UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE BY WOMEN

A Review of the Literature

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INTRODUCTION

This review of the literature has been prepared at the request of CSC as part of the Federally Sentenced Women Initiative. It was designed to be fairly wide-ranging in terms of the disciplines covered, and to consider in addition any specific programmes and assessment methods designed for women offenders who have acted violently.

In the time available for the study, this review could not be exhaustive, nor deal with some of the fundamental problems in defining and understanding violent behaviour in any depth. It attempts rather to highlight the main views and interpretations relating to violence by women, and the most useful recent literature available which might act as a guide for the development of programmes. It has not been a very fruitful search, reflecting the scarcity of work in this area.

The review considered publications relating to violence by women from 1984 to 1994, as well as material on understanding women's use of anger and aggression. The areas of search requested included criminology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, social work and education (See Appendix I). This report deals with a number of aspects:

- the extent of violence by women and the different forms it takes in society and the correctional system;
- the problems of understanding women's violence;
- explanations of how and why violence arises in women on the basis of differing perspectives;
- specific studies of violence by women;
- any assessment instruments developed specifically to measure violent behaviour by women;
- any programmes for such women which have been developed and evaluated; and
- how such programmes might be constructed.

In relation to criminal justice issues, it has long been established that accounts of violent crime receive far greater attention in the media than non-violent crime (Roberts & Doob 1989). While it may be argued that this is justified in terms of the public's right to know about such issues, the overall effect is to increase the sensitivity of the public to such violence, to create an impression that it occurs with far greater frequency than is in fact the case, and to raise unnecessarily fears about its increase. It is not the intent of this review to raise fears about violence by women, but to attempt to understand it.

Why women's violence has been neglected

As Frances Heidensohn (1992) has argued `there can be no doubt about women's violent potential.' Yet the issue of violence by women has in recent years been neglected or avoided as a number of writers have pointed out (eg. Krug 1989; Simpson, 1991; Morris and Wilczynski, 1993; Dougherty, 1993; Campbell, 1993; Shaw 1995). In part this refects the fact

that men have been, and still are, primarily responsible for most violence. But it has also stemmed from the very legitimate focus on violence against women, and the need to sensitize society to its extent and seriousness.

For feminists in particular, the issue of women's violence has been difficult to come to terms with. Since the focus of public and academic attention tends, as always, to fall upon murder, much of the discourse and literature about women's use of violence over the past 15 years has been concerned with women in abusive relationships who kill their abuser. Thus women's violence has been framed largely as a response to an abusive situation or past abusive experiences.

Yet not all violent acts by women are in direct response to abusive relationships. Women may use violence in other situations, against children, against acquaintances, against those in authority over them, very occasionally against strangers. To deny or avoid consideration of women's use of violence does them a great disservice (Carlen 1985; Worrell 1990; Simpson 1991; Campbell 1993; Allen 1987; Shaw 1995). Anne Worrell (1990) has argued that it does not help our understanding of women to see them always in a submissive role and men in a dominating one. Sally Simpson (1991) stresses that:

> `The simplistic notion that males are violent and women are not contains a grain of truth, but it misses the complexity and texture of women's lives' (p. 129).

What is important to underline is that to avoid consideration of violence by women encourages a `backlash' effect where some investigators feel challenged to `prove' that women are just as violent as men, it contributes to the fiction that women who are violent must somehow be extraordinary freaks, its denies women any agency or choice in their lives, but perhaps most crucially, it leaves society and the justice system with little understanding of their behaviour, or guidance on how we should react to them or help them.

The literature

The great majority of concern about violent behaviour centres on violence by men. The great majority of the literature on violence is based on male violence. Very little consideration has been given to violence by women. The most obvious (but not the only) reason for this lack of focus, is because women commit little violence compared with men.

The sources available for literature searches in Canada are primarily American or North American. Books and articles identified are also predominantly American. It is important to be aware of this dominance in considering the relevance of findings to the Canadian context. As has been recently pointed out, the United States is more violent than most other industrialized countries:

> "Homicide rates in the United States far exceed those in any other industrialized nation. For other violent crimes, rates in the United States are among the world's highest and substantially exceed rates in Canada..." (Reiss and Roth, 1993 p. 3).

