

Te Awatea Review

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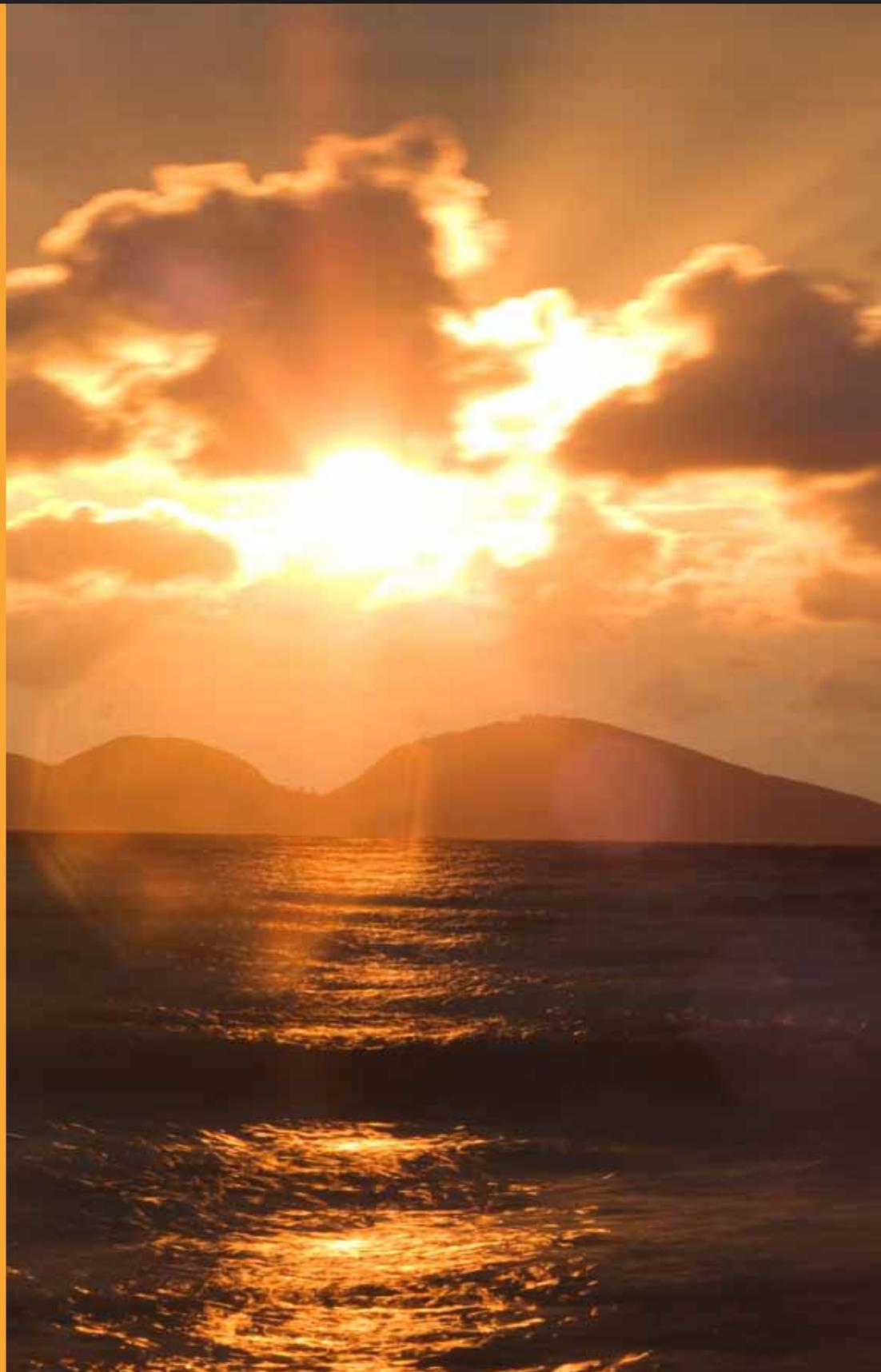
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Director's Report

Dr Annabel Taylor

**Kia ora, Talofa lava, Kia orana,
Namaste, Anyo haseong, Nihou,**

This is my first report as Director of Te Awatea Violence Research Centre. As the majority of you will know by now, Te Awatea no longer hosts the Family Violence Clearing House which moved to the Ministry of Social Development in Wellington earlier this year. The link to the Clearing House is www.nzfvc.org.nz.

This year has been an eventful year for the team at Te Awatea with many exciting, new, and interesting projects in train. The Director and team members have been asked to contribute to various forums throughout the year on a range of violence-related issues. Our most recent work with Canterbury Community Law and the New Zealand Police on developing Community Justice responses is just one example of Te Awatea linking with community initiatives. Other projects have been developed with the Christchurch Refugee and Migrant Resettlement Service, the Christchurch Women's Refuge and the Family Help Trust.

Another exciting new development is the preparation of a workshop series on 'What works with family violence' and there is further information on this essential series later in this Review. The workshop is an opportunity for practitioners to hear pioneers in the family violence field talk about their work in Aotearoa.

This edition of the Review heralds another first for Te Awatea in that we have moved the Review from newsletter to peer-reviewed journal status. We have been fortunate to have Professor Ken Daniels, Dr Neville Robertson, and Dr Verna Schofield accept the roles of external editors for the Review. You will notice that articles are substantial and report important areas of research and practice. This Review features articles on theoretical perspectives of violence in Aotearoa, youth violence, school bullying, and disclosure of sensitive information. There is also a short legal commentary on the Domestic Violence Act (1995).

Beginning Te Awatea, the article on theoretical perspectives has been prepared by three of the Te Awatea team and its aim is to provide a broad theoretical overview relevant to the context of theoretical debates in Aotearoa. We thought it was timely to re-visit the way we think about violence and reflect on the implications for policy and practice.

'A Fistful of Tears' by Sue Quinn offers insight into the way that young people understand violence and how it impacts on their lives. There are important implications from Sue's report for social service capacity and capability.

School bullying is the subject of an article by a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of Canterbury, where discourse analysis is applied to the phenomenon of bullying, and definitional considerations are discussed. Karen Theilade also reviews various current responses to school bullying and analyses how discursive practices influence responses to school bullying.

The final contribution to this Review is an article that I co-wrote with Libby Robins, Director of the Family Help Trust, concerning information that clients may be reluctant to disclose during the intake and engagement phase of social work practice. This research suggests that assessment by agencies needs to be continued throughout service intervention and particular strategies to assist disclosure may be useful to consider where family violence issues may be present.

Te Awatea is currently hosting two research scholarship students in the Centre who are being supervised by Nikki Evans, Yvonne Crichton-Hill and me. There is a summary of the projects they are working on in this Review. If you have an interest in a particular area of research, do get in touch with us, as we may be able to assist with violence-related projects.

The team at Te Awatea wish that you have a rewarding New Year. We look forward to contributions from you in 2010 and to forging further close working relationships with individuals and agencies working in this challenging field of practice.

Te Awatea ~ finding solutions

moving from darkness into light

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Responding to a Fistful Of Tears

Sue Quinn

This paper provides an analysis of primary research into youth anger, and its relationship to violence. Information was obtained from young people with anger issues, their parents, and professionals working with youth.

The factors contributing to youth anger and violence were explored, with a particular focus on factors that help or hinder young people with anger issues. An ecological framework was utilised enabling individual, environmental and social policy influences to be considered. All responses were data entered and analysed in NVivo7. The findings illustrate that much youth anger is contextual. Youth anger indicates that the young person is experiencing issues within their environment that require attention. The research also confirms that anger is a key contributor to violence. Thus helping young people with issues they are angry over is a social investment in the prevention of youth violence. The research suggests critical issues to address are the importance of relationships and the culture of violence. It is also important to provide young people with appropriate opportunities, guidance, boundaries and support through the fostering of positive youth development. Such development will be encouraged when adults respond, rather than react to youth anger.

Research overview

In 2006 Presbyterian Support Upper South Island (PSUSI) undertook some primary research into youth anger. The impetus for this research came from the observation of two trends. Firstly youth violence seemed to be increasingly capturing the headlines. Secondly workers at Presbyterian Support noticed a large increase in the number of young clients requiring help over anger issues. Interestingly, a ten year analysis of PSUSI intake data revealed that between 1995 and 1999 an average of 5% of PSUSI clients aged 10 to 21 required help over anger issues, compare with an average of 20% of clients between 2000 and 2004. Some of these young people had been referred over behavioural issues, and a number spoke of experiencing or using violence.

PSUSI wanted to explore the links between anger and violence. They wanted to hear the voices of these young people and their families to ensure their perspectives contributed to the debate. In particular, PSUSI wanted to find out how to best support these young people and their families as clients, but also at the broader service and policy level. And so the research was born, with the hope

of helping inform policy and practice through increased understanding.

Participants and methods

Research participants fell into three broad groups: Young people experiencing anger issues, parents of young people experiencing anger issues, and professionals.

Fifty-two young people were invited to take part in the study. These young people were identified as experiencing unhealthy anger by PSUSI workers (qualified social workers and counsellors). This judgement was either made on the basis of information obtained through work with young people or because a young person was attending an anger management group run by PSUSI. In all, thirty-four young people told us their stories, a response rate of 65 percent. Response rates of group participants were relatively higher. Twenty-three of the youth participants were male and eleven female. Age-wise there were nine young people (7 to 9 years old), 13 tweenagers (10 to 12 years old) and 12 teenagers (aged from 13 to 15). Nineteen young people took part in semi-structured interviews and 15 took part in focus groups.

Nine parents or caregivers made contributions. Five attended their young person's interview upon their young person's request and twelve were invited to take part in a focus group. This invitation resulted in four attendances, a response rate of 33 percent.

One hundred and forty nine professionals working with young people in a variety of contexts were mailed out open-ended surveys. Forty professionals responded including community workers, teachers, principals and both government and non-government social service workers. This low response rate (27 percent) may have been influenced by the open-ended nature of the questions, the length of the survey, or because they were posted out so close to Christmas time.

Reasons for non-participation in the study were not explored.

Approach, information and analysis

This qualitative research was exploratory in nature. Interviews and focus groups were semi-structured, thus partially guided by participant responses. An ecological framework was employed and questions prompted participants to think about anger in different contexts such as at home, at school, or in the broader community.

Participants were asked to identify the factors that contribute to youth anger and the impacts of youth anger. Another set of questions centred on the things that help or hinder situations when

young people feel angry, and what could help prevent youth anger. Young people were also asked to describe how they saw other people acting when angry, and participant views of the relationship between anger and violence were explored. Participants were also asked about their experience of services, and professionals and parents reflected upon social policy influences on youth anger and violence. In addition professionals were asked about any trends they had noticed in regards to anger and violence.

All participant responses were data entered and analysed thematically using computer assisted data techniques (NVivo7).

This article

This article provides a brief overview of the research and presents some of the research findings. Due to the requirement for brevity and the focus of this publication, the article begins by exploring the research findings on the relationship between anger and violence. Next the factors that contributed to youth anger and what worked to help reduce and prevent youth anger are discussed. The second section of this article focuses on potential implications of the research findings, for people, practice and policy. It also provides tangible examples of how the research findings have been used to inform practice, gleaned partially from feedback. Throughout this article participant quotes and feedback are indicated by appearing in speech marks. More in depth coverage of the research findings can be found in "A Fistful of Tears" (Quinn, 2009) which can be accessed in hard copy by contacting the author (sueq@psusi.org.nz).

The relationship between anger and violence

The research found a strong connection between anger and violence. Professionals typically commented that "unmanaged anger produces violence" and this was certainly borne out in the stories young people told. However the relationship wasn't all one way – violence also contributes to youth anger. Young people almost always felt angry when they experience violence, but they only sometimes used violence when angry. Often they chose to do other things. Thus anger is an emotion and violence one potential outcome.

However when young people did act violently they overwhelmingly explained their violent actions in terms of anger. They didn't just feel a little angry but "really fucked off". Usually young people were physically violent in direct response to someone else acting violently towards them, or towards someone they shared a history of violent

interaction with. As one teenage boy said “every day I just smashed him in, you know, the anger. Just every day if I seen him, I hit him”. Sometimes however young people initiated violence during a heated verbal disagreement. A teenage girl explains “if they piss me off past my temper point, if I could be really pissed off I’ll resort to my fists”. Violence was rarely exhibited without anger, with the exception of structured play fighting. Thus anger can be seen as the fuel of violence.

The connection between anger and violence appears to be embedded in social norms and modelling, at home and in the media. When asked to describe what others do when they are angry, most young people described non-constructive, often violent behaviour. Young people exposed to a high level of violence at home tended to see violence as normal. They had become desensitised to violence. They didn’t see themselves as victims, and when experiencing issues they often said they had “no other feelings” apart from anger. When hit, they often claimed it didn’t really hurt. As one teenage girl said “When I have a real big fight with Mum she’ll be like hard out at me. She punches me. She even admitted that she hits me quite a lot, but it’s not like child abuse or anything, ‘cos I can take it. She threw a knife at me once. It wasn’t anything”. Unsurprisingly, those most likely to use violence regularly had experienced it at home. Sometimes they seemed to think violence was inevitable and a way of protecting themselves. They appeared less likely to think or care about the consequences of their violent actions, and displayed little empathy for people experiencing violence.

Factors that contributed to youth anger

When young people felt angry, it indicated that they were experiencing issues that were causing them distress. Analysing young people’s comments, these issues fell into three broad categories: difficulties in relating to others, experiencing violence and issues over young people’s development, such as their rights and responsibilities. Professionals and parents spoke of similar issues, but tended to focus more on the bigger picture or systemic influences contributing to youth anger.

The most common trigger of youth anger was difficulties in relating with particular others or in particular situations. Young people often described not being able to “get on” with certain peers, adults or teachers. If this was someone they needed to interact with regularly, stress and negativity sometimes resulted. There were issues over communication, interacting, respectful treatment, and resolving differences. These

difficulties often left young people feeling others were “mean” to them, had let them down, “picked” on them or treated them unfairly. Many people (both adults and youth) seemed to be stuck in argumentative modes of interacting where blaming and arguing were the only methods of dealing with differences. Consequently disagreements over simple things frequently escalated to major conflicts, contributing to stress for everyone involved.

Young people spoke at length about their annoyance at not being listened to, and professionals also felt youth anger is associated with “young people not being listened to or heard”. They felt youth anger was associated with a lack of care for, appreciation and understanding of young people. Parents and professionals emphasised the importance of loving family relationships, but talked about family life in disrepair, and poor family functioning; “a lack of family social skills, management and communication”. Some professionals related this to broader trends such as changes in family structure (“the fragmentation of the family unit”), erosion of people’s support systems, and parents’ working more leading to “a lack of meaningful one-on-one time with a caring adult/good role model”.

Adult reactions to youth anger often made things worse rather than better. About one quarter of all situations young people felt angry about were secondary situations – centring on how they were treated when initially angry about something else. Adults often reacted to youth anger by getting angry themselves rather than responding in a helpful way. Sometimes young people were not listened to or believed. Sometimes young people had consequences (which they perceived as punishments) imposed for how they had behaved when angry, while the underlying issues contributing to their anger remained unheard and unresolved. Other times young people were verbally or physically abused by adults for their actions. Ironically adults sometimes reacted to youth anger by behaving in the very way that they were telling the young person off for. For example when two brothers were physically fighting over a game, their mother reacted by yelling at them not to do that and smacking one of the boys until he turned the game off. Such things usually increased, rather than relieved, the young person’s anger.

Young people spoke of being “smashed”, “punched”, “whacked” “hit” “mocked” “teased” and “called names”. They said they felt “scared”, “upset”, “confused” and “in pain”. In adult terms, a number of the situations young people described could be classed as verbal or physical abuse,

and experiencing violence was the second most common contributor to youth anger. Violence between young people was most frequent, and although much of it could be classified as relatively low level is still left people emotionally, and at times physically, hurt. Difficulties between siblings were frequent, and at school, young people described many instances of bullying behaviour, and verbal and physical violence. Issues between students generally occurred during interval or lunch time, when adult supervision was limited.

