they love and care about deeply, their mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, girlfriends, and close women friends (Katz 2006). Further, men also

experience different forms of oppression based on race, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and religious affiliation. Just as they may be victims of various forms of discrimination and disempowerment, women face similar and worse forms of powerlessness depending on the level of subjugation and abuse. Men in leadership positions have an immense potential to spearhead antiviolence programs and movements in their organizations. Religious leaders also enjoy a significant moral authority and can be instrumental in shaping the values and behaviors of men in their congregation. They can play a crucial role in engaging boys and men in serious and critical dialogue about what it means to "be a man" in relation to their attitudes toward women, and recognize that men of integrity respect and value women (Katz 2006). Instead of remaining silent and complicit in the face of abusive behavior, they can learn to intervene and take action.

Establishing Short-Term and Long-Term Goals

It is important to consider what is expected to happen as a consequence of the program (i.e., program outcomes), and if the outcomes can be measured in some way to evaluate program effectiveness (Sullivan and Alexy 2001). Short-term outcomes might include increased awareness of the domestic violence within the community and its pervasive nature across race, class, culture, ethnicity, nationality, and religious groups, as well as recognizing signs of domestic violence when it is happening to self, a friend, or family. Other short-term goals might include knowledge of at least a few specific resources when in need, and the willingness to incorporate domestic violence awareness/assessment, referral, or intervention based on one's specific role within the community (e.g., religious leader, physician, therapist, child-care worker, teacher, family aide). Long-term goals might include an overall change in gender norms, promoting healthy and equitable relationships, collaboration with other agencies and/or mainstream organizations, establishment of their own project/resources, and

building capacity to provide and conduct outreach to other smaller congregations within the wider geographical area.

Implementing the Plan

As the details of the programs are worked out after a thorough needs assessment and determination of goals and outcomes of the program, a formal launching of the project in an optimal geographical location identified by the community should take place. This process may require reaching consensus in regard to exactly when the program will officially start, what will be the schedule to enable accessibility to a wide range of constituents, how frequently will the program be incorporated within the religious institution's calendar, what is the proposed content, and in what format and context will the information be presented.

An official launching of the project also lends legitimacy to the project as it formalizes the community leaders' commitment to an open, public discussion of addressing intimate partner violence (Baobaid n.d.). It also begins the process of changing the norms of the community for establishing healthy relationships free from battering or coercion. This step also enables women to feel more comfortable to ask for help (Baobaid n.d.). Brochures and pamphlets could be distributed containing information about prevalence, causes, prevention, and intervention of domestic violence, supplemented by religious resources that promote egalitarian values and social justice.

Building Capacity

As the program is launched and implemented, it must be kept in mind that this is not a one-time event but the beginning of a lasting relationship. The public awareness campaign also helps community leaders develop ownership and responsibility for the problem (Warrier 2000). This can guide them to utilize resources within their community, develop their own program to promote healthy families, assist abused women, and build

better collaborations with mainstream social, legal, and advocacy groups to find culture specific solutions for their congregants.

Likewise, the mainstream agencies working with the religious/cultural community should also develop culturally responsive training programs to enhance their effectiveness (Bent-Goodley 2005; Raj and Silverman 2002) and build capacity within their agency to understand the culture-specific context as well as solutions to address the needs of the identified community. Sustained, long-term collaborations are based on the recognition that "the energy going out of any program is balanced by the energy coming in" (Warrier 2000, p. 74). A genuine reciprocal commitment from both parties in recognizing the value of outreach and changing the community's norms and manner of response to domestic violence is crucial in bringing about long-term as well as systemic change.

Bringing Services to the Community

Women in abusive relationships are often reluctant and feel uncomfortable with seeking help from mainstream organizations. Many Muslim women are also concerned about added discrimination post 9/11. A battered Muslim woman is exposed to both internal and external forms of oppression; while she is being abused at home, she may also be perceived as "other" and victimized by pervasive racial and religious discrimination. She may not trust the mainstream organization/agency, feeling uncertain in approaching them for the fear of exposing her family and significant other to further discrimination. Domestic violence services could be provided alongside community health screenings and free clinics specifically set up for women, such as cancer screenings. We have organized and/or participated in several health fairs and community-oriented programs within the various mosques and Islamic centers in the larger community in our area, sometimes in collaboration with mainstream organizations and other times providing outreach from within the community. We have found that women can safely and easily receive

valuable information about the resources within and outside their community, and link with other women. They also feel comfortable in seeking help for themselves or a family member/friend as these events legitimize a woman's presence and participation in a community program.

Program Monitoring, Evaluation, and Feedback

It is important to monitor the program to evaluate its effectiveness and to make changes if necessary based on the feedback from the community leaders and lay people. Program evaluation is also helpful in determining if short-term and long-term goals were met and what barriers may exist. Some roadblocks might include exclusion of marginalized groups and women, entrenched power structures and resistance, reluctance stemming from cultural attitudes, and learned helplessness and minimal engagement with the program. Positive aspects of the program may include increased awareness of domestic violence within the community, and improved capacity of the religious institution in providing support to battered women, holding men accountable, and providing interventions in line with the religious leader's scope of practice. These could be assessed by asking questions, conducting focus groups, and administering surveys and questionnaires. Although quantitative evaluation is useful in providing estimates of a program's effectiveness, formative evaluation (Bloom et al. 1971), in the form of reflective analysis of the process, and continuous quality improvement (Wandersman et al. 1998) can help the collaborators in adjusting the initiative and provide opportunities to modify the program based on ongoing feedback.

Providing Consultation to Religious Leaders on Counseling Cases

Developed after World War II in response to addressing preventive aspects within a community, mental health consultation emphasizes the importance of social support systems within a

community in the prevention of psychological disorders (Sarason and Sarason 1984). Caplan (1964, 1974) was one of the foremost pioneers in developing this approach who believed that mental health consultation with community leaders and caregivers (e.g., teachers, police, and clergy) can strengthen the community's support mechanisms and reduce the need for more intensive mental health services. For Caplan (1970), consultation is a process of interaction between two professionals in which one specialist (the consultant) provides help to another professional (the consultee) in regard to an issue or problem that lies within the consultant's specialized area of competence. The consultant–consultee relationship is nonhierarchical with both professionals seen as experts in their own areas. Mental health consultation not only is an effective way to assist clergy in understanding the psychological, social, and cultural aspects of intimate partner violence but also equips them to deal effectively with similar problems in the future. The consultant may focus on developing a plan that will help a specific client (client centered) or focus on improvement of the clergy's professional functioning in relation to a number of specific clients.

Meylink and Gorsuch (1986) were among the pioneers in exploring the possibility of a bidirectional, coprofessional relationship between counseling professionals and clergy; their findings revealed that 40 % of potential counseling clients first seek help from clergy. However, fewer than 10 % of these clients were being referred to counseling professionals. Mental health consultation on marriage and family services has been identified as one area in which clergy and psychologists have the potential to collaborate (Lish et al. 2003).

From the point of view of providing appropriate intervention strategies to individuals and couples who present for counseling, a thorough understanding and accurate identification of the different contexts in which domestic violence occurs are necessary. This is not only important for ensuring the battered woman's safety but also has consequences for her future credibility such as testifying as a victim in any domestic violence cases, losing children's custody, and difficulty

obtaining employment which may prevent her from securing economic independence (Greipp et al. 2010).

In efforts to clarify the different contexts and dynamics of abuse, and in response to different findings by researchers in regard to whether both men and women perpetrate violence equally, Johnson (2005) distinguished between three major types of intimate partner violence, each with different causes, developmental trajectories, and effects. The first type, *intimate terrorism* or *coercive controlling violence* (Kelly and Johnson 2008), refers to the type of violence in which the perpetrator takes complete control forcefully and violently and generally dominates the relationship. The accompanying nonviolent control tactics are identified in the Power and Control Wheel, namely, intimidation; emotional abuse; isolation; minimizing, denying, and blaming; use of children; asserting male privilege; economic abuse; and coercion and threats (Pence and Paymar 1993 as cited in Johnson 2009). The presence of physical violence in the relationship colors all the actions of the controlling partner and continues to emotionally impinge upon the battered woman as equivalent to a physical assault. This kind of assault is largely perpetrated by males in heterosexual relationships and often leads to adverse physical and psychological outcomes. Johnson also posits that nonviolent control tactics may give rise to *"incipient" intimate terrorism*, which is characterized by a clear pattern of power and control but without physical violence.

Violent resistance is the second type of intimate partner violence, which involves the use of violence by the woman in response to and to resist an attempt at complete domination and control. The violent resistor does not aim to gain control or power in the relationship but rather may believe that she can defend herself and that fighting back would deter her partner from hurting her further; or she may seek retribution to avenge herself and escape from perpetual terror and abuse. Other reasons for the woman's assaultive behavior may include demanding attention, expressing anger, saving loved family members (nuclear or extended), and reclaiming lost

self-respect (Dasgupta 1999). In general, however, this form of resistance does not work because of usual size differences between the woman and her partner in heterosexual couples. "A slap by a woman documented as 'violence' may momentarily sting; a slap by a man has broken jaws" (Schechter 1982, p. 214). For a few women, violent resistance may lead to taking the life of their partner as the only way to rescue them from the relationship.

The third and the most common type of intimate partner violence is *situational couple's violence*, which refers to violence that is a result of disagreements between the couple and in response to specific day-to-day situations with no general pattern of coercive control. The violence may be a single instance or it may be a pattern in which one or both partners frequently resort to violence to resolve differences. In some cases, the violence may be quite severe; however, it is always a response to a particular situation rather than dictated by a control and power dynamic.

Kelly and Johnson (2008) describe another category, *separation-instigated violence*, which reflects the violence that occurs in response to and in the context of separation with no prior history of violence. Also, this type of violence is distinct from situational couple's violence that continues through the process of separation, as well as coercive controlling violence, exacerbated at the time of separation in response to the perpetrator's perception of loss of control over his partner. Finally, *mutual violent control* (Johnson and Ferraro 2000), although rare, is characterized by relationships in which both partners use violence to control the other. The primary feature of violence is the use of mutual coercive violence between the couple in an effort to dominate the relationship.

Traditionally, couple's counseling is counterindicated as an intervention strategy for domestic violence as it may merely blame the victim or enable the perpetrator. Johnson (2009) posits that this is primarily because a majority of women in shelters, hospitals, and the criminal justice system are victims of intimate terrorism. The basic tenets of couple's counseling, such as asking the couple to discuss their concerns together with a

counselor, will not be effective because the dynamics of power and control lie at the root of violence. On the contrary, couple's counseling strategies may work very effectively for situational couple's violence. However, even in these cases, great caution needs to be exercised in identifying the type of intimate partner violence and keeping the woman's safety the priority (Johnson 2009; Pence and Dasgupta 2006). In addressing suspected situational couple's violence, Johnson recommends that every case should be initially considered a case of intimate terrorism with focus on safety planning. Utilizing intake procedures such as qualitative interviews, questionnaires, and detailed analyses of incidents leading to violence, therapists should move toward individual counseling first. The individuals also need to be assessed for underlying cultural and religious explanations and justifications for the violence. This may include a sense of entitlement in the perpetrator permitting him to "discipline" his wife as well as the woman's own internalized beliefs that may justify violence. An assessment should also be made in regard to how male and female roles are defined within the religion, and if "equitable" roles translate into a pattern of dominance and submission within the relationship that perpetuates violence. However, if the initial theory of situational couple's violence continues to hold true, only then should the therapist proceed to a more risky strategy of couple's counseling. For violent resistance, focusing on safety and minimizing risk for both the victim and the perpetrator should be the first step. In case of both violent resistance and intimate terrorism, victims should be provided access to resources in collaboration with shelters and religious communities (Cooper-White 1996).

While most secular organizations place emphasis on empowerment and self-determination of the woman to assist her in leaving the relationship, religious women may not be willing to terminate their marriage (Yoshioka and Choi 2005). The goal should be to empower the woman by using the strategies that will eliminate violence and battering from her life (Johnson 2009). For religious men who batter, intervention programs should also seek to modify and correct not only

their violent behavior but also the culture-specific beliefs and practices of the religious group, often derived "out-of-context" from the scriptures, which the abusive men use to justify violence. For interventions that focus on justice and accountability, clergy may be in the best position to facilitating this change process in a supportive environment. Studies have shown that men who are referred by clergy are more likely to complete the program than those who were mandated by a judge. Their rate of program completion is significantly higher when both the clergy and the courts are involved in the referral (Nason-Clark 2004).

The etiology of how a man may become violent is complex and varied and may be multiply determined by facets of his social and cultural context. These might include early experiences, cultural and social norms, and history of abusive behavior (Cattaneo and Goodman 2005). Psychological factors may also play a part, such as hostility, tendency to dominate, poor impulse control, depression, anxiety, and low frustration tolerance (Sonkin et al. 1985; Bersani et al. 1992). Personality disorders most commonly associated with men who are violent toward women include antisocial, borderline, and narcissistic disorders (White and Gondolf 2000). Pathological jealousy has been found to have a significant presence in a study with 38 % of the aggressors demonstrating sexual jealousy (Echeburúa et al. 2003). In regard to their interpersonal skills, violent men demonstrate poor communication skills and poor ability to solve problems and resolve conflicts (Corsi 1995 as cited in Echeburúa et al. 2003). Further, men who batter also have cognitive biases in regard to gender roles and inferiority of women, often fueled by messages embedded in interpretations of religious teachings and cultural norms. Understanding these characteristics and their manifestations will enable the clergy to provide comfort and support to women who come to them for help and ensure their safety, as well as guide men who are violent to appropriate batterer intervention programs.

The Power and Control Wheel developed by the Domestic Violence Project of Duluth, MN has been adapted by various activists and advocates working within religious communities to reflect the various religious beliefs distorted to perpetuate domestic violence against women and children in the family context. For example, the Muslim Wheel of Domestic Violence (Alkhateeb 2006) describes specific Islamic teachings that the husband may use out of context to demand absolute obedience from his wife, control her every movement, and limit her access to the outside world. Specific forms of coercion include threatening to marry another wife, threatening "God-ordained" wife beating, and threatening that she drops charges to preserve her reputation and that of her extended family. Intimidation tactics may include having the local imam hold the wife accountable for the abuse, using emotional abuse by calling her an unfit Muslim wife and mother, and making fun of her "inadequate" Islamic knowledge.

Besides challenging and altering the patriarchal beliefs and practices described in the Power and Control Wheel, the Duluth and similar other models also incorporate cognitive behavioral techniques focusing on the functions that the violent behavior serves for the batterer, teaching anger management strategies, and behavioral skills training (Babcock et al. 2004). Further, these programs also posit that batterers use techniques of cognitive neutralization (Sykes and Matza 1957, as cited in Langlands et al. 2009) to minimize and justify their behavior, blaming external factors such as alcohol or their partners to avoid taking responsibility for their actions (Langlands et al. 2009). Although the processes of cognitive reframing and behavioral activation may be common techniques applied in the treatment of individuals from diverse cultural and religious groups, the process of assessing the client's dysfunctional and erroneous beliefs and reframing them in light of more positive cultural traditions and theological frameworks may be central to addressing domestic violence with religious clients. Other intervention programs that appear promising include promoting men's advocacy of gender equality (Flood 2004), the Good Lives Model (Langlands et al. 2009), bystander intervention programs (Banyard et al. 2005; Katz 1994), and other culturally sensitive

interventions/models for minority (e.g., Hancock and Siu 2009) and religious communities (Jones et al. 2005).

The Duluth model assumes that altering beliefs of entitlement and power will reduce domestic violence. However, religious traditions have in general worked against raising awareness about domestic violence and discouraged family dissolution, resulting in reinforcement of a victimized woman's sense of vulnerability and failure (Nason-Clark 2004). Yet most religious traditions also have a fundamental egalitarian core affirming the equality in creation of both men and women, as well as religious teachings on justice, fairness, compassion, and mercy. These teachings can be effectively utilized within the religious context and as alternative models of spousal relations.

Summary

Abused women from faith communities often seek help from members of clergy for comfort, support, guidance, and intervention. Unfortunately, all too often faith leaders' tolerance of abuse and asking the woman to be patient and forgive may compromise her safety and perpetuate her ongoing victimization. Most clergy do not have adequate training and experience to address intimate partner violence in their communities and often tend to provide limited personal attention to abused women.

Religion may be a driving force in shaping social norms about women's roles that lead to viewing inequalities in power as normal or accepted practice. Religious teachings may often be used to justify violence against women; yet, support from ones faith community may benefit abused women and provide comfort and healing. Religious leaders are often in a powerful position to mobilize resources within their diverse communities and be effective partners in addressing sensitive gender-related issues.

Developing a socioculturally appropriate prevention program to address domestic violence in a religious community involves building effective collaboration and partnerships, integrating religious knowledge and perspectives of the community, and identifying values that condemn domestic violence and foster harmonious family relationships. The training program should include key people who represent the diversity within the religious/cultural community for a comprehensive understanding of the context, barriers, and interventions appropriate for the community. Awareness of one's own assumptions and biases also assists in understanding the worldview of a culturally different group. Attempts should be made not only to encourage participation and full inclusion of women in all phases of the collaborative process but also to recruit men and religious leaders as allies and partners in changing deeply misogynistic beliefs and practices. An official launching of the project permits open discussion of the problem in the community and formalizes its commitment. Evaluating the program's effectiveness based on periodic assessments and ongoing feedback from the community permits changes and helps determine if short-term and long-term goals were met. Brochures, pamphlets, and other informational material in the preferred languages of the community may be provided explaining the nature of domestic violence, its impact on families and communities, and links to existing services. It is crucial that such information incorporate theological constructs relevant to the group that promote positive relationships and condemn injustice and violence. This helps the community to build capacity and become an important resource for collaboration with the mainstream agencies serving their congregants.

In providing consultation to religious leaders on domestic violence cases, the focus may be on developing a plan to help a specific client or on enhancing the clergy's knowledge and professional capacity in relation to helping a number of clients. A thorough understanding of various forms of violence and distinguishing between intimate terrorism, violent resistance, and situational couple's conflict will enable the religious leader to provide appropriate and specific interventions or to refer the client to a mainstream agency. If a religious woman is not willing to terminate her marriage, the goal should be to empower her by using strategies that would

eliminate violence from her life and modify and correct culture-specific beliefs and practices used to justify violence.

