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Child Abuse

Wood JN, Fakeye O, Mondestin V, et. al.

Development of hospital-based guidelines for skeletal survey in young children with bruises.

Pediatrics. 2015 Feb;135(2):e312-20. PMID: [25601982](#)

Guidelines from a multispecialty panel of experts on the appropriateness and necessity of a skeletal survey in children presenting with bruising depends on the age of the child and location of bruising.

Damashek A, Nelson MM, Bonner BL.

Fatal child maltreatment: characteristics of deaths from physical abuse versus neglect.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):735-44. PMID: [23768940](#)

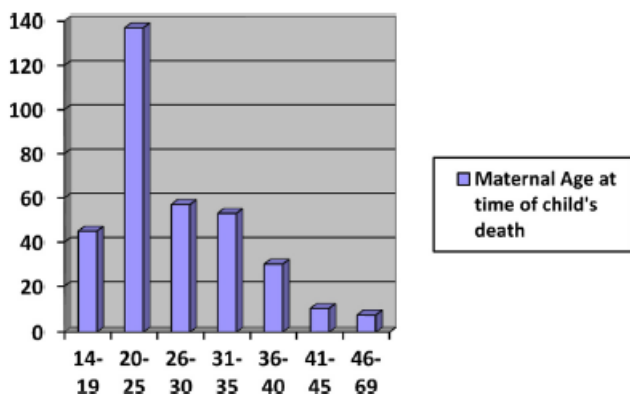
Of all cases of fatal child maltreatment in Oklahoma over 21 years, 51% of deaths were due to neglect, usually by a female parent in children younger than age 5. Most victims had not been investigated by CPS prior to their death.

Welch GL, Bonner BL.

Fatal child neglect: characteristics, causation, and strategies for prevention.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):745-52. PMID: [23876861](#)

In a companion article, the overwhelming majority of neglect cases were due to supervisory neglect, with other categories constituting deprivation of needs and medical neglect. Chart shows maternal age at time of child's death due to neglect.



Scribano PV, Makoroff KL, Feldman KW, Berger RP.

Association of perpetrator relationship to abusive head trauma clinical outcomes.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):771-7. PMID: [23735871](#)

From a chart review of 459 children with abusive head trauma diagnosed by child protections teams at four children's hospitals over a 5 year period, 68% had an identified alleged perpetrator. Overall, alleged perpetrators were: father (53%), parent partner (22%), mother (8%), babysitter (8%), and other adult caregiver (5%). Most children were less than one year of age, Caucasian and male, and 19% of injuries were fatal.

Warren MD, Miller AM, Traylor J, et. al.

Implementation of a statewide surveillance system for neonatal abstinence syndrome - Tennessee, 2013.

MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep. 2015 Feb 13;64(5):125-8.

PMID: [25674995](#)

In 2013 Tennessee required mandatory reporting of neonatal abstinence syndrome (drug withdrawal symptoms in baby at birth). Results from the first year showed 921 cases reported among 79,954 births, with 1/3 of cases in mothers where substance use was not known beforehand by healthcare providers.

Hélie S, Laurier C, Pineau-Villeneuve C, Royer MN.

A developmental approach to the risk of a first recurrence in child protective services.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1132-41. PMID: [23768933](#)

Of 25,897 Canadian children who had received services as a result of a substantiated child abuse report, five years after their cases had been closed the recurrence rate overall was 36%. It was highest for children aged 6-11 when originally seen.

Nandyal R, Owora A, Risch E, Bard D, Bonner B, Chaffin M.

Special care needs and risk for child maltreatment reports among babies that graduated from the Neonatal Intensive Care.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1114-21. PMID: [23768935](#)

Newborns discharged from intensive care were more likely to have a child welfare report if there were prior child welfare reports, young maternal age, and high caregiver burden (having three or more siblings in the family).

Lang CA, Cox MJ, Flores G.

Maltreatment in multiple-birth children.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1109-13. PMID: [23623445](#)

“Siblings of maltreated, multiple-gestation children often, but not always, were abused. In sets with two maltreated children, children usually shared the same modes of maltreatment. Multiples are significantly more likely than singletons to be younger and experience fractures and abdominal trauma.”

Goddard L, Bowkett B, Kenwright D.

Elasticity of abdominal wall vessels in children: clinical implications in child abuse.