Adult violence towards youth caused young people considerable distress. Parental role modelling is important in helping young people develop respectful relationships, but often young people described adults relating in non-constructive ways. They said when their parents were angry they would “scream” “yell” “rant and rave” “go psycho” or “smack” people. Young people spoke of “getting slapped”, having things thrown at them, “getting the beats” parents pinching them and punching them, and “fist fights with Dad”. Several young people talked about learning to fight back. One teenage girl said “My Mum’s a real bitch. When I was little she used to give me the beats with her feet, her hands, whatever was in reach. She even did it with a belt. Yeah, ‘cos I couldn’t fight then, ‘cos I was little and innocent. But now she doesn’t ‘cos I fight back at her”. Sometimes these situations would happen after heated disagreements as young people and parents struggled to communicate and interact effectively. A teenage boy described how arguments with his dad would “end up either in a fist fight or a big verbal fight”. Professionals felt this negative role modelling was a major contributor to youth violence. One high school counsellor said “the relationship between anger and violence in young people is mirrored adult behaviour” while another voiced “youth anger and violence is a reflection of our culture”. Some spoke of society’s general “tolerance of violence”.

Some parents and professionals felt that young people have increased access to violent material than previously. Several mentioned the role of television and multimedia games, saying “young people are exposed to a lot of adult themes but they don’t have the maturity to deal with it”. Numerous multimedia games are designed to enable young people to perpetrate violence as part of the game. Parents said “the modelling on television and Playstation doesn’t help. It’s just so violent, and there are just no consequences”. Most young people in the research talked about enjoying playing multimedia games, many of which contained ratings such as R16 or M, so weren’t recommended playing for their age group.

The third, but much smaller set of factors contributing to youth anger involved young people's rights and responsibilities, rules and others expectations of them. Several young people felt angry about schoolwork, or processes at school. This was usually related to frustration over learning difficulties, a dislike of particular subjects, and things they (or others) were or weren't allowed to do.

Some parents expressed the view that schools were not supporting students with learning difficulties enough. Others thought particular schools or teachers lacked the will or motivation to deal with challenging students. Parents and schools sometimes seemed to work against each other rather than working together. Parents often felt young people had not received adequate support from school and professionals commented that support was often "reactive rather than proactive" and "not provided early enough". Some thought this related to a lack of resources ("not enough funding"), or poor service co-ordination.

Professionals and parents talked at length about how the mix of boundaries, guidance and support can contribute towards youth anger and violence. Again they referred to the importance of role-modelling, and parenting. One professional commented "there's no boundaries so students don't develop resilience", another spoke of "decreased parental supervision". Both parents and professionals spoke about increased "permissiveness".

Some participants felt that changes in societal values and norms, and social policies were also contributing to youth anger. Professionals identified alcohol as increasing the likelihood of youth anger and violence. They lamented policies around liquor control (particularly the lowering the drinking age, and alcohol advertising). Parents and professionals also felt an emphasis on individualism, a lack of valuing children and families, and policies around rights and responsibilities may contribute to youth anger and violence. Policies about money and wealth distribution were also mentioned, and the importance of adequate funding for support services was highlighted.

What helped reduce youth anger?

At the individual level, a variety of strategies helped young people and adults to manage or address youth anger. Participants said the same thing didn't work all the time. If one thing didn't work it was important to "try something else" and not give up hope.

The most popular strategy was using time away to cool off. Both young people and parents talked about the benefits of getting away from

the "annoying person" or situation. In addition to this some people found it helpful to purposefully "do something else" when they felt angry, such as listening to their favourite music, drawing, or some sort of physical activity – anything that they enjoyed.

Sometimes people tried to actively calm down. Thinking about positive things and trying to put issues into perspective often helped reduce people's anger, or make them feel more hopeful. After people calmed down it was easier for them to relate positively to other and sometimes talk about the issues.

Positive relationships and support from friends, family or other adults (including professionals and teachers) were valuable, for both young people and parents. People felt supported when they felt that others cared about them which often seemed to be demonstrated by listening to them.

Listening was really powerful. When young people's anger was triggered they rarely acted violently if they were able to talk about things and felt listened to. Young people were also more likely to accept advice or support if they felt they had been listened to first. As one teenager explained "I just talk to him and he just listens. I mean he really listens, and then if he has any comments he'll comment".

Sometimes talking things through was helpful, and opened up possibilities for resolving issues.

It was also useful to know what triggers youth anger. It helped when young people had a sense of "choice" about how they acted when they were angry, ability to see consequences (for themselves and others), and a sense of responsibility for their actions. Parents identified consistent expectations and consequences as helpful to young people.

It helped if adults were future and solutions focussed when young people felt angry. Conflict resolutions skills were also useful. Parents also said it helped when you "praise young people when they're nice to be with", recognise what they're good at, and do things they like doing.

A variety of service interventions were seen as helpful, including group programmes (focused on broad social skills or specifically on anger issues), counselling and mentoring. Many professionals and parents mentioned the importance of including people from the young person's environment (either family or peers) in aspects of the intervention. There needs to be "support for the whole family". Groups run through institutions that the young people were affiliated with (such as schools) seemed more successful than groups run through other mediums, and professionals called for "school-based programmes where the peer group exists every day".

The most important ingredient in helping young people was the relationship between the young person and the person trying to help them. Overall, this seemed more important than the helper's role (eg family member or mentor), training, position or even the type of helping service. One young person described how a teacher he liked had made a difference by going around to his house and asking why he wasn't coming to school. The young person started going back to school after that. He also described how seeing one counsellor had been unhelpful, but seeing a different one was really helpful.

Other changes to help prevent and reduce youth anger

Professionals and parents felt that more funding and resources, earlier intervention, (earlier intervention at both at an "earlier age", and an "earlier stage") increased family involvement and longer interventions would be useful. They also thought more collaboration would be beneficial: "it was best when all the services got together and agreed on goals and the next steps". Parents also felt it was important that services were accessible, physically, financially available at the time of need. They called for "easy access to affordable services". Professionals thought reduced caseloads, less red tape, and longer follow up times would help. They also thought it necessary to offer "consistent and on-going support".

Across all environments a greater focus on positive role modelling, positive relationship skills, and solutions was advocated. Enhancing family "availability" and "family support, encouragement and understanding" were seen as extremely helpful. One social worker voiced youth anger can be reduced by "positive loving parenting where young people feel safe, are respected, know they are wanted and get positive development experiences". A primary school counsellor felt "parents being empowered to create boundaries" would help. Another consistent theme was that developing people's sense of care and empathy would help. Parents and professionals both felt enabling young people to have a sense of responsibility for themselves and others would help reduce youth anger and violence.

Various changes in school systems, such as more school communication with parents, realistic and consistent expectations, greater flexibility, an ongoing commitment to address bullying, and the teaching of life skills, social skills and values were advocated. Some suggested a greater teacher focus on listening to, and accountability for, young people. An earlier identification of issues was seen as important. The research also suggests that better support for those with

learning problems, either through mainstream or alternative education, would reduce youth anger.

Over half of the parents and professionals responding suggested changes to government alcohol and drug policies, such as “raising the drinking age” and “reducing access to alcohol” and “less advertising”. Many professionals suggested there should be more policies designed to support families and encourage family involvement, even “a society-wide reprioritising of the importance of healthy families”. There was some consensus that there should be more “valuing of people not stuff”. One professional noted “economic productivity, growth, output, competition, speed – these should exist to serve the needs of people/families, not to compete with, and create stressed families”. More funding and resources for preventative policies were requested and “more restorative justice”. Several respondents suggested changes to media policies including “tighter regulations” and “less violence on TV”. Several also felt that a stronger policy focus on community would help reduce youth anger.

Implications for People, Practice and Policy

As adults we influence the world young people experience both directly, and through the institutions, policies and procedures we establish. The rest of this discussion focuses on possible implications of the research, and provides illustrative examples of how the research has been used as an additional tool to inform people, practice and advocacy.

Firstly, the research informs us that we can change the trajectory of youth violence by seeking to address, reduce and manage youth anger. As anger is the fuel of violence, addressing the factors that contribute to youth anger can prevent violence. Focusing on fostering respectful relationships, creating environments and institutional safeguards that discourage violence, and encouraging positive youth development will help prevent youth violence. Recent programme logic models for the primary prevention of violence reflect this (Baker, 2009).

Secondly the research also suggests many things can also be done to decrease the likelihood of young people acting violently when they do feel angry. Encouraging people to identify and express their feelings in appropriate ways, making them aware of strategies for managing their anger and consequences of their actions will help prevent violence. Good practice, on a personal and service level, involves other people responding rather than reacting to youth anger. Responding involves listening, caring and supporting. It may

include providing guidance and helping address the underlying issues that are causing young people distress.

Thirdly, some of the research findings can be used to inform the development of specific services or policies in order to more effectively address youth anger and reduce youth violence.

Fostering respectful relationships

The importance of respectful relationships can be incorporated into many aspects of service design and delivery. Services can focus on fostering young people’s basic social skills. They can also focus on developing good relationships between family members, by encouraging them to spend quality time together, having fun or learning new skills. Similarly schools can focus on developing a positive school culture by fostering good relationships amongst students, teachers, and between students and teachers. Role modelling good communication and interaction helps develop healthy relationships with young people, while also teaching them how to treat others. As one counsellor said “What is needed is a focus on positive relationships, rather than a down the track focus on problems”.

Upon reflection of this research, some workers in PSUSI developed new courses for young people, focused on developing their basic social skills through drama, play and group learning. These were run successfully in two different Christchurch primary schools.

The research has reminded professionals of the need to take environmental influences into account when working with young people. For some workers, this has meant taking care to involve family members in the intervention wherever possible. Examples include counselling sessions that include parents or siblings and developing relationships with parents whenever their young person is doing a course. After establishing a relationship many parents have accessed further support showing how proactively building relationships can contribute towards better supported families.

Other workers developed another course (SAFE) for parents and their young people to attend together. Sessions covered a variety of topics, but all were facilitated with the goal of strengthening family relationships through promoting conversations and developing understanding. This was quite a novel approach to enhancing family relationships as it involved parents learning with their young people, rather than going to a parenting course about young people. Pre and post participant evaluations showed family communication improved as a result of attending the course. Adults reported a significant increase in how

much they had talked with their children about issues and young people reported a significant increase in how comfortable they felt when talking with their parents about such things. In addition, qualitative comments illustrated parent-child relationships had been strengthened through the course, with adults saying things like the coming helped them “achieve a better relationship with my daughter” or “with bonding – time to talk”. Similarly young people said the course helped them to “talk to each other” and “understand relationships for others”.

Another practice implication has been a reminder of Duncan’s work emphasising the importance of client-worker relationship and alliance (Duncan, 2009). Because client-worker relationships are so important PSUSI client evaluation forms ask “How satisfied were you with your relationship with your worker”. Results from these evaluations can then be used for a variety of purposes including professional development, and reporting on the effectiveness of our services.

Perhaps schools could consider a similar evaluation system: gauging parent, student and staff feedback, and using this to inform staff professional development and further service delivery. The use of anonymised survey feedback has been suggested by other research into schools as an affective method for internal review and analysis (Buckley & Maxwell, 2007) and for reflecting on practice to prevent bullying (Education Review Office, 2007). The importance of relationships could be emphasised more in staff’s professional development and in teacher training.

Schools can do many things to foster healthy relationships. Working in partnership with families, through two-way communication and working together towards joint goals, can help. Schools can help by identifying issues early on, and enlisting further support services where this is thought to be beneficial. Working closely with community agencies can help families access greater support, benefiting both families and the school (Families Commission, 2008). Since this research, PSUSI has sought to work more closely with schools, both with young people and seeking to enhance parent-school relationships.

Policy wise, there are many options for recognising the importance of relationships, encouraging families to be involved and function well, and promoting respect and care for others. There have been some sound initiatives, such as establishing an institutional advocate for families (the Families Commission), advocates for children, numerous service initiatives (Parents as First Teachers, Family Start and SKIP), enacting paid parental leave, increasing annual leave,

and flexible working hours legislation. Promising future initiatives could involve extending parental leave, policies that recognise the role of attachment and valuing parenting, and encouraging family friendly workplaces. In addition providing families with affordable access to support when they face challenges is imperative.

Creating environments that discourage violence

Policy-wise, the Crimes (Substituted Section 59) Amendment Act 2007 No 18 was a positive step in promoting children's rights to live in a safe and secure environment free from violence. In addition the current "It's Not Okay" social marketing campaign has heightened peoples' awareness of family violence, with almost one in four saying their views on family violence have changed, or they have taken some action as a result of the campaign. (Campaign for action on family violence). This is great news. Further messages about what is okay behaviour wise, when people feel angry, would be useful. Furthermore, perhaps the campaign provides a platform for a broader debate about our tolerance of multimedia violence, or a campaign against other forms of violence (such as violence between young people). As producers and retailers, some businesses and the media clearly have a role to play in such debate.

On top of this, the research suggests appropriate boundaries and monitoring help discourage violent behaviour. It also suggests parent could be more attentive to violence between siblings and schools could do more to address bullying. Like other research it suggests a greater adult presence at break times in school playgrounds may help (Marsh, McGee, Nada-Raja, & Currey, 2007). Community agencies may consider if they could help schools out with this. In some schools, workers from community agencies are available at lunch time so that staff get a break. This helps workers get to know their communities, and provides them with a direct opportunity to provide immediate help at the point of need.

Fostering positive youth development, providing support and guidance

Social service agencies can also play a vital role in providing families with guidance and support, and promoting positive youth development. They can help identify and build on young people's strengths and help young people and their families to remain hopeful and make useful and positive community connections. Continuing

to help parents to nurture young people and parent positively will help reduce youth anger and violence. Emphasising responsibilities in tandem with rights, setting clear standards and expectations for behaviour, and providing young people with encouragement, support and tools to fulfil these, are ways of investing in society's future. Listening to young people and renegotiating rules as young people age are valuable, and services can help facilitate all these processes.

Service providers have found A Fistful of Tears useful to the design and content of their practice. They have said the report "gives practical strategies that come directly from young people" which "can be applied easily to everyday situations" and "are useful to guide conversations with young people about anger" Others have found the report useful to refer to with trainee teachers and counsellors.

Schools can also play a key role in fostering positive youth development (Ministry of Youth Development, 2005). A clear implication of the research is that keeping young people meaningfully engaged in school is crucial. Schools need to be aware of young people's big picture, and find ways for school to be relevant to young people's own hopes and dreams. This research suggests stand downs and suspensions can be counterproductive, and better ways of dealing with problem behaviour can be found if schools are able to be sufficiently flexible and responsive. However it also suggests there needs to be alternatives to mainstream schooling.

During the research, parents and professionals were particularly clear that a number of changes to alcohol legislation would reduce youth anger and violence, and provide young people with better guidelines about expected and accepted behaviour. It was also clear the adult drinking culture plays a role in youth anger and violence. What is less clear is what can lead to policy change such as raising the drinking age, restrictions on alcohol advertising and the number of liquor sales outlet enacted. The loud message was to keep trying. So PSUSI used the report findings to guide its advocacy and submissions on the 2005 Sale of Liquor (Youth Alcohol Harm Reduction) Amendment Bill and the 2006 Review of the Regulation of Alcohol Advertising. Continuing this, it is currently using the research findings in it's submission on the Law Commissions "Alcohol in our Lives".

The research also illuminated the impact of young people experiencing violence, which informed Presbyterian Support New Zealand's submission on the Crimes Amendment Act 2007.

Other implications

This research suggests access to support is imperative. It appears that there is a need for more services for young people, and the families of young people, who are experiencing anger issues. In addition further support services are required for those both using and experiencing violence. Services for those who have experienced a lot of violence may need to be particularly time-generous.

Reducing waiting lists in the current funding environment provides social service agencies with a major challenge, but families were clear that support needs to be provided in a timely way. Similarly, affordability of services was key to keeping support accessible to families.

It was also clear that greater family support is often achieved when service providers work together. This may involve linking families in with other government or non-government supports, greater information sharing with schools or other social service agencies, or shared case management.

Conclusion

In this primary research anger was the fuel of youth violence. The main factors contributing to youth anger were difficulties in relating to particular others, experiencing violence and society's broader culture of violence, and a lack of positive youth development with appropriate mixes of guidance boundaries and support. Addressing these factors that contribute to youth anger is social investment in preventing youth violence. As part of this adults and services need to listen to young people, and respond rather than react to their anger. They can provide guidance over anger management strategies, keep young people hopeful and connected, and seek to help young people with the underlying issues that are contributing to their distress. Furthermore, families can be more effectively supported by service providers working together in partnership with families. Policy also has an important role to play in providing the guidelines for expected and accepted behaviour.

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Looking at Domestic Property Violence (DPV)

Tena Koutou, Talofa Lava, Kia Orana, Fakaalofa Lahi Atu, Malo e Lelei, Bula Vinaka, Taloha Ni, Hello.

My name is Latesha Murphy-Edwards. I am a PhD student at the University of Canterbury and also work part-time as a clinical psychologist at the Child, Adolescent and Family Service, Southland Hospital.