America differs from Canada in other ways too, in terms of the greater use of imprisonment and length of sentences passed, the racial and ethnic composition of the country, in levels of drug-related crime, in the availability of guns, and in sentencing practices. Gilfus (1992) notes that half of all incarcerated women in the USA are from racial and ethnic minority groups (primarily African-American and Hispanic). It is essential, therefore, in developing programmes for sentenced women to recognize the particular features of Canadian society which distinguish it from the USA as well as other countries, and which affect the patterns of crime as well as the characteristics of those who end up in prison. There are, after all, only some 300 women at present serving a federal sentence in Canada, and a similar number on parole in the community.

It should also be recognized that the process of publication favours established academic disciplines. Practical projects in institutions and the community, and particularly women-centred programmes tend not to reach public circulation or literature searches.

Defining violence

Most accounts of violent behaviour distinguish between individual and collective violence (eg. crowds or gangs), and between instrumental or planned violence, and reactive or expressive violence. However, reaching a definition of violence which everyone would agree with is very difficult for a number of reasons.

1. There is little consistency in the definitions used by different disciplines or researchers. The definition of violence used in a major American study of violent crime is behaviour by individuals which intentionally threatens, attempts or inflicts physical harm on others (Reiss and Roth, 1993). Others, particularly those concerned with violence against women, do not restrict their definition to physical harm. Stanko (1994) describes violence as the infliction of psychological, sexual, physical and/or material damage. A number of studies regard self injury and suicide as violent behaviour. In the literature on child abuse there are conflicting views on what differentiates `violence' from `punishment'.

2. However it is defined, violence includes a very wide and diverse range of behaviour - from bullying and minor assaults, to major assaults resulting in serious injury or death. It may involve physically aggressive behaviour as well as throwing or smashing things up, controlled anger or sudden outbursts of temper, a single event such as murder, or on-going physical and sexual abuse or a series of planned robberies. It may occur in the home, the community or inside institutions.

3. This diversity creates major problems in conceptualizing and understanding violence. Official statistics use categories which `lump together diverse behaviours' (Reiss and

Roth, 1993 p.35). This means that minor events are included with much more serious events, making it difficult to judge the severity of `violence'. The criminal classification of violent behaviour also structures and gives `meaning' to events in a way which obscures the diversity of cause, intent, circumstance and history of the event, or even the extent of injury. It is these classifications which the criminal justice system comes to rely on. As Reiss and Roth point out, most empirical research on violent crime has to rely on such categories and this limits our understanding of violence as well our ability to develop preventive strategies.

4. The context in which behaviour takes place also gives it meaning and significance. Physical attacks in the course of organized sporting events are not classified as violent although their consequences may be similar to such events on the street, or in the home. Physical attacks on the street are what many people regard as violent offending. Until recently, such violence against women in the home was not seen as, nor dealt with, as criminal. Thus individual acts of violence, as the great majority of accounts point out, need to be considered within the context in which they take place - to be contextualized. Violence, whatever its links with individual factors is seen primarily as situationally induced, and as the outcome of a history and combination of factors. It is never a simple event.

The focus of this review is on violence by individual women. It considers criminally defined violence, violence in the home, and in institutions, as well as self-injury.

THE PATTERNS OF VIOLENT CRIME BY WOMEN

Sex differences in rates of violence by men and women are consistent, with men outnumbering women by a very large margin. This is so across countries, over time, at all ages, and in relation to different types of violence. This relates to all types of violent or aggressive behaviour, including bullying in schools, in sports, on the street, in the home, among hospital patients or prison populations. The only exceptions are the recent recognition of greater parity (but not equality) between rates of domestic homicide among black men and women in the USA, and in child abuse in the home.

Considerable disputes have also centred on the extent to which women use violence against partners in the home compared with men. The weight of opinion is that men's violence against partners is much more frequent, extensive and serious for women than women's violence against their partners (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly 1992; Wilson and Daly 1992, 1993; Reiss and Roth 1993). This issue is considered later in the review.

In terms of recorded criminal violence in the USA in 1991, 89% of all those arrested for violent offences were male and 11% women (FBI, 1991 reported in Reiss and Roth, 1993). In England and Wales in 1989, 89% of all violent offences were committed by men and 11% by women (Heidensohn, 1992).