ANZ J Surg. 2014 Oct;84(10):755-7. PMID: [24995516](#)

From studies on tissue in children under age 5 undergoing routine hernia surgeries, abdominal wall blood vessels were able to stretch 3.4 times their resting length without rupture and contained a high amount of elastin. This may help explain why children do not typically bruise when hit in the abdomen even though internal organs may be damaged.

Katz C.

The narratives of abused children who have survived attempted filicide.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):762-70. PMID: [23735872](#)

From narratives of children who survived a murder attempt by one of their parents, five themes evolved: “(a) many bad things have happened to me, (b) this was not the first time I was abused by my parent, (c) I am concerned about my parent, (d) I am alive thanks to my siblings, and (e) it is hard to remember what exactly happened.”

Adult Manifestations of Child Abuse

Parrish C, Surkan PJ, Martins SS, et. al.

Childhood adversity and adult onset of hypertension and heart disease in São Paulo, Brazil.

Prev Chronic Dis. 2013 Dec 5;10:E205. PMID: [24309093](#)

Using data from a self-reported WHO study of Brazilian adults, and controlling for multiple variables, childhood physical abuse was associated with significantly increased risk of adult hypertension.

Teicher MH, Anderson CM, Ohashi K, Polcari A.

Childhood maltreatment: altered network centrality of cingulate, precuneus, temporal pole and insula.

Biol Psychiatry. 2014 Aug 15;76(4):297-305. PMID: [24209775](#)

The brain scans of 265 maltreated young adults, compared to a non-maltreated control group, showed less connectedness (importance) of areas relating to accurately understanding thoughts or intentions of others and increased connectedness to internal emotions and thinking about the self. “This may provide a potential mechanism for how maltreatment increases risk for psychopathology.”

Kendler KS, Aggen SH.

Clarifying the causal relationship in women between childhood sexual abuse and lifetime major depression.

Psychol Med. 2014 Apr;44(6):1213-21. PMID: [23942036](#)

From a long term study of 1493 Virginian female twins, and correcting for multiple variables, “childhood sexual abuse remained substantially associated with a risk for lifetime major depression”.

Bhandari R, van der Veen R, Parsons CE, et. al.

Effects of intranasal oxytocin administration on memory for infant cues: moderation by childhood emotional maltreatment.

Soc Neurosci. 2014;9(5):536-47. PMID: [24968101](#)

Adult female survivors of childhood maltreatment who had not yet had children themselves were less likely to recognize happier infants after receiving oxytocin (the “feel good” hormone). “Our findings add to a growing body of literature showing that the effects of intranasal oxytocin on memory and social behavior are moderated by adverse early life experiences.”

Adolescents

Moore E, Gaskin C, Indig D.

Childhood maltreatment and post-traumatic stress disorder among incarcerated young offenders.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):861-70. PMID: [23978574](#)

Of Australian incarcerated adolescents, 40% of females and 17% of males had PTSD. 60% reported any child abuse or neglect, with females 10 times more likely than males to report three or more kinds of severe child maltreatment. “This study provides evidence for the need to comprehensively assess child abuse and neglect among young offenders in order to provide appropriate treatment in custody and post-release.”

Mallett CA.

The incarceration of seriously traumatised adolescents in the USA: limited progress and significant harm.

Crim Behav Ment Health. 2015 Feb;25(1):1-9. PMID: [25622792](#)

“The most common placement – for up to 40% of these adolescents – is a locked, long-term state or privately contracted prison-like facility that holds hundreds of young offenders at any one time and provides minimal rehabilitative services.”

Type of Disadvantage	Incarcerated young offenders (%)	General adolescent population (%)
Maltreatment/Trauma	34-60	1
Special education disabilities	28-45	4-9
Mental disorders	35-80	9-18
Substance abuse	30-70	4-5

Domestic Violence – Effects on Children

Wojcicki JM, Young MB, Perham-Hester KA, et. al.

Risk Factors for Obesity at Age 3 in Alaskan Children.

PLoS One. 2015 Mar 20;10(3):e0118711. PMID: [25793411](#)

This study found an obesity prevalence of 24.9% in all Alaskan and 42.2% in Native Alaska 3 year olds. Alaska Native children who witnessed domestic violence were 2.28 times more likely to be obese.

Koen N, Wyatt GE, Williams JK, et. al.