I am undertaking a study about a type of family violence known as parent abuse. Specifically, I am looking at Domestic Property Violence (DPV) – ***the intentional actions of children and young people that result in the damage of parental property, as a means of causing financial harm, intimidating, threatening or assuming control over a parent.***

I will be exploring parents' experiences of child and adolescent DPV. My research aims to increase awareness of this form of family violence and to identify effective ways of preventing and responding to DPV and other forms of parent abuse.

The study has two parts; completing a questionnaire (Part A) and participating in an interview with me (Part B). Parents may choose to participate in **one or both** phases of the study.

I am now recruiting participants from the Southland, Otago and Canterbury regions. If you know of parents who have been affected by this form of parent abuse, please mention the study. They may wish to contact me to receive a study pack. Alternatively, you could contact me on their behalf.

To discuss the research or receive a study pack:

Telephone: (03)2145753

Text: 0212959207

Email: ljm133@student.canterbury.ac.nz.

Responses to Differing Assumptions About Violence: Victory Over Violence and Kia Kaha Anti-School Bullying Programmes

Karen Due Theilade

Increasingly school bullying is recognised globally as problematic for schools, local communities and national governments. New Zealand is not exempt: in one study 11% of students reported that they were bullied weekly and 75% had experienced bullying (see Raskauskas, 2007).

The short term consequences of school bullying for individuals and communities can be health problems and lack of concentration, resulting also in long term negative learning outcomes (Lange et al., 2005). Increased risk of suicide, criminal behaviour and domestic violence are other potential long term effects for both bullies and victims (Dake et al., 2003). For communities, these diverse consequences may mean a loss of economic and social capital, including health costs, the expenses of criminal prosecutions and imprisonment and missed educational opportunities.

Though it is now generally agreed by academics, teachers, politicians and the media that school bullying may occur in response to unequal power relations between individuals (e.g. Englander, 2007) – and that bullying should be addressed locally and nationally (Sullivan, 1999) – different assumptions exist about what causes school bullying, and who is responsible for responding to it. Differing perspectives may relate to the role of individual students, teachers and principals; to socio-cultural factors, such as families, violent cycles and school environments; and to broader structural contexts, such as community, school and state integration. This point of difference has an impact on what anti-bullying programmes seek to achieve. It is, therefore, crucial to assess what these assumptions are and how they are able to shape the approaches used to challenge school bullying. Different programmes that are used to minimise school bullying are situated within particular philosophies. Some examples are the institutionally well-established police programme called Kia Kaha (“be strong”) and the newly established voluntary programme, Victory Over Violence (VOV), which stems from the peace movement.

This paper will look at the available discursive repertoires to gain an understanding of how different assumptions about the responsibilities and causes of school bullying colour the identification of the problem and the measurements taken to prevent school

bullying. The responses to the December 2007 Hutt Valley High School bullying incident, in which one schoolboy was severely assaulted by six peers, highlight these competing ideas. I use this incident to explore the available discourses, which shape the rationales of the anti-bullying programmes, Kia Kaha and VOV. Key to this discussion is how these programmes are situated within particular understandings about the causes of personal and institutional dysfunction, and what interests shape these ideas. I will consider how the approaches taken in the Kia Kaha Anti-Bullying Programme are shaped by their aim to prevent crime and severe violence. Further, I will look at the VOV strategies and how they are shaped by the idea that an inner change in each individual prevents ‘passive violence’ in its different forms and, consequently, physical violence. These differing philosophies are mirrored in the Kia Kaha’s whole school approach and in VOV’s focus on the positive potential of each individual victim, bully and bystander.

Identifying school bullying

International research on school bullying originates from Scandinavia where a general interest in such social problems emerged in the 1960s. Researchers in Norway first responded to media debates in 1982 about the suicides of three young men following incidents of severe bullying (Olweus, 1999). The initial work by the Norwegian scholar Olweus still shapes the definitions of school bullying in international literature. Olweus (1994, p. 1173) states that “a student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time to negative actions on the part of one or more other students.” There are three components to school bullying according to this understanding. These are unequal power relations with respect to physicality and peer group status; the intent to harm, which may be deliberately physical, psychological and emotional; and the repetition of these incidents (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005; Olweus, 1999). While the forms that these ongoing incidents take vary according to the literature, they can include what is traditionally defined as direct, physical and verbal/mental bullying as well as the more recently identified forms of cyberspace/text bullying and sexual harassment (Beaty & Alexeyev, 2008).

The phenomenon of school bullying generally occurs in similar ways across different nations, for example, older age students gradually tend to bully less. The various definitions of bullying also result in differing figures (Raskauskas & Prochnow 2007). A US study (2005) showed, for example, that 70% of all students were affected and 10% were bullied regularly, while a Norwegian study

from the 1980s revealed that 15% were directly involved in school bullying, including perpetrators and victims (Beaty & Alexeyev, 2008; Dake et al., 2003). These figures are similar to those of New Zealand, although some recent studies suggest that they are somewhat higher in this country (Lange et al., 2005; Raskauskas & Prochnow 2007). In their nationwide study, Carroll-Lind and Kearny (2004), for example, found that while 13% had experienced bullying at least once a week, 63% had so over the last year. They suggest that bullying is ignored, since becoming “rough” tends to be glorified (2004). It is often suggested that a culture of violence in New Zealand breeds types of masculinities that encourage school bullying (Sullivan, 1999).

Differing definitions of school bullying impact on who or what is targeted in programmes that seek to stop incidents occurring. Researchers, for example, highlight how being “different” and “weak” can lead to victimisation, while bullies are often seen as aggressive boys seeking peer recognition (Beaty & Alexeyev, 2008; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005). However, significant attention has also been paid to bystanders or peers, as they play a key role in incidents where school bullying is either prevented or further encouraged. Research showed that in instances of verbal bullying, the bystanders’ passive responses (54%) reinforced bullying, and 21% actively copied the bullying, while 25%, mainly girls, intervened when bullying occurred (O’Connell et al. cited in Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005). Based on these findings, Lodge and Frydenberg (2005) identified what they term “productive” and “nonproductive” coping strategies: productive strategies involve having a general positive outlook and are identified as factors that lead bystanders to intervene; in contrast, nonproductive strategies involve tendencies to self-blame and insecurity, leading to a lack of intervention.

Over the past couple of years school bullying has become a recurring topic in New Zealand public debates, attracting increased media attention to severe cases: incidences of suicide followed text messaging and cyberspace bullying, and the media discussed issues of responsibility. The incident in Hutt Valley High School was highly debated: six boys appeared in the Family Court for physically and sexually assaulting one student. Various interest groups as well as school and state agents have sought to identify the responsibilities and the root of school bullying related to this assault. Their responses are discussed in this article in relation to the particular discursive repertoires available to these agents.

Analytical approach – discursive repertoires

According to a poststructuralist Foucauldian understanding of discourses, the assumptions people make about real life are created through language and the ways in which they talk about, in this case, school bullying (Davies & Harre, 1990; Hollway, 1989). Language, therefore, needs to be examined, and in particular the construction of meanings in statements about school bullying. The concept of discursive repertoires draws on this approach. It explains what discourses or ideas are available for people to draw on in particular contexts, as they utilise sets of understandings and themes that are culturally recognisable (Wetherell, 1998).

It is therefore not the identification of individual responsibilities that is the key issue in this article, but the rationale behind the arguments used to identify where the responsibility for school bullying lies and the implications of these assumptions. Meaning is created in particular contexts: the context here is the debates about the responsibilities for the prevalence of school bullying associated with the Hutt Valley assault. These debates highlight the competing and available discourses or understandings about who is responsible for the prevalence of school bullying. I use this understanding to identify the strategies used to challenge school bullying as well as the potential (dis)advantages of the two anti-bullying programmes.

Representations of responsibilities and causes: responses to the Hutt Valley assault

The Hutt Valley assault took place at lunchtime on the school property, and the school was criticised for inadequate supervision of students. Six school boys, who previously had also assaulted other students, pulled down a 14-year old boy's pants and used a sharp object to sexually violate him. This incident was regarded as minor by the acting Principal and board chairwoman, and it was neither referred to the School Board, which is mandatory for serious incidents, nor reported to the police (Welham, 2008). There had also been problems with text-bullying outside the controlled area of the school ground that were not followed up by the school. These circumstances led to accusations in the media that the school Principal and the Board of Trustees (BOT) had not responded to initial complaints nor ensured a safe school environment. Discussions of state agency involvement and responsibilities followed in National Radio documentaries and other general media. Different investigations were launched by the Ministry of Education to analyse school

safety (Education Review Office, 2008) and by the Children's Commissioner (2008) to analyse causes of school bullying, violence and useful strategies to prevent them.

Public representatives from the Ministry of Education and the Hutt Valley High School articulated understandings of responsibilities that in many ways were situated within a political neo-liberal discourse, which focuses on the role of the individual, and the ability to act freely without external constraints. Within this discourse, questions about responsibility tended to address those immediately involved in an everyday school context, i.e. students, teachers and the Principal. The Education Review Office (ERO), for example, concluded that the school could not be blamed for the incident, as safety cannot be guaranteed fully by school teachers in contemporary electronic societies, and because the school environment was well-functioning with strong teacher-student relationships (ERO, 2008). There is according to this view no need to look for greater contextual explanations within or outside the school.

Prior to the ERO review, the school's own investigation, Eliminating Violence Survey, nevertheless noted high numbers of bullying or disrespectful behaviour, such as name calling, and that "*few students reported that they would tell adults at the school [about this] such as the counsellors, form teachers, class teachers, deans, liaison students or harassment contacts*" (ERO, 2008). The ERO concluded that the students needed to learn to respect others more, and they needed "*to know (...) why seeking adult support is desirable behaviour rather than 'telling on' or a betrayal of others*" (ERO, 2008). Emphasising, in this instance, the responsibilities of the individual students, including the victims of bullying, freed the individual Principal and BOT of the media accusations. But it also enabled the Education Minister, Chris Carter, to avoid discussing complexities such as: "a culture of violence," reasons for lack in adult trust, peer sanctions for reporting bullying (Lange et al., 2005, p.62) and increased need for state funding to deal with these issues.

The Minister did take some steps, such as instructing the ERO to pay more attention to issues of bullying in future school evaluations (Carter, 2008). However, these initiatives did not challenge the trend since the 1980s in which competition and free market practices have replaced "notions of social responsibility and collegiality" in schools (Sullivan, 1999, p.343). Teachers, principals and BOTs may be less inclined to respond to school bullying in a context where the appearance of high performance and a safe school environment is valued over the actual

insurance of a positive learning environment (Sullivan, 1999). A neo-liberal framework for identifying responsibilities and causes of school bullying remained.

A neo-functionalist discourse about socio-cultural dynamics was also articulated by the police, the Families Commissioner, and the Children's Commissioner, which to some extent juxtaposed with the liberal discourse emphasising individual responsibilities. A focus on well-functioning school environments brought attention to the responsibilities of the wider community, including the police and parents. According to this view the reasons for failing to prevent and respond to the Hutt Valley incident built on notions of failed social integration. Awareness, for example, of high incidences of violence and ideas about how they are denied in a New Zealand cultural context were expressed in relation to a number of cases. The family court lawyer, Ms Alofivae, from the Families Commission, welcomed an anti bullying-campaign in South Auckland schools preceding the Hutt Valley debate, and commented on "how pervasive violence is within Kiwi culture," pointing to the "need to address violence within our families" (Families Commission, 2008). A police sergeant claimed that since anti-bullying sentiments are now conventional in society, the police sought to reinforce those norms in schools, while the Children's Commissioner, Kiro, argued that the case should have been handed over to the police earlier (Marsden & Kiro, 2008).

These ideas are consistent with (neo-)functionalist analyses about deviance and social integration, which see society as made up by the healthy and unhealthy functions individuals play through their integration into a unitary system. Neo-functionalism builds on the functionalist understanding that systems govern people's actions, only it pays slightly more attention to the processes of social dynamics. People's actions may be controlled by the systems they operate within, however, the interactions and conflicts between individuals in social groups are also seen to influence people's actions within these structures (Fauske, 1996). According to this understanding, communities make society hang together – through police intervention in the examples above. Failures in community integration increases deviant behaviour, such as school bullying, violence and crime.

A human social rights discourse was also articulated by advocate David Rutherford speaking on behalf of the Hutt Valley parent group. Referring to international human rights declarations signed by the New Zealand Government, Rutherford emphasised state-enforced rights to be free of violence and receive

safe education. He argued that since going to school is mandatory, the state must ensure that school children are protected in the same ways that guidelines prescribe for prisoners. While it was argued by the then Associate Principal that modern communication technology may limit the control of text messaging outside the school site, the parent group disagreed: the Principal and the BOT were informed of the sexual violence incident, but did not react. This was blamed on disorganised state agencies, a lack of state leadership and the fact that implementing guidelines on bullying had not been made mandatory by the state (Rutherford, 2008). State responsibility was strategically addressed by the parent group, calling for more resources and countering arguments about the (lack of) isolated responsibilities of teachers, students, parents, BOT and the School Principal. This challenges a neo-liberal discourse, which places the responsibility on, for example, school principals to manage their school budgets wisely.

Such competing identifications of causes and solutions to school bullying have implications for what measures are taken and what resources are provided to do so. Engagement with the problem of school bullying depends on definitions and the identification of responsibilities (Sullivan, 1999). I use this understanding to look at some of the responses to school bullying set out in the two anti-bullying programmes.

Responses to school bullying

Many countries have responded to school bullying by setting up national school guidelines, although schools' implementation of these differ depending on regulatory systems and are sometimes limited (Sullivan, 1999). Research, nevertheless, shows that the positive effect of anti-bullying policies is significantly higher if they are followed up with everyday practices and whole school approaches (Carroll-Lind & Kearney, 2004; Sullivan, 1999).

In New Zealand, national public responsibility for challenging school bullying lies primarily with New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA), who set up a taskforce in 1993, and the Office of the Commissioner for Children (Sullivan, 1999). These institutions have created national guidelines, the implementation of which is sometimes met with structural and institutional resistance. This contradiction was expressed by a teacher in response to the implications of the Kia Kaha programme: "At first I thought that Kia Kaha wasn't working, that it was increasing bullying, but in reality it was just increasing reporting of bullying" (Raskauskas, 2007, p.23). The increased need for resources (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005) can prevent existing guidelines being put into practice. There is also a risk of negative school

branding with higher bullying rates (Raskauskas, 2007). This is important in New Zealand's semi-free market oriented school system (Sullivan, 1999) that is situated within a neo-liberal political discourse. A free-market schooling system means that the individual schools have to compete for funding and students, which encourages a focus on positive reputation over actual social dynamics. As effective implementation of national guidelines is not ensured nationally, the dedication of individual teachers, parents, principals or anti-bullying programme co-ordinators can be crucial.

Several public and private anti-bullying initiatives exist in New Zealand, with contributions from the Special Education Services' Eliminating Violence; the Foundation for Peace Studies Aotearoa (Sullivan, 1999); and the Ministry of Education's recent Team Up initiative.¹ The two programmes discussed in detail below are VOV Aotearoa and Kia Kaha Anti-Bullying Programme.

Victory over Violence

Victory over Violence was initially developed by students in United States in response to the Columbine High School shootings. It was first piloted in New Zealand at Reporoa College in 2005. It is defined as a "youth-driven initiative to help young people identify and counteract the root causes of violence in their lives and their communities" (SGI Quarterly, 2006).

The long-term goal of VOV Aotearoa is to change a "vicious violence cycle" in New Zealand to a culture of peace by addressing "the root causes of passive violence" (VOV Aotearoa, 2007). The programme is based on both a peace and a human rights perspective, which ascribes individuals with the potential power to create positive change. Discourses about individual responsibility and social human rights juxtapose in this instance. It is believed that through the transformation of each individual, all aspects of society can change for the better in a way that calls less on state resources and responsibilities. The strategies used to challenge school bullying, therefore, aim at empowering individuals and create respect for individual difference. This is consistent with research that recommends programmes to focus on encouraging recognition of difference (Englander, 2007).

Developing this "culture of peace" at an early age, focus is on the individual students' potential and the immediate school environment. One goal is to teach students productive coping strategies and, thereby, increase bystander intervention when school bullying occurs. The aim is also to stimulate self-worth without differentiating between victims, bullies or bystanders, who are seen as equally deserving of respect. This

approach is reflected in the three aims of VOV presented to the students: "I will value my own life", "I will respect all life" and "I will inspire hope in others."