References

Adelman, M. (2000). No way out: Divorce-related domestic violence in Israel. *Violence Against Women, 6*(11), 1223–1254.

Ahmad, F., Riaz, S., Barata, P., & Stewart, D.E. (2004). Patriarchal beliefs and perceptions of abuse among South Asian immigrant women. *Violence Against Women, 10*(3), 262–282.

Alkhateeb, S. (2006). *The muslim wheel of domestic violence*. http://www.lfcc.on.ca/muslim_wheel_of_domestic_violence.html. Accessed 9 July 2012.

Ayyub, R. (2000). Domestic violence in the South Asian Muslim immigrant population in the United States. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless, 9*(3), 237–248.

Babcock, J.C., Green, C.E., & Robie, C. (2004). Does batterers' treatment work? A meta-analytical review of domestic violence treatment outcome research. *Clinical Psychology Review, 23*, 1023–1053.

Bahr, H. M., & Chadwick, B. A. (1985). Religion and family in Middletown, USA. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 47*(2), 407–414.

Bandura, A. (1971). Psychotherapy based upon modeling principles. In A.E. Bergin & S.L. Garfield (Eds.), *Handbook of psychotherapy and behavior change* (pp. 653–708). New York: Wiley.

Banyard, V.L., Plante, E.G., & Moynihan, M.M. (2005). *Rape Prevention through Bystander Education: Bringing a Broader Community Perspective to Sexual Violence Prevention*. U.S. Department of Justice, Grant No. 2002-WG-BX-0009. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/208701.pdf. Accessed 01 Nov 2012.

Baobaid, M. (n.d.). Outreach strategies for family violence intervention with immigrant and minority communities: Lessons learned from the muslim family safety project (MFSP). Changing ways, London, Ontario. http://www.lfcc.on.ca/MFSP_Guidelines.pdf. Accessed 04 Aug 2012.

Beaman-Hall, L., & Nason-Clark, N. (1997). Translating spiritual commitment into service: The response of evangelical women to wife abuse. *Canadian Woman Studies, 17*(1), 58–61.

Bent-Goodley, T. B. (2005). Culture and domestic violence: Transforming knowledge development. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*(2), 195–203.

Bersani, C. A., Chen, H. T., Pendleton, B. F., & Denton, R. (1992). Personality traits of convicted male batterers. *Journal of Family Violence, 7*(2), 123–134.

Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York: Wiley.

Bloom, B. S., Hastings, J. T., & Madaus, G. F. (1971). *Handbook on formative and summative evaluation of student learning*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Bograd, M. (1988). How battered women and abusive men account for domestic violence: excuses, justifications, or explanations? In G.T. Hotaling, D. Finkelhor, & J.T. Kirkpatrick (Eds.). *Coping with family violence: Research and policy perspectives* (pp. 60–77). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Browne, K. O., Saunders, D. G., & Staecker, K. M. (1997). Process-psychodynamic groups for men who batter: A brief treatment model. *Families in Society, 78*(3), 265–271.

Cadsky, O., Hanson, R. K., Crawford, M., & Lalonde, C. (1996). Attrition from a male batterer treatment program: Client-treatment congruence and lifestyle instability. *Violence and Victims, 11*(1), 51–64.

Caplan, G. (1964). *Principles of preventive psychiatry*. New York: Basic Books.

Caplan, G. (1970). *The theory and practice of mental health consultation*. New York: Basic Books.

Caplan, G. (1974). *Support systems and community mental health*. New York: Behavioral Publications.

Carnahan, S. (1994). Preventing school failure and dropout. In R. J. Simeonsson (Ed.), *Risk resilience and prevention: Promoting the wellbeing of all children* (pp. 103–123). Baltimore: Paul H. Brooks.

Cattaneo, L. B., & Goodman, L. A. (2005). Risk factors for reabuse in intimate partner violence: A cross-disciplinary critical review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 6*(2), 141–175.

Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Lincoln, K. D. (2002). Advances in the measurement of religiosity among older African Americans: Implications for health and mental health researchers. In J. H. Skinner & J. A. Teresi (Eds.), *Multicultural measurement in older populations* (pp. 199–220). New York: Springer.

Cooper-White, P. (1996). An emperor without clothes: The church's views about treatment of domestic violence. *Pastoral Psychology, 45*(1), 3–20.

Cross T.L, Baron B.J., Dennis K.W., & Isaacs M.R. (1989). *Towards a culturally competent system of care: A monograph on effective services for minority children who are severely emotionally disturbed*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University. Child development center. Child and adolescent service system program. Technical Assistance Center.

Dasgupta, SD (1999). Just like men: A critical view of violence by women. In E. Pence & M. Shepard (Eds.), *Coordinating community response to domestic violence: Lessons from the Duluth model* (pp. 195–222). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denmark, F., Rabinowitz, V., & Sechzer, J. (2000). *Engendering psychology: Bringing women into focus*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1979). *Violence against women*. New York: Free Press.

Dryfoos, J. D. (1990). *Adolescents at risk: Prevalence and prevention*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dusenbury, L., & Falco, M. (1995). Eleven components of effective drug abuse prevention curricula. *Journal of School Health, 65*(10), 420–425.

Echeburúa, E., Fernández-Montalvo, J., & Amor, P. J. (2003). Psychopathological profile of men convicted of gender violence: A study in the prisons of Spain. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18*(7), 798–812.

Edleson, J.L. (2000). *Primary prevention and adult domestic violence*. MINCAVA—Minnesota Center Against Domestic Violence & Abuse. School of Social Work. University of Minnesota. Paper presented at the meeting of the Collaborative Violence Prevention Initiative, San Francisco, CA—February 17–18, 2000. http://www.mincava.umn.edu/documents/primary-prevention/primary-prevention.pdf. Accesssed 15 Sept 2012.

Ellison, C.G., & Anderson, K.L. (2001). Religious involvement and domestic violence among U.S. couples. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 40*(2), 269–286.

Ellsberg, M. C., Pena, R., Herrera, A., Liljestrand, J., & Winkvist, A. (1999). Wife abuse among women of childbearing age in Nicaragua. *American Journal of Public Health, 89*(2), 241–244.

Flood, M. (2004). Men's collective struggles for gender justice. In M. Kimmel, R. W. Connell, & J. Hearn (Eds.), *Handbook for studies of masculinities* (pp. 458–466). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fortune, M. (1988). Forgiveness: The last step. In A. Horton, & J. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion: When praying is not enough* (pp. 215–220). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Fowler, D., Faulkner, M., Learman, J., & Runnels, R., (2011). The Influence of spirituality on service utilization and satisfaction for women residing in a domestic violence shelter. *Violence Against Women, 17*(10), 1244–1259.

Ganesan, S., & Hess, R. (1997). Dimensions and levels of trust: Implications for commitment to a relationship. *Marketing Letters, 8*(4), 439–448.

Gelles, R. J. (1983). An exchange/social control theory: Current family violence research. In D. Finkelhor, R. Gelles, G. Hotaling, & M. Straus (Eds.). *The dark side of families* (pp. 151–165). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Greipp, J.P., Meisner, T.G., & Miles, D.J. (2010). Intimate partner violence victims charged with crimes: Justice and accountability for victims of battering who use violence against their batterers. *Aequitas, The Prosecutors' Resource on Violence Against Women*. http://www.aequitasresource.org/Intimate_Partner_Violence.pdf. Accessed 06 August 2012.

Hancock, T. U., & Siu, K. (2009). A culturally sensitive intervention with domestically violent Latino immigrant men. *Journal of Family Violence, 24*(2), 123–132.

Harrell, S.P., & Bond, M.A. (2006). Listening to diversity stories: Principles for practice in community research and action. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 37*(3–4), 365–376.

Harvey, A., Garcia-Moreno, C., & Butchart, A. (2007). *Primary prevention of intimate-partner violence and sexual violence*: Background paper for WHO expert meeting May 2-3. WHO, Department of Violence and Injury Prevention and Disability. http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/publications/violence/IPV-SV.pdf. Accessed 15 Sept 2012.

Hassouneh-Phillips, D.S. (2001). American Muslim women's experiences of leaving abusive relationships. *Health Care for Women International, 22*, 415–432.

Janz, N. K., Zimmerman, M. A., Wren, P. A., & Israel, B. A. (1996). Evaluation of 37 AIDS prevention projects: Successful approaches and barriers to program effectiveness. *Health Education Quarterly, 23*, 80–97

Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. *The Lancet, 359*(9315), 1423–1429.

Jewkes, R., Levin, J., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002). Risk factors for domestic violence: findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science & Medicine, 55*(9), 1603–1617.

Johnson, M. P. (2005). Domestic violence: it's not about gender-or is it? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67*(5), 1126–1130.

Johnson, M.P. (2009). Differentiating among types of domestic violence: Implications for healthy marriages. In H.E. Peters & C.M. K. Dush (Eds.), *Marriage and family: Perspectives and complexities* (pp. 281–297). New York: Columbia University Press.

Johnson, M. P., & Ferraro, K. J. (2000). Research on domestic violence in the 1990s: Making distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*, 948–963.

Jones, A. S., Fowler, T. S., Farmer, D. F., Anderson, R. T., & Richmond, D. W. (2005). Description and evaluation of a faith community-based domestic violence pilot program in Forsyth County, NC. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 7*(4), 55–87.

Kaslow, F., & Robinson, J. A. (1996). Long-term satisfying marriages: Perceptions of contributing factors. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 24*, 154–170.

Katz, J. (1994). *Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) trainer's guide*. Boston, MA: Center for the Study of Sport in Society, Northeastern University

Katz, J. (2006). *The Macho Paradox: Why some men hurt women and how all men can help*. Naperville, IL: Sourebooks, Inc.

Kelly, J. B., & Johnson, M. P. (2008). Differentiation among types of intimate partner violence: Research update and implications for interventions. *Family Court Review, 46*(3), 476–499.

Krieger, N., Williams, D., & Zierler, S. (1999). "Whiting out" white privilege will not advance the study of how racism harms health. *American Journal of Public Health, 89*(5):782–783.

Langlands, R. L., Ward, T., & Gilchrist, E. (2009). Applying the good lives model to male perpetrators of domestic violence. In P. Lehmann & C. Simmons (Eds.), *Strengths based batterer intervention: A new paradigm in ending domestic violence* (pp. 217–235). New York, NY: Springer.

Levinson, D. (1989). *Family violence in cross-cultural perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Levitt, H. M., & Ware, K. (2006). "Anything with two heads is a monster:" Religious leaders' perspectives

on marital equality and domestic violence. *Violence Against Women, 12*(12), 1169–1190.

Lewis, C., Battistich, V., & Schaps, E. (1990). School-based primary prevention: What is an effective program? *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 50*, 35–59.

Lish, R. A., McMinn, M. R., Fitzsimmons, C. R., & Root, A. M. (2003). Clergy interest in innovative collaboration with psychologists. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity, 22*, 294–298.

Lusch, R. F., O'Brien, M., & Sindhav, B. (2003). The critical role of trust in obtaining retailer support for a supplier's strategic organizational change. *Journal of Retailing, 79*(4), 249–258.

Maruyama, M. (1992). Interrelations among science, politics, aesthetics, business management, and economics. In M. Maruyama (ed.), *Context and complexity: Cultivating contextual understanding* (pp. 1–34), New York: Springer-Verlag.

Mehta, M., Peacock, D., & Bernal, L. (2007). *Men as partners: Lessons learned from engaging men in clinics and communities.* http://www.engenderhealth.net/ia/wwm/pdf/map_genderequal.pdf. Accessed 13 August 2012.

Meylink, W.D., & Gorsuch, R. (1986). New perspectives for clergy-psychologist referrals. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity, 5*, 62–70.

Miller, B. C., & Paikoff, R. L. (1992). Comparing adolescent pregnancy prevention programs. In B. C. Miller & R. L. Paikoff (Eds.), *Preventing adolescent pregnancy: Model programs and evaluations* (pp. 265–284). Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Minkler, M., & Wallerstein, N. (2004). Improving health through community organization. In M. Minkler (Ed.), *Community organizing and community building for health* (2nd ed., pp. 26–50). Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University.

Mitchell-Clark, K., & Autry, A. (2004). *Preventing family violence: Lessons from the Community Engagement Initiative.* San Francisco: Family Violence Prevention Fund. http://endabuse.org/programs/children/files/Preventing2.pdf. Accessed 12 Oct 2012.

Molm, L. D. (1994). Dependence and risk: Transforming the structure of social exchange. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 57*(3), 163–176.

Nagayama Hall, G. C., Teten, A. L., DeGarmo, D. S., Sue, S., & Stephens, K. A. (2005). Special section: Multicultural and community psychology: Clinical psychology in context-Ethnicity, culture, and sexual aggression: Risk and protective factors. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 73*(5), 830–840.

Nason-Clark, N. (2004). When terror strikes at home: The interface between religion and domestic violence. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 43*(3), 303–310.

Nason-Clark, N., & Neitz, M.J. (2001). *Feminist Narratives and the Sociology of Religion.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Nation, M., Crusto, C., Wandersman, A., Kumpfer, K. L., Seybolt, D., Davino, K. (2003). What works in prevention: Principles of effective prevention programs. *American Psychologist, 58*(6–7), 449.

Pagelow, M.D., & Johnson, P. (1988). Abuse in the American family: The role of religion. In A.L. Horton & J.A. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion: When praying isn't enough* (pp. 1–12). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Pargament, K. I. (1997). *The psychology of religion and coping: Theory, research, practice.* New York: Guilford Press.

Prochaska, J. O. (1979). *Systems of psychotherapy: A transtheoretical analysis.* Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Prochaska, J. M., Prochaska, J. O., & Levesque, D. A. (2001). A transtheoretical approach to changing organizations. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research, 28*(4), 247–261.

Pence, E., & Dasgupta, S. D. (2006). *Re-examining "battering": Are all acts of violence against intimate partners the same?* Unpublished manuscript, Praxis International, Inc.

Raj, A., & Silverman, J. G. (2002). Intimate partner violence against South Asian women in greater Boston. *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, 57*(2), 111–114.

Ringel, S., & Bina, S. (2007). Understanding causes of and responses to intimate partner violence in a Jewish orthodox community: Survivors' and leaders' perspectives. *Research on Social Work Practice, 17*(2), 277–286.

Robinson, L.C., & Blanton, P.W. (1993). Marital strength in enduring marriages. *Family Relations, 42*, 38–45.

Rosewater, A., & Goodmark, L. (2007). *Steps toward safety: Improving systemic and community responses for families experiencing domestic violence.* San Francisco: Family Violence Prevention Fund.

Sarason, I.G., & Sarason, B.R. (1984). *Abnormal psychology* (4th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hal.

Schechter, S. (1982). *Women and male violence.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Simmel, G. (1905). A contribution to the sociology of religion. *American Journal of Sociology, 11*, 359–376.

Sonkin, D. J., Martin, D., & Walker, L. E. (1985). *The male batterer: A treatment approach.* New York, NY: Springer.

Straka, S. M., & Montminy, L. (2006). Responding to the needs of older women experiencing domestic violence. *Violence Against Women, 12*(3), 251–267.

Strickland, G. A., Welshimer, K. J., & Sarvela, P. D. (1998). Clergy perspectives and practices regarding intimate violence: A rural view. *The Journal of Rural Health, 14*(4), 305–311.

Sue, D. W., Ivey, A. E., & Pedersen, P. B. (1996). *A theory of multicultural counseling and therapy.* Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks.

Sugarman, D., & Frankel, S. (1996). Patriarchal ideology and wife assault: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Family Violence, 11*(1), 13–40.

Sullivan, C., & Alexy, C. (2001). *Evaluating the outcomes of domestic violence service providers: Some practi-*

cal considerations and strategies. Harrisburg, PA: VAWnet, a project of the National Resource Center on Domestic Violence/Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence. http://www.vawnet.org. Accessed 04 Sept 2012.

Tang, T. N., & Dion, K. L. (1999). Gender and acculturation in relation to traditionalism: Perceptions of self and parents among Chinese students. *Sex Roles, 41*(1), 17–29.

Thomas, D. L., & Cornwall, M. (1990). Religion and family in the 1980s: Discovery and development. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52*, 983–992.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2000). Full report of the prevalence, incidence, and consequences of violence against women: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey. Research report. Washington, D.C.: *National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control*. http://www.nij.gov/pubs-sum/183781.htm. Accesssed 04 April 2013.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (2006). Extent, nature, and consequences of rape victimization: Findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey. Special Report. Washington, D.C.: *National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. http://www.nij.gov/pubs-sum/210346.htm. Accessed 04 April 2013.

Van Hightower, N. R., Gorton, J., & DeMoss, C. L. (2000). Predictive models of domestic violence and fear of intimate partners among migrant and seasonal farm worker women. *Journal of Family Violence, 15*(2), 137–154.

Walker, L. E. (1979). The battered woman. New York: Harper & Row.

Walker, L. E. (1988). Spouse abuse: A basic profile. In A. L. Horton & J. A. Williamson (Eds.), *Abuse and religion* (pp. 13–20). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Wandersman, A., Morrissey, E., Davino, K., Seybolt, D., Crusto, C., Nation, M., et al. (1998). Comprehensive quality programming: The eight essential steps to effective community-directed prevention programs. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 19*, 3–31.

Warrier, S. (2000). *Building comprehensive solutions to domestic violence: Outreach to underserved communities*. National Resource Center on Domestic Violence. http://new.vawnet.org/Assoc_Files_VAWnet/BCS_UnSer.pdf. Accessed 10 Aug 2012.

White, R., & Gondolf, E. (2000). Implications of personality profiles for batterer treatment: Support for the gender-based, cognitive-behavioral approach. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 15*(5), 467–488.

White, J. W., & Smith, P. H. (2004). Sexual assault perpetration and reperpetration from adolescence to young adulthood. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 31*(2), 182–202.

Wolfe, D. A., & Jaffe, P. G. (1999). Emerging strategies in the prevention of domestic violence. *The Future of Children, 9*(3), 133–144.