Intimate partner violence: associations with low infant birthweight in a South African birth cohort.

Metab Brain Dis. 2014 Jun;29(2):281-99. PMID: [24729207](#)

In this South African study of 263 mother-infant pairs, and controlling for multiple variables, physical IPV within the past year was associated with 2 times increased risk of low birth weight babies.

MacMillan HL, Wathen CN, Varcoe CM.

Intimate partner violence in the family: considerations for children's safety.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1186-91. PMID: [23830555](#)

Discussion of issues involving child safety in a home with IPV, possible confusing messages from a parent, and suggestions for basic principles and general strategies.

Hatcher AM, Woollett N, Pallitto CC, et. al.

Bidirectional links between HIV and intimate partner violence in pregnancy: implications for prevention of mother-to-child transmission.

J Int AIDS Soc. 2014 Nov 3;17:19233. PMID: [25371218](#)

From interviews with pregnant women and health managers in Johannesburg, there was a strong association with many aspects of IPV and HIV. IPV led to HIV risk via forced sex and lack of power to negotiate condom use in order to stay physically safe during pregnancy. HIV diagnosis during pregnancy and disclosure to partner was a common trigger of IPV, and some women's secrecy/lack of adherence to medication was due to fear of alerting male partners.

Diderich HM, Fekkes M, Verkerk PH, et. al.

A new protocol for screening adults presenting with their own medical problems at the Emergency Department to identify children at high risk for maltreatment.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1122-31. PMID: [23768937](#)

9 emergency departments in the Netherlands instituted a protocol whereby parents who presented with IPV, substance abuse, or suicide attempt/serious psychiatric problems were automatically referred to the Reporting Center for Child Abuse and Neglect. Prior to this protocol, 1 per 100,000 patients was referred and afterwards 64 per 100,000 were referred. Child abuse was confirmed in 91% of the newly referred cases.

Domestic Violence – Physical Health

Cesario SK, McFarlane J, Nava A, Gilroy H, Maddoux J.

Linking cancer and intimate partner violence: the importance of screening women in the oncology setting.

Clin J Oncol Nurs. 2014 Feb;18(1):65-73. PMID: [24476727](#)

Of 300 women experiencing IPV, 8 reported a cancer diagnosis, mostly cervical cancer. This was at a rate 10 times higher than the general population, and at a younger age. “When IPV and a cancer diagnosis intersect, a special population of women with unique needs is created.” Women with cancer reported higher danger scores and increased risk of revictimization.

Speakman E, Paris R, Giojella ME, Hathaway J.

"I didn't fight for my life to be treated like this!": The relationship between the experience of cancer and intimate partner abuse.

Health Soc Work. 2015 Feb;40(1):51-8. PMID: [25665291](#)
Interviews with 20 women and one man facing cancer and IPV revealed complicated barriers to change but also a re-assessment of their relationships due to increased focus on their own health and increased social support. Those who made significant changes or left usually did so after recovery from treatment.

Culver Wygant CR, Bruera E, Hui D.

Intimate partner violence in an outpatient palliative care setting.

J Pain Symptom Manage. 2014 Apr;47(4):806-13. PMID: [23948161](#)
IPV can have a significant effect on patients' physical and emotional well-being, social support system, and ability to seek health care, all of which have heightened significance in a scenario of palliative care.

Fontenot HB, Fantasia HC, Lee-St John TJ, Sutherland MA.

The effects of intimate partner violence duration on individual and partner-related sexual risk factors among women.

J Midwifery Womens Health. 2014 Jan-Feb;59(1):67-73. PMID: [24588879](#)
A lifetime history of IPV, regardless of duration or current presence, was associated with increased sexual risk factors for sexually transmitted infections and HIV in women.

Espino SR, Fletcher J, Gonzalez M, et. al.

Violence screening and viral load suppression among HIV-positive women of color.

AIDS Patient Care STDS. 2015 Jan;29 Suppl 1:S36-41. PMID: [25561308](#)
Among 102 women of color with HIV, those screening positive for a history of domestic violence were less likely to be virally suppressed (76.4%) than women without DV (93.3%).

Rich-Edwards JW, McCaw BR, Lewis-O'Connor A.

Domestic violence may trigger takotsubo.