The sources of inspiration in VOV stem from renowned thinkers and activists in the peace movement. One is the well-known Mahatma Gandhi who spoke about cutting out the roots of violence: "*It is passive violence that fuels the fire of physical violence. In order to stop physical violence, we have to cut off the fuel supply*" (VOV Aotearoa, 2008). This quote is presented to the students during the introduction to VOV. Passive violence is believed to consist not only of bullying but also of "criticizing", "excluding", "judging" and "putting down" others. It also includes self-blaming such as "putting down oneself" and "thinking you're useless" (VOV Aotearoa, 2007).

Another source of inspiration is Daisaku Ikeda, the president of the Buddhist lay organisation Soka Gakkai International and the recipient of multiple peace awards. The students are given Ikeda's declaration that "*a great revolution of character in just a single individual will help achieve a change in the destiny of society, and further, will enable a change in the destiny of humankind*" (VOV Aotearoa, 2008). This belief in the power of each individual forms the basis for the VOV exercises aimed at transforming passive violence at its root, which Gandhi spoke about.

VOV seeks to take a whole school approach in order to embrace the environment that individuals are embedded in, however the focus is on workshops with high school students performed by "youth." Voluntary VOV facilitators initially train year twelve students to facilitate the workshops with year nine students. School officials, teachers, counsellors, and vice-chancellors can be involved in this process. The future goal is to make these training processes permanent and self-running in each school after three years. Five New Zealand high schools and two other teaching institutions are currently involved in using this programme. In an evaluation of the programme at Reporoa College, 92% of the involved students reported that it had been positive to participate, and 66% of those indicated that it had been very positive. In an evaluation questionnaire at Wainuiomata College, 88% of the students involved wrote that they had learned something new, which mostly related to respecting others.

All students are given the three main aims that are incorporated into various class activities and placed on posters in the week leading up to the VOV workshop. The exercises seek to break down communication barriers between students. As one participant observed: "*I thought violence*

was just fighting and bullying, after VOV I know that people have a reason for why they do it" (SGI Quarterly, 2006). Learning to value oneself and others is practiced via "active listening" and "challenging limiting beliefs" exercises and through sharing personal experiences about overcoming passive violence (VOV Aotearoa, 2007). This approach is expected to increase understanding about different forms of active/passive involvement in bullying and therefore the chances of overcoming it. As another student expressed: "VOV has made it very clear to me how important it is to forgive, and to encourage hope in others. Violence moves in cycles. Choose to break the cycle" (SGI Quarterly, 2006). Greater respect for the value of each individual, both victim and bully, is believed to be fundamental to changing how students treat one another and to incorporating sustainable peaceful dynamics in everyday social interaction.

Kia Kaha Anti-Bullying Programme – Be strong

The Kia Kaha Programme was introduced in 1992 by the New Zealand Police. It is part of their violence prevention initiatives to promote safer communities. Kia Kaha operates in multiple schools, aiming to create environments where everyone feels safe, respected and valued (Raskauskas, 2007).

The emphasis on wider community involvement and crime prevention draws on neo-functionalism assumptions about a culture of violence and a need for the police to ensure safety. A positive integration of individuals at risk is ensured by systems at hand, which includes successful education. Anti-bullying strategies therefore gear towards creating safe learning environments (Raskauskas, 2007), where victims respond constructively to incidents of violence and bullying, and bullies to some extent learn to "behave" differently.

Hoping not only to effectively diminish bullying at schools, but also to strengthen community integration, Kia Kaha takes a whole school and community approach (Sullivan, 1999). Kia Kaha seeks to provide administrators, principals, "teachers, parents and caregivers with ideas and options so they can help the bully adopt more socially acceptable behaviour" (New Zealand Police, n.d.). This means the consistent involvement of parents and caregivers who are viewed as a resource in helping "their children develop positive social interactions" (New Zealand Police, n.d.).

While teachers receive training and run exercises with Police Education Officers (PEOs), parents are actively involved with students in sharing

their personal experiences about bullying in a parent panel (Raskauskas, 2007). It has proven effective for "role models" to share how they once overcame bullying, which is a strategy used also in VOV. PEOs also aim to be positive role models as "figure[s] of authority" (Raskauskas, 2007) by encouraging students, particularly victims, to stand up for themselves (Sullivan, 1999) and provide experiences of safe adult contact (Raskauskas, 2007). Following a whole school approach Kia Kaha ensures that national anti-bullying guidelines are not only in place through concrete bully-response strategies, but practiced by the staff in everyday contexts. This includes ensuring safe reporting for the students through an anonymous bullying reporting box that guarantees response.

Students, teachers and parents are provided with a resource kit. It includes a video about physical and psychological bullying situations, which aims to pay attention to the different ways in which girls and boys may bully. The students engage in role plays, where they practice responses to being bullied, and discuss personal experiences. Exercises address how to improve feelings of self-worth, respect difference, increase tolerance, personal choice, and working together to ensure safety in class and good relationships with peers (Raskauskas, 2007). The exercises run with all school classes every second year to guarantee continuity. The implementation of this programme in New Zealand schools is significant, although the exact number of schools using it is unknown (Raskauskas, 2007).

Anti-bullying practices and discursive context

While Kia Kaha and VOV tend to draw on neo-functionalism, social human rights and peace activist discourses, they have to negotiate their implementation in schools that are to some extent situated within neo-liberal discourses. In spite of the challenges that this can create for their implementation, research shows that there are positive potentials for learning outcomes and thus for the school's branding long-term from the adoption of anti-bullying policies and exercises (Sullivan, 1999).

The neo-functionalism discourse of Kia Kaha means that anti-bullying strategies build on understandings about the existence of a culture of violence; it requires specific (re)training to avoid entering a route of deviant behaviour, which must start at an early age. This is reflected in the language of the resource kit, addressing "behaviour" and intentions to "frighten", "coerce" and use "power in inappropriate ways." It asks "how can both the victim and the bully be

encouraged to change their behaviour so that bullying can be stopped?" (New Zealand Police, n.d.). The whole school approach emphasises the integration of students at risk of developing anti-social behaviour through institutional approaches. Particular attention is paid to the good functioning of the school as an institution.

The merging of human social rights and peace activist discourses in VOV, on the other hand, means that individuals rather than institutions are ascribed with the capability of changing bullying behaviour. Since it is believed that a fundamental inner personal change can create an outer effect in institutions and communities, focus is more directed at changing each student's core beliefs. Experiences of self(-worth) turn into thoughts, words, deeds and actions; overcoming school bullying is about engaging all students to confront their self-worth and raise their positive perceptions about their (inner) life-conditions. This differs from the emphasis in Kia Kaha on practicing constructive responses in instances of bullying, assuming that some acts of violence will always remain.

The different utilisation of discourses has an impact on the teacher-student contact in the two programmes. Kia Kaha tends to emphasise good teacher-student contact by strengthening the value of the institution. Teachers are seen in need of training to "buy-in to the values and principles of the programme" (Raskauskas, 2007, p.31) and attend to students at risk, particularly victims of bullying. By engaging teachers in learning anti-bullying responses, Kia Kaha is believed to ensure effective change of the learning environment.² While a market-oriented school system may add to a competitive environment with less focus on social dynamics, the implementation of existing guidelines are directed at countering potential negative effects: they provide constructive response tools.

VOV aims for students to recognise the passive violence taking place in their own thoughts and actions, and to see their own inherent positive potential. There is less need to work directly with the teachers from this perspective; long-term institutional change can, in principle, be developed through student exercises. The benefit of working outside institutions is emphasised, since "neutral" and student role-models are viewed as more effective than drawing on "older" teachers who are embedded within the system. According to this approach it is important to avoid what Kia Kaha, for example, has been criticised for with its institutional approach: some students reported only pretending to take the teachers seriously when facilitating anti-bullying exercises, and they carried on bullying (Raskauskas, 2007).

While teachers do not facilitate the workshops in VOV, positive co-operation in organising the workshops is highly valued: VOV may, like Kia Kaha, face initial resistance in terms of the use of teachers' class time, operating within a system that also deals with competition and tight schedules.

VOV focuses on the inter-subjective dynamics in seeking to empower students. Since an inner change in each individual is thought crucial to challenge bullying, attention to the school context focuses on inter-dynamic relations, and less on institutional resources. A change in experiences of self-worth means a change in both bullying and victimisation tendencies prevalent in each individual. Participant responses, such as, "*it has changed the way I deal with problems,*" reflect this use of a discourse about positive individual transformation. VOV has thus reported that students developed productive coping strategies.

Operating as complementary to existing anti-bullying guidelines and working with limited resources means that national anti-bullying tools are not implemented in VOV. The attention to the community context and the well-developed whole school approach in Kia Kaha, on the other hand, has been instrumental in following up on the anti-bullying strategies. Kia Kaha ensures, unlike VOV, the implementation of action plans outlining concrete strategies when bullying occurs. The continuous involvement of teachers has, in this respect, been seen to increase sustainable change in the school environment, making it safer for students to report bullying within the school system.

Drawing on a neo-functional discourse that emphasises a crime prevention agenda in a culture of violence, however, means that workshops mainly target boy victims of physical violence (Sullivan, 1999); they are regarded as the children at risk of later developing deviant or anti-social behaviour. As also seen in the Hutt Valley example, responsibility for "traditional physical" forms of bullying are prioritised over modern, complex or invisible forms of bullying (Raskauskas, 2007). This is consistent with popular assumptions in which particularly girls who ostracise and text bully tend to be written off as "bitches," while problems of girls bullying becomes visible only when violence is involved (Lange et al., 2005; Lane 2008). The risk is that the gendered nature of bullying is ignored (Sullivan, 1999). This may explain why some students pointed to a discrepancy between the anti-bullying Kia Kaha activities and everyday practices (Raskauskas, 2007).

VOV also addresses problems of physical violence in its exercises. This, however, is seen as the

consequence of passive violence rather than the cause of wrongly learned social behaviour. The workshops seek to establish the understanding that passive violence and the "inner self" are directly linked. The potential for positive change is ascribed to recognising that individuals and their circumstances are interconnected.

Articulating humanist and peace activist discourses, facilitators share experiences of the benefits of challenging positions as victim, bully or passive bystander. These are equally targeted in exercises without focusing directly on the bullying or the victim context. This strategy contrasts with the assessed risk in Kia Kaha to blame (male) victims for not standing up for themselves (Sullivan, 1999). The students are in Kia Kaha seen to operate within a culture of violence and must learn to respond to this violence by practicing useful responses when assaulted. While VOV is currently adopted in schools through individual personal network, Kia Kaha is more likely to approach or be approached by the schools through formal communication lines.

Conclusion

The Hutt Valley assault illustrates the discursive repertoires available to individual parents, teachers, schools and government agencies who sought to diagnose why this assault occurred and who should assume responsibility for bullying incidents and violence in schools. The different strategies suggested to prevent such incidents from occurring were in the Hutt Valley case framed by the articulation of sometimes competing discourses about individual, community and state responsibilities.

Drawing on a neo-liberal discourse about individual responsibility exempted government and school representatives from addressing the complex factors associated with bullying, including the need for resources. The articulation of a neo-functional discourse was used to ensure the social integration of students within the local communities, drawing also on the use of public community resources. A human social rights discourse emphasised state-enforced rights to ensure freedom from violence and safe education. Articulation of this discourse included a call for state resources and the implementation of national anti school-bullying guidelines.

Programmes used to combat school bullying address both perceived symptoms and underlying causes depending on the frameworks used by key actors. Kia Kaha is directed at preventing long-term violence and crime in communities, assuming an underlying culture of violence. Operating within the established system and a neo-functional framework, it draws on available

community and school resources in its anti-bullying workshops. Some students, however, may respond negatively to its attachment to the existing system, in contrast to the detachment found in VOV.

Drawing on social human rights and peace activist discourses, VOV focuses on the power of the individual rather than of state agencies. VOV also avoids distinguishing between bully, victim and peers in its exercises, seeking to incorporate non-blaming tactics. Less attention, however, is currently paid to implementing national anti-bullying school plans and response strategies that are already developed by government institutions.

The definitions of personal and institutional responsibilities influence these programmes' use of strategies in overcoming school bullying. They are, however, also situated within neo-liberal market-oriented ways of running schools: implementing anti-bullying strategies and providing the needed resources must be measured against the gains that schools envision from utilising these programmes. Overcoming institutional challenges and resistance is important for the outcome when implementing anti-bullying programmes.

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Endnotes

- 1 The Ministry of Education's Team Up initiative, for example, focuses on improving the learning outcome by drawing on parents as a resource in facilitating learning and in appealing to their sense of responsibility. This links with the objective in which successful school education is believed to shape the future. This is in conjunction with a neo-liberal discourse about individuality and personal responsibility. See <http://www.teamup.co.nz/primary-int/helpful/Bullying/default.htm>
- 2 This is considered important, because the school climate has an impact on bullying. Teachers, therefore, have sometimes been seen to contribute to a negative school environment that breeds bullying (Carroll-Lind & Kearney, 2004: 19, 23). A hostile staff environment may lead to teachers ignoring student complaints about bullying, as these teachers appear to lack understanding or feel time constrained (Sullivan, 1999: 344–345).

What Clients Would Prefer Not to Tell You About: a New Zealand Practice Experience With Marginalised Families

Libby Robins and Dr Annabel Taylor

The Family Help Trust is a home visitation child abuse prevention initiative funded partly by the New Zealand government and by philanthropic sources. It employs qualified social workers to support and empower families to enhance their parenting and family functioning. An outcome study of the service incorporating a prospective longitudinal design was completed in 2006, which suggested effectiveness in key areas of child safety and reducing family violence. Other results indicated a worsening effect in some areas, for example, in the factor of “smoking around the children” and this raised a number of questions for the agency; one of which was the accuracy of intake data.

This paper reports a project designed to retrospectively re-visit baseline data collection by the agency social workers to establish whether information that had been gathered during the intake and assessment process was accurate at the time. 28 mothers from the original outcome study who were still engaged with the service were re-interviewed by their social workers more than two years after their baseline interview on 16 questions taken from the interview to explore their recollection of their responses at that time. Results showed that a significant proportion of the mothers had provided inconsistent information at baseline in nine of the 16 questions ($p < 0.001$; $p < .05$). Mothers were more likely not to disclose information on intimate partner violence and psychological abuse at baseline and possibly after establishment of the social worker/client relationship. Among the implications for agency practice are that information collection methods, will need to be reviewed to create optimum conditions for disclosure of sensitive information. Continued assessment and support for clients will be necessary to encourage disclosure. Social workers will need to rely on their professional judgement and knowledge of the aetiology of domestic violence whilst using assessment tools as indicative only to assess the presence of IPV. Finally, that there is a need for evaluation research design to incorporate ongoing review of baseline data.

Background

The Family Help Trust (www.familyhelptrust.org.nz) is a not-for-profit (NFP) early-intervention home visitation service based in Christchurch, New Zealand. Christchurch is a city with a population of 348,435 people, with major subgroups of 7.6 % Maori (indigenous population) and 7.9% Asian (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

The Family Help Trust (FHT) has a governance board and employs a Director, a clinical services manager and six full-time social workers. The service began 18 years ago and currently has 96 enrolled client families with a waiting list of approximately 12. The service is distinguished from other similar early intervention services both in New Zealand and elsewhere, in that only severely disadvantaged clients are accepted, and the majority have had past state child protection agency involvement. Significantly, the 2006 Family Help Trust outcome evaluation found 83% of families with prior child protection involvement. The primary client is the child, and social workers offer intensive home visiting support from birth to five years. To date the Trust has provided services to over 1000 children; with only two notifiable incidents of child harm.

In 2006 the Trust commissioned an independent evaluation of its services with a cohort of 55 families after a 12-month period of intervention (Turner, 2006). The researcher employed a prospective longitudinal design and the results indicated that the FHT intervention impacted on significant improvements in child abuse prevention over 12 months, but there was less effect on some parental lifestyle factors and economic circumstances. Further evaluation will be needed at two-yearly and four-yearly intervals to establish whether other longstanding lifestyle factors may be influenced over a longer period of time.

Analysis of the outcome evaluation revealed a number of results that raised further questions for our management team. The first was an apparent worsening in family economic circumstances after intervention, and the second, an increase in mothers' smoking in the presence of their children (Turner, 2006). These results appeared inconsistent with social worker practice that offered support in these areas. In addition, the evaluation referred to a specific case where a social worker reported that she had discovered intimate partner violence only after 24 months of home visitation. This led to a quality assurance audit to investigate whether the data gathered at baseline was consistent with data collected at later review periods or whether there were key areas that may be more sensitive than others to our clients, and where the data may be unreliable

at baseline. Our focus shifted to our intake and assessment tools, and to what other factors might impact on the quality of information collected in the early phase of our intervention.