Wolff, D. A., Burleigh, D., Tripp, M., & Gadomski, A. (2001). Training clergy. *Journal of Religion & Abuse, 2*(4), 47–62.

World Health Organization/London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. (2010). Preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women: Taking action and generating evidence. Geneva, World Health Organization. http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/publications/violence/9789241564007_eng.pdf. Accesssed August 05 2012.

Yoshihama, M., & Carr, E. S. (2002). Community participation considered: Feminist participatory action research with Hmong women. *Journal of Community Practice, 10*(4), 85–102.

Yoshihama, M., Ramakrishnan, A., Hammock, A. C., & Khaliq, M. (2012). Intimate partner violence prevention program in an Asian immigrant community: Integrating theories, data, and community. *Violence Against Women, 18*(7), 763–783.

Yoshioka, M.R., & Choi, D.Y. (2005). Culture and interpersonal violence research: Paradigm shift to create a full continuum of domestic violence services. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*(4), 513–519.

Models of Collaboration Between Community Service Agencies and Faith-Based Institutions

<div style="text-align:right">**27**</div>

Mimi E. Kim and Ann Rhee Menzie

As early as the thirteenth century, the Kakeko-midera, a Buddhist temple still standing in Japan's Kanegawa prefecture, offered safe refuge to women fleeing abusive marriages, even granting divorce to women who sought protection for at least 3 years (Kim et al. 2010). Perhaps the first documented battered women's shelter, this example also offers early evidence of the role of faith-based institutions (FBIs) in supporting women experiencing domestic violence with interventions we attribute to modern times.

Eight centuries later, interventions in domestic violence and other forms of violence against women in the USA and many other parts of the industrialized world have developed into a complex system of crisis lines, shelters, legal advocacy centers, criminal and civil laws, and social welfare and health and mental health responses. Historically, social service organizations in the USA have intermittently focused on what was more commonly known as wife abuse throughout different periods (Pleck 1987). However, development of domestic violence as a distinct social problem and the formation of specific domestic violence-related organizations and programs have only come into existence in the last 40 years (Dobash and Dobash 1992).

By the 1980s, immigrant communities and other communities of color began to demand language and culturally specific programs accessible to women and children experiencing violence "at the margins" (Sokoloff and Pratt 2005). In Asian American immigrant communities alone, domestic violence organizations or programs dedicated to these populations increased from only a handful in the 1980s to almost 100 in 2013 (APIIDV 2013). As stand-alone community service agencies addressing domestic violence or components of broader immigrant agencies, these emerging community-based institutions have faced unique challenges and opportunities in raising controversial issues of gender-based violence within often resistant community contexts.

A common element in many of these immigrant-specific programs has been the importance of engagement with various sectors of the enclave immigrant community in order to gain support for the recognition of domestic violence as a social problem and to sanction these emerging programs as legitimate, community specific responses to violence. Outreach and education to community leaders, small businesses, civic organizations, ethnic-specific media outlets and FBIs have been strategies not only to secure community buy-in but also to establish ongoing formal

M. E. Kim (✉)
School of Social Welfare, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, USA
e-mail: mimiekim@berkeley.edu

A. R. Menzie
Korean American Coalition to End Domestic Abuse, El Cerrito, CA, USA

and informal partnerships with these individuals and institutions (Kim 2005).

This chapter focuses specifically on models of collaboration between community service agencies providing intervention and prevention responses to domestic violence and immigrant-specific FBIs. As a critical stakeholder in most immigrant communities, FBIs have offered both invaluable resources to intervention and prevention efforts and resistance to messages of gender equity and social change often inherent in domestic violence services. Collaboration between these institutions often involves strategies requiring careful and long-term negotiation of common values and goals.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the contemporary role of FBIs as providers of health and human services in the USA. This is followed by a more focused look at FBIs and their contributions to domestic violence intervention and prevention as well as a closer examination of FBIs in immigrant communities. The next section introduces a case study of Shimtuh, a Korean domestic violence and sexual assault program located in the San Francisco Bay area, and the 12 year evolution of its faith-based initiative reveals the development of four variant models of collaboration: (1) community outreach; (2) training and technical assistance for faith leaders; (3) community organizing campaign; and (4) the collaborative development of a specific faith-based curriculum addressing domestic violence. This case study further illuminates underlying components of these models including shifting formulations of the collaborative relationship, goals of collaboration, sector targets, and anticipated and actual outcomes. The chapter concludes with a reflection on implications for future collaborative work between community service agencies and FBIs.

Faith-Based Institutions as Service Providers

Public interest in community health partnerships with FBIs has flourished since the 1990s. A 1997 forum cosponsored by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), addressing the po-

tential benefits from such collaborative partnerships, highlighted emerging best practices related to diverse health concerns including HIV prevention, cervical cancer education, cardiovascular disease, smoking cessation, and teen pregnancy (CDC 2007). A systematic review of the effectiveness of health-related faith initiatives examined project outcomes covering a similar array of social and health problems[1] conducted between 1990 and 2000 (DeHaven et al. 2004). Despite the lack of scientific evaluations of such efforts, the study concluded that FBIs play an important positive role in the provision of social and health services.

Since that time, attention to FBIs in service delivery has increased. US policymakers encouraged the shift of government social service provision to charitable organizations through the Charitable Choice provision of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, passed during the Clinton administration. This federal act specifically named FBIs as playing an important role in service delivery (Cnaan and Boddie 2002). A 2003 literature review sponsored by the Rockefeller Institute of Government and The Pew Charitable Trusts (Scott 2003) featured FBI involvement in other social service and community development arenas including youth development, elderly/disabled services, after-school tutoring, emergency food delivery, emergency-related counseling and employment assistance. By 2005, US FBIs received $ 2.1 billion in community development funds, demonstrating the growing prominence of these institutions in the arena of social service, health and mental health provision (Ley 2008, p. 2058).

Faith-Based Institutions and Domestic Violence

Although formal attention to FBIs and domestic violence has emerged on the national scene only in the last 10 years, communities advocating for

---

[1] In addition, the systematic review documented faith-based initiatives related to cholesterol, nutrition, prostate cancer, asthma, and obesity.

shelters, crisis lines and other domestic violence programs have often sought the support of local FBIs. As early as 1979, Rev. Marie Fortune of the FaithTrust Institute in Seattle began to engage faith leaders regarding the issue of domestic violence after finding that 70 % of local faith leaders had no knowledge of issues of domestic violence or sexual assault (FaithTrust Institute 2013). Since that time, the FaithTrust Institute has been creating educational products specifically designed to enhance the role of FBIs to take an active stance in addressing domestic and sexual violence. A recent review of FBIs and domestic violence finds that this trend has accelerated as diverse Protestant, Catholic, Bahá'I, and Jewish FBIs have adopted national policies condemning domestic violence (O'Brien 2007). In 2000, the Peaceful Families Project began a national Muslim initiative to call attention to Quranic condemnation of domestic violence and to train Muslim faith leaders to effectively challenge domestic violence within local and national FBIs (Lasco 2001).

Faith-Based Institutions in Immigrant Communities and the Promise of Faith-Based Strategies to Address Domestic Violence

FBIs have historically played an important role in immigrant communities. However, they have only recently received attention in academic scholarship and public policy documents (Ley 2008). For example, the systematic review faith-based initiatives in social and health services from 1990 to 2000 did not feature any within immigrant communities, prompting the authors' recommendation that future resources shift towards "racially and ethnically diverse populations that increasingly characterize communities in the United States" (DeHaven et al., p. 6).

By the following decade, however, the critical role of FBIs in immigrant communities began to receive notice. In 2003, a report sponsored by Annie E. Casey Foundation highlighted the importance of faith institutions in Asian immigrant communities due to the "pervasiveness of faith"

in the home countries as well as the critical need for resources in the receiving country (Slessarev-Jamir 2003, p. 2). FBIs not only provide spiritual comfort, but also serve as a community center, a service delivery access point, and a hub for information (Min 1992). Even for those who never or rarely attended religious services in their home country, newly adopted FBIs have become important spaces to meet a plethora of immigrant needs (Ley 2008; Slessarev-Jamir 2003).

As noted earlier, many emerging immigrant domestic violence-related community-based organizations throughout the past three decades have instinctively reached out to local ethnic-specific FBIs as critical partners in efforts to shift social norms related to gender and gender-based violence. Although documented literature remains scant, anecdotal evidence of creative strategies to engage churches, temples, mosques and the diverse institutions in which immigrant religious and spiritual life reside have been shared in national spaces such as that provided by the Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence (Kim 2005). The following case study provides one example of a long-term initiative to engage local FBIs in collaboration with an immigrant domestic violence organization.

Case Study: Shimtuh and the Korean American Faith-Based Initiative

Shimtuh is a domestic violence and sexual assault program housed within a broader multiservice community service organization, Korean Community Center of the East Bay (KCCEB) in Oakland. Established as a collaborative project by Asian Women's Shelter, a pan-Asian battered women's shelter in San Francisco; Korean American Coalition to End Domestic Abuse (KACE-DA), a volunteer-based grassroots organizations of Korean American women in the San Francisco Bay Area; and KCCEB, Shimtuh was the product of several years of community mobilization among local Korean American women, facilitated by the support of local Korean and pan-Asian community-based organizations.

When Shimtuh first opened its doors in 2000, it initiated a community needs assessment to map community attitudes, existing resources and specific needs related to domestic violence. In the San Francisco Bay area, a region with an Asian population of about 30%, Koreans number just over 100,000.[2] The needs assessment surveyed over 300 local Korean American residents (Shimtuh 2000). Most individuals were surveyed at local Korean grocery stories, at Christian churches and Buddhist temples, and through responses to a survey published in a Korean daily newspaper. Although this was not a representative sample, it revealed a high level of language isolation among Korean American immigrants and reliance upon Korean language-specific resources. Most respondents (89.6%) preferred speaking Korean at home and 66.9% read the Korean language daily newspaper at least once a week.

The survey also asked about people's knowledge of domestic violence. Among those responding, 41.9% reported that they knew of a Korean American woman who was being physically abused by their partner, and 33.3% admitted witnessing their father hit their mother at least once.

The community needs assessment also confirmed the central role that FBIs play in the Korean American immigrant community. Various studies find church attendance among Korean Americans at around 70%, greatly surpassing attendance statistics for Chinese and Japanese Americans, which are closer to 32 and 28%, respectively (Choi 2003). The importance of the FBI for Korean Americans emerged as a critical theme in the needs assessment.

Korean American focus groups with faith leaders and individual interviews with survivors of domestic violence revealed the important role of FBIs both as a positive resource and a barrier

for those experiencing domestic violence. One man who was a witness to domestic violence in his home as a child stated:

> People in the church tend to be so family oriented, and they always want to push towards family reconciliation all the time. [They're] very judgmental. The church also has a very strong culture, 'blame the victim' mentality. I don't know if that stems from religion and God, but I think it's very ingrained there. So I think the church is a terrible place to go. Everyone at church knows each other, so the secret goes around, and everyone knows. The reason I don't think of church as a place to go is because when people want help, they want physical help. People [at church] ask you to pray to God. It's kind of hard to ask someone who's not really there to protect you. (Shimtuh 2000, p. 20)

While negative examples of faith-based responses to domestic violence were predominant, FBIs were also reported as supportive spaces for survivors of violence. One survivor who left her abusive husband recalled:

> For me, I got lots of help from people at the church. I was by myself then, and people knew that and came to see me. We all prayed with each other. Even the one who helped me, invited my son for his birthday. (p. 21)

The potential for positive partnership between domestic violence programs and Korean American FBIs was revealed in one report of a church's relationship with a local battered women's shelter.

> They first contact us if a Korean woman comes to the battered women's shelter. The shelter itself is run under a sponsoring system in which someone makes $ 7 donation on a daily basis for supporting a battered woman staying at the shelter. So in the case of Korean women, our church supports them by finding sponsors whose donation of about $ 210 a month, since one can only stay for a month, as well as emotional support not only help but also lead them to the church during their stay at the shelter. As a result, the community as a whole reacts positively to the issue. (p. 21)

Shimtuh and Community Engagement with Faith-Based Institutions

In many ways, the community needs assessment proved to be useful not only as a community-

---

[2] The Korean American community in the US numbers just over 1,700,000, ranking fifth among Asian Americans after Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, and Vietnamese (Hoeffel 2012, p. 14). Between 2000 and 2010, the Korean American population grew by 39% (p. 16). Almost 30% of Korean Americans reside in California (p. 17).

based participatory research strategy, but also as a community engagement activity. Several FBIs became involved in recruiting survey respondents, and faith leaders including clergy and critically important "samonim" or minister's wives also participated in faith-based focus groups. Korean media also joined in, distributing the survey through the front page of the area's most prominent daily newspapers and reporting findings. Almost all (97 %) of respondents agreed that the Korean American immigrant community needed a program specifically addressing domestic violence. Headlines reporting this as evidence of a community mandate legitimized a domestic violence program that was just getting off the ground.

Shimtuh began with a commitment to a two-pronged program design, addressing domestic violence through (1) *direct services and advocacy* for women and children experiencing domestic violence; and (2) *community organizing and engagement* to raise awareness and change social norms in the broader Korean American community. It heeded the warnings of other community-based ethnic-specific programs whose strong community engagement activities quickly eroded as crisis-related service provision increasingly occupied agency resources (Kim 2005). By committing to community organizing and engagement as a distinct scope of work, Shimtuh hoped to shift focus not only on assisting women and children experiencing domestic violence but to also change the social norms that fostered violence in the first place.

One key to changing social norms would be to the quality of its work with FBIs. It was numerous Korean American churches and temples that served as primary sites for community members to organize, share resources and information, engage in social and moral meaning-making, and create and diffuse social norms. Local reports that 70 % of the community regularly attended church or temple matched nationally reported figures (Choi 2003). And the over 300 primarily Christian churches listed in the local Korean language newspaper for a population of around 100,000 also gave evidence of the potential numbers that faith-based community engagement could reach.

The preponderance of negative experiences that survivors of violence experienced in faith contexts demonstrated the huge amount of work ahead. Rampant stories of survivors of violence facing clergy neglect, victim-blaming, and remedies relying solely on prayer and patient endurance of violence were sad reminders of the inhospitable community contexts that served to continue legacies of violence. Perhaps more disturbing were the stories raised by those seeking separation and divorce as often last resort efforts to escape violence. Divorced women and the children of divorced parents faced isolation, blame, and hostility in many FBIs with faith leaders often contributing to these conditions (Shimtuh 2000).

These experiences also highlighted the often discordant values between the community service agency and faith communities, particularly with regard to issues of gender, family, and acceptable resolutions to conflict. Domestic violence organizations were often viewed as keys to breaking up the family, institutions at great odds with the values of FBIs. In reaching out to FBIs, Shimtuh reached out to common values of promoting "peaceful homes and healthy relationships," the title of its first community education brochure, to forge collaborative ties with willing faith leaders and to build collective capacity through these collaborations to change social norms in Korean American immigrant communities.

Beginning Shimtuh's Engagement with Faith Leaders and Faith-Based Institutions

From Shimtuh's establishment in 2000, the community service agency reached out to faith leaders. As the first and ongoing staff member of Shimtuh was also an ordained minister representing Presbyterian Church, USA (PCUSA), Shimtuh started with an intimate knowledge of specific Korean American Protestant beliefs and cultural norms and networks with Korean immigrant faith institutions. This staff member, Rev. Ann Menzie, began with outreach to her own social networks to begin what she calls the "good work" of aligning secular messages of gender equity

and domestic violence prevention with spiritual values inherent in most FBIs. She invited faith institutions and leaders in her social network to participate in the community needs assessment and then built upon those relationships to move towards new, sustainable collaborations.

As this work moved beyond initial focus gatherings and general orientation meetings, Shimtuh staff, KACEDA community advisory members and other Shimtuh volunteers familiar with local faith-based contexts as faith leaders and congregation members, worked together to develop more intentional strategies for community engagement. One central question was how Shimtuh could develop the capacity of FBIs to play an effective and sustainable role in domestic violence intervention and prevention. A corollary question was the type of partnership that would be most appropriate for Shimtuh to play in order to enhance the combined capacity of Shimtuh as a community-based organization and faith institutions including their leadership and constituencies as a site for the intervention and prevention of intimate partner violence.

Phases of Community Engagement: Evolving Models of Collaboration

Over the next 12 years, Shimtuh developed shifting models of collaboration with FBIs. Each phase built upon the successes and lessons learned from the previous phase. Each organized around a particular project, a strategic vision of Shimtuh's role and the role of FBIs, related activities and the development of relevant community education materials. Most importantly, each phase sought to increase the capacity of FBIs to play an active role in domestic violence intervention and prevention. Table 27.1 illustrates the articulation of each phase of engagement, Shimtuh's engagement strategy, the FBI role within that strategy, the primary activities, and language accessible and culturally competent products created during that phase.

Phase 1. Community Mapping and Preparation Prior to the establishment of Shimtuh,

KACEDA, the grassroots organization that founded Shimtuh, identified the faith community as critical partners in efforts to address domestic violence. KACEDA members identified faith leaders within their social networks who might be potential allies including those from the churches and temples they attended. An initial domestic violence roundtable for Korean American faith leaders revealed both promising and disappointing attitudes. Low attendance at this initial forum also demonstrated the importance of long-term relationship building with faith leaders. It became clear that effective organizing of this sector would require activities that would identify those most open to issues of gender equity and domestic violence and build trusting, reciprocal relationships with them.

Phase 2. Community Needs Assessment The community needs assessment initiated the first forums for community engagement with local FBIs. The focus groups helped to identify faith leader perceptions regarding domestic violence as well as the articulation of their perceived roles in addressing the issue. The needs assessment also illuminated the opportunities and barriers that Korean immigrant survivors of domestic violence and other community members faced when seeking assistance from this important community resource.

Once the needs assessment was completed, the results shared in community forums and through the Korean media, and Shimtuh was firmly established as a community service agency addressing domestic violence, Shimtuh staff needed to shift its community engagement goals. Goals emphasizing initial relationship-building advanced to those that would deepen the capacity of FBIs to more fully address domestic violence. The needs assessment process gave an opportunity to begin building relationship with faith leaders who began to invite Shimtuh staff first to introduce the needs assessment to their congregations and subsequently to begin to discuss the issue of domestic violence in Korean American immigrant communities.