Am J Med. 2015 Apr;128(4):e9. PMID: [25812646](#)
Authors of this letter to the editor note that a prior article on takotsubo, which is reversible heart failure brought on by acute stress, did not list domestic violence or other abuse as a possible stress cause for clinicians to consider when treating these patients.

Domestic Violence – Mental Health

Sutherland MA, Fantasia HC, Adkison L.

Sexual health and dissociative experiences among abused women.

Issues Ment Health Nurs. 2014 Jan;35(1):41-9. PMID: [24350750](#)
From interviews with 21 women experiencing IPV, many reported mild dissociative symptoms relating to sexual interactions including “drifting” and “forgetting” and “distancing” which may have directly influenced “ability to care for the self and to effectively manage reproductive choices and sexual activities” leading to unwanted pregnancies and risk for sexually transmitted infections.

Gulliver P, Fanslow J.

Exploring risk factors for suicidal ideation in a population-based sample of New Zealand women who have experienced intimate partner violence.

Aust N Z J Public Health. 2013 Dec;37(6):527-33. PMID: [24892151](#)
New Zealand women who had experienced IPV were more likely to be suicidal if they: reported that their partner's behavior had impacted on their mental health, were current or former users of recreational drugs, had experienced a stillbirth/abortion/miscarriage, or had experienced emotional abuse in the previous 12 months.

Elder/Dependent Adult Abuse

Roberto KA, McPherson MC, Brossoie N.

Intimate partner violence in late life: a review of the empirical literature.

Violence Against Women. 2013 Dec;19(12):1538-58. PMID: [24476758](#)
Research review of IPV in elders. “Based on these findings, we identify future research directions for improved understanding of late-life IPV as well as implications for policy development and refined community interventions.”

Sexual Assault

Yang J, Miller TR, Zhang N, LeHew B, Peek-Asa C.

Incidence and cost of sexual violence in Iowa.

Am J Prev Med. 2014 Aug;47(2):198-202. PMID: [24930620](#)

In 2009, an estimated 55,340 individuals (49,510 adults and 5,930 children) experienced sexual violence in Iowa. ¾ were women. The estimated total cost was \$4.7 billion, equating to \$1,580 per resident. This estimate included \$4.44 billion in indirect costs and \$265 million in direct costs. In the same year, \$0.9 million was spent on prevention.

Lee J, Willis L, Newman D, et. al.

Are sexual assault victims presenting to the emergency department in a timely manner?

Soc Work. 2015 Jan;60(1):29-33. PMID: [25643573](#)

More than half of 482 sexual assault victims seen at one institution presented after a delay of more than 12 hours. Delayed presentation was significantly associated with knowing the perpetrator.

Senn CY, Eliasziw M, Barata PC, et. al.

Sexual violence in the lives of first-year university women in Canada: no improvements in the 21st century.

BMC Womens Health. 2014 Nov 5;14:135. PMID: [25410412](#)

Findings from the first large Canadian study of university women since the 1990s indicate that a large proportion of women “arrive on campuses with histories of sexual victimization, and they are generally unprepared for the perpetrators they may face during their academic years”.

Greeson MR, Campbell R, Fehler-Cabral G.

Cold or caring? Adolescent sexual assault victims' perceptions of their interactions with the police.

Violence Vict. 2014;29(4):636-51. PMID: [25199391](#)

Adolescent sexual assault victims who perceived police as caring, compassionate, and personable, experienced greater emotional well-being and criminal justice system engagement.”

Human Trafficking

de Chesnay M.

Psychiatric-mental health nurses and the sex trafficking pandemic.

Issues Ment Health Nurs. 2013 Dec;34(12):901-7. PMID: [24274246](#)

Review of sex trafficking and the role of mental health nurses in treating psychological issues and referring for medical treatment.

Cultural Issues

Kalokhe AS, Potdar RR, Stephenson R, et. al.

How well does the world health organization definition of domestic violence work for India?

PLoS One. 2015 Mar 26;10(3):e0120909. PMID: [25811374](#)

Indian experts suggest a need to expand WHO definitions to be culturally inclusive: “1) the exertion of control over a woman's reproductive decision-making, mobility, socializing with family and friends, finances, and access to food and nutrition, 2) the widespread acceptance of sexual abuse and the influences of affluence on DV manifestations, 3) the shaping of physical abuse experiences by readily-available tools and the presence of witnesses, 4) psychological abuse for infertility, dowry, and girl-children, and 5) the perpetration of DV by the husband and other members of his family.”