Structured Risk/Needs Assessment in child abuse prevention

The Family Help Trust employs comprehensive, structured, psycho-social assessment tools designed to assist social workers with determining level and type of intervention. Given that the purpose of the FHT is to prevent child abuse, the intake and assessment process involves a significant focus on risk of child abuse in the family of the primary client (the child). Social workers rely on a set of actuarial and need data to make this determination combined with their professional judgement (the Progress Interview). Historical data are obtained from an Intake Interview conducted immediately after service consents are signed and dynamic factors are assessed within a two-week period in the Progress Report.

The employment of risk assessment tools has become common practice in child welfare jurisdictions (Knoke & Trocme, 2005; Waldfogel, 1998). Structured risk assessment in child protection settings is primarily focused on the likelihood of future harm (Knoke & Trocme, 2005). In New Zealand, the statutory child protection service employs a consensus model of assessment, the Risk Estimation System (RES) that is based on the Manitoba Risk Estimation System tool. This involves 8 domains and 24 risk factors (www.cyf.govt.nz). The RES conforms with other care and protection systems and assesses risk of domestic violence. In the not-for-profit sector (NFP), New Zealand's implementation of a Differential Response Model (Child Youth & Family, 2005; Connolly, 2006a; Trocme, Knott & Knoke, 2003; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2008) has meant a greater reliance on child abuse prevention services in the community. Increasingly, NFP agencies in New Zealand have developed their own in-depth assessment schedules that combine both assessment of child abuse risk and more generic family wellbeing indicators (Fergusson, Horwood, & Ridder, 2005; Turner, 2006). The factors that are included in structured family assessment in the child abuse prevention arena have been drawn from both national and international research.

In New Zealand, Fergusson's longitudinal study of a birth cohort has found that the most socio-economically disadvantaged 5% of the children in the study had over 100 times the likelihood for maladjustment than the most advantaged 50% (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1994).

The key child maltreatment precursors that are understood to contribute to risk in New Zealand have been reported as: being poor, having low educational achievement, being unemployed, being young, having poor mental health, substance abuse, being a victim of family violence as a child, having a history of offending and of early offending (Connolly, 2006b). Connolly and Doolan's study of child homicide in New Zealand (2007) has identified past involvement with child protection services as a significant predictive risk factor for future child abuse. Given the high level of previous involvement with child protection services of FHT clients (Turner, 2006); both assessment and practice in the agency have a strong safety focus.

Wider research and practice in the area of child abuse prevention has identified factors associated with child maltreatment recurrence (Dorsey, Mustillo, Farmer & Albogen (2008; Knoke & Trocme, 2005). Factors include: larger numbers of children per household; domestic violence; low family income; single parent status; prior parental history of abuse; substance abuse; high levels of stress; low levels of social support; and mental health issues. See Dorsey, et al (2008) in *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32, pp378-379 for a comprehensive review of factors. The Family Help Trust assessment schedules, in addition to standard demographic data, measure a range of factors that encompass the domains that have been identified with risk of maltreatment and with child and family wellbeing. These include questions on health and safety, mental health, substance dependency, criminal involvement, domestic and family violence, education, employment, and family functioning. A range of parental behaviours are also identified in so far as these may impact on child rearing. Accuracy of assessment data is relevant to the service delivery decisions in planned intervention.

Current Study

The aim of the present study was to investigate discrepancies in data provided by Family Help Trust clients at baseline and then at review after 12 months of intervention. This became apparent from data collected as part of an outcome study of the service completed in 2006 (Turner, 2006). Twenty-eight mothers from the original cohort were included in this study. The clients' social workers, some of whom had changed in the years of intervention, retrospectively interviewed their clients more than two years after intake on 16 questions from the base line assessment. The purpose of this was to re-check whether the mothers' responses were consistent. Informed consent was obtained from all the participants by

their social workers and the project was approved by the governing board of the agency. The questions were taken from the original Progress Interview which was conducted within two weeks of intervention. The social workers did not re-familiarize themselves with the baseline data before retrospectively re-interviewing their clients on the selected base line questions. The mothers were asked to recall the circumstances at the time of intake.

Method

Sixteen questions were selected from the Progress Interview that involved potentially sensitive information for clients. The areas of sensitivity were: intimate partner violence, family violence, substance abuse, criminal history and economic situation. The following Table 1 summarises the questions applied.

The majority of the selected questions related to women with partners as it was this group of questions where the greatest discrepancy had been discerned by the social workers.

The null hypothesis was that there would be no difference between what participants reported at base line compared with what they reported at review. Categorical data were analysed descriptively using the McNemar chi-square test as chi-square tests are used where both variables are dichotomous (Bland, 2000). Because the sample size was small, the McNemar test was followed by a sign test in order to confirm the results. In all cases the sign test confirmed the McNemar chi-square result.

Continuous data collected were analysed using a t-test for dependent means. This is applicable in a repeated-measures situation where each participant's response is elicited twice; in this instance, at baseline and then at 24 months after intervention. Analysis of all data was conducted using Statistica (StatSoft Inc., 2007) statistical analytical software.

Results

The results are represented in a summary of the analyses of responses to the research questions at base line and at review. The first result (Table 2) summarises the cluster of continuous questions outlined in Table 1. The dependent means t-tests applied are based on calculations of individual difference in scores, $X_1 - X_2$.

Table 3 summarises the categorical data employing the McNemar chi-square test. The McNemar Test determines whether the initial response rate (before the intervention) equals the final response rate (after the intervention).

The most significant results related to questions 222, 252 and 259. These three questions about the partner relationship show the greatest discrepancy in reporting between Base line and Review. It is important to note that such a large proportion of the mothers were only able to report to their social workers well after base line that at that time they were "terrified" of their partners, that they were constantly being "put down" by their partners and that their partner's use of illegal drugs, solvents or alcohol was causing stress on the mothers and their children. The strongest result overall related to being "put down" and this reflects other research with low income women that, has shown the prevalence of verbal abuse (Raj, Silverman, Wingood & DiClemente., 1999). In these three areas where mothers are fearful of their partners and their actions there would appear to be a low level of disclosure in the first few weeks of engagement with the Family Help Trust.

A further three Questions of significance related to the intimate partner relationship at intake were 224, 367 and 367b. Question 224 explores partner physical violence towards the mother and it is concerning that mothers were unable to reveal this at base line. Given the number reporting that they were "terrified" of their partner this is perhaps not surprising. Questions 367 and 367b deal with the partner's criminal history and this is another area where mothers found it difficult to disclose. It is possible that there may have been additional stigma attached to disclosing any form of criminal involvement, but it seems more likely that mothers feared revealing anything about their violent partners. Over 50% of the partners who were later revealed to be present at baseline had had a prison sentence.

Other questions where there was a significant difference in reporting at review compared with base line involved actions of the mother or of people in her home environment. Mothers were less likely to disclose "smoking around your children" at base line but were able to disclose this at review. They were also unlikely to report that their children were "around people who are drunk or getting drunk" at base line.

Question 481 dealt with economic sufficiency and it was interesting to note that the participants found it hard to let their social workers know at base line that they were finding it "hard to make ends meet". Fifty seven per cent of the participants "often" or "always" found this difficult suggesting that this was a major challenge for them at the time of intake.

Table 1. Questions from baseline Progress Interview

Q222	How frightened are you of your partner?	Continuous
Q224	In the past six months has your partner hit, kicked, punched, pushed, thrown, slapped or beaten you?	Categorical
Q225	In the last six months have you laid charges against your partner for assaulting you?	Categorical
Q250	In the last six months has your partner damaged any of your or your children's property or pets as a way of intimidating or punishing you or your children?	Categorical
Q252	Does your partner regularly put you down?	Categorical
Q259	How often does your partner use illegal drugs, solvents or alcohol?	Continuous
Q276	In the past six months have you hit, kicked, punched, pushed, slapped or beaten your partner?	Categorical
Q362	In the past six months have you been charged, convicted or sentenced for any criminal offence?	Categorical
Q367	In the past six months has your partner been charged or convicted of any criminal offence?	Categorical
Q367(b)	In the past six months has your partner been in prison?	Categorical
Q383	How often do you smoke around your children?	Continuous
Q396	How often is child around people who are drunk or getting drunk?	Continuous
Q399	How often have your children been around people who are getting stoned?	Continuous
Q404	Use of opiates?	Categorical
Q412	Use of uppers?!	Categorical
Q461	How often have you had difficulty making ends meet?	Continuous

Table 3: Results Summary of McNemar chi-square test of distribution

Question	Percentage changed from No to Yes from baseline to review	Chi-square χ^2	p
224	25.93%	5.14	0.023*
225	14.29%	.80	.37 ns
250		3.2	ns ²
252	50.00%	12.07	.0005**
276	10.71%	.25	.62 ns
362	21.43%	1.13	.29 ns
367	39.29%	4.92	.026*
367b	35.71%	8.10	.004*
404	10.71%	0.00	1.00 ns
412	21.43%	1.13	.29 ns

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.001$

Table 2: Results Summary for t-test for Dependent Means

Question	Baseline mean	Review mean	Diff	t	p
222	0.25	0.86	0.61	2.83	0.0086**
259	0.39	1.14	0.75	3.95	0.0005**
383	0.61	1.14	0.53	2.65	0.01*
396	0.18	0.92	0.74	3.13	0.004*
399	0.46	0.64	0.18	0.45	0.65 ns
461	2.03	2.78	0.75	3.06	0.0049*

* $p < .05$

** $p < .001$

The remaining questions did not reach statistical significance although in Question 250 (“Has your partner damaged any of you or your children’s property or pets as a way of intimidating or punishing you or the children?”), four participants changed their response at review compared with what they reported at baseline. While not reaching statistical significance, given the nature of this form of abuse, this finding is nevertheless of concern to the agency. Similarly, in Question 225 (“In the last six months have you laid charges against your partner for assaulting you?”), three women changed their response from “No” to “Yes” compared with their initial response; and in the context of the other findings in relation to intimate partner violence this is also of concern. The single question on violence of the mother towards her partner did not have enough positive responses to be significant, although two mothers changed their responses to “Yes” at review compared with base line.

The remaining non-significant results suggest that, in some areas, mothers are more likely to be consistent in their responses between baseline and review. Opiate use, marijuana use, amphetamine use and mother’s criminal history were all areas where participants were more consistent in reporting. There were also fewer responses in these items, making generalization difficult.

Discussion

There has been a growing concern in the child abuse field about the co-occurrence of domestic violence and child abuse and neglect (Alaggia, Jenney, Mazucca & Redmond, 2007; Shlonsky & Friend, 2007; Shlonsky, Friend & Lambert, 2007; Zolotor, Theodore, Coyne-Beasley & Runyan, 2007). A related concern for early intervention services has been recent research that has found an increased risk of intimate partner violence for pregnant women (Jasinski, 2004; Lindhorst & Oxford, 2008). Intimate partner violence is now well established as a risk factor in the safety of children and as such must be of concern to child abuse prevention services such as the Family Help Trust (Casanueva, Foshee & Barth, 2005; Terrence, Plumm & Little, 2008). The results of the present study show reluctance at the intake and assessment phase of social work intervention in an NFP child abuse prevention project of mothers to disclose their partner’s physical violence towards them. Of particular concern was their lack of disclosure of being “terrified” of their partners at the time of intake. In addition, they were reluctant to disclose their partner’s denigrating behaviour, substance abuse, criminal history, and imprisonment history at intake.

This finding reflects what is widely understood about domestic violence: the shame and the fear of retribution from disclosing abuse (Peterson, Moracco, Goldstein, Clark, 2004; Lutz, 2005; Watt, Bobow & Moracco, 2008; Wester, Lo Fo Wong, & Lagro Janssen, 2007). A New Zealand report on the Domestic Violence Act 1995 (Hann, 2004) found a number of reasons as to why women stayed in violent relationships, in addition to fear, These included: not identifying abuse; cost of applying for protection orders; lack of confidence in the police and the legal system’s ability to protect; and fear of the consequences of leaving. Fear of having children removed has also been described as a reason not to disclose domestic violence in Australia (Hegarty, Hindmarsh & Gilles, 2000) and in the US (Alaggia et al., 2007).

Research on reluctance to disclose and to seek help suggests that clients weigh up the risk consequences of self disclosure versus anticipated utility of self disclosure (Omarzu, 2000). Clients are also likely to evaluate the situational context, determining the depth and amount they will open up to another person (Omarzu, 2000). In the situational context of domestic violence and intimate partner abuse, there are strong pressures on women not to disclose the real extent of the abuse they are experiencing. These pressures are in addition to those regarding the “shame and embarrassment” of relating their problems to a relative stranger (Lin, 2002). It would seem that the constraints on women who have violent partners mean that self report information that is obtained in initial interviews as part of the engagement and intake process may be unreliable in key sensitive areas.

There has been little research on the reliability of self report data in the area of domestic violence. The reliability of self-report information has been traversed in a number of other fields of human service practice, particularly in criminology (Kroner & Loza, 2001; Thornberry, 2000) and recently in diagnosis of ADHD in adults (Kooij et al., 2008). In the context of self report data from offenders and adults with ADHD, a high degree of reliability has been found where data have been compared against other sources of information (Kroner & Lozer, 2000). However, this contrasts with the findings of this study which suggest that women in the context of domestic violence are reluctant to disclose their situation; often well into service intervention.

Limitations

The small sample size of 28 women reduces the generalisability of the findings of this study. The study’s sample consisted of extremely low income mothers experiencing a high level of

adverse psychosocial factors who had sought help with the birth and parenting of their new child. A small percentage of the mothers were of Maori descent and the study did not explore differences based on ethnicity.

The fact that this was a retrospective study, where participants were asked to recall a time at least two years ago, might have implications for participants’ capacity to recall events at that time. This was offset by the fact that these were major factors in the participants’ lives and therefore more likely to be remembered.

Directions for future research

The results of this study indicate that mothers with partners at the time of intake and assessment are likely to fail to disclose significant issues in relation to family violence. It will be worthwhile investigating how mothers came to disclose and what assisted them in addressing family violence. The study did not investigate whether mothers who were single at the time of engagement with the service were similarly constrained in disclosing in some key areas, particularly in regard to violence towards their children. A comparison study will be a worthwhile extension to this research to see whether the rates of non-disclosure are similar in relation to other factors.

Implications for practice.

The implications for social work practice in the Family Help Trust early intervention home visitation service are multiple. In the initial stages of intervention there may be a tendency for social workers to rely too heavily on assessment instruments and to neglect their own professional judgement and observational skills. A New Zealand study has highlighted this tendency in care and protection social workers in the statutory context (Stanley, 2006). While Doolan and Connolly (2006), also in the New Zealand context have suggested that there needs to be more balance in social workers’ practice between focus on risk assessment and family support practice. This study suggests that workers need to remain vigilant for signs of intimate partner and family violence well into the intervention and not to assume that the assessment is complete despite the wealth of information gathered in this phase. Pulido (2001) suggests the need for providers to offer “repeated assessment and support” in order to “aid women in eventual disclosure of abuse” (p.23).

Progress interviews are critical for ongoing checking that base line information is accurate and that covert violence is being detected. The fact that mothers only disclosed violence after many months of intervention means that key safety issues need to be re-visited. Vogel & Wester

(2003) refer to the fact that even after seeking help clients may still be fearful and uncertain and therefore the social work/client relationship and the building of trust becomes a key tool in monitoring family violence.

It is imperative that the Family Help Trust assessment tools are reviewed in the light of these findings to find better strategies for encouraging mothers to disclose. While this is a home visitation service, it may be preferable for initial interviews to take place away from the home so that an element of early safety can be built into the information gathering process. Other research that suggests that clients are more likely to disclose sensitive issues if they fill out independent questionnaires themselves may mean that our practitioners need to incorporate this method during assessment (Rhodes et al., 2006).

The greater recognition of domestic violence as a risk factor for child abuse and the possibility that mothers may be ascribed with 'failure to protect' in New Zealand's care and protection Risk Estimation System has meant that mothers are fearful of the actions that social workers may take should they disclose intimate partner violence. There is a responsibility on the agency social workers to be clear concerning the boundaries of the social work role in a NPF and what this may mean should a client disclose domestic violence. Agency protocols in relation to disclosure need to be well developed and understood by social workers.

There are implications for staff training and recruitment in the area of knowledge and experience of domestic violence. Social workers need to understand the aetiology of domestic violence in order to be acutely sensitive to its possible symptoms.

Greater integration of health services, child abuse prevention services and domestic violence services may increase the effectiveness of social work interventions (Macy, Martin, Kupper, Casanueva, & Guo, 2007). Implications for the Family Help Trust in this regard are the development of interagency protocols and potential information-sharing.