Phase 3. Korean Faith-Based Technical Assistance Through Shimtuh's experience with the

community needs assessment, it began to realize the importance of building the skills and knowledge of local faith leaders. Certain key faith leaders from both the Christian and Buddhist communities became more concerned about the issue of domestic violence but had very limited knowledge about what they could do. It became clear that FBI capacity-building would depend first upon building the capacity of faith leaders.

Phase 3 targeted technical assistance training for faith leaders that was supported through a *Department of Justice, Office of Violence against* *Women Technical Assistance Grant*. Faith leaders were recruited for what became an annual 2-day training on domestic violence. The large population of Korean seminarians in the San Francisco Bay Area also became a target audience. Because faith leaders are largely Korean-speaking, Shimtuh had to complement this technical assistance with the development of language accessible and culturally competent training curricula and community education materials. During this phase, Shimtuh developed a special Korean-English bilingual 2-day domestic violence curriculum

Table 27.1 Phases of faith-based engagement

Phase	Shimtuh engagement strategy	Faith-based institution (FBI) role	Activities	Language accessible and culturally competent materials[a]
Phase 1: Community mapping and preparation	Pre-Shimtuh *mapping* and *identification* of potential faith leaders and FBIs	*Demonstrate openness* to discussion and activities regarding domestic violence	Identification of faith-based issues related to domestic violence, open faith leaders and FBIs; initial Faith Leader Roundtable	Already existing Korean language materials from Asian Women's Shelter; articles generated by KACEDA
Phase 2: Community needs assessment	Shimtuh *outreach* to FBIs	*Mobilize* faith leaders and congregations as active participants in community needs assessment; *legitimize* Shimtuh	Focus group participation; Faith leader distribution of needs assessment surveys in faith institution	*Peaceful Homes, Healthy Family* booklet; needs assessment results
Phase 3: Korean faith-based technical assistance	Shimtuh faith leader *training and technical assistance; community education* accessible to congregations	Faith leaders and congregations gain *awareness* about domestic violence as an issue, dynamics and role of FBI as partner in domestic violence intervention and prevention	Annual 2-day community education retreats for clergy; Seminary training on domestic violence; occasional FBI presentations with congregations	*Being home shouldn't hurt* video; *Korean church domestic violence training curriculum*
Phase 4: Healthy family campaign	Shimtuh *organizes* faith leaders into a Faith Leader Advisory Group (FLAG)	Faith leaders *take ownership* for enhanced role for FBIs and new strategies initiated by FBIs	Monthly gathering for FLAG clergy members; annual 2-day community education retreats for clergy and other faith leaders	*Healthy family campaign* brochure; public service announcement (PSA) for Korean television
Phase 5: Healthy family Bible study project	Shimtuh *partners* as experts in domestic violence	Faith leaders and congregations *change social norms* at the level of FBI congregations	Bimonthly BSCC meetings for development of healthy family Bible study; monthly domestic violence study for FLAG	*Healthy family Bible study* (9-session)

[a] Materials are bilingual Korean and English unless otherwise indicated

targeted to Korean American Christian faith leaders. It also created a bilingual video featuring Korean American survivors of domestic violence who eagerly shared their stories of abuse, survival, and celebration with members of their community.

Because staff are familiar with English-speaking and Korean-speaking languages and cultures, care was taken to adopt English-written materials into language not only in Korean but in a comfortable, vernacular style accessible to the general Korean immigrant population. Likewise, the video featured both Korean American English-speaking and Korean-speaking immigrant survivors of violence. Subtitles were written in a style similar to the speaker so that the Korean English-speaking and Korean-speaking populations could comprehend not only the general narrative but the nuances, as well.

This period of training and technical assistance also provided ample opportunities for Shimtuh staff to share these new materials with church and temple congregations, women's church groups, and regional faith leader gatherings.

Phase 4. Healthy Family Campaign Just as Shimtuh staff began to ask themselves what such technical assistance was leading to, faith leaders began to question what this new knowledge prepared them to do. The partnership which up until this time relied heavily upon Shimtuh as initiator and facilitator began to shift towards faith leaders as social change agents. Shimtuh wanted to support this new dynamic by envisioning their faith-based initiative as an organizing campaign, rather than a more technocratic training and technical assistance project. The newly articulated *Healthy Family Campaign* featured a logo, campaign brochure and public service announcements (PSAs), one specifically focusing on the role of the church in addressing domestic violence, which became a daily feature on Korean ethnic television.

Shimtuh also organized faith leaders not simply as recipients of technical assistance but as an advisory group with a leadership role in lending their expertise on Korean American faith-based communities and cultures. Even with an ordained

minister on its staff, Shimtuh remained a secular institution, often ignorant of the subcultures within FBIs. The newly organized Faith Leader Advisory Group (FLAG), made up of an unusual mix of Protestant, Catholic and Buddhist faith leaders, began to meet monthly in order to continue their domestic violence education but also to educate Shimtuh on what community education and organizing strategies were most effective within FBIs.

Phase 5. Healthy Family Bible Study Project As Shimtuh's faith-based initiative shifted to enhance the ownership of faith leaders and FBIs, a creative collaborative space began to grow. A collaborative partnership relying heavily upon Shimtuh's leadership and, therefore, constrained by its secular vision and organizational culture and mandates opened to new possibilities. In particular, the types of educational curricula developed by Shimtuh, while useful in providing rudimentary education on domestic violence, was limited in its appropriateness to faith-based venues.

During one meeting on the Healthy Family Campaign, the idea of a Bible study focusing on gender equity and domestic violence emerged. The Bible study, a very familiar activity in Christian FBIs, could be an idea vehicle for promoting social norm change regarding domestic violence. Most churches have at least one active Bible study group; churches are often seeking new bible study curricula. Bible studies can explore a single issue or theme for a period of one to 2 hours, often for a course of 10 weeks, much beyond the usual time period allotted for a typical domestic violence presentation. And the use of Bible scripture and interpretations aligned with gender equity, the prevention of domestic violence and the active role of church members could deepen the internalization of messages that secular domestic violence curricula cannot.

Even Buddhist members of FLAG were excited about the prospect of developing such a novel educational tool and heartily endorsed what would become the next Shimtuh phase of faith-based engagement. A Bible Study Curriculum Committee (BSCC) developed as an adjunct

to FLAG, specifically focusing on the task of building a Bible study that would integrate the secular messages of gender equity and domestic violence prevention with Biblical scripture. With the support of *Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Strengthening What Works*, the partnership between Shimtuh and the BSCC worked together to create a bilingual Korean-English 9-week Bible Study Curriculum and pilot test it with local churches. Preliminary evaluation results are pending, but anecdotal evidence of individual and ecological shifts within the institutions adopting the Bible study are promising.

The act of translating materials from Korean to English demonstrated the sensitivity of the translation process (Zou and Parry 2012). Unlike previous written materials that were first written into English and later translated into Korean, the Bible study was first written in Korean. The collaborative authors were primarily Korean speakers and understood the context, narratives and scriptural styles most familiar to the Korean American immigrant Christian community. Initial attempts to translate the material back into English resulted in translations that were overly formal and that offered scriptural interpretations that were more conservative than those in the original Korean version. One of the Bible Study authors, bilingual in both English and Korean, finally translated the materials into English, maintaining the tone that most accurately reflected in that of the original Korean version.

Models of Collaboration

Each of these phases of faith-based engagement corresponds with a model of collaboration or partnership between Shimtuh and faith leaders and the FBI. Table 27.2 displays the phases of engagement along with the model of collaboration that characterizes that phase. The role of Shimtuh as the community service agency and the accompanying role of the FBI are defined along with the resulting level of FBI capacity to address domestic violence intervention and prevention that was achieved during that phase.

Phase 1: Community Mapping and Assessment KACEDA, the grassroots volunteer organization that later founded Shimtuh, first identified the faith-based community as important to antidomestic violence work. In early discussions, KACEDA members conducted an informal mapping process that identified faith leaders and FBIs that might be potential allies in future activities. During Phase 2, it was these leaders and institutions that were targeted for outreach.

Phase 2: Community Needs Assessment. Model of Collaboration: Outreach As Shimtuh was just starting, the model guiding its engagement with faith leaders was one of *outreach*. During the period of the community needs assessment, Shimtuh staff and KACEDA members reached out to faith leaders in their social networks to engage in focus groups and to mobilize their congregations

Table 27.2 Models of collaboration

Phase	Model of collaboration	Shimtuh role	Faith-based institution (FBI) role	Level of FBI capacity
Phase 1: Community mapping and preparation	Mapping of pre-existing social network relationships	(Pre-Shimtuh) Identifier of potential faith leaders and FBIs	Pre-existing social network relationships	Low
Phase 2: Community needs assessment	Outreach	Initiator/leader	Recipient	Low
Phase 3: Korean faith-based technical assistance	Training and technical assistant	Trainer/teacher	Trainee/student	Low
Phase 4: Healthy family campaign	Community organizing campaign	Mobilizer	Mobilized	Moderate
Phase 5: Healthy family Bible study project	Shared leadership	Domestic violence expert/supporter	Faith expert/leader	High

to respond to the community survey. The community needs assessment offered an opportunity not only to solicit necessary assessment-related information from faith leaders and congregations but also to engage them as active participants in the needs assessment project. Since Shimtuh and its founding grassroots organization, KACEDA, were committed to community engagement as a core focus, the objective of faith-based engagement was equal to that of data collection. Despite success in mobilizing faith leaders and congregations in the needs assessment, the actual level of initiation and ownership in the issue of domestic violence among faith constituents was relatively low. Shimtuh hoped to build upon these initial levels of participation in order to increase faith-based capacity over time.

Phase 3: Korean Faith-Based Technical Assistance. Model of Collaboration: Training and Technical Assistance The next phase of Shimtuh's faith-based engagement sought to increase the capacity of faith leaders to seriously tackle the issue of domestic violence throughout the Korean American community. Shimtuh used the collaborative model of training and technical assistance to describe its efforts to raise the domestic violence related knowledge and skills of faith leaders. In this model of collaboration, Shimtuh is the expert on domestic violence, recruiting Korean American clergy and seminarians to join in a 2-day training specifically organized for faith-based leaders. This trainer-trainee or teacher–student model of collaboration assumes that faith leader education will eventually result in spillover benefits to congregations and the broader faith-based community. Faith leaders who participated in training and technical assistance events increased their knowledge regarding domestic violence. However, this phase was in many senses a preparation for a more active future role for faith leaders. During this phase, their capacity to take action remained relatively low.

Phase 4: Healthy Family Campaign. Model of Collaboration: Community Organizing Campaign The previous training and technical assis-

tance phase of engagement raised the domestic violence-related knowledge of those faith leaders who participated in these events. It also increased their level of commitment to take action. The turn to a community organizing campaign model of collaboration proposed to shift faith leaders and their institutions from recipients of efforts initiated by Shimtuh to that as active agents in strategies that they might initiate themselves. What Shimtuh found during this phase was that faith leaders became more involved as advisory members to Shimtuh through their participation in FLAG. They also began to create events such as *Shimtuh Day* in which Shimtuh staff would be invited to lead domestic violence-related activities throughout the day including sermons, children and youth programming and other programs. As faith leader participation and exposure of congregations to domestic violence related programming increased, FBI capacity to take action raised to a moderate level.

Phase 5: Healthy Family Bible Study Project. Model of Collaboration: Shared Leadership The concept of a Bible study directed towards gender equity and domestic violence intervention and prevention raised FBI ownership, participation and scope to another level. The Bible study was an arena that the Christian faith leaders knew well. The creation of the BSCC allowed for a shared leadership model between Shimtuh and faith leaders that was on more equal footing than in previous models of collaboration. In fact, this new project raised the level of ownership and expertise of faith leaders substantially and allowed Shimtuh staff to play much more of a facilitating or supporting role. During the process of the Bible study creation, Shimtuh staff made sure that content did not stray from the secular messages supported by Shimtuh. Faith leaders who had already benefited from the previous period of training and technical assistance were, at this point, also quite knowledgeable about domestic violence and had already gone through a process of social norm change. However, their real expertise lay in their knowledge of appropriate Bible study format and content, acceptable ways to introduce otherwise contro-

versial concepts to a diverse Christian audience, and literacy in scripture that led to creative alignment of liturgy with the lessons regarding gender equity, domestic violence and the positive role of the church that the collaborative team wished to convey. The level of FBI capacity to take action during the period of development of this unique faith-based curriculum was high. The anticipated impact of this tool with faith leaders and congregations who implement the Bible study once it is made publicly available is significant.

Conclusion

FBIs are critically important as organizing spaces, access points for resources, hubs of information and places of moral authority in immigrant communities. For Asian immigrant domestic violence organizations, emerging since the 1980s, engagement with FBIs has been an important, if challenging, aspect of domestic violence intervention and prevention. Intentional strategies for collaboration that can skillfully negotiate alignment between sometimes conflicting values and social norms have been among the leading edge strategies of many immigrant organizations addressing domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence.

The case study of Shimtuh's evolving faith-based initiative demonstrates various models of collaboration with local FBIs. For Shimtuh, the overarching goal of each model was the enhanced capacity of FBIs to take an active role in the intervention and prevention of domestic violence. The four models of collaboration emerging from Shimtuh's faith-based initiative are: (1) outreach; (2) training and technical assistance; (3) community organizing campaign; and (4) shared leadership.

Each successive model was built upon the previous, benefiting from the lessons learned, relationships built and products created from earlier phases while also addressing limitations emerging as these models followed their course of development. Most importantly, Shimtuh was able to see its own role develop from initiator and leader to one that became more facilitative

and supportive of the leadership of clergy. Likewise, faith leaders first followed the active lead of Shimtuh as followers, students or recipients of technical assistance. As they gained insight into domestic violence and confidence, shifting models of collaboration expanded their opportunities to increase their participation and to take more control over strategies appropriate to faith-based settings. The latest phase of Shimtuh's faith-based initiative leverages unique faith-based resources, namely, the Bible study format, to create a powerful tool that holds the most promise in changing social norms within Korean immigrant FBIs.

The case study of Shimtuh and its models of collaboration offers lessons not only applicable to issues of domestic violence but also to other issues of health, mental health, and social services. The issues of conflicting faith-based agendas, values and goals with those of more secular organizations are not unique to domestic violence although the issue area of gender-based violence does pose special challenges. Future efforts to more effectively conceptualize collaborative relationships between community service agencies, faith leaders and congregations; to evaluate faith-based engagement efforts; and to measure social norm change will contribute to scholarship in the field of community engagement, violence prevention and faith-based service delivery.

References

Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence (APIIDV). (2013). *Directory of programs serving API, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders*. http://www.apiidv.org/resources/programs-serving-apis.php. Accessed 28 July 2013.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2007). *Engaging faith communities as partners in improving community health*. Atlanta: Author.

Choi, G. (2003). The Korean American church as a social service provider. In T. Tirrito & T. Cascio (Eds.), *Religious organizations in community services: A social work perspective*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Cnaan, R. A., & Boddie, S. C. (2002). Charitable choice and faith-based welfare: A call for social work. *Social Work, 47*(3), 224–235.

DeHaven, M. J., Hunter, I. B., Wilder, L., Walton, J.W., & Berry, J. (2004). Health programs in faith-based

organizations: Are they effective? *American Journal of Public Health, 94*(6), 1030–1036.

Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1992). *Women, violence and social change*. New York: Routledge.

FaithTrust Institute. (2013). *Our history*. Seattle: Author. Retrieved from http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/about-us/history. Accessed 28 July 2013.

Hoeffel, E. M., Rastogi, S., Kim, M. O., & Shahid, H. (2012). The Asian population: 2010. *2010 Census Briefs*.

Kim, M. (2005). *The community engagement continuum: Outreach, mobilization, organizing, and accountability to address violence against women in the Asian and Pacific Islander communities*. San Francisco: Asian & Pacific Islander Institute on Domestic Violence.

Kim, M., Masaki, B., & Mehrotra, G. (2010). A lily out of the mud: Domestic violence in Asian and Pacific Islander communities. In L. L. Lockhart & F. S. Danis (Eds.), *Domestic violence: Intersectionality and culturally competent practice* (pp. 100–127). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lasco, C. (2001). Faith-based responses to domestic violence. *Networks, Magazine of the National Center for Victims of Crime, 16*(1), 8–11.

Ley, D. (2008). The immigrant church as an urban service hub. *Urban Studies, 45*(10), 2057–2074.

Min, P. G. (1992). The structure and social functions of Korean immigrant churches in the United States. *International Migration Review, 26*(4), 1370–1394.

O'Brien. (2007). Faith communities' response to intimate partner violence. In K. Kendall-Tacket & S. M. Giacomoni (Eds.), *Intimate partner violence* (pp. 197–211). Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.

Pleck, E. (1987). *Domestic tyranny: The making of social policy against family violence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Scott, J. D. (2003). *The scope and scale of faith-based social services: A review of the research literature focusing on the activities of faith-based organizations in the delivery of social services* (2nd ed.). Albany, NY: The Rockefeller Institute of Government.

Shimtuh. (2000). *Korean American community of the Bay Area: Domestic violence needs assessment report*. Oakland: Author.

Slessarev-Jamir, H. (2003). *A place of refuge and sustenance: How faith institutions strengthen the families of poor Asian immigrants*. Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Sokoloff, N., & Pratt, C. (Eds.). (2005). Domestic violence at the margins: Readings on race, class, gender, and culture. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Zou, P., & Parry, M. (2012). Strategies for health education in North American immigrant populations. *International Nursing Review, 59*(4), 482–488.