In Canada in 1991 88% of all those charged with violent crime were men, and 12% women. This amounted to 110,000 charges against men, compared with 13,000 against women (Statistics Canada reported in Johnson and Rodgers, 1993).

The extent of violent crime by women

In Canada, Criminal Code classifications of violent crime include assaults ranging from less serious offences such as threats to use violence, or pushing or shoving, through serious attacks which result in physical injury; sexual assaults; robbery which may involve a threat to use force, a display of a weapon, use of a weapon and actual physical force; abduction; infanticide, attempted murder, murder and manslaughter. Most violent crime, 58% overall, consists of charges classified as minor assaults. Only 13% involves more serious assaults, 11% sexual assault, 11% robbery, and 7% `other' including 0.24% murder or manslaughter (Statistics Canada 1994).

Overall, women are more likely to be charged with minor assaults than men. Very few are charged with robbery and fewer still sexual assault (a pattern which is similar in the USA (Reiss and Roth 1993; Steffensmeier, 1995)). Among both men and women charges for murder or manslaughter are rare, and were laid against 486 men in 1991 and 48 women. However, a major difference is in their relationship to the victim. Among women charged with homicide in 1993 71% of the victims were related to the offender domestically, compared with 24% of the men (Statistics Canada, 1994b).

Sentencing violent offenders

No national data on court sentencing is currently available in Canada. What information does exist, suggests that the majority of women found guilty of violent offences receive a non custodial sentence, a small proportion receive a provincial sentence of less than two years imprisonment, and a much smaller proportion a federal sentence of two years or more.

Thus in 1991 xxx women were sentenced to probation for violent offences, some 900 women were admitted to provincial prisons under sentence for a violent offence (about 10% of all admissions) and around 150 to the federal system (based on figures in Johnson and Rodgers 1993; Statistics Canada 1993; and the Offender Information System, CSC). An Ontario survey suggested that 19% of women in both provincial institutions and under community supervision in 1991 had been convicted or charged with a violent offence (Shaw 1994). This underlines the contention that most violent charges against women are not seen to be of a serious nature nor represent a threat to the public.

While the number of women who receive federal sentences is very small, more than half of the women in the federal population will have a conviction for a violent offence. In 1989 of the 203 federally sentenced women in prison 42% (85) were serving a sentence for murder, attempted murder or manslaughter, and 27% (55) for robbery or assaults (Shaw 1992). The findings from that study, as well as those from many other reviews of women offenders

suggest that as a group, women convicted of violent offences differ considerably from their male counterparts in terms of the types of violence involved, the reasons for their offence, their relationships to their victim, their offence histories, their level of risk to the public, their likelihood of committing further violence, and their own experience of violence in childhood and as adults (Immarigeon & Chesney Lind 1992; Reiss and Roth, 1993).

Is violent crime by women increasing?

Over the past twenty years in Canada, the rate of charges for violent crimes (as well as other crimes) has increased generally, among men, women and young offenders. While still a relatively small proportion of all offences, violence has increased at a faster rate than property and other offences. The increase has been slightly greater among women than men, largely because the numbers of women committing violent offences is proportionately so small.

In 1970 8.1% of all charges against women under the Criminal Code were for violent offences. By 1991 violence had risen to 13.6% of all charges against women (Johnson and Rodgers, 1993). While there has been an increase in violent crimes by women, the numbers of women convicted of violence remains still well below that of men, and the majority involves minor assaults. In the US, Steffensmeier (1995) has examined the increases in arrests for violence by men and women between the 1960's and 1990's and concludes that, relative to men, women showed a slight increase in arrests for minor assaults. For serious violent offences (robbery, aggravated assault or murder) however, the rate for women remained stable, while that for men increased.

Twenty years ago Freda Adler (1975) argued that the women's liberation movement would result in greater equality between the sexes and predicted an increase in aggressive criminal behaviour by women. A number of studies in the 1980's framed their work around an assumption that women's contribution to violent crime would increase for this reason (eg. Balthazar and Cook 1984; Girouard 1988; Robertson, Bankier & Swartz, 1987). Nevertheless, as many more studies have indicated, the majority of the increase in women's offending has been in terms of property offences and can be explained in terms of their increasing poverty (Carlen 1988; Box and Hale 1983; Naffine 1987; Jurik & Winn 1990; Johnson and Rodgers 1993; Steffensmeier 1995).