Pulido (2001) also suggests that above all, social workers "need to establish a trusting relationship" where clients are "comfortable disclosing family violence concerns" (p123). It would seem that the Family Help Trust clients were able to disclose a range of sensitive issues well into intervention with their social workers only after a high degree of trust had developed in the relationship. Given the home environments of fear and intimidation the participants described they lived in at base line, it is not surprising that they were only able to disclose much later in intervention.

The discrepancy in information between baseline and review presents a challenge for outcome evaluation research where agencies rely on base line assessment in order to measure progress over time. It may well be worthwhile to review pre- and post-test data at 6-monthly and 12-monthly intervals in order for the trust relationship to have established between worker and client; particularly where sensitive issues such as addressing domestic violence constitute part of the measure of progress.

Libby Robins has 20 years experience in the relatively new area of early intervention home visiting services in New Zealand and has managed the Family Help Trust Christchurch service since inception. For the past six years she has been an executive member of Jigsaw Family Services, now with 39 partner agencies nationwide all with a principal mandate of protecting children. Since the late 1990's she has taken an active interest in the concept of evidence based practice and the importance of establishing quality control and information collecting systems in order to provide evidence of service effectiveness in the NGO sector.

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Footnotes

1. Uppers in New Zealand include any of the amphetamine range of substances including 'P'.
2. The chi-square could not be computed because there were two zeros in a row.

Book Launch

2-3:30pm 30 May, 2010



Social Work and Human Services building
University of Canterbury
Corner Clyde and Arts Roads, Christchurch

Meet the authors and some of the barnyard animals that inspired the storyline.

Eloise, Jerome, and the Jitterbugs

pictures and words by

Nikki Evans and Brontë Evans Pollock

At last, there is a sequel to *Eloise's Excellent Experiment*. This second book written and illustrated by Brontë and Nikki, *Eloise, Jerome, and the Jitterbugs*, documents the experiences of Eloise's cousin Jerome as he tries to deal with "The Jitterbugs", a problem commonly referred to by professionals as ADHD.

Over the course of a summer vacation on their eccentric grandparent's farm, Eloise and Jerome discover that animals can help people overcome problems in unexpected and sometimes very unconventional ways.

Loads of humour, bold illustrations and stunning photographs make this more than a delightful book – it's a story telling extravaganza.

About the authors

Nikki Evans is an academic at the School of Social Work and Human Services, University of Canterbury. As a practitioner, Nikki has worked with children and young people experiencing problems, their families, caregivers and the systems they are involved with.

Brontë Evans Pollock is a primary school student who loves writing stories, playing all kinds of sports and spending time with her friends and her animals.

Theoretical Perspectives of Violence With a Focus on Domestic Violence

Yvonne Crichton-Hill, Andrew Frost and Annabel Taylor

*And as a single leaf turns not yellow
but with the silent knowledge of the
whole tree. So the wrongdoer cannot do
wrong without the hidden will of you
all. You cannot separate the just from
the unjust and the good from
the wicked;*

*For they stand together before the face
of the sun even as the black thread and
the white are woven together.*

*And when the black thread breaks; the
weaver shall look into the whole cloth,
and he shall examine the loom also.*

(Gibran 1969, pp.50-51).

Introduction

The public are confronted daily by the media with graphic descriptions of violent incidents. Violent crime is described in NZPA headlines for 1 July 2009 on violent crime is as follows:

- Sophie was 'psycho girlfriend'
- Sime had been drinking during day of shooting
- More possible victims of infected man come forward
- Stabber had tried before
- Police find suspect in court
- Molenaar 'wasn't a monster'
- Tourist denies man's murder
- Kaihu property scene of AOS callout
- Shots fired in Christchurch
- Arrest after woman pushed down the stairs
- Death being treated as suspicious
- Coroner criticises police actions
- No new Bain inquest unless ordered

www.stuff.co.nz/national/more_headlines

Clearly, interpersonal violence was of significant concern to the New Zealand media and presumably to our communities on this day. The first headline related to a murder trial where the accused was charged with murdering his girlfriend by multiple stabbings. There were five incidents involving firearms. In two cases, members of the public and police were injured or killed in the shooting. In one case, five members of one family were killed. In two other cases, shots were fired in particular neighbourhoods with the arrest of two young men in relation to one incident. Another of the headlines referred to self mutilation by a

man charged with accessing child pornography and another of a case where a tourist has been charged with murdering a man whom it was said, had touched his knee.

There were no female perpetrators on this day. There were female victims in nearly all cases involving serious violence and homicide. There was one female victim of intentional infection with HIV. Maori ethnicity of the perpetrator was mentioned in regard to one of the violent homicides. The reported incidents are in the context of New Zealand's population of just over four million but with an imprisonment rate that is second in the world to the United States (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

Immediate analysis suggests a number of challenging questions in regard to how our society has come to think about the phenomenon of violence. It would seem that the dominant discourse about violence, or that which is reported in our daily newspapers, is that it is by and large an interpersonal phenomenon. This appears to be a Western phenomenon (Muelenhard & Kimes, 1999). Yet, on the same day that the violent incidents above were reported, many other victims are described in other adverse social contexts where their lives have been harmed. Road traffic accident victims are described, as are leaky home owners and their prolonged struggle to obtain justice. Two victims of house fires were reported and then there was the report of police intercepting \$500,000 of methamphetamine and the question this raises as to indirect victims of crime. Finally, a factory closure is announced with the loss of 50 jobs. Muelenhard and Kimes (1999) raise the questions of how violence may be defined and how "some behaviours come to be regarded as violent, worthy of news reports, legislative action, and scholarly enquiry, whereas others come to be regarded as nonviolent or escape our attention entirely?" (p.234).

The national incidents as reported above raise the first question of how violence is defined and how this translates into reported descriptions and understandings of violence. The second question raised by these reports and others in our media, is how media influence theoretical understanding that comes to underpin the way our society perceives violence and in turn how our society responds to violence. This article is an exploration of the ways our society thinks about and understands violence with a focus on domestic violence. It will traverse a selection of key perspectives on domestic violence and it will critically examine to what degree these perspectives explain such violence. It will conclude by considering future directions for theorising about violence. The key motivation for writing the

article is that competing discourses that relate to explanations for violence create different policy and programme responses. How our society chooses to respond to violence has significant consequences for individuals, communities and for the nation.

Definitional aspects

It is only in recent decades that the United Nations, governments, and researchers and writers have sought to define violence in ways that can inform policy and legislation. The World Health Organisation definition of violence states that it 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. (WHO, 2002, p.4)

It is arguable that this definition places a strong emphasis on the interpersonal aspects of violence and its direct impact on the person. The fact that it also refers to acts of deprivation might imply for governments their responsibilities in regard to economic deprivation and how this may be regarded as violent. Child poverty, where it exists, may be viewed as the result of institutional economic violence. However, the majority of western governments, the New Zealand government included, have tended to focus their legislative attention on individual interpersonal acts and acts of omission rather than governmental actions (for example New Zealand's CYP & F Act, 1989).

Pinthus, on the other hand, has taken a broad, social constructionist view of violence expressed in her definition:

"Violence should be seen as any action or structure that diminishes another human being; and in accepting this definition we must see that the basic structures of society are often violent in concept. We must recognise the violence built into many of our institutions, such as our schools and places of work, in that they are competitive, hierarchical, non-democratic and at times unjust." (Pinthus, 1982, p.2)

This definition encompasses cultures of violence that may be produced in societal institutions. Eva Pinthus was a German refugee who fled to England during the Second World War and was acutely conscious of political violence in all its forms.

There are many and various attempts to define violence and they can in so doing, limit the scope of types of violence to be considered and thereby limit theorising and discourse about violence.

Theories about violence can be conceptualised in a number of different ways; all of which are reflective of the cultural context in which they were developed. They can be distinguished as to whether they relate to endogenous or exogenous factors, whether they relate to the social domain or the physiological domain, whether they relate to macro-levels of social organisation, or to micro-levels, and finally whether they are salient-featured theories or sets of inter-related theories. Each of these ways of conceptualising violence will influence research methodologies and how the phenomenon is investigated and explored. The following traverse of a selection of key perspectives analyses research and writing mainly in regard to domestic violence to illustrate theoretical differences.

Micro-level theories: intra-individual and interpersonal explanations

Individualised explanations for violence rely on addressing individual pathologies and propensities for violence and aggression. This perspective incorporates psychological and bio-physiological research where the latter has in recent decades increasingly focussed on the role of genetics in explaining behaviour.

Merrill, Crouch, Thomsen, & Guimond (2004) link intimate partner violence with psychological violence propensity where individuals respond differently to various influences based on their individual characteristics. Others have recommended individual psychological profiling of potential perpetrators of violence in order to more effectively target their behaviour (Murphy, Morrel, Elliott, Neavins, 2003). Alcohol use and the co-occurring influence of anti-social personality disorder have also been linked with violence propensity (Fals-Stewart & Leonard, 2005) as well as, the role of insecure attachment and gender-role stress (Mahalik, Aldarondo, Gilbert-Gokhale & Shore, 2005). Alcohol treatment has also been recommended as necessary with domestic violence intervention programmes (Stuart, 2005).

In New Zealand, a team of international researchers has considered the role of genotype in the cycle of violence and how this may explain why some children who are maltreated grow up to develop antisocial behaviour while others do not. Their research suggests a higher degree of resilience in boys who have a genotype that confers higher levels of MAOA (monoamine oxidase A gene) expression (Caspi et al., 2002).

In regard to victims of domestic violence, research in this area has highlighted the association of depression, suicide and homicide risk with domestic violence (Daniels, 2005).

Social learning approaches amalgamate operant and classical theories of learning and propose that behaviour is learned through modelling. The social learning hypothesis states that domestic violence is learned; therefore, individuals learn when, where and against whom to use violence. The use of violence is maintained by the rewards or reinforcements that perpetrators perceive they gain as a result of the violence. It has been suggested that social learning theory has been the most commonly understood explanation for interpersonal violence (Michalski 2004); it has also been described as perhaps too simplistic an explanation (Hines & Saudino 2002). At best social learning theories suggest that modelling in childhood may have an influence on use of aggression in adulthood but is not the sole determinant of whether someone will become abusive or not.

The micro-approach which is individually-based tends to overlook macro societal explanations related to social attitudes and macro-social variables such as potential interrelatedness between poverty and incidence of domestic violence.

Macro-level theories: inter-individual, community and societal explanations

Socio-structural theories encompass explanations for domestic violence that include socio-economic status, sub-cultural norms (for example, aggressive/passive roles), strain theory (for example, impact of environmental stresses) and high levels of community tolerance of domestic violence. In regard to victims, recent research in this category includes the need for both crisis intervention and long term practical support and advocacy to alleviate the socio-economic impact on victims (Eby, 2004).

This macro-level perspective raises a connection between domestic violence, poverty and crime, and how welfare systems may disadvantage women who have separated due to violent relationships (Moore, 2003). Other research, points to the prevalence of victims of domestic violence among welfare recipients who use foodbanks, soup kitchens and other community social services (Biggerstaff, McGrath Morris, & Nichols-Casebolt, 2002).

In regard to both victims and perpetrators, public health measures fall within the macro domain in that they are aimed at changing societal norms. Zero tolerance programmes that call for a co-ordinated and united response to domestic violence promote co-operative action responses to the problem, as do public education programmes such as the most recent 'It's Not OK' campaign

mounted by the Ministry of Social Development in New Zealand (Feder, Griffiths, & MacMillan, 2005). The thrust of macro-social policies is to change societal attitudes at all levels and in all settings. Rather than seeing domestic violence as a private business, public education campaigns seek to bring the problem out into the open.

Raising awareness and offering support through the workplace is an initiative taken by some firms in the USA (Karamally, 2004; Rafferty, 2004). Companies have set up Domestic Violence Response Teams that offer practical support and aid to victims of domestic violence. Related to this new approach has been the introduction of violence prevention education for major sporting teams. Frequently the intention of such programmes is to offer role models making a stand against domestic violence (Emery, 2005).

This initiative resonates with the New Zealand experience of domestic violence prosecutions of well known rugby and rugby league players in recent years (www.foxsports.com.au/story/print0,22451,24836634-23217,00.html). A well known New Zealand sports commentator, Tony Veitch, has publicly apologised for assaulting his partner (www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/print.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10520758&pnum=0). In Australia, concern over the numbers of prosecutions for domestic violence involving leading sporting figures has led to the New South Wales Government partnering with Australian Rugby League to launch a public education campaign (The Hon. Linda Burney MP, Minister for Community Services, NSW Government, 23 June, 2009).

Building on research aimed at promoting community capacity to address violence, the effectiveness of multi-level Community Co-ordinating Councils in the US, similar to New Zealand's own Safer Community Councils, has shown to vary according to the level and culture of inclusiveness and diversity represented at all levels of the Councils (Sabol, Coulton, & Korbin, 2004).

Similar cross-sectoral community strategies such as the Community Engagement Initiative in various sites in the US have been shown to be effective at addressing domestic violence by raising awareness, networking, service development and changing community attitudes to domestic violence (Mitchell-Clark & Autry, 2004).

Feminist perspectives on domestic violence, which are frequently symbolised by the Women's Refuge movement in New Zealand, remind the field that the aetiology of women's and men's violence is different and that behavioural and psycho-pathological explanations fall short

of explaining the power and control aspects of domestic violence. The movement reminds us that it is working with the victims of more extreme forms of violence, which according to contemporary data is still perpetrated by men (NZNSCV, 2001) and where serious physical and psychological harm have occurred (Harway & O'Neil, 1999; Families Commission, 2009).

There is, however, a debate as to the gender occurrence of domestic violence. Lievore and Mayhew (2007) describe the debate as resting firmly in two positions; the 'violence against women' perspective, and the 'family violence' perspective. The violence against women position argues that women are most often victims of domestic violence at the hands of men and are more likely to be seriously harmed as a result. On the other hand the family violence position posits that men are victims of women's domestic violence just as much as women. Essentially the debate centres "on differing theoretical orientations, definitions and operationalisations, and measurements of IPV [intimate partner violence]" (Lievore and Mayhew 2007, p.34).

The Duluth 'power and control wheel' has been employed since the 1970s and 80s by women's organisations as an analytical tool to help explain domestic violence to clients of its services. By presenting women's interests as paramount in this understanding, the power and control wheel has been critiqued as an effective tool within cross-cultural frameworks where other family and cultural values may be seen as equally, if not more important (Crichton-Hill, 2001). The model also has some difficulty in explaining domestic violence of women directed towards men.

Legislative and government responses

In terms of macro government responses in New Zealand, the Domestic Violence Act, introduced in 1995, signified the cementing of a criminal justice approach to the problem of domestic violence by introducing a number of changes to acquiring and enforcing protection orders. The legislative definition recognises a wide range of behaviours and the constraining impact these have on a victim's everyday life. Furthermore, the Domestic Violence Act requires the court to "now have regard to the victim's perception of the respondent's behaviour and its effects" (Busch and Robertson, 2000, p.277). Additionally the Domestic Violence Act provides for rehabilitative programmes for respondents, protected persons and children.

It has been suggested that while the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act has advanced positively the judicial response to

domestic violence in New Zealand some ethnic groups have been shown to refrain from reporting violence even if they are aware of the availability of programmes (Crichton-Hill, 2001; Koloto, 2005), or may withdraw charges against the perpetrator (Wurtzburg, 2003). Furthermore, the New Zealand legal system has been described as monocultural and there has been criticism that this system is perceived as inaccessible for Maori (New Zealand Law Commission 1997, 1997a, 1999). There are also questions regarding the applicability or usefulness of the Domestic Violence Act across diverse ethnic groups. Lievore & Mayhew (2007) state that:

Although the Domestic violence Act 1995 adopts a broad definition of family relationships, most research on family violence reflects the conjugal, nuclear family orientation of European New Zealand, or at best includes single-parent families. There is little discussion of differences associated with the role of whanau or other extended family forms (p.55)

On the matter of accessibility Pond (2005) states "the legal system is a Pakeha institution, the distance between women's lives and the justice system was conceived as even greater for women who are Maori, Pacific Island, or from non-European ethnicities" (p.49).

The contribution of clinical approaches

A useful approach to investigating explanations of violence is through the medium of the clinical frameworks used to treat offenders. Because such frameworks seek to comprehensively equip rehabilitation programmes with the conceptual resources to address a wide range of issues related to violence, they tend to be multi-factorial and integrative in accounting for its emergence and perpetuation.