Assisting Religious Institutions in Creating a Domestic Violence Policy

Ludy Green

Domestic violence can severely impact a person's employment, productivity, and in turn, a company's profitability. As a result, private sector businesses have taken the lead on creating policies to address domestic violence. One of the front-runners for beginning this revolution and establishing a model domestic violence policy is Liz Claiborne, Inc. Due to the success of Liz Claiborne's program, many other companies have followed suit, including Polaroid, Marshalls, and The Limited, Inc. (Wilson 2006). Polaroid provides lunch meetings about domestic violence, Blue Shield of California holds abuse prevention sessions for various California businesses, and The Limited, Inc. sponsors training sessions for other companies on domestic violence (Wilson 2006). When examining the main components of policies from corporate America, we can see the building blocks for faith-based organizations. This chapter uses principles from these examples to provide specific guidelines for the development of domestic violence policy in religious institutions. Key components of a domestic violence policy include establishing a committee of experts, training institutional members with special emphasis on a small group of champions, establishing an action plan, ensuring victim's safety, and safeguarding confidentiality. Previous chapters in this volume outline obstacles to effective interventions for victims, offenders, and children affected by domestic violence within a variety of religious cultural groups. Each component of a domestic violence policy can work to alleviate some of the common problems associated with the response of religious institutions to men's violence against women.

For example, effective educational programming can address obstacles such as lack of awareness of the extent to which men's violence against women occurs in one's own faith community, not understanding that even a male religious or lay leader could use abusive behavior to exert power and control over his spouse, and acceptance of myths surrounding domestic violence (Jankowski et al. 2011; Peters 2008) and rape (Burt 1980) that tend to blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator. Having well trained champions within the religious institution to whom congregants report problems of domestic violence can address common problems such as the tendency for religious leaders to disbelieve or minimize the report of the person experiencing the abuse, to break confidentiality through informing the abusive spouse about the report of abuse, to use sacred texts to minimize or even condone the abusive behavior or to blame the victim by suggesting that if she would be more submissive then the violence would go away, and the tendency to prescribe couples counseling in an attempt to save the marriage without realizing that this most often results in the violence becoming worse. Continued training with the oversight of a domestic violence committee can help religious leadership and congregants to understand why abused women often stay in

L. Green (✉)
Second Chance Employment Services,
Washington, D.C., USA
e-mail: ludygreen8@gmail.com

abusive relationships due to financial dependency and other issues in addition to understanding the extent to which domestic violence negatively affects children in both the short and the long term through increased risk for a wide range of psychological problems and for involvement in abusive relationships as an adult (e.g., Anda et al. 2006; Bancroft 2004; Chez 1994; Columbus Coalition Against Family Violence 2012; Hall and Lynch 1998; Holden et al. 1998; Heyman and Slep 2002; Holt et al. 2008).

The next section documents the tendency for religious institutions not to have a domestic violence policy. It then explains the advantages of having a domestic violence policy, examines the nature of existing policies in the corporate world that can be adapted to religious institutions, and outlines a step-by-step procedure for clinicians assisting a religious institution in the development of a policy. Finally, it discusses the continued need for assessment of policy effectiveness and for continued education within the religious institution over time.

Survey of Policy in Places of Worship

We conducted a preliminary survey in order to gauge the extent to which churches, synagogues, and mosques have already instituted domestic violence policies. Systematic samples of 50 churches, 50 mosques, and 50 synagogues were surveyed. One type of faith community was selected from each state in the USA. A wide variety of subgroups were represented in the sample, including Bible Fellowships, Islamic Centers, Protestant churches, and Chabad Laubovitch, Reform, and Conservative Jewish congregations. The findings indicated that only a few faith communities had domestic violence policies in place. The overwhelming majority of religious institutions did not have an official policy on this topic.

For example, only 2 out of 49 churches had such a policy. Most of the churches without policies said that they felt their current protocol was sufficient. Current protocol normally entailed referring to the policies of a larger umbrella-like entity, such as the diocese, or their protocol en-

tailed the pastor carrying all of the responsibility in helping the victim. Some responses we received did include awareness campaigns and education for congregations, but these same churches lacked official policy.

Our results for synagogues and mosques reflected those we received for churches. Only 2 synagogues out of 49 had a written policy, and 5 had no official written policy, but they were pursuing other solutions to this issue. Other solutions included providing classes and programs about domestic violence, and partnerships with local organizations such as the Jewish Federation and Jewish Family Services. The majority of synagogues we spoke with said that domestic violence tends to be a private matter between the rabbis and the individuals experiencing the abuse, and that their congregations understand the rabbis are available for confidential conversation and referrals. Most synagogues felt that no official policy was needed because the scriptures and teachings of revered rabbis embrace respect for human dignity. A few synagogues stated that they had never considered establishing a policy but were open to the idea. Mosques also lacked domestic violence policies. Out of the 36 mosques we were able to reach, only 2 addressed the issue of domestic violence with a policy.

The results of this study are consistent with the hypothesis that most religious institutions do not have domestic violence policies in place. This implies that mental health professionals working with religious institutions may need to provide education surrounding the prevalence of domestic violence within all communities and the benefits of domestic violence policies with religious leaders. Benefits of discussing domestic violence policies with religious leaders are highlighted in the "Creating a Policy" section below.

Creating a Policy

Before explaining the steps involved in creating a policy to leadership in a religious institution, it is important to emphasize with them that the policy should serve as a guideline for behavior. The advantage is that it gives institutional leadership

and champions, within the congregation, training and background so that they may respond in an appropriate way to make sure that abused individuals, their children, and the abusive partner each receive the individualized help that they need. This is much preferable to the option of waiting until an emergency happens and then having to make quick decisions which may not provide safety for the abused partner or which might inadvertently make the situation worse. Enacting a policy will also serve to encourage abused partners to seek help as they perceive individuals in the congregation demonstrating openness to understanding domestic violence. Being open to hearing about abuse may puncture the illusion that there are no problems with domestic violence within a congregation as people come forward, but this is preferable to living in blissful ignorance and not being able to stop the violence because one is not even aware that it is there. Many religious leaders need help in understanding that domestic violence in any group is very common. It is alarming when one does not hear reports about abuse within an institution because that most often means abused congregants are afraid nobody will believe them or that they will be blamed or that nobody will know what to do. This is counterintuitive for leaders in almost any organization as they typically feel comforted if they have not heard reports of domestic violence in their group. The lack of reports of abuse within an institution is often a grave concern for therapists, however, especially for those who specialize in intimate partner violence, as they realize this generally means people do not feel safe to report.

Educate religious leaders about the need to adjust an institutional reaction to unpredictable circumstances that would have been impossible to foresee when writing the policy. Helping religious leaders to process when they will need to allow a degree of flexibility around the policy is essential. Finally, since each community has unique needs and capabilities, use the knowledge of culture in this specific place of worship, and customize the policy to fit this particular religious institution.

A strong and successful policy will involve the following steps: Establish a committee of experts, train all congregants with special emphasis on a small group of champions, establish an action plan, ensure victim's safety, and safeguard confidentiality (Green 2012; San Agustin 2012). These steps are discussed below.

Step 1: Establish a committee of experts The goal in establishing a committee is to maximize the effectiveness of the domestic violence policy by including experts on intimate partner violence, on the religious cultural group, and on issues related to women, men, and children affected by domestic violence. The committee as a whole needs to have someone who can speak to the dynamics of abuse, the availability of local intervention options, and the religious beliefs and cultural perspectives in the group that may be relevant to understanding the values and other dynamics of individuals which are important to take into account when designing intervention strategies. Ensure representation of a wide variety of people who are experts in different topics, such as seasoned members of the institution (male and female) who are very familiar with other members and the culture of the religious institution over the years, an expert from a local women's shelter, an employee of a different local nonprofit in the domestic violence field, a member of the church who is a social worker or who has professional experience in working with victims on a regular basis, the religious authority of the institution, and a younger member of the institution; perhaps a teenager who could provide a fresh perspective on the concerns of children in the committee. This committee of experts should represent not only the faith community, but the local community as well.

After creating this committee, it is important that this group revisits the institution's mission and draws a link between its goal as an institution and the importance in choosing to address domestic violence (Green 2012). This link will become the purpose in the policy and will function to integrate the values of the group and the goals of the domestic violence policy. Also, a definition of domestic violence should also be agreed

upon. If you need help structuring this part of the policy, Liz Claiborne's domestic violence handbook, which can be found online, gives examples of domestic violence and coercive behavior (Liz Claiborne, Inc. 2003).

In addition to using the knowledge of non-profit employees on the committee, I also suggest that the committee seek out local nonprofits for advice. This way, the religious institution can start to build a rapport with a local nonprofit, such as a women's shelter. This rapport can foster trust and develop into a partnership, in which the organization agrees to be listed as a referral and contacted directly if the place of worship has someone who needs immediate assistance.

Second Chance Employment Services is an example of a partner nonprofit. Second Chance began in response to cries for help from churches, synagogues and mosques. For example, one client, a member of a church, spoke to her pastor about her husband who abused both her and her children. Immediately after hearing this information, the pastor referred her to my organization, and Second Chance helped her get back on her feet by providing her the support and encouragement she needed to ensure her safety and the safety of her children. In this case, the client decided it was best to leave her husband. Second Chance also helped her attain a respected position at a well-known company. Because of the partnership forged between this specific church and Second Chance, she can now provide for herself and her children independent of her abusive husband. The client is also successful in a job she loves.

Step 2: Choose Champion Congregants Depending on the size of the institution, the committee should recruit a small group of "champion" congregants. These adults will represent the religious institution's membership, be well known and respected in the church, and will have knowledge of other members, and as well as of the institution's culture. Because of this knowledge, the champions will be better able to detect a change in behavior and appearance in potential victims. It is essential that the champions include

both women and men. Not only will this group be diverse in gender and race, but they will also create much more of a positive impact and cover more ground than one religious authority ever could by him or herself. These champions will be an empowered group of advocates who will be specially trained on the importance of addressing safety of the abused partner and the children first, how to protect confidentiality, the dynamics of abuse, how abusive spouses often twist and misuse religion to exert oppressive power and control, and the availability of local community resources to address domestic violence (Damron and Johnson; Chap. 1 of this volume).

Step 3: Prevent Cover-Up in the Congregation Because ignoring the problem does not make it disappear, it is essential that the committee be trained on how to prevent the negative reactions of cover-up, gossip, and blame in their congregation. It is essential to create and maintain an environment of acceptance and support for domestic abuse survivors to reach out for help. This can often be accomplished by integrating the need for domestic violence prevention and intervention with the religious beliefs and values of the group (see chapters in Section II of this volume for examples). All congregants should be held responsible for identifying possible abuse, asking potential victims if they are safe in their relationships, and connecting victims to a congregant champion. The following subsections and steps outline important elements that need to be included in educational materials within the religious institution.

Observe Symptoms When observing fellow members who are potential abuse victims, congregants should look for high levels of anxiety or fear, depression, intermittent attendance, eating disorders, and very private couples who isolate themselves (Hall and Lynch 1998; Holt et al. 2008; Liz Claiborne, Inc. 2003; Wilson 2006). Signs of abuse could also include bruising, cuts, social isolation, personality change, anger, and irritation. In the absence of these symptoms, members should also trust their intuition; if they

sense that something is wrong, they should check it out. There is no harm in asking and showing concern in their fellow member's welfare.

Avoid the Role of Counselor It is extremely important that the congregants not play the role of counselors or tell the victims what to do in their situations (Fugate et al. 2005; Green 2012; Liz Claiborne, Inc. 2003). Making decisions for the victim is dangerous because it is not helpful, and reinforces the victim's feeling a lack of control (Chez 1994). Therefore, the goal of the conversation with the male or female victim should be empowerment. Chez (1994) emphasizes that "by sharing your observations, by agreeing that what's happening is wrong, just by listening in a warm and accepting way, you give the victim strength and determination (p. 35)."

Do Not Judge The listener should also make sure to remain nonjudgmental (Chez 1994). Blame "intensifies the victim's self-doubt and… low self-esteem," and, "as a result, [the victim] remains isolated, afraid to ask for help, and ultimately afraid to try to escape" (Chez 1994, p. 35). Judgment will also cause the victim to feel even more helpless than they already do, and they will lose the determination and dedication to improve his or her own situation.

According to the FaithTrust Institute, a nonprofit that helps create policies for places of worship, these are the following steps members should undertake after observing signs of abuse:

1. Listen to and believe the victim. Tell the [victim] abuse is not [his/]her fault, and is not God's will.
2. Tell [victim] that [he/she] is not alone and that help is available.
3. Let [the victim] know that without intervention, abuse often escalates in frequency and severity over time. (FaithTrust Institute n.d., "Domestic Violence FAQs, " para. 8)

After accomplishing these steps, while remaining nonjudgmental and avoiding taking on a counselor role, congregants should refer victims to champion congregants.

Step 4: Train Champion Congregants on Action Plan In addition to carrying out the same tasks as congregants of recognizing signs of abuse in the congregation and asking the victim if abuse is occurring, champions also need to be trained on how to refer survivors to local community resources. This is where the partnerships with local nonprofits come into play. Champions need to be able to give the male or female victim a list of partner organization names, phone numbers, and addresses. If the victim needs immediate assistance, champions could call the specific contact at the nonprofit and explain the situation. Finally, champions should be sure to document and securely store data when services are rendered, such as counseling, financial assistance, employment referrals, and healthcare assistance. This process will ensure that a history of services is maintained. Also, this documentation can be reviewed when the policy is reviewed, evaluated, and updated for best practices. This idea of evaluating policy will be discussed further in the policy implementation section of this chapter.

For more specific action plan steps, FaithTrust Institute suggests these ideas, which I would apply to champions' tasks:

4. Seek expert assistance. Refer [the victim] only to specialized domestic violence counseling programs, not to couples counseling. Help [the victim] find a shelter, a safe home or advocacy resources to offer her protection. Suggesting that [the victim] merely return home places [the victim] and [his/her] children in real danger.
5. Hold the abuser accountable. Do not minimize [his/her] abusive behavior. Support [the abuser] in seeking specialized batterers counseling to help change the behavior. Continue to hold [him/her] accountable and to support and protect the victim even after [the abuser] has begun a counseling program.
6. If reconciliation is to occur, it can be considered only after the above steps have taken place. (FaithTrust Institute n.d., "Domestic Violence FAQs," para. 8)

Step 5: Ensure The Victim's Safety Safety is essential for the victim. This is why it's important that the champion or congregant member not pressure the victim to make decisions about returning home, etc. It is also important that the champion assess the victim's financial situation and work together with partner nonprofits to secure a place that is safe for the victim and the children. The goal here is to keep the victim and the family from becoming hopeless as a result of trying to escape the abusive household. Champions should use their best judgment throughout their interactions with the victim. If the victim is any immediate danger, champions should be trained on how to take immediate, appropriate action. The victim has the right to personal safety (Chez 1994).

Step 6: Assure Confidentiality The most important factor in this policy is assuring confidentiality for the victim to the fullest extent possible. Liz Claiborne's policy states, "only information necessary for the victim's safety and the safety of others will be shared on a need to know basis" (Liz Claiborne, Inc. 2003, p. 6). If the person reporting abuse does not trust the champion or congregant, the policy will not be effective. Research supports the importance of confidentiality. Many women refused to report their abuse issue in fear that their situation would not be kept confidential (Fugate et al. 2005). Not only are these victims worried about gossip and being judged for their decisions or lack of action but if the abusive spouse found out that the victim was seeking help, the consequences could also be serious and even fatal for the victim. Therefore, it is essential to assure the victim throughout the process that everything you discuss with him or her will be kept confidential and to maintain that confidentiality.

A Sample Policy Template

Below is a sample policy template that takes into account the steps for creating policy in the previous section. This sample also incorporates additional suggestions for religious institutions,

which you can customize to the congregation in question.

1. Religious institution's mission statement.
2. Religious institution's commitment to address violence and the definition of domestic violence.
3. List of committee expert members and contact information for nonprofit partners.
4. Names of champions addressing domestic violence and the champion action plans listed in chronological order.
5. Action plan for congregants, and steps listed in chronological order.
6. Safety plan for victims.
7. Confidentiality plan for victims.
8. Process for follow-up and progress checks.
9. Process for dealing with perpetrators.

Implementing the Policy

A new policy would be made moot if no one in the faith community knew it existed. Implementing this policy brings it to life, and emphasizes to congregants and the local community the importance of the issue as well as the solution. As mentioned in the "Creating A Policy" section, basic training is essential for all members. But to strengthen the fight against domestic violence within congregations, faith communities can launch an awareness campaign, and provide continuing education in the long-term (Green 2012). Also, when considering the long-term, it's also important to regularly evaluate the policy's effectiveness and continue to keep it updated with new lessons learned.

Launch an Awareness Campaign There are multiple suggestions for notifying the congregation about the problem of domestic violence and about the new policy created. Again, these suggestions will depend on the particular place of worship, and on what the committee deems most appropriate. Fugate et al. (2005) put it best when they posited that the goal of building public awareness is about highlighting the fact that domestic violence is commonplace. Also, educating the public about "the impact of domestic

violence on the victim, children, and the community may reduce the shame and embarrassment victims feel … and will simultaneously send a clear message to the perpetrators that their behavior is unacceptable" (Fugate et al. 2005, p. 305).

The first step in the awareness campaign launch is to announce the creation of the policy and what the policy entails. The faith community can do this by convening a meeting after the religious service that notifies members of the new policy. An announcement about the new initiative can also be made in the establishment's newsletter, on the program given out before worship service, on email, and/or on the website. Not only can the religious authority make announcements but he or she can also incorporate domestic violence stories in his or her sermons/messages to the congregation, or the religious authority can bring in a nonprofit that helps battered men or women to speak about the issue (Wilson 2006). According to Wilson (2006), when religious leaders communicate that it is acceptable to talk about violence in church, they are "giving [victims] a clear signal that it is safe to ask for help" (p. 207). Lastly, faith communities can take advantage of the Domestic Violence Awareness Month each October to educate congregants (Wilson 2006). During this time, members of the institution can encourage fellow congregants to donate money to the local nonprofit partner that was established when the committee created the policy.

Provide Continuing Education for Congregants While launching an awareness campaign will make apparent the faith community's strong interest in the new initiative for domestic violence, continuing to teach congregants about the issue is also important. Continuing education will form a culture of caring within the institution for new and old members, and it will take the pressure off of the religious leadership and policy committee to provide the only training for these members. By taking advantage of the partnership already forged, the place of worship can bring in the partner local nonprofit to speak on the domestic violence issue once every couple of months (Green 2012). Another beneficial speaker would be a member of the religious institution

who also has expertise in domestic violence, such as a social worker. This person could speak during the service or after the service.