Chaudhuri S, Morash M, Yingling J.

Marriage migration, patriarchal bargains, and wife abuse: a study of South Asian women.

Violence Against Women. 2014 Feb;20(2):141-61. PMID: [24493153](#)

“Patriarchal constraints in natal families, culture, and expectations of benefits gained through marriage influenced many of the South Asian women to migrate [to USA] for marriage. When husbands enforced extreme patriarchy with abuse, women's personal efforts to contain abuse were largely ineffective.”

Hasanpoor-Azghdy SB, Simbar M, Vedadhir A.

The Social Consequences of Infertility among Iranian Women: A Qualitative Study.

Int J Fertil Steril. 2015 Jan-Mar;8(4):409-20. PMID: [25780523](#)

From interviews with 25 Iranian women with primary and secondary infertility with no surviving children, social consequences included IPV, marital instability, and social isolation, and exclusion.

Finkelhor D, Ji K, Mikton C, Dunne M.

Explaining lower rates of sexual abuse in China.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):852-60. PMID: [23958110](#)

While comparatively low rates of child sexual abuse in China may be due to inhibited disclosure, other possible factors may include “Confucian family values, definitions of masculinity and a collectivist culture that may be protective.”

Perpetrators

Widom CS, Massey C.

A prospective examination of whether childhood sexual abuse predicts subsequent sexual offending.

JAMA Pediatr. 2015 Jan;169(1):e143357. PMID: [25561042](#)

Following a group of substantiated maltreated children and a control group for over 40 years, male children who experienced childhood physical abuse or neglect (but not sexual abuse) were twice as likely to become adult sexual perpetrators.

Lothstein LM.

Multi-tiered Group Therapy Model to Identify and Treat the Root Causes of Domestic Violence.

Int J Group Psychother. 2015 Apr;65(2):210-40. PMID: [25760785](#)

Author suggests a new model of treatment for DV integrating the current psychological and brain science of human violence with recent findings in the neurobiology of group relationships. This approach moves away from the treatment of symptoms to the root causes of violence.

Police and Court Systems

Sanford A, Donahue M, Cosden M.

Consumer perceptions of trauma assessment and intervention in substance abuse treatment.

J Subst Abuse Treat. 2014 Sep;47(3):233-8. PMID: [25012556](#)

Participants in drug treatment court were generally positive about receiving integrated trauma assessments and a cognitive intervention that helped them to understand the relationship between trauma and substance abuse, and to develop coping skills to address both. Men were less able to disclose a history of sexual abuse.

Providers

Draucker CB, Johnson DM, Johnson-Quay NL, et. al.

Rapid HIV Testing and Counseling for Residents in Domestic Violence Shelters.

Women Health. 2015 Apr;55(3):334-352. PMID: [25738795](#)

Approximately 20% of those living with HIV are unaware of their status. This focus group study of women and staff at DV shelters discuss how rapid HIV testing and counseling might be best implemented in shelter life.

Reisenhofer S, Taft A.

Women's journey to safety - the Transtheoretical model in clinical practice when working with women experiencing Intimate Partner Violence.

Patient Educ Couns. 2013 Dec;93(3):536-48. PMID: [24007763](#)

Review of research articles investigating the process of change in IPV relationships and recommending support at different stages of change.

Kluetsch RC, Ros T, Théberge J, et. al.

Plastic modulation of PTSD resting-state networks and subjective wellbeing by EEG neurofeedback.

Acta Psychiatr Scand. 2014 Aug;130(2):123-36. PMID: [24266644](#)

German researchers showed benefit of EEG neurofeedback training with before and after brain scans on adult survivors of childhood abuse with PTSD.

Randell KA, Evans SE, O'Malley D, Dowd MD.

Intimate Partner Violence Programs in a Children's Hospital: Comprehensive Assessment Utilizing a Delphi Instrument.

Hosp Pediatr. 2015 Mar;5(3):141-7. PMID: [25732987](#)

A point scale Delphi instrument can be used to assess for IPV-related processes at a children's hospital.

Sugg N.

Intimate Partner Violence: Prevalence, Health Consequences, and Intervention.