The risk-needs model (RNM) (Andrews & Bonta, 2004), for example, is based on the assumption that those who resort to criminal offending (including violence) do so, in part, because of various deficits in skill or knowledge. Such deficits are those based on factors identified in research as functionally related to offending. They are considered "criminogenic" needs. In the clinical setting these factors are individually assessed. For example, if outbursts of uncontrolled anger are found to be a typical antecedent to violence, then the skills related to the regulation of that emotion might be considered a target for intervention.

A more recent framework, proposed as complementary to the RNM, is the Good Lives model (GLM) (Ward & Stewart, 2003) of offender rehabilitation. The GLM seeks to improve on the deficit-focus of the RNM by considering that criminal behaviour can be explained by

inappropriate attempts to meet certain universal human needs. These universal needs are seen in terms of competency, mastery, intimacy, and so on. Acts of domestic violence therefore can be seen as attempts by one person to achieve a sense of mastery by means of the physical subjugation of another; or attempts to control the other to the extent they become exclusively "available" to the perpetrator.

A limitation of these approaches however, is that they pay little attention to society-wide or macro-explanations of violence. Part of the reason for this is that they rely on individual aetiologies; that is, explanatory accounts constructed from an individual's personal history. On the other hand, as we have described above, macro-theories are themselves the target of criticism, being limited, it is argued, by a failure to take into account adequately the diversity and complexity of factors that give rise to violence.

Postmodern approaches repudiate any attempt to apply grand theories or externally-derived explanations for violence. They reject then both (individual) "structuralist" explanations that view the expression of violence, say, as the manifestation of uncontrolled inner drives and urges, as well as (social) "functionalist" explanations that see some sort of logic in violence as an inevitable manifestation of the social order. These explanations, according to the postmodernists, are the metaphors of the world of physical science, which, it is argued, is inappropriate for making sense of human intention and agency. A way of addressing violence according to this alternative perspective is by considering how persons experience *restraints* to living abuse-free lives and engaging in respectful relationships (Jenkins, 1990). Such restraints (for example, narrow and limiting accounts of masculinity and femininity) are socially constructed and culturally shaped. On the other hand, by subscribing to and living through these constructions, the rights and needs of some groups (e.g., men) tend to be privileged over others (e.g., women). As a therapeutic approach, therefore, those who have acted in abusive ways but who seek change are invited to commit to accountability in relation to their conduct (White, 1995). Such accountability is oriented as much to the future as to the present or past and is undertaken with reference to the person's preferences and commitments around such matters as intimacy. In this way such persons enter into new ways of being. These new ways of being are expressed by way of relating in respectful and non-abusive ways, and as such, contribute actively to social reconstruction.

Discussion and conclusion

There has been a growing recognition in recent years that theories which have at their core a single disciplinary focus are inadequate in explaining why domestic violence occurs. Predominantly theories used to explain domestic violence have been one-dimensional and ethnocentric in origin and have been employed across a range of cultural and ethnic groups (Barnes 1999; Crichton-Hill, 2001; Krane, Oxman-Martinez & Ducey, 2000). In addition, Goldner (1999) states that “feminist, psychological/psychiatric and cultural perspectives, which clearly modify and enrich one another, have been framed as mutually exclusive oppositions, creating a polarizing context of forced choices between inadequate alternatives” (p.327).

Multifaceted approaches propose a synthesis of theories, recognising each theory of causation as contributing a valuable perspective, as most useful in understanding the dynamics of domestic violence and in shaping professional responses to both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. Above all explanations and understandings of violence need to resonate with lived experience.

The authors as part of this review of theories and perspectives began to develop a description of violence that we think synthesises the macro with the micro, the structural with the individual, in a way that may be helpful to practitioners working in this field. This review began with definitional considerations, moved to theoretical and policy issues and the authors found that our thinking returned to definitions and how to encapsulate the experience of violence which after all, is at the heart of the problem. Our definition can be seen as a work in progress and it links back to the original WHO broad conceptualisation of violence cited above. Our definition is as follows:

Violence is any individual or group exercising power over another individual or group in a way which stops people fulfilling their hopes and dreams.

It can be said that somebody’s “hopes and dreams” may be destructive to others at the outset; description of violence assumes that these are the kinds of hopes and dreams that are expressed by the ‘Good lives Model’ (Ward & Stewart, 2003) or what social policy writers refer to as ‘wellbeing’.

There are risks inherent in trying to simplify complex social constructs such as ‘violence’; nevertheless for people who experience violence and for practitioners who implement intervention programmes and policies, definitions can be helpful in providing an operational framework. As such, this definition represents the culmination

of conferring and collaboration and offers such a framework to encompass the many and varied perspectives traversed in this review.

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Dr Andrew Frost has a background in working with men with sexual offending convictions seeking to live non-abusive lives. At Kia Marama, he undertook a range of roles, but took particular interest in groupwork, the establishment of a prison-based therapeutic community, and in ensuring the clinical integrity of the unit’s work. He also undertook research investigating client engagement. He joined the School of Social Work and Human Services in 2006 where these interests continue to inspire his research.

Dr Annabel Taylor is Senior Lecturer, School of Social Work and Human Services, University of Canterbury and Director of Te Awatea Violence Research Centre. She is also Chairperson of the Family Help Trust Board and the Nga Wahine Trust Board. Annabel has a background in prison-based and community social work. Her research and writing are in the fields of women’s criminal re-offending, social work and the criminal justice system and early intervention with high risk families.

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Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Social Work or Human Services

The Social Work and Human Services programmes both offer advanced studies at postgraduate level designed for people who hold tertiary qualifications in social sciences or related fields of study. Candidates for these programmes will be graduates who are providing or intend to provide leadership in any of the branches of social work: practice, policy development, research, education and training, management, or a combination of these. A range of exciting courses are available to students enrolling in a BA Hons degree including the two courses profiled below.

Extramural Course

HSRV402 Responding to Violence in Society
22 Feb 2010 - 27 Jun 2010

This team-taught course provides an opportunity to develop advanced theoretical and research informed knowledge. The course teaching is organised into areas of violence research and practice: child protection; family violence; youth violence; institutional and cultural violence; and, criminal and forensic violence. The course will also teach students to analyse the diversity of factors that influence national and international programme development and policies.

Course Co-ordinator

Dr Maria Perez-y-Perez
maria-victoria.perez-y-perez@canterbury.ac.nz

Lecture-based Course

HSRV417 Criminal Justice Perspectives and Practice
22 Feb 2010 - 27 Jun 2010

The course considers a range of explanatory theories emanating from a range of disciplines that contribute to current understandings of criminal offending, victimisation, and societal responses. Field visits constitute part of the familiarisation with key aspects of philosophical approaches in these settings. There is significant input from visiting practitioners in the respective criminal justice practice settings of police, courts, probation, prisons, victim support, and associated social services.

Course Co-ordinator

Dr Annabel Taylor
annabel.taylor@canterbury.ac.nz

What Works with Family Violence

Workshop Series 2010

The Te Awatea 'What Works with Family Violence' series of workshops offers an opportunity for practitioners and others involved with the field of family violence to listen and learn from practice pioneers in this field in Aotearoa.

A range of perspectives from different traditions will offer participants new insights into how to work more effectively in this critical field of practice. Experts will bring years of experience in their respective fields, ranging from narrative therapy to different cultural approaches. Sessions will be interactive and workshop-based with high levels of participation encouraged.

Venue: School of Social Work and Human Services, University of Canterbury

Date: June 2010

Fees: Full programme \$900.00 (incl GST) Single days \$281.25 (incl GST)
\$450.00* (incl GST) \$140.63* (incl GST)
*volunteers and students *volunteers and students

How to enrol – Online enrolment is available at www.shortcourses.canterbury.ac.nz (follow the link to the Te Awatea Workshop Series)

Programme

Workshop	Presenter
Current Thinking about Domestic Violence	Ken McMaster
Non-violent Communication	Arthur Wells
Youth and Violence	Bronwyn Moth
Working Against Abuse in the Here and Now: Using Group Work and Therapeutic Community in Offender Work	Andrew Frost
A Māori Perspective on Working with Family Violence	Daryl Gregory
A Pacifica Perspective	To'alepai Thomsen-Inder
An Asian Cultural Perspective on Working with Family Violence	Hong-Jae Park
Repartnered (Step) Families: Creating a Context for Safety and Connection	Jan Rodwell
Practical Responses to Violence in Families	David Epston and Kay Ingamells



For full details, dates and workshop descriptions, please visit www.shortcourses.canterbury.ac.nz (follow the link to the Te Awatea Workshop Series) or phone Nicky Trainor on (03) 345 8168.

Commentary New Zealand's Domestic Implementation of International Obligations Towards Children

Tess E. Corbett

New Zealand is committed to a number of international conventions that uphold the rights of children and young people. To an extent, the obligations under these conventions have been ratified under New Zealand domestic law. The question remains, however, whether these conventions have been interpreted into New Zealand law in the way in which they were intended, and whether our domestic law is implemented in a way which effectively upholds our obligations under international law.

Introduction

Children and young people are among the most vulnerable members of society worldwide. A survey conducted in New Zealand in 2001 found that the younger the person, the more likely they were to be a victim of violence (Morris & Reilly, 2003). For this reason it is especially important to ensure that children are protected from neglect, bullying, discrimination and abuse. Unfortunately, in all areas of society, New Zealand children continue to be victims of neglect and abuse (Ministry of Justice, 2008). It is the responsibility of parents and caregivers, as well as the New Zealand Government to protect these basic rights. New Zealand is committed to a number of international obligations which reflect this need. Most importantly, the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCROC) was signed by New Zealand in 1989 and ratified four years later. UNCROC states that the interests of the child should be of paramount consideration in proceedings affecting them. As well as UNCROC, New Zealand has obligations towards children under the *International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) which states that 'everyone has the right to liberty and security of person' (Articles 23 & 24, OHCHR, 1966a) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR) (Article 10, OHCHR, 1966b).

UNCROC is now the most widely ratified human rights treaty in the world (UNICEF). UNCROC states at Article 19(2) that the Government must take all appropriate measures to protect children from all forms of physical and mental violence, by those who have care of children. Children and young people have the same basic rights as adults and yet children require more specific protection that takes into account their vulnerability and 'special

need for protection' (Morris & Reilly, 2003) and this is recognised in New Zealand law. However, despite the commitment to international obligations in theory, in recent years following ratification, New Zealand was recorded as having the fifth worst child maltreatment rate of 27 OECD countries (Morris & Reilly, 2003), and the second highest rate of violent crime in the world. Such negative statistics bring into question just how well the domestic legislation reflects the international obligations that New Zealand has committed to and in addition, whether we are effectively upholding these obligations in practice.

Inconsistent interpretation of international obligations in domestic legislation

The Court of Appeal has accepted the importance of international law in guiding relevant decisions involving children (*Hosking v Runting and Ors*, 2003). However, inconsistent interpretation of such instruments has created conflict in their application. The wording of the Care of Children Act (2004) compared with the Adoption Act (1955) provides an example of such conflict. Section 4(1)(b) of the Care of Children Act (2004) recognises that 'the welfare and best interests of the individual child in his or her particular circumstances' should be considered the first and paramount consideration in cases concerning the day-to-day care of a child (Ludbrook, 2007). However, under the Adoption Act this is stated as being only 'one of' the considerations that must be taken into account when deciding adoption cases, rather than a paramount consideration (Ludbrook, 2007). There is a clear conflict between the two Acts which may overlap in cases where a child is being legally adopted. In such a situation it is unclear as to what degree the child's interests should be taken into account when considering the day to day care of the child by an adoptive parent. Likewise, a proposed amendment to the Births, Deaths, Marriages and Relationships Act (1995), introduced in November 2006, suggests changes that may restrict adopted children in finding their biological parents. This proposal, if taken up, would appear to favour the interests of the biological parents over the interests of the child, therefore achieving the exact opposite to what is required of New Zealand under the international obligations.

The wording of some domestic legislation may mean that the courts are left to interpret and apply international obligations where the legislature has left it unclear. That the same obligation towards New Zealand children can be applied differently in two similar situations appears to violate the very purpose of the convention.

Is being with the family in the child's best interests?

Article 3(2) of UNCROC reminds State parties of their obligation on matters of protection of a child, but also takes into account the rights and duties of the parents of a child or young person. Previously, English law, and ultimately New Zealand law, reflected the ultimate importance of family unity with the emphasis on keeping the family together. Unfortunately this has often had the effect that the interests of the family unit were put before the safety of the child, sometimes leading to harm for the child. Such cases have shown the immediate need for change. Decisions regarding the best arrangement for access or living arrangements for a child provide good examples of how New Zealand effects its international obligations regarding the interests of the family. In such cases, if the court considers both parents to be unfit, they will usually place the child with a grandparent or other family member under whose care the court considers it would be in the child's best interests to remain. UNCROC recognises the importance of family as a source of protection for a child. However, it is considered less important for a child to remain with their family if that would mean remaining in a hostile or unsupportive environment.

Such situations raise the question of who should become the primary source of protection and assistance for a child, when the child has no extended family, or when the child seeks protection from a hostile or dangerous family situation. The findings of a 2001 survey in New Zealand suggest that young people are among the most at risk of violence in New Zealand, but more importantly, that this will occur more frequently at the hands of people 'well known to them.' (Ministry of Justice, 2008) For this reason it is especially important to consider whether it is in the interests of a child to remain in contact with a violent family member.

Who decides what is 'in the best interests' of the child?

With regard to the above, a child's particular family situation may also impact their ability to have their 'best interests' properly effected. Due to the vulnerable nature of children, the rights of the child are limited by their ability to access a 'trusted adult' (Rees & Lambourn, 2009). It is often assumed that the child's parent is the most suitable adult to represent that child's views. The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989) places more responsibility on the family for making decisions for children and young people. However, a parent is not always the best person to represent a child's views. While the parents' opinions as to the best interests of their child should be taken into account,

the degree of weight that is placed on these views, should be decided depending on the particular family situation of the child involved.

There is a strong trend towards children having to rely on an adult to access justice in New Zealand (Ludbrook, 2007). Because of this it is important to ensure that the views expressed through the adult are in fact those of the child, and not the adult. Unfortunately in New Zealand this responsibility is not quite clear. Suggestions for changes to immigration law in New Zealand include that the representative must 'attempt to elicit the views of the child' and to make those views 'known where appropriate' (Ludbrook, 2007). This has the potential to create a very low threshold of responsibility on the representative to even ensure that they are aware of what the child's views are. Firstly a representative is only required to 'attempt' to find out what those views are, and secondly, it has not been made clear when it is considered 'appropriate'. Therefore, it appears to be left to the discretion of the representative alone to decide if and when they will make the child's views 'known', and in fact, how much of an attempt they are required to make.

Lawyer for the Child

The Care of Children Act (2004) requires that the lawyer for the child 'act for' the child therefore strengthening the ability for children to have a lawyer present in proceedings (s.7). There are conflicting opinions as to the proper role of the lawyer for child. One school of thought suggests that the lawyer for the child should represent the child's 'views' (Ludbrook, 2007), thus making their role similar to that of a lawyer for an adult client. The other opinion, however, suggests that where a child client is concerned, the lawyer should represent the child's 'best interests'. This suggests that what the lawyer considers as being the child's best interests might be different to the child's views. The Care of Children Act appears to give strength to the former by changing the description of the lawyer for child's role from 'represent the child' to 'act for the child' (Ludbrook, 2007). In addition Article 12(2) of the UNCROC requires that in court, children be given opportunities to be heard either 'indirectly or through a representative'. 'This appears to suggest that the child's representative should ensure that the child's views are heard, and not just represent their interests' (Ludbrook, 2007).

However, while the lawyer for the child does have an obligation to take the views of the child into account, this does not mean that they must take instructions from the child in the same way as they would from an adult. The role of the lawyer

for the child deviates substantially from the traditional role of a lawyer for an adult client. While a lawyer for an adult client is expected to present all available options and take instructions from the client on their opinions or choice with regards to these options, the lawyer for child is expected to take a much more active role in deciding what is best for the client. There is a lot of reliance placed on the lawyer themselves and their willingness to actually speak with children and represent their views (Morris & Reilly, 2003). Even after the child's views have been sought, the lawyer can urge the court to make orders that oppose these views (Ludbrook, 2007). This also suggests that the child's 'views' and the child's 'best interests' are not considered to be the same thing.

Suggestions for reform

- International obligations need to be consistently interpreted into domestic legislation in order to ensure consistent implementation in practice. Inconsistent interpretation of the obligations into domestic law has caused confusion about exactly what those obligations are.
- There ought to be a clear process for deciding who represents the child, especially when the child is in a volatile family environment.
- The child should be involved from the outset, including being involved in deciding who will represent them.
- It needs to be clearly outlined exactly what the representatives role is, whether that be a family member or lawyer for child, and what their level of responsibility is in regard to eliciting the child's views.