Liberation and equality do not mean much to single young women with children, or with little prospect of reasonably paid legitimate employment (Naffine 1987). They mean even less to Aboriginal women (or black women in the USA) growing up in an increasing violent environment (Sugar and Fox 1990; LaPrairie 1993; Moyer 1992). Such factors Robertson et al., (1987) did not consider in their study of female offenders in Winnepeg Remand Centre, many of whom are likely to be Aboriginal. Not surprisingly they `failed to identify what had been described as the "new female criminal" '.

Explanations for the increase in violent offences (by both genders) cannot be easily verified. It has been suggested that part of the increase is because Canadian society, along with

others, has become less tolerant of violence and consequently more willing to press charges for violent behaviour, particularly the less serious threats or assaults (Bala 1994; Stanko 1994; Statistics Canada 1994). In the case of women, this may also reflect a decline in a traditional reluctance to prosecute women (Chunn and Gavigan 1991). At a more general level, Thomas (1993) cites changing work patterns, child-rearing, and marital and divorce patterns as likely to induce more stress in the lives of women and men and lead to more anger and aggression on a daily basis.

Race and social class

The effects of race and social and economic class cannot be separated from issues of gender in considering violent crime. A number of American studies have pointed to the higher rates of violent crime among black populations than white (eg. Simpson 1991; Reiss and Roth 1993; Arnold 1990). Others have noted that black women are much more likely to be charged with violent offences in the USA than other women (McClain 1982-83; Mann 1990b; Simpson 1991).

Similarly, in Canada, Aboriginal men and women are more likely to be charged and incarcerated for violent offences than non-Aboriginals (Moyer 1992; LaPrairie 1992; LaPrairie 1993).

> `Since data have been collected on comparative offences of incarcerated Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women, they have consistently revealed that Aboriginal women are incarcerated for more violent crimes than non-Aboriginal women.' (LaPrairie 1993 p.236)

This has occurred during a period of increasing marginalization and the disintegration of traditional Aboriginal society and culture (Sugar & Fox 1990; Shkilnyk 1985; LaPrairie 1992). As LaPrairie (1993) underlines:

> `A broad range of economic, socio-cultural, and legal factors associated with being Aboriginal and female in a male-dominated, non-Aboriginal society, contribute to Aboriginal women coming into conflict with the law. The violent behaviour often demonstrated by Aboriginal women offenders is a product of historical socio-economic forces and background factors. The undermining of traditional Aboriginal roles and values, the acceptance of violence in society, discriminatory provisions of the Indian Act, and tensions in male-female relationships have conspired to regulate many Aboriginal women to a marginalized status.' (p. 243)

Summary

In relation to women, therefore, it is has always, and continues to be important to stress:

a. that women commit proportionately far less violent crime that men;
b. that violent offences constitute a very small proportion of all female offending;

c. that the types of violent offences with which women are charged tend to be less serious than among men;
d. that the majority of homicides by women involve family members;
e. that most increases in women's offending are accounted for by property offences, and any increases in violent offences by minor assaults;
f. that race and social class must also be considered with gender in understanding women's violence.

PROBLEMS IN UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S VIOLENCE

How do we understand violence by women?

Official statistics about crime, at the most, provide only a rough picture of the relative frequency of reported violent offences by women, the types of charges, the sentences given, and to some extent, trends over time. They are of little help in understanding that violence. Problems arising from differences in definitions of violence, the limitations of legal categories and the variety of behaviours they include have also been outlined earlier. There are, however, a number of additional problems which create particular obstacles to understanding women's violence. Many of these problems arise from a failure to understand or take account of gender. In relation to the interpretation of official statistics, for example, it cannot be assumed that they reflect the same experiences and processes for men and women. As was suggested over 25 years ago with regard to statistics on women's mental health, such statistics:

> `do represent something which is real about the troubles which people have, but what is real cannot be separated from the professional and administrative operations which make those troubles actionable. These operations make-over, tidy-up, sort out and shape what is actually happening with people into recognizable forms. [This] eliminates the situational variations, the contexts, the actualities, the recurrent social conditions characteristic of a given community...' (Smith, 1975 p.102).