In addition to providing speaking opportunities and information sessions for congregants, the faith community can also sponsor free classes for domestic violence prevention. Classes could be geared toward children, teenagers, and/or adults. Cowdin (2013) provides an example of how to address domestic violence with children in a Christian setting. Abuse can be included as a topic in a child's education curriculum, such as Sunday school in Christian churches. Teen dating violence can also be discussed in youth group meetings. Adult classes would be customized to the congregation, depending on the age of a majority of the members, but I recommend that a variety of classes be offered in the evening during the week, to maximize attendance. Adult class ideas include "How to Know When Your Spouse is Crossing the Line," "Welcoming Pregnancy," "Dealing with Adolescents," and "Stress in Families."

Prevention is the best method to handle domestic violence, before it becomes a crisis in the family. The more educated families are about the problem, the better they can recognize the warning signs before abuse occurs. The "Crossing the Line" class would specify symptoms of abusive relationships, and define abuse for the participants. Participants would then learn how to recognize these symptoms, and how to address them ahead of time in an effective manner.

The "Welcoming Pregnancy" class would identify and address the stresses families go through during pregnancies. Because many cases of abuse occur when a wife is pregnant, this class would help families address the stresses beforehand and could prevent abuse (Chez 1994; Wilson 2006). "Dealing with Adolescents" and "Stress in Families" would cover more general material, but would provide steps in decreasing stress in productive ways, as well as inform parents about the behaviors to expect from their adolescents. They will also be taught how to relate to their children, and how to love their children and each other unconditionally.

Evaluate and Update the Original Policy Once this policy becomes a part of the institution's culture, it will be important to evaluate its effectiveness at regular intervals. Goals of the evaluation will be to identify how the policy may need to change to keep up with changes in the institution, to identify and maintain procedures that work well while reworking those that need improvement, and to identify suggestions from the congregation that better match the community's capacity and are better customized to member interests, such as offering a new class for an additional age group. Change in a faith community is inevitable. Consequently, it is important to evaluate and keep the policy updated in line with the diverse needs of the group.

When choosing who should regularly evaluate and update the policy, a committee should be formed just as it was when the original policy was written. However, fresh new perspectives should also be considered. These perspectives can be provided by new committee members, or by interested congregants who want to share their feedback. Similar to when the policy was first announced after the religious service, the committee could hold another meeting for members after the service to gather opinions on how the current policy can be improved. The committee can then take all of this new information into consideration, and make the most educated decisions for the wellness of the congregation as a whole, and to further define and update the institution's role as an advocate against domestic violence.

Conclusion

This chapter has covered multiple aspects of domestic violence, and how to manage the issue in religious institutions. Best practices include creating and implementing a domestic violence policy for families in churches, synagogues, mosques, and other religious institutions that provides for effective training informed by research data, the integration of the goals of domestic violence prevention and intervention with the mission of the religious organization, systematic procedures for identifying and referring those affected by do-

mestic violence to appropriate professional help, and an evaluation strategy where data on the effectiveness of the policy are collected and used for program improvements. Mental health professionals can play an essential role in working with religious leaders and institutions on each of the steps involved in creating and implementing a domestic violence policy.

References

Anda, R. F., Felitti, V. J., Brown, D.W., Chapman, D., Dong, M. … Giles, W.H. (2006). Insights into intimate partner violence from the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study. In P.R. Salber & E. Taliaferro (Eds.), *The physician's guide to intimate partner violence and abuse*. Volcano, CA: Volcano Press.

Bancroft, L. (2004). *When dad hurts mom: Helping your children heal the wounds of witnessing abuse*. New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38*(2), 217–230. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217.

Chez, N. (1994). Helping the victims of domestic violence. *The American Journal of Nursing, 94*(7), 32–37.

Columbus Coalition Against Family Violence. (2012). *CCAFV: Frequently asked questions*. Retrieved from Columbus coalition against family violence: http://www.ccafv.org/faqs/index.php. Accessed 11 June, 2012.

Cowdin, J. (2013). *Kid's guide to understanding domestic abuse*. Mustang, OK: Tate Publishing.

FaithTrust Institute. (n.d.). *Domestic Violence FAQs*. Retrieved from FaithTrust Institute: http://www.faithtrustinstitute.org/resources/learn-the-basics/dv-faqs. Accessed 28 May 2012. (Used by permission of FaithTrust Institute www.faithtrustinstitute.org).

Fugate, M., Landis, L., Riordan, K., Naureckas, S., & Engel, B. (2005). Barriers to domestic violence help seeking: Implications for intervention. *Violence Against Women, 11*(3), 290–310.

Green, L. (2012, February 23). Domestic violence in the workplace. *Cornerstone 6th Annual Conference Keynote*. Washington, DC: WomanPower.

Hall, D., & Lynch, M. A. (1998). Violence begins at home: Domestic strife has lifelong effects on children. *British Medical Journal, 316*(7144), 1551.

Heyman, R. E., & Slep, A. M. (2002). Do child abuse and interparental violence lead to adulthood family violence? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 64*, 864–870.

Holden, G. W., Geffner, R., & Jouriles, E. N. (Eds.). (1998). *Children exposed to marital violence*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Holt, S., Buckley, H., & Whelan, S. (2008). The impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people: A review of the literature. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 32*, 797–810.

Jankowski, P. J., Johnson, A. J., Damron, J. E. H., & Smischney, T. (2011). Religiosity, intolerant attitudes, and domestic violence myth acceptance. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 21*(3), 163–182. doi:10.1080/10508619.2011.581574.

Liz Claiborne, Inc. (2003). *Handling domestic violence in the workplace: Guidelines for human resources and corporate security*. New York: Liz Claiborne, Inc.

Peters, J. (2008). Measuring myths about domestic violence: Development and initial validation of the Domestic Violence Myth Acceptance Scale. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 16*(1), 1–21. doi:10.1080/10926770801917780.

San Agustin, C. (2012, April 26). Diocesan HR officer addresses issue of domestic violence awareness in the workplace at national convocation. *The Beacon, 26*(14), 2.

Wilson, K. E. (2006). *When violence begins at home: A comprehensive guide to understanding and ending domestic abuse* (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: Hunter House Publishers.

Concluding Thoughts

Andy J. Johnson and Rachel L. Stephens

We can see that various religious cultural groups are at different places in terms of their readiness to address men's violence against women. This provides a bit of a challenge but the benefits of working collaboratively with a religious cultural community are many. Religious leaders and community members are often the first to hear reports of abuse from a survivor or from her children. Providing education about men's violence against women and making referral information widely available in the community can increase the likelihood that victims, abusive spouses, and children who have witnessed intimate partner violence will receive the appropriate, individualized treatment they need. Religious cultural communities have formal and informal organizational networks that can be effective in distributing information to individuals who may not be readily accessible to mental health practitioners. Chapters in the first two parts of this book examined the dynamics of violence against women and described potential barriers and obstacles to overcome in working on men's violence against women in diverse religious cultural groups. They also provided insight into unique strengths and assets of each religious cultural group which can be beneficial for mental health professionals

to understand. Chapters in the third part of this book examined multiple models of outreach one might choose when working with a religious cultural community. After reviewing such a diverse set of chapters, the question arises as to how to design the initial contacts to begin collaboration with religious communities. In this chapter, we suggest possible models for beginning work with diverse religious communities at the leadership levels in particular. We then follow with recommendations for best practices and suggestions for future research.

Finding Common Ground

One of the authors of this chapter (Andy) remembers preparing for a faculty development workshop he was going to present at a university in Cambodia. It was clear that an interpreter was necessary and that he needed to understand some of the history and culture of Cambodia and the institution in which he was going to teach before starting to prepare the workshop. The differences in language, culture, and history were readily apparent and raised a number of important challenges to address in constructing appropriate materials. In contrast, what can be deceiving about working with diverse religious cultural groups is that there are often multiple layers of cultural complexity within each that are not so obvious at first glance. Two given religious congregations might look the same on the outside but the way in which cooperation with outside groups is understood, the manner in which social discourse is

A. J. Johnson (✉)
Department of Psychology, Bethel University,
St. Paul, MN, USA
e-mail: ajohnson@bethel.edu

R. L. Stephens
Department of Psychology, Regent University,
Virginia Beach, VA, USA

carried out within the group, and the types of argumentation that are considered persuasive may vary substantially.

It is not necessarily obvious at the outset that one is indeed crossing cultural boundaries when working with any given religious cultural group or client. New associations with certain commonly used terms may be involved. The same words spoken in one religious group can result in different effects in another. This can occur even if the client or members of the religious cultural group look similar to others in the surrounding communities and even if the client or most in the client's religious community speak the same language as the mental health practitioner. The following case study is a composite of several different cases that illustrates how attempts at collaboration with a religious leader can, and sometimes do, go awry when religious cultural diversity is not taken into account.

The Case of Doris—the Domestic Violence Educator—and Pastor Bob Doris, a domestic violence educator, happened to be someone who participated in a mainline Protestant religious group. She wanted to provide intimate partner violence workshops at a local church, so she contacted Bob, the chief pastor at the Big Baptist Church. Her manner of conversation, the topics that she introduced into the conversation in order to establish shared goals and a working relationship with Pastor Bob, and the pacing of the conversation were well crafted and sensitive for working with a liberal Protestant group or with other mental health professionals. On the other hand, Doris also brought up two different topics, one of which in particular would have been a "deal breaker" with many conservative Protestant religious leaders if they were even mentioned in an initial contact, much less if the person pressed on the issue as Doris did in her first conversation with Pastor Bob. As a result, the working relationship with Pastor Bob and the Big Baptist Church never really progressed beyond the initial contact. Confused, Doris contacted Teresa for her input. Teresa was a therapist who had years of experience working with diverse Christian groups. It became apparent to Teresa that Doris

was familiar with Baptists who were more liberal and mainline, such as American Baptists. Her approach might have been more successful within those communities. Unfortunately, Doris did not consider the possibility that Pastor Bob and the Big Baptist Church might have values and communication patterns that differed from the ones found in her own mainline Protestant church and from the ones found in her work setting. It turned out that Pastor Bob and his church were a conservative Evangelical Christian community. As someone with extensive experience working with conservative Protestant individuals and communities, Teresa could readily see the reasons Doris' attempts to initiate a productive relationship with Pastor Bob were unsuccessful. The main issue in this case was the failure of Doris to take into account the characteristics of the group she was working with and to change the method she was using in order to establish common ground.

Establishing common ground is a way of looking for, finding, and focusing on shared values and understandings when initiating a relationship. The process is often so automatic and seamless that many professionals and other individuals do not even realize they are doing this until something does not work quite as expected, as in the example above, or in cases where the transition between cultures and worldviews is not subtle and the manner in which one proceeds is clearly seen as needing to be more intentional, such as when a hearing therapist is going to present a workshop at a Deaf church.

Let us return to the case of Doris having difficulty initiating a working relationship with Pastor Bob. What could Doris have done differently? Doris, like many other therapists working in the area of violence against women, learned about the significance of these issues in the context of reflections about gender and gender roles. In a similar fashion, she was aware of how beliefs characterized by negative attitudes toward women and LGBT individuals contribute to the problem of gender violence (e.g., see Poteat et al. 2011) and how conventional beliefs function in boys by "limiting the ways that they are able to express themselves and engage in their interper-

sonal relationships" (Chu et al. 2005, p. 110). She tried to establish common ground with Pastor Bob by emphasizing the importance of egalitarian gender roles and her belief that same-sex marriages should be legalized (at that time, same-sex marriages were not recognized in their state). This approach did not sit well with Pastor Bob, who did not have knowledge about how misogyny and prejudice against LGBT individuals are associated with men's violence against women. In contrast, he was very much concerned about what he perceived to be an erosion of healthy values surrounding sexuality in the local culture. Pastor Bob was strongly opposed to same-sex relationships and marriages. His fear of someone portraying same-sex relationships in a positive light in his church was so strong that he thought it was better not to have conversations about men's violence against women at all than to take this risk. Doris did not realize that her discussion of same-sex relationships in the initial encounter would jeopardize her efforts at collaboration since most people in her religious community and in her organization understood standing up for the rights of LGBT individuals as an important aspect of addressing relationship violence.

Teresa informed Doris that a discussion of gender roles would also not have been a good starting point for establishing common ground in this particular religious community. Doris did not realize that there is a long standing debate within conservative Protestant churches between egalitarian and complementarian models of gender relations (see the websites of the Christians for Biblical Equality, http://www.cbeinternational.org/, and the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, http://cbmw.org/, for more information). Starting the conversation with the topic of gender roles ran the risk of either stopping the collaboration before it even started since Pastor Bob strongly favored the traditional, complementarian model or of having the conversation become bogged down and stuck in the egalitarian-complementarian debate in which both sides have a strong tendency to become entrenched, refusing to move.

What might a more culturally sensitive approach in this case look like? Teresa informed

Doris that Evangelicals and other conservative Protestants place a high value on scripture and tradition as sources of knowledge and that they place a lesser emphasis on experience and reason as sources of knowledge. This was the opposite of the emphases Doris experienced in her own faith community. One method that worked well for Teresa when initiating contact about intimate partner violence with Evangelical leaders was to comment at the outset on how Jesus' ministry was centered on advancing the Kingdom of God and that men battering, belittling, or in any other way abusing women does not fit in with Kingdom of God values. This is something with which most conservative Protestants will readily agree. Teresa then would state that in some ways it does not matter if someone is a complementarian or an egalitarian because violence against women does not belong in the church. Neither side in this debate condones men's violence against women. Both sides need to work together to put an end to relationship violence. This approach sidesteps becoming mired in the gender role controversy in conservative Protestant circles at the outset by refocusing attention on shared values of Doris as a domestic violence educator, Bob as a conservative Baptist minister, and both complementarians and egalitarians within the Big Baptist Church. If Pastor Bob asked about Doris' position on same-sex relationships, she could state that she is against violence in any relationship and that nobody should be subjected to abuse, regardless of who they are or what they have done. This refocuses the discussion on common ground—both Pastor Bob and Doris are against violence and abuse in any relationship—and does so in a way that is more likely to establish trust and to move both the religious leader and the relationship forward. Doris was surprised. If she had started by talking about scripture and the life of Jesus in this way when trying to initiate intimate partner violence workshops in her church, the leaders may have questioned her competence and her professionalism. Religious culture matters. What works for one group may not work for another.

In summary, what could be seen as imperfect or partial movements toward the end goal of eliminating relationship violence by some men-

tal health professionals can be more effective in some contexts than sticking with a "perfect" or "pure" position that either eliminates the possibility of collaboration or stalls the progress of collaborative work. This does *not* mean that issues related to gender roles, misogyny, and homophobia cannot be addressed in this particular type of religious cultural community. These are essential issues that must be addressed at an appropriate time and in a culturally sensitive manner. But what it does mean is that the domestic violence educator needs to find a way to establish a relationship based on trust and mutual understanding at the outset. Focusing on same-sex relationships and gender roles at the beginning was not an effective way to establish common ground with this particular religious leader and community, even though it probably would have been successful in Doris' home church. While the idea of establishing a working alliance along with the importance of issues such as timing, pacing, and the sensitive framing of difficult issues is a rather commonplace consideration in individual therapy, sometimes mental health practitioners forget to use these same principles when consulting with leaders of a religious cultural group.

Choosing Effective Communication Strategies

What issues might one consider when constructing an initial contact strategy with a religious cultural community? How can one anticipate the different communication methods and forms of rhetoric that are common within a religious cultural group? The Wesleyan Quadrilateral is a model of sources of knowing that can be useful in understanding what types of information are emphasized in Christian groups in particular (Hey and Roux 2012; Thorson 2005). The sources of knowing include tradition, scripture, reason, and experience. There is a tendency for individuals within specific religious cultural groups to favor one or two of these sources of knowing over the others. For example, in the case above, Doris came from a mainline Protestant religious tradition that emphasized reason and experience.

Her efforts at establishing a working relationship with Pastor Bob focused on rational arguments based on systematic observations of human experience (i.e., published research and clinical observation). Pastor Bob, on the other hand, most highly valued scripture and tradition as sources of knowledge. He did not respond positively to the invitation to work together from Doris but would have been more likely to respond favorably to the approach of Teresa which emphasized scripture and the example of Jesus as reasons to offer men's violence against women workshops in his church. It is also possible Pastor Bob may not realize that some of his interpretations of scripture may be intertwined with misogynistic attitudes from traditional American culture that are inconsistent with the general thrust of the Bible (e.g., see Clark, Chap. 12).

Reviewing the chapters from the second section of this work, paying particular attention to the way a particular chapter is organized and what types of information seem to be the most important within a given religious cultural community, can give one an idea of which groups might favor which source of knowing. It is also helpful to review the website for a religious cultural group and any other source of information available about that particular community. For example, a review of the chapter "Domestic Violence in Muslim Communities" by Hamid (Chap. 20) suggests that tradition in the form of the example of Prophet Muhammad and scripture from the Qur'an are highly valued sources of knowing in Muslim communities. A mental health practitioner wanting to establish a working relationship with an imam or other leader in a Muslim community would be advised to become familiar with sources of tradition (examples from the life of Prophet Muhammad where he advocated egalitarian gender values) and scripture (verses from the Qur'an that promote compassionate marital relationships), which provide culturally appropriate ways of discussing and confronting violence against women within these communities. In contrast, someone wanting to collaborate with a Bible-believing African American church leader would be advised to pay strong attention to the history and experiences

of African American communities, and how this affects the dynamics of violence against women within them (Bent-Goodley and Brade Stennis, Chap. 8).

Communicating an understanding of these issues at the outset can help to establish trust by demonstrating an interest and willingness on the part of the mental health practitioner to be sensitive to the religious culture of the group and to be supportive of mutually shared values. It demonstrates a willingness to work from within the values and goals of the religious cultural group as opposed to the determination to impose externally derived, ego-dystonic values and goals upon the group from the outside, which is something some religious leaders fear.