Med Clin North Am. 2015 May;99(3):629-649. PMID: [25841604](#)

Review article. "IPV affects the health, safety, and quality of life for women, men, and children worldwide ...The health effects include acute trauma; a wide range of physical and mental sequelae; and, for some, death."

Hornor G.

Child neglect: assessment and intervention.

J Pediatr Health Care. 2014 Mar-Apr;28(2):186-92; quiz 193-4. PMID: [24559807](#)

Review of childhood neglect for pediatric nurse practitioners to recognize and intervene appropriately.

Helm BM, Langley K, Spangler B, Vergano S.

Three clinical experiences with SNP array results consistent with parental incest: a narrative with lessons learned.

J Genet Couns. 2014 Aug;23(4):489-95. PMID: [24222483](#)

Authors present 3 cases of genetic testing that revealed unexpected parental incest, how the cases were handled by the clinical team, and what resources were found to be the most helpful.

Prevention

Miller E, Goldstein S, McCauley HL, et. al.

A school health center intervention for abusive adolescent relationships: a cluster RCT.

Pediatrics. 2015 Jan;135(1):76-85. PMID: [25535265](#)

A brief relationship abuse education and counseling intervention in school health centers helped participants recognize sexual coercion, become more likely to disclose abuse, and if already reporting abuse were more likely to report decreased abuse at follow-up.

Braithwaite SR, Fincham FD.

Computer-based prevention of intimate partner violence in marriage.

Behav Res Ther. 2014 Mar;54:12-21. PMID: [24463577](#)

For 52 couples married an average of 4 years, a randomized controlled study of an online learning intervention about IPV (involving communication and problem solving skills) led to a 90% reduction in physical aggression maintained at one year.

Chavis A, Hudnut-Beumler J, Webb MW, et. al.

A brief intervention affects parents' attitudes toward using less physical punishment.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1192-201. PMID: [23859768](#)

After a brief multimedia program on different options for child discipline was incorporated into primary care visits for caregivers of 6-24 month old children in a randomized controlled trial, parents in the control group were two times more likely to report that they would spank a child who was misbehaving compared to the intervention group.

Researchers

Radford L, Corral S, Bradley C, Fisher HL.

The prevalence and impact of child maltreatment and other types of victimization in the UK: findings from a population survey of caregivers, children and young people and young adults.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Oct;37(10):801-13. PMID: [23522961](#)

From computer-assisted self-interviews with a random sample of over 6,000 UK parents, children and young adults, past year maltreatment rates for children under age 18 were 7-17 times greater than official rates of substantiated child maltreatment.

Wuest J, Merritt-Gray M, Dubé N, et. al.

The process, outcomes, and challenges of feasibility studies conducted in partnership with stakeholders: a health intervention for women survivors of IPV.

Res Nurs Health. 2015 Feb;38(1):82-96. PMID: [25594917](#)

Studies involving multiple stakeholders require assessing intervention feasibility in terms of acceptability, demand, practicality, implementation, adaptation, integration, and efficacy potential.

Mikton C, Power M, Raleva M, et. al.

The assessment of the readiness of five countries to implement child maltreatment prevention programs on a large scale.

Child Abuse Negl. 2013 Dec;37(12):1237-51. PMID: [23962585](#)

Using a program piloted in a previous study, the readiness of 5 countries to implement large scale child maltreatment prevention programs was evaluated. The assessment identified major gaps that needed to be addressed for program success.

Other of Interest

Butchart A, Mikton C, Krug E.

Governments must do more to address interpersonal violence.

Lancet. 2014 Dec 20;384(9961):2183-5. PMID: [25499544](#)

The *Global status report on violence prevention 2014*, jointly published by WHO, UNDP, and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, assesses for the first time national efforts to address child maltreatment, youth violence, IPV, sexual violence, and elder abuse. It identifies gaps and describes the extent to which 133 participating countries covering 88% of the world's population are collecting data, implementing violence-prevention programmes, enacting and enforcing relevant laws, and providing victim services."

http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/status_report/2014/en/

DeKeseredy WS, Dragiewicz M.

Woman abuse in Canada: sociological reflections on the past, suggestions for the future.

Violence Against Women. 2014 Feb;20(2):228-44. PMID: [24493152](#)

A sociologist examines the history of woman abuse in Canada. "Despite budget cuts, the anti-feminist backlash, and a host of other obstacles and challenges...Abused women now have more resources to choose from, but they are not markedly safer."