Conclusion

The prevalence of violence towards children in New Zealand increases the need for the protection of children under the law. This is especially critical considering that the people charged with protecting our children in the first instance, are often the most likely to be harming them. The inevitable vulnerability of children is increased by the fact that they are reliant on others to uphold their rights. While New Zealand is committed to a number of international conventions that uphold the rights of children and young people, it is unclear whether these conventions are being implemented effectively in domestic law. Inconsistencies between international conventions and domestic legislation, cause further variations in the implementation of New Zealand's obligations at the domestic level. This affects the level at which the rights of children in New Zealand are protected.

Tess Corbett completed a double degree in Law and Political Science at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand at the end of 2008 and was admitted as a barrister and solicitor of the high court of New Zealand in 2009. Tess spent a semester at the beginning of 2008 studying Australian Law and Politics via exchange at the University of Adelaide as a part of her degree.

Since completing her degree Tess has worked with the Christchurch Women's refuge supporting women who have experienced domestic violence, and is currently working with the Legal Services Agency in Wellington. Ultimately her goal is to become involved in Human rights and International Law with a particular interest in youth and women's rights.

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Social Work & Human Services EXPO

and Te Awatea Research Symposium

Timetable

<p>9 – 10am Welcome and keynote address</p> <p>10 – 12 noon Papers presented by established and emerging social work and human service researchers</p> <p>12 – 1pm EXPO – Agency and service provider stands promoting services and advertising voluntary and paid positions</p> <p>1 – 2pm STREAM A: Social Work Degree Information Session This session is strongly recommended for people interested in applying for the limited entry courses in the BSW, PG Diploma SW, or the MSW (Applied) degree for 2011 or in the following years STREAM B: Papers presented by established and emerging social work and human service researchers</p>	<p>2 – 2.15pm Afternoon tea</p> <p>2.15 – 3.15pm Papers presented by established and emerging social work and human service researchers</p> <p>3.15 – 3.30pm Closing</p> <p>For further information, or a request to have an agency stand at the EXPO contact Nikki Evans on 03 364 2987 x4958 or nikki.evans@canterbury.ac.nz</p> <p>Venue: Social Work and Human Services building, University of Canterbury, Corner Arts & Clyde Roads</p>
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10 May 2010. Social Work & Human Services building, corner Arts and Clyde Roads



Research in Brief

UC Summer Scholarship Scheme 2009/2010

The UC Summer Scholarship Scheme offered \$5000 for a senior student for ten weeks work on a project over the university summer vacation period. Goal of programme was to facilitate entry and transition to postgraduate study. There were over 200 scholarships granted this summer to meritorious UC students. Te Awatea Violence Research Centre and the School of Social Work and Human Services were fortunate to be able to host four scholarship recipients.

Project one – Access to Justice: Benefit review provisions under Section 10 A of the New Zealand Social Security Act (1964).

Summer Scholarship Recipient: Stephanie Grieve

Stephanie is a Law and Psychology student who has just completed her fourth year at the University of Canterbury. In her spare time she enjoys volunteering as a youth worker through Spreydon Baptist Church, playing touch and hanging with her friends.

Supervisors: Dr Annabel Taylor, School of Social Work and Human Services, and John Hughes, School of Law

Project overview

Under Section 10 A of the Social Security Act 1964, beneficiaries have the right to apply for review of decisions made about them by the Ministry of Social Development's Work and Income Service. The reviews of decisions are referred to a Benefits Review Committee (BRC) that has been constituted by the Ministry and made up of two panel members from the Ministry's Work and Income Service along with a Community Representative. Hearings are co-ordinated and managed by Ministry staff and the Community Representatives are Ministerial appointments that are also subject to a Ministry appointment process. Currently there are approximately 100 Community Representatives nationwide. The Ministry has a set of best practice standards for measuring outputs in regard to BRCs. These targets are rarely met. Community law centres and a number of beneficiary advocacy services offer advice and support to applicants prior to, during and post the review process. A minority of applicants take up the opportunity for advice and support. Little is known about:

1. Whether beneficiaries are aware of their right to have decisions reviewed and of the advice and support available

2. Why some beneficiaries do not take up a review of unfavourable decisions with Work and Income or, having applied for a review, withdraw the application.
3. Why many beneficiaries remain legally unrepresented or otherwise unsupported at BRC hearings.
4. Where beneficiaries have gone through a review process, what their experience of their process was and;
5. How satisfied the applicant was with the review process

This project's aim is to design an evaluation study of access to justice for beneficiaries and whether current legislation, policy and procedures adequately and effectively meet review purposes and the standards the Ministry has set for itself.

Project two – An analysis of Christchurch Women's Refuge contact data to determine whether women with protection orders in place go on to access CWR services more fully.

Summer Scholarship Recipient: Vicky Coker

Vicky is a graduate of the University of Canterbury, having attained a BA (Hons) in Anthropology with First Class Honours. She is interested in the work carried out by women's refuge and is planning to begin study toward a Master of Social Work (Applied) in 2010.

Supervisors: Dr Annabel Taylor and Yvonne Crichton-Hill, Te Awatea Violence Research Centre

Project overview

'Preventing family violence through social change' is the core business of Christchurch Women's Refuge (CWR). Our mission is to create a society where all women, young people and children live life free from violence. One of the ways CWR works to achieve this is through providing services to women to support them to meet their goals and have, or remain having, abuse free lives. This is achieved through education, support, practical assistance and advocacy. At the heart of the Domestic Violence Act 1995 is the Protection Order. Women are encouraged to file for a protection order for several reasons; the main two cited being that it gives the woman a legal position to act from and gives the perpetrator the message that she is serious about not accepting violent behaviour.

Christchurch Women's Refuge works with women to help them obtain a protection order if they so wish, and do not already have one in place

on initial contact. This research would like to ascertain if having a protection order in place affects the woman's motivations and actions towards seeking continued ongoing support with CWR. The research aims to conduct a statistical analysis on how many women contact or are contacted by CWR, how many have a Protection Order in place, how many CWR helps to obtain a Protection Order, and from this data determine if there is a direct correlation between women having a Protection Order in place, and taking full advantage of the services and ongoing support CWR offers women and their children. The findings from this analysis will be useful for applying strategic help to women with or without Protection Orders. CWR will incorporate the research conclusions into its tactical approach with the intention of offering more effective services to all women in contact with the organisation to help them live life free of violence.

Project three – Exploring the information needs of resettling children.

Summer Scholarship Recipient: Deepthy Joseph
Deepthy has a Masters in Social Work specialising in Medical and Psychiatric Social Work, from Bharathiar University, India and a BSW from Mahatma Gandhi University, India. She has previously been employed as a Lecturer, YMBC, Mahatma Gandhi University, India. Deepthy completed a BA (Hons) degree at the University of Canterbury in 2009.

Supervisors: Nikki Evans and Dr Maria Perez-y-Perez, School of Social Work and Human Services

Project overview

This project focuses on extending current knowledge around the information needs of resettling children, the processes utilised for gathering this information, and modes of information delivery. The project will build upon a previous BA Hons in Human Services project that is currently being completed that involves a review of relevant literature and a scoping exercise with people/organisations that includes:

1. information currently available to resettling children
2. gaps in information available to resettling children
3. current information needs of resettling children
4. formats for presenting information to available to resettling children and their families
5. avenues for distributing this information available to resettling children, their families and professionals who are working with them

This project extends the earlier work of the School of Social Work and Human Services with Christchurch Resettlement Services Inc. (CRS) and involves developing a research framework and conducting focus groups with children and families with refugee or migrant backgrounds as well as the human service professionals who work with them. Focus groups will be used to elicit information about the experiences of young people with refugee or migrant backgrounds. A summary report with recommendations for practical interventions for this population will be produced and will ultimately have significant benefit in guiding the future development of information resources for resettling children.

Project four – Exploration of impacts on workers who provide treatment to youth who have perpetrated sexual abuse.

Summer Scholarship Recipient: Jaimee Kleinbichler

Jaimee completed her BA in psychology in 2009 at the University of Canterbury. She is returning to study at UC in 2010 to complete her MA, in the hope of entering the field of clinical psychology in the future.

Supervisors: Nikki Evans, Te Awatea Violence Research Centre and Suzanne Alliston, Clinical Team Leader, Te Poutama Arahi Rangatahi

Project overview

Programme integrity and professional ability of those delivering the programme are noted as critical principles related to intervention and recidivism (Marshall & Serran, 2004, Ogloff, 2002). Yet, limited attention has been given to therapist factors within the field of youth offending.

Community-based and residential treatment programmes for adolescents who have engaged in sexually abusive behaviour generally include individual, group, and family therapy (Lambie

and McCarthy, 1995). Many specialist practitioners work across these three contexts within community based programmes.

The centrality of the therapeutic relationship to interventions for adolescent perpetrators has been increasingly noted (Marshall & Serran, 2004). Howells and Day (2003) note that research has demonstrated that the therapeutic alliance is a moderate but consistent predictor of treatment outcome for a range of client groups and, importantly, across a range of therapeutic approaches. Further, Ackerman & Hilsenroth (2003) suggest that the worker attributes influence the outcomes via their responses that indicate that they understand the issues and can assist the individual to cope within the therapeutic process, having influence over the client, creating an environment conducive to change, as well as creating greater client investment.

Although a few theoretical papers address the issue of potential impacts of the work on the worker upon the nature of the therapeutic relationship (Hackett, 2000; Way, et al., 2004) much of this discussion has been in relation to work with adult perpetrators and with survivors of sexual abuse (Pack, 2004; Shelby, Stead & Downing, 1998). However, specialist practitioners working with sexual offenders “may need to manage strong emotional reactions (e.g., anxiety, anger, disgust) to hearing clients’ traumatic material (e.g., stories of perpetration, deviant fantasies) and cognitive distortions (e.g., denial, minimisation, projection) while striving to remain helpful, appropriately empathic and professional” (Way et al, 2004, p.51). Issues of vicarious trauma and burnout need to be explored in relation to the therapeutic relationship. Greater understanding of these issues will make a significant contribution to the current debates around what works with adolescent perpetrators.

This project involves the completion of a review of literature and research in this area and designing a research framework and survey to be used in a future study.

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Book Review

Yvonne Crichton-Hill, Reviewer

Achieving Positive Outcomes for Children in Care

Sean Cameron and Colin Maginn
Sage, 2009

Achieving Positive Outcomes for Children in Care was written for Tracey and other traumatised children living in children's homes. Tracey, a nine year old, was one of the first children to benefit from the Pillars of Parenting approach promoted by the authors, Sean Cameron and Colin Maginn. Tracey is described as an angry and frightened child who had daily tantrums until she was cared for by the children's home staff in a way that responded positively to her needs and strengths. *Achieving Positive Outcomes for Children in Care* is intended for people working with children in care situations, seven days a week (care professionals) and aims to encourage in those people strong leadership, kindness and commitment to the work they do with children in care.

The book begins by examining the status of residential and foster care in the United Kingdom. It makes the point that public care can be a difficult and challenging experience for both children and carers and sometimes the outcomes for children who have been in care are very poor. The authors cite the work of Jackson and McParlin (2006) who assert that children in care are more likely to end up in prison, be homeless, and end up having children who themselves need public care.

Chapter two provides an overview of the power of parenting in producing positive or negative outcomes for children. The authors examine the importance of positive attachment and the contribution this makes to the development of security and empathy in a child. The underpinning idea is that children in care perceive themselves as abandoned or rejected by their parents. The authors strongly argue that this rejection is the basis of poor outcomes for children in care. Therefore, the focus of carers work with children in care has to be the development of attuned relationships between carer and child.

Chapter Three builds on the idea of building attuned relationships. The focus of this chapter is on The Pillars of Parenting approach that consists of eight pillars considered to be key parenting tasks focused on the development and well being of children. A descriptive framework is used to explain the importance of each of the Pillars. The framework firstly summarises the key psychological theory that gives emphasis to the pillar. Secondly, the importance of the pillar is outlined from a practice and research perspective. Finally, the framework applies theory to practice by relating the pillar to everyday child care practice situations. The Pillars of Parenting framework sits within the "Authentic Warmth model of Professional Childcare" which is described as the "combined parenting and emotional support components" (Cameron & Maginn 2009, p. 109).

The following chapters look at challenging and difficult behaviour, supporting adaptive emotional development, education, using psychological consultation, putting theory into practice and looking to the future.

The structure and content of the book are very accessible. People who have knowledge or experience of care situations as well as those who work as professionals with traumatised children will find the contents of the book both relevant and interesting. The content of each chapter is well organised with diagrams and charts used to support the information provided. For example, in Chapter 4, Managing Challenging and Self-limiting Behaviour, a chart is provided that outlines a daily record summary of a child's temper outbursts. At the end of each chapter is a box titled "Time for Reflection" that asks thoughtful questions of the readers pertaining to the content of the chapter.

The authors draw strongly from the discipline of psychology in the explanatory discussions about the causes of trauma and the needs of children in care, and in the description about the services that have a role in supporting carers. They argue that "a psychological perspective can enable carers, who have everyday, direct contact with the children, to 'get a handle on' a complex problem

situation and to consider creative possibilities for change" (Cameron & Maginn 2009, p. 90). However, the authors also acknowledge that children in care will need a range of services and that while there will be some overlap "between the disciplines of psychology and social work, there are also distinctive contributions which each professional group brings to discussions and planning meetings" (p.102).

While it is very clear that psychological theories inform the book it is also apparent that missing from the book is any analysis regarding care practices with diverse populations. There is also limited discussion about the range of care possibilities such as residential care, foster care, and kin care. This might say more about the differences between care practice in the UK and New Zealand.

Overall, *Achieving Positive Outcomes for Children in Care* is an interesting read. It is easy to follow, and the examples provide good illustrations of how ideas can be put into practice. It is a book that one can read chapter to chapter or one can dip in and still find something of interest. The book is heavily reliant on psychological theory and is generally lacking in any discussion of culturally responsive practice which may not be a holistic enough approach for some. Still, there is interesting information in this book that would be useful for professional care givers, practitioners, students, and parents.

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Book Review

Dr Annabel Taylor, Reviewer

Gandhi and Beyond Nonviolence for a New Political Age, Second Edition

David Cortright
Paradigm Publishers, 2009

The subject of this publication is a timely interpretation of the history of nonviolence applying Gandhi's particular approach across a number of different contexts and periods of conflict. Its primary theme is the relevance and influence of Gandhi's form of nonviolence that was shaped by the independence movement at the time of colonial rule in India. This second edition incorporates new material on Gandhi's personal history, and extends the historical information and analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of 'satyagraha'. The discussion concerning the potential dilemmas that nonviolent resistance raises in relation to coercion and to its consequences for peace activists is thoughtful and offers challenges for peace strategists to consider. The point at which public opinion may be swayed in support of a movement by the example of the suffering of peace activists versus public opposition towards obstruction by activists is a balance that Gandhi was acutely aware of.

Cortright provides examples in American history of key leaders of social movements who contributed to significant change through nonviolent means. The lives of Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, Dorothy Day and Barbara Deming are described in terms of their different political beliefs, their social context, and the movements they played critical parts in. The selection is strategic by the author so that different aspects of Gandhi's nonviolent principles can be understood in these different socio-political contexts.

Aspects of Gandhi's and Martin Luther King's lives are discussed and analysed in relation to gender and sexual politics. This offers further thought-provoking material on the intersection between the personal and the political and pays homage to the contribution of feminism to social change. The analysis challenges spiritual and political leaders to consider their public messages in relation to their personal conduct. Given contemporary media practice, and the power of the internet, this is a timely section.

The book finishes with a "Letter to a Palestinian Student", which offers a concrete example of how nonviolent philosophy, principles and practice may effect change in a major scene of longstanding conflict. I could not help but recall the earlier discussion concerning self sacrifice and the complex strategic dilemmas that face peace activists in this century.

The recognition of the importance of gender and sexual politics in this edition has strengthened its analysis and provides a more honest appraisal of leadership in peace movements. Perhaps a future edition may also include examples from America's own turbulent colonial past of indigenous nonviolence resistance movements and their struggles. This would offer students a new perspective on the history of nonviolence.

The references throughout the text to various activists could offer more detail for new students of nonviolent change. Given that there are now two generations of students who were born after the civil rights movement greater detail about, for example, the contribution of Saul Alinsky would strengthen the educative role of the publication. However, above all, the author has succeeded in reminding us of the critical necessity for nonviolent solutions to modern conflicts and the power of nonviolent resistance.

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Te Awatea Review

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