Haidt's (2007) approach to understanding the collective, religious aspects of the moral domain can also be helpful to consider. Haidt notes that Western progressives tend to have a morality that is restricted primarily to considerations of harm and fairness. For the majority of individuals in the rest of the world, however,

> there are also widespread intuitions about ingroup-outgroup dynamics and the importance of loyalty; there are intuitions about authority and the importance of respect and obedience; and there are intuitions about bodily and spiritual purity and the importance of living in a sanctified rather than a carnal way. And it's not just members of traditional societies who draw on all five foundations; even within Western societies, we consistently find an ideological effect in which religious and cultural conservatives value and rely upon all five foundations, whereas liberals value and rely upon the harm and fairness foundations primarily (Haidt 2007, p. 1001).

Communication strategies with conservative religious cultural groups in particular might be more effective if they can integrate considerations of tradition, authority, and purity in the message. For example, when working with an Eastern Orthodox Christian leader one could mention the homilies of St. John Chrysostom, especially his homily on Ephesians 5:22–33 where he makes it clear that violence against women is unacceptable (see Gassin, Chap. 10). This emphasizes tradition and respect for an authority figure in Church history. The issue of purity can be discussed in terms of how domestic violence violates both the vows

and the spiritual purity of marriage, in contrast to the myopic focus on the purity of the woman which is often used to blame the victim for the abusive partner's violent behavior. In Christian terms, the latter involves the observer missing the mark in at least two ways: missing the mark through blaming an innocent victim and missing the mark through overlooking and supporting the sin of the abusive partner who is using violence to oppress another.

A final consideration is the extent to which the religious group demonstrates openness to multi-faith work. Some religious leaders and groups are open and involved with multi-faith work, some are comfortable working with diverse others from their own broad faith tradition (e.g., a Catholic priest who is open to working with a broad range of Orthodox, Protestant, and Anabaptist Christian denominations), while others are not comfortable working with anyone outside of their tightly defined religious group. Individuals in the latter case often are convinced that their religious group is the only valid path to truth, enlightenment, the good life, paradise, or whatever else the group identifies as the ultimate mystery or endpoint. This type of religion is sometimes referred to as being particularistic.

Materials and workshops designed to educate religious leaders about violence against women may be interpreted in different ways by each of these types of religious leaders. Those open to multi-faith work may be encouraged to see information in a program or set of materials that highlights issues related to violence against women in diverse religious communities. They may develop a sense that peaceful, nonviolent relationships are something all religious groups can work together on and may find this comforting. Religious leaders open to working within their broad faith groups may primarily be interested in information that originates from within their faith, such as a position paper by a theologian who shares the same general religious identity. A religious leader influenced by particularism, in contrast, will most likely not respond well to information or programming which contains elements from even his or her own religion, such as Christianity, unless the information comes entire-

ly from someone within their specific denomination (e.g., a particular type of Baptist denomination). For example, it would not be surprising if particularistic Christian pastors discounted and dismissed a relatively well done workbook on intimate partner violence primarily because there was an opening statement from a theologian from a different Christian denomination or seminary they deemed as "too liberal and not really Christian." This can be a red flag for them that the materials might be biased and "not Christian enough" for their specific church. Particularistic religious leaders in a workshop with religious leaders from multiple faiths may feel an internal pressure to identify the failings of the other religious groups or may try to feel assured that abuse does not occur in their group because they practice the one true religion while the real risk is in all of the other groups. For this reason, most of the chapters in Part II of this volume contain recommendations about the next steps for a specific type of religious cultural group to take in their work confronting men's violence against women. Mental health professionals can use this information with religious leaders and congregations to show that insiders to the group (i.e., the chapter authors) are making the same recommendations that the mental health professional is making. This could make a significant difference in how well the recommendations are received in some communities. In short, mental health professionals will need to adjust their strategies when trying to open the door for intimate partner violence education in a particularistic religious group.

In summary, how a mental health professional frames his or her initial contact and message with a given religious cultural leader may be just as important, if not more so, than the content presented. Efforts to establish common ground demonstrate in action an understanding of the religious cultural group through the use of an appropriate style of rhetoric and through a focus on mutually shared values. Cookie cutter approaches that repeat the same information using the same communication styles for every group are not going to be as effective. In some cases they may even be counterproductive. Therapists need to do their homework first, learning about the religious and cultural tradition and finding out what they can about a specific religious community before beginning to design a plan to initiate a working relationship with the group. Working within the value system of an individual client is a key component to effective therapy. In a similar vein, finding a way to confront men's violence against women within the ideological framework and overarching value system of a religious cultural group is more likely to make outreach efforts successful.

Getting Started

Many religious leaders have assumed that men's violence against women does not occur in their congregation since this behavior is unimaginable and goes against the teachings of their religion. Others have avoided addressing the issue of men's violence against women with the couples in their congregation along with avoiding confrontation of abuse they encounter, becoming "accomplices" to intimate partner violence perpetration due to their inaction and hesitancy to become involved. This is tragic and needs to change. However, there are also instances in which churches and religious groups are becoming more aware of the role of intimate partner violence in their congregations and are taking steps to combat this phenomenon and to foster love and respect between intimate partners (e.g., see Pritt, Chap. 17). A few religious congregations are offering increased resources for intimate partner violence survivors, such as support groups and financial assistance, along with providing education about intimate partner violence within congregations, networking with local agencies that also assist battered women, developing domestic violence policies for their organization (Green, Chap. 28), and even developing religious materials on the topic of intimate partner violence (Kim and Menzie; Chap. 27). These are valiant efforts that will hopefully become widespread over time. Various religious communities display different levels of developmental readiness to address the issue of violence within their walls.

One approach to matching therapist style with the developmental readiness of a religious leader to address men's violence against women can be to use a modified version of Adaptive Counseling and Therapy (ACT; Howard et al. 1987). ACT understands the developmental readiness of a client to engage in a specific task to be a function of three variables: competence, confidence, and motivation. This involves a global, overall assessment of the appropriateness of each of the factors when determining developmental readiness to engage an issue. For example, competence to address the area of intimate partner violence would involve the extent to which a religious leader or community understood the prevalence of intimate partner violence and the reasons this crime is under reported. It would also reflect an understanding of the dynamics of intimate partner violence and an appreciation of how this affects the ability of the victim to determine there is a problem and why it is so difficult for her to leave, among many other issues.

Assessments of competence are somewhat straightforward. Confidence can be more difficult. There is a tendency in Western cultures to view high levels of confidence as positive in almost every situation rather than to examine the appropriateness of high levels of confidence in a particular context. This can be problematic when applied to the assessment of developmental readiness to address men's violence against women. For example, consider the situation of a Christian minister who is very confident that he knows exactly how to confront domestic violence in his church. He plans to have a series of Bible studies focusing on the responsibilities of the wife to submit to her husband and to teach that wives need to obey their husbands and the husbands need to take back control of the family in order to prevent domestic violence. Of course, it is immediately obvious that this minister does not understand the dynamics of abuse. It is also likely he has a narrow and distorted understanding of the scriptures of his own tradition in this area. He is confident but this confidence is inappropriate given his incompetence in the area of intimate partner violence. We might also note that the minister is strongly motivated to address violence against women in his church. The strong motivation and confidence, however, when combined with the incompetence of the minister in the area of intimate partner violence, leads to an overall evaluation that the minister is not developmentally ready to address this particular task, that is, providing intimate partner violence educational opportunities in his church. As this example illustrates, assessing motivation to address men's violence against women involves more than strength of resolve. It can also involve what the religious leader is motivated to do.

Many religious leaders are understaffed with inadequate resources yet they also address a wide variety of social justice issues. One can readily see how religious leaders in this situation might be overwhelmed and hope they can address intimate partner violence merely through preaching a sermon on it or by highlighting intimate partner violence as the social justice concern of the week in a yearly rotation schedule. Others might feel uncomfortable dealing with intimate partner violence and will delegate the issue to a lay person who may have neither the influence within the religious community nor the ability to do an adequate job without training and support. In this case, the religious leader is motivated to do something but may not see it as an important issue for leadership to take a more active role. It is even possible for a religious leader to delegate the issue to someone in the religious community who is abusing their partner but who expresses interest in being in charge of this ministry. Religious leaders in these cases typically are either not aware of the intimate partner violence since it is so well hidden or they may have heard reports of the abuse but did not believe the abuse was really occurring. From a religious leader's perspective, there is often so much to be done with so few resources that in some cases he or she may gratefully accept almost any volunteer within the congregation for a particular project.

Developmental readiness to collaborate in work addressing men's violence against women involves a global assessment of the competence, confidence, and motivation of the religious leader to perform this task. The style of the mental health professional should match the develop-

mental readiness of the religious leader or congregation. An intervention that is highly structured is appropriate for leaders and groups at the lowest or beginning levels of developmental readiness. Examples of appropriate interventions here involve didactic training on the prevalence and dynamics of abuse, how to identify signs of intimate partner violence, what to do if someone shares they are being abused, how to encourage a victim to seek safety, how to make a referral, and other basic information. As the level of developmental readiness increases, support from the mental health professional becomes increasingly important. The religious leader at this level may need validation and assurance that the leader is making appropriate referrals as the leader begins to recognize cases of abuse and encourage survivors to seek professional help. New perceptions, increased awareness, and new understandings of the leader may also benefit from support and validation. As the leader continues to grow and develop readiness, structure from the mental health professional becomes less important as the religious leader becomes more capable and appropriately confident to ask questions or seek consultation when necessary. Religious leaders at the highest level of readiness may even initiate development of culturally and religiously appropriate materials to address issues of prevention, identification, and referrals in their religious cultural community. In some ways, what we have described in this chapter up to this point parallels the process that Kim and Menzie (Chap. 27) discuss in their development of four variant models of collaboration: (1) community outreach, (2) training and technical assistance for faith leaders, (3) community organizing campaign, and (4) the collaborative development of a specific faith-based curriculum addressing domestic violence.

The main idea is that mental health professionals need to take a developmental approach to understanding collaboration with a religious cultural community. Meeting the needs of a specific community and empowering the community to function at a higher level in addressing men's violence against women is the central concern. The goal is to match the intervention style to the developmental readiness of the religious leader and community and to change intervention style appropriately as movement and growth unfolds.

We have also noticed an overall tendency for religious individuals and communities to focus attention on victims and survivors first, then on children, followed by perpetrators, and finally on other groups experiencing gender violence. At this stage in the development of the field, attention is needed in all areas but it might be most productive to start with primary interventions that focus either on prevention or on tertiary interventions that emphasize caring for survivors and their children. These individuals are most at risk for physical and psychological injury through the experience of abuse, and it is important to ensure their safety and care as the first step of intervention. The perpetrator himself is also in need of individualized interventions that focus on stopping abusive patterns and developing new ways of relating in a peaceful, nonviolent manner. This is an area that needs more research and therapeutic attention in the field in general as clinical observations suggest many abusive men become serial perpetrators of violence against women as one woman after another leaves them. Addressing other forms of gender violence with a religious cultural community, such as women abusing their male partners and intimate partner violence in same-sex couples, is more likely to be embraced in some religious cultural groups once work on men's violence against women has been established.

Work with Individual Clients

Most mental health practitioners embrace the need for cultural sensitivity in their work. As mentioned by Damron and Johnson (Chap. 1), cultural sensitivity is not blind to the role of religious cultural influences in a case involving intimate partner violence, nor does cultural sensitivity involve ignoring or pretending that religious cultural understandings do not matter or do not need to be addressed in an intervention. The religious culture of a client may influence the way the client views, understands, and makes use of the intervention that is being offered. For exam-

ple, a belief in a religious survivor that she is to blame for the abuse she has experienced based on her interpretation of sacred scriptures is an important obstacle to healing. Some mental health practitioners feel comfortable addressing these beliefs in counseling, while others may prefer to refer the client to a religious leader with appropriate training and competence in men's violence against women who can then work with the client on religious beliefs that negatively affect her psychological and relational wellbeing. This could be comforting for a survivor who may hold a distorted view of religious ideas that support the mistaken notion that the sanctity of her life is unimportant. Interventions can be more beneficial to the client if these underlying religious and cultural beliefs are addressed than if they are ignored or glossed over.

Important ethical issues become salient as a survivor contemplates maintaining or severing ties with a religious cultural community in her journey of healing. Some individuals in a religious cultural community can provide important support and assistance to survivors while others can be quite toxic. Some survivors may want to leave their religious community but keep their religious beliefs. Others may be so hurt and damaged by what they experienced that they may decide to leave both their religion and their religious community entirely. Choices of whether to maintain or to sever ties with the religious community or with religious beliefs belong to the client, not the therapist. The important guiding principle is that it is the survivor who needs to make these choices and that it is the role of the mental health practitioner to empower her by helping her to process the advantages and disadvantages involved in these decisions that are hers and hers alone to make (Rayburn; Chap. 3).

Summary of Best Practices

There are a number of important considerations involved in providing optimally effective interventions that address men's violence against women (MVAW) in religious cultural groups. The chapters in this volume can be consulted for

guidelines in the culturally sensitive treatment of individuals within a specific religious cultural group. The following summary addresses some of the most important ideals and guidelines from the chapters.

1. *Mental health agencies provide a wide range of services to address MVAW at the individual and community level*. They promote bystander prevention programming to empower individuals to know what to do when they encounter an incident of MVAW, provide introductory and advanced levels of community education surrounding the prevalence and dynamics of gender violence, develop networks of religiously and culturally diverse community leaders and organizations to provide outreach and consultation services, and they provide individual and individualized group treatment for perpetrators, survivors, and their children.

2. *Best practices involve collaboration between the mental health and religious cultural communities*. Mental health professionals understand the unique advantages of working with religious leaders and communities to confront MVAW. They understand how religious beliefs, practices, and interpretations can have complex effects of both a positive and a negative nature on the dynamics of MVAW within any given religious group.

Therapists take the lead in initiating collaborative relationships with religious leaders and communities since the latter often do not understand the prevalence and dynamics of MVAW and how it is so carefully hidden by survivors, perpetrators, and children.

3. *Background education and training in intimate partner violence, sexual assault, and human trafficking are essential*. Systematic education and training surrounding gender violence and its treatment in diverse communities needs to be provided in every graduate program in the helping professions and through continuing education. Mental health professionals seek out training regarding MVAW to develop an understanding of the prevalence, dynamics, prevention, and treatment of MVAW. Myths surrounding sexual assault and domestic violence are very common. Mental health profes-

sionals using best practices are aware of these myths, their connections with misogyny, and the effects of these myths on the prevalence and dynamics of MVAW.

4. *Best practice interventions are tailored to specific clients and religious cultural communities. They are not one size fits all.* Mental health professionals should not use one-size-fits-all strategies when addressing MVAW with diverse religious cultural leaders, communities, and clients. They understand that religion is intertwined with social location in producing complex, interwoven sources of identity that can differ in salience not only between groups but which also differ within groups and even within the same individual in differing settings. Culturally sensitive professionals select outreach efforts, educational programming, consultation, individual therapy, and other interventions that are religiously and culturally syntonic to maximize effectiveness. They also carefully consider and choose optimal methods to explain or frame interventions in culturally appropriate ways that increase acceptance and minimize resistance.

5. *Mental health professionals following best practices recognize the need to have a systematic method of handling religious cultural issues in therapy with clients affected by MVAW.* They design appropriate protocols and make plans to take active steps to address religious cultural issues related to MVAW with diverse religious clientele. There are multiple options for handling religious cultural diversity in cases of MVAW. First, one can develop cultural sensitivity and refer clients to an appropriate clergy person when issues or questions concerning religious culture arise. This does not mean that the therapist in this case will ignore or not actively assess dimensions related to religious culture and MVAW. What it does mean is that therapists choosing this option will assess relationships between the religion of the client and their experiences of MVAW, and then make appropriate referrals to clergy who have training and background in MVAW and who are matched on a case-by-case basis as closely as possible to the client

in terms of specific religious affiliation (e.g., Bible-believing African American is specific while Christian is too broad a category), race, national origin, immigration status, and other variables salient to the client's identity. Using this approach effectively will involve proactive outreach efforts to train diverse clergy about MVAW. Outreach efforts should work both to expand the referral base from clergy to the mental health professional *and* to expand the options for possible referrals that the mental health professional can make to well-informed clergy who can assist clients with religious issues connected to MVAW.

A second option can be for the therapist to develop the cultural competence to be able to handle religious issues related to MVAW in their clients. The additional training in religion, theology, and culture required to be culturally competent is a significant barrier. Another possibility might be to develop a referral network of therapists who might have cultural sensitivity or competence with issues related to a specific religious group. Therapists in the network might be able to serve as referral sources, consultants, or supervisors in these situations.

6. *Mental health professionals work on forming relationships based on mutual respect and trust with religious leaders and organizations in order to maximize the effectiveness of collaborative and outreach initiatives.* Best practices use a developmental approach to initiate gains in the competence, confidence, and motivation of religious leaders and organizations to become appropriately involved in collaborating on issues related to MVAW. Characteristics of programming are systematically matched with the developmental readiness of the participating religious leaders or organizations. Program effectiveness data are collected and used to plan future educational efforts with the same leaders or organizations.

7. *Best practices act to mitigate barriers to accessing services for diverse religious cultural individuals.* Significant barriers can include transportation to services, having services available in the primary language of the client (including American Sign Language for

Deaf clients), fears of deportation if abuse or violence is reported, and economic barriers. Ames and Ware (Chap. 9) and Bent-Goodley and Brade Stennis (Chap. 8) discuss methods of addressing these barriers. An additional concern is the development of interventions for minority religious or minority cultural populations that take into account the specific experiences, needs, challenges, and forms of oppression they have faced in the past and that they continue to face in the present. These interventions need to take racial and ethnic identity development into account, to be informed by scientific research, and to be systematically evaluated for their effectiveness.

8. *Mental health professionals educate religious leaders and organizations about the primary importance of providing safety for those reporting abuse*. Women reporting abuse need to be believed, informed that they do not deserve to be abused, and seen as deserving safety and protection. Religious leaders and organizations need to know that maintaining confidentiality of the reporting person is vital. Those who do not understand this may actually contact the perpetrator in a misguided attempt to help, not realizing that this will most likely contribute to the abuse. Clergy and community members should be educated on the importance of believing abuse reports and making immediate referrals. Assessments of reported abuse are very complicated and should be handled by therapists with expertise in MVAW.

Educational programming can promote a community environment that is more supportive of abused partners and their children. Content to address would include understanding the prevalence and dynamics of abuse, and basic questions such as why hearing no reports of abuse in a religious cultural community usually means people do not feel safe to report, why does she stay in the relationship, how abuse is often carefully hidden, how intimate partner violence affects children, and how anyone can be an abuser. Best practice focuses on promoting religious leader and community development so they will be willing and able to adopt and implement their own domestic violence policy or to develop their own educational materials that appropriately address MVAW.

9. *Best practices indicate individual or individualized group interventions for the abused partner and the abusing partner in cases of MVAW. Couple's counseling to "save the marriage" often backfires and makes the abuse worse*. The most important step to save the marriage is for the abusive partner to receive individualized treatment and to take responsibility for and to stop his abusive behavior. It is the abusive behavior that breaks the marriage vows. The abuse must stop or it will not be possible for the marriage to become healthy. In addition, the abused partner needs to seek her own individual counseling separately from the treatment of the abusive partner regardless of whether she desires to continue trying to save the relationship or if she chooses to leave the relationship.

10. *Mental health professionals addressing MVAW realize the implications of the strong emphasis on marriage and the family within diverse religious cultural groups*. They anticipate that religious leaders may resist referring clients for treatment out of fear that divorce will be encouraged. Unless informed and educated on MVAW, most clergy are likely to recommend marital therapy in a misguided attempt to save the marriage as they typically do not realize that couple's counseling generally makes the violence worse. In addition, culturally sensitive therapists also realize that many religious women reporting intimate partner violence will have a strong desire both for the abuse to stop and to save the marriage. This can result in the abused partner also wanting couple's counseling. For these reasons, it is especially important for mental health professionals to provide education for religious leaders, communities, and clients that couple's counseling typically makes the abuse worse. If individuals in the religious cultural community have an interest in saving marriages, they should adopt the practices of ensuring safety for abused partners and their children, referring abusive partners to individualized group therapy to stop the abusive behavior which breaks the marital vows, and providing

support for abuse survivors and referring them to appropriate individual or individualized group counseling.

11. *Best practices take into account the effects of MVAW on children in both the short and long term*. Efforts must be made to ensure that the children from living situations involving MVAW have a safety plan and receive appropriate psychological care. In addition, education is provided to religious leaders and communities on the importance of providing support and referring children to counseling. Developing educational materials for children and adolescents in religious organizations will be important considerations, both in terms of supporting those who have experienced living situations marked by MVAW and as a preventive measure that can establish healthy norms for relationships.

12. *Mental health professionals recognize the complex effects of historical events (e.g., genocide, slavery, oppression) and of negative stereotypes and prejudice on MVAW.* Negative consequences of these factors can include the internalization of projected negative attitudes from others (e.g., an American-Indian survivor may believe that MVAW is especially characteristic of her group even though the historical record shows the opposite was true before contact with Europeans), a tendency not to report incidents of MVAW in order to avoid confirming negative stereotypes about a group (e.g., an African American survivor may not want to report the abuse she experiences because she fears others may conclude that abuse happens primarily in African American families), or the tendency to avoid reporting out of fears regarding deportation.

Effective individual therapy and educational efforts will address historical oppression in assessment and intervention strategies. For example, how can the truths of history be used in healing narratives to empower indigenous women who have experienced gender violence? How can therapists both validate the concerns of religious persons of color about stereotypes while also providing appropriate encouragement to seek help?

13. *While being neither theologians nor religious scholars, mental health professionals nonetheless recognize that certain religious concepts related to MVAW can have vastly different meanings and values attached to them by diverse religious clients, leaders, and institutions.* One of the most important of these is the concept of forgiveness. It is not unusual for perpetrators to insist that their victims forgive them or otherwise God will not forgive the victim or she will in some way not be living out her religious values fully. Sometimes clergy may give the abused partner similar messages out of a lack of understanding of the situation or the dynamics of abuse. Additional complicating factors arise if clergy are unaware of their own misogyny that has become intertwined with their theology. The abused partner also may believe that she needs to forgive the abuser regardless of whether he has admitted that his abusive behavior is wrong and regardless of whether he has changed his behavior.

Mental health professionals following best practices realize that almost any religious or spiritual idea can be twisted and used in oppressive ways against an abused partner (see the chapters from Part II of this volume for examples from each religious cultural group). They also understand that certain religious beliefs are especially susceptible to being misused. Examples of these would include beliefs surrounding forgiveness, reconciliation, and justice. These concepts can have radically different beliefs attached to them between broad religious traditions (e.g., Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, etc.), within religious denominations (e.g., a white Evangelical Christian may understand forgiveness differently than a Latina Protestant), and even within the same local congregation.

14. *Mental health practitioners design culturally sensitive interventions for abusive men from diverse religious cultural groups that directly confront the responsibility of the men for the violence and their need to stop using abusive behavior.* The interventions need to accomplish these goals without condemning traditional religious or cultural values which

can be used to promote peaceful, nonviolent relationships. Religious men who use abusive behavior need to become aware of religious cultural resources that can help them stop the violence and learn to relate to their partners in a respectful, nonviolent manner.

15. *Mental health professionals use bystander intervention training in diverse religious cultural communities*. Bystander intervention training helps community members to develop the capacity to respond to unfolding abusive situations they might encounter and to consider how they might respond in an appropriate, supportive way to someone who discloses experiences of abuse. This type of training also provides opportunity for men in the religious cultural community to become more actively engaged as they realize bystander intervention is not about blaming men as perpetrators but is designed to empower men to challenge unhealthy relationship norms, to confront misogynistic beliefs, and to prevent unfolding instances of gender violence. Men need to realize that they have a stake in gender violence prevention since almost everyone has a female relative or friend that they would not want to see abused. Bystander intervention training can be used to facilitate widespread acceptance and participation in intimate partner violence prevention and educational efforts.

16. *Ongoing, systematic training for religious leaders is needed regarding MVAW to empower them to respond in appropriate ways*. Such training needs to occur in seminaries and in continuing educational programming. Effective training will be ongoing (i.e., "one and done" models are not effective). It should include programming that is introductory for beginners and at increasingly advanced levels as religious leaders develop the capacity to address MVAW. The goal of this training is to develop the capacity of religious leaders to become powerful allies in the struggle against MVAW. Almost all major religious traditions have beliefs, rituals, and practices that can be used to encourage peaceful, nonviolent, and healthy relationships. Religious

leader training helps leaders to identify common ground with mental health professionals challenging MVAW. Clergy need to understand and learn how to expose misogynistic beliefs, cultural myths, and negative stereotypes that contribute to MVAW.

Mental health professionals understand the difficulties involved in translating attitude change into behavioral change for religious leaders and communities. They emphasize the importance of action and assist religious leaders in finding appropriate actions to take in confronting MVAW. Examples of recommended actions for each religious cultural community can be found in the chapters in Sect. 2 of this work.

17. *Best practices include evaluations of program effectiveness*. Long-term relationships with religious cultural communities are needed to address problems as they arise. Empirical evaluations of program effectiveness and community needs can guide mental health professionals and religious communities in using their resources and efforts in an optimal direction. Publishing the results of empirical studies on program effectiveness can also provide useful information for others collaborating together to confront MVAW. The next section discusses other promising areas for future research.

Future Research

Opportunities to make important research contributions in the area of religion and gender violence are abundant. This research needs to examine the intersection of religion, culture, race, immigration status, national origin, past or current history of group oppression, and other factors related to social location. Some of the most important needs for research in this area are to document the prevalence and characteristic unfolding dynamics of MVAW within each religious cultural group and to develop and assess interventions specifically designed for work within each. It is essential to note that research with a focus on what occurs within a group is different from research which focuses on differences between groups. Research

illuminating processes and effects within a group is essential. Research comparisons between groups, on the other hand, can be problematic for a number of reasons. First, research comparing cultural groups can lead one to faulty generalizations to diverse individuals from the same group. Group comparison data most often rely on statistical means that tend to obscure within group differences reflected in the variance. High scores on the dependent variables within a group are "cancelled out" through averaging by low scores within the same group. Within group differences are treated as error variance or nuisance variables by the statistical methods used to evaluate this type of research. These procedures can draw attention away from intragroup differences, leading to a tendency to gloss over or interpret them as being of little importance. Second, research comparing groups often draws attention to the unique features between groups. This can lead one to an exaggerated sense of group differences. Focusing primarily on what is unique to a group can lead to a distorted or stereotyped understanding of group characteristics. In contrast, a focus that attempts to capture a faithful rendering of the group places unique group characteristics in context. Third, group comparison research also has a tendency to use the characteristics of one group as a normative reference against which the other group or groups in a study are examined. This can result in conclusions and interpretations taken from research that support the norms of a majority group at the expense of lower status groups that are interpreted as being deficient or less worthy in some way due to the differences found between the groups (see Yoder and Kahn 1993 for a discussion of the latter two points). Researchers will need to proceed with caution to avoid these pitfalls when using group comparison data. In short, research on relationships between MVAW as it occurs in various religious cultural individuals and groups will need to carefully select research methodologies and analytical strategies that illuminate diversity. Interpretation of research should attempt to demonstrate respectful valuing of diverse groups. Steps should be taken to avoid any tendencies to distort or gloss over diversity that are an artifact of methodology.

With these cautions in mind, there are a number of different research areas on gender violence in religious groups that need attention: prevalence rates, training, women with disabilities, survivors, effects on children, perpetrators, research on the development and effectiveness of different models of clergy-mental health professional collaboration, and the paradoxical effect of religion on MVAW.

Prevalence Rates Basic research on the levels and types of violence against women in smaller, underrepresented religious cultural communities and in religious women with disabilities are especially important. While documentation of the level of gender violence is readily available in general, specific information that takes the intersection of religion, culture, and disability into account is lacking. This type of information will be important to document long-term trends in MVAW within groups.

Training Documenting the different types of education that mental health practitioners and religious leaders receive on violence against women in their graduate studies and in continuing education opportunities will be helpful in identifying educational gaps that need to be addressed. Models of providing coursework, continuing education, and workshops on relationship violence within seminary contexts in particular need to be developed and evaluated for their effectiveness.

Research should also explore educational and psychological factors that contribute to the discrepancies between official ecclesiastical policies and the lived experience of women in congregations discussed by Rayburn (Chap. 3). These discrepancies need to be examined with particular attention given to processes that contribute to the observed tendency for religious organizations and leaders to fail to translate enlightened ecclesiastical policies into action.

Women with Disabilities Little research is available on the interface between religion and the abuse of women with disabilities. The development, evaluation, and publication of inter-

vention models that are accessible, culturally sensitive, and feasible are urgently needed.

Religious Survivors Current research on religious survivors tends to examine the use of religion as a source of coping with men's violence. This work needs to expand to focus on primary prevention and early detection of men's violence against women in religious cultural groups. More emphasis needs to be placed on empowering religious survivors. Ways of promoting movement and growth within religious groups so that members of the community are better equipped to identify, support, and refer women who report experiencing abuse for professional help could also be studied more frequently. More extensive research on the treatment preferences of religious survivors and their relative satisfaction with the help they receive from various sources would be helpful to investigate. Our observation has been that many pastors become less defensive and more interested in learning about men's violence against women when they are presented with information about how most survivors prefer to receive help from their religious community as their first choice but that in the end they find the help they receive from their religious community to be the least helpful. Replication of this type of study on survivors from diverse religious cultural groups could be beneficial.

Children Research documenting the negative effects of men's violence against women on children has been an important development in the field. Important next steps would be to examine how religion interfaces with other factors in the psychological and spiritual well-being of children who have witnessed intimate partner violence. Often religious leaders are concerned about or afraid of short-term consequences that could arise from acknowledging violence in families within their congregations. Research that examines the effectiveness of different strategies to educate religious leaders and community members about the long-term consequences of children witnessing intimate partner violence could be beneficial for the development of programs designed to create new cultural realities where religious cultural

community leaders and members are more likely to prevent the continuance of intimate partner violence by confronting and holding abusive men accountable. The creation and evaluation of culturally sensitive interventions to help children in these situations would also be a step forward. Cowdin (2013), for example, demonstrates an attempt to design a culturally sensitive workbook for children affected by intimate partner violence who come from conservative Protestant communities.

Perpetrators Little research is available on the psychology of religious men who perpetrate various forms of interpersonal violence. Nason-Clark and Fisher-Townsend (2014) have a promising study that looks at the role of religious leaders and congregations in the history of men who have abused their partners. This work examines problems of justice, accountability, and healing of abusive men in faith-based intervention programs in two different states in the Western USA (Nason-Clark, personal communication, February 4, 2014). Research such as this, which systematically investigates variables relevant to the role of religion and religious cultural communities, the criminal justice system, and accountability in the treatment of abusive religious men, is sorely needed.

Mental Health Professional—Clergy Collaboration In summary, greater research emphasis needs to be placed on preventing men's violence against women in diverse communities, including religious ones, in a culturally sensitive manner. Research looking at the development and evaluation of different models of working with religious leaders and groups is important in this regard. Research questions here are plentiful. What are effective ways of minimizing defensiveness in religious leaders concerning issues of violence against women? How can religious cultural group dynamics be changed so that abusive spouses are more likely to be confronted about their violent behavior and to be held accountable to change within religious cultural communities? What strategies can be used to demonstrate to religious leaders the negative effects of inti-

mate partner violence on children? How can we change the behavior of religious cultural leaders and groups so that the lived social experience of women lives up to the lofty ideals of official religious institutional policies and beliefs? What methods can be effective in empowering women in culturally sensitive ways in diverse religious cultural groups? How can religious institutions be effectively encouraged to develop their own domestic violence policies?

The Paradox of Religion Many of the authors in this volume have noted how religion is sometimes used in ways that deny, minimize, or condone MVAW while it is also sometimes used by others to confront abusive men about their violent behavior, to provide support and facilitate healing for abused women and their children, and to encourage appropriate bystander intervention. Sometimes the same scripture verses or religious practices are used in oppressive ways by some individuals and in healthy, healing ways by others in the same community or religious cultural group. Research needs to uncover and capture the complexity of these dynamics. Examples of questions to address these issues might include the following. What interacting third factors mediate the link between scripture and the way it is used? In other words, what leads some individuals to use a feature of religious tradition as a support for violence while others use it to support peaceful, nonviolent relationships? How do interacting third factors such as dogmatism, rigidity, sexism, and myth acceptance concerning rape and domestic violence mediate the effects of religious belief on MVAW? What can be done to facilitate the development of appropriate use of a feature of religious tradition in a healthy manner while effectively discouraging its distortion or inappropriate use? Some of these questions can be addressed through the use of traditional, quantitative correlational approaches. Qualitative research methods, on the other hand, also have a number of advantages and might be increasingly used in attempts to uncover factors involved in the paradoxical effect of religious culture on MVAW. The next section of the paper outlines some of these advantages.

Qualitative Research Increased use of qualitative research to investigate relationships between MVAW and religious culture could be beneficial. While not able to demonstrate cause–effect relationships as the highly valued experimental designs, qualitative strategies nonetheless have unique advantages that give them an important role to play in research on religious culture and MVAW. One of the most important functions of qualitative research is to identify and develop interesting questions that might not have been possible without careful, systematic observation. For example, the qualitative research by Muhovich and Geddes (Chap. 19) identifies the problem of how first-generation immigrant congregants within a church are much more likely to discuss abuse with respected persons with life experience who share the same national origin and immigration status in their church rather than they are to talk with a pastor who was born in America. This finding brings up a number of interesting questions for both research and practice. In addition, their findings also can be used to develop and refine questions related to whether abuse is more likely to occur immediately before or after a religious service, how pastors might deal with the shock and surprise of realizing that abuse occurs so close in time to religious services, what implications this could have for the identification and referral of individuals affected by MVAW from religious organizations, and what implications these dynamics could have for training religious leaders and community members about MVAW. Qualitative research can be used to generate a number of interesting questions that can then be investigated using any of a number of diverse research methodologies. On the other hand, qualitative researchers will need to go to extraordinary lengths to protect the confidentiality and identity of their research participants in order to prevent any negative consequences that could arise from research participation.

In closing, our hope is that this book will be useful as a reference for therapeutic work with diverse religious clients affected by men's violence against women and for preventive interventions in their communities. We also hope social

scientists from diverse fields will use this volume to find fruitful questions for empirical research and that they will feel free to use diverse research methodologies to bring research on MVAW and religious culture forward.

References

Chu, J. Y., Porche, M. V., & Tolman, D. L. (2005). The adolescent masculinity ideology in relationships scale: Development and validation of a new measure for boys. *Men and Masculinities, 8*(1), 93–115. doi:10.1177/1097184X03257453.

Cowdin, J. (2013). *Kid's guide to understanding domestic abuse*. Mustang, OK: Tate Publishing.

Haidt, J. (2007). The new synthesis in moral psychology. *Science, 316*(5827), 998–1002. doi:10.1126/science.1137651.

Hey, S., & Roux, J. (2012). Wesley and beyond: Integrating the Wesleyan Quadrilateral and "Praxis Cycle" to support tertiary student theological engagement. *Journal of Adult Theological Education, 9*(2), 192–209.

Howard, G. S., Nance, D. W., & Myers, P. (1987). *Adaptive counseling therapy: A systematic approach to selecting effective treatments*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Nason-Clark, N. & Fisher-Townsend, B. (2014). *Men who batter*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Poteat, V., Kimmel, M. S., & Wilchins, R. (2011). The moderating effects of support for violence beliefs on masculine norms, aggression, and homophobic behavior during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21*(2), 434–447. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00682.x.

Thorsen, D. A. D. (2005). *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral: Scripture, tradition, reason & experience as a model of evangelical theology*. Lexington, KY: Emeth.

Yoder, J. D., & Kahn, A. S. (1993). Working toward an inclusive psychology of women. *American Psychologist, 48*(7), 846–850. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.48.7.846.

Index