In relation to violent crimes Allen (1987) argues that reports to the court, which provide the basis for trial and sentence, provide limited and restricted accounts of the event, its history, or the intent of the offender. Explanations or accounts of violence, rarely include the offender's views.

Problems of sampling and method

A number of difficulties in interpreting studies of women's violence relate to sample selection and methods of data collection (Wilbanks 1982; Maden, Swinton & Gunn 1994). They are often based on highly selected or very small populations such as clinic patients, hospital patients, or prison samples convicted of unusual offences. While such problems also influence studies of men, since the number of women available for study is usually

much lower than men, such accounts provide interesting, but hardly representative, information on women who use violence. Similar problems are found in the family violence literature.

Moreover, comparisons between men and women are confounded by differences in the way the genders are treated by the criminal justice system. For example, Allen (1987) has demonstrated that women who commit acts of violence are more likely than men to be diagnosed as mentally unfit, or diverted for psychiatric treatment rather than imprisoned. Similarly, different countries vary in their response to violence by women in family settings (Greenland 1987). Expectations of behaviour and responses to institutional violence would also appear to differ across genders (Mandaraka-Sheppard 1986).

Differing disciplinary focus

There are considerable difficulties arising from the way different academic disciplines explain and interpret violent behaviour. Sociologists, for example, consider the context and social meanings attached to violent events (Downes 1982). This includes the history or events leading up to a violent incident, and the interactions between the participants. Most other disciplines focus on characteristic of the individual. Biologists and physiologists often focus on genetic and hormonal explanations of violence. Some disciplines such as psychology and psychiatry, place an emphasis upon individual development or pathological characteristics as an explanation for violent incidents (eg. Brownstone & Swaminath 1989; Daniel, Robins, Reid and Wilfley, 1988). Psychologists often base their studies of violence on laboratory experiments which may have limited applicability to real life situations.

The problem for understanding women's violence is that much of this literature has been developed on the basis of studies of men, and generalized to, or excluded, women.

Individual pathology

Individually focussed approaches are not concerned with seeing violence within its social context, nor as situationally conditioned. While this creates problems for male violence too, its implications for women are far more extensive. A major criticism of such approaches is that they have tended to use sex-specific explanations of women's behaviour which are derived from a view of women as having particular feminine characteristics. Violent or aggressive behaviour among women is seen as unnatural and unfeminine and possibly indicative of mental instability. Sim (1990) has explored the development of medical and psychiatric explanations of women's offending and institutional behaviour. In relation to the psychiatric diagnosis of women offenders Chunn & Menzies (1994) argue:

> `forensic decision-makers individualize and depoliticize deviance. In searching for causes, they recurrently ignore structural factors and locate the source of the deviance in the woman herself. (p. 412)

Dorothy Smith suggests that `psychiatric ideologies take behaviour and situation apart' (1975, p. 5).

The use of the Premenstrual Syndrome (PMS) as an explanation for women's violence is a prime example of the individualization and medicalization of women's behaviour. Their violence is seen as driven by hormonal changes, irrational and emotional, and beyond the control of the individual woman. It has been argued that such diagnoses, while having the appearance of being objectively derived, are based upon male views of appropriate behaviour by women (Caplan 1991; Kendall 1991).

Gender-blindness

While sociological studies usually consider violence within the context in which it takes place, most studies of violent crime in the fields of criminology, sociology and social psychology have focussed on male violence and/or failed to consider the possibility that women and men experience and use violence for different reasons and under different circumstances. They have not considered that women's violence may result from rather different histories and contexts because of their gender (Heidensohn 1985).

Thus among those disciplines which have considered the context of violence, far from using gender-specific explanations for women's violence, there has often been an assumption that the use of violence is the same by men and women, that it is somehow `gender-blind' (Dougherty, 1993). This problem has been particularly characteristic of much family violence literature including child abuse, but also of comparative studies of male and female homicide, or institutional violence. Studies of women's violence have systematically failed to take account of the gendered differences in up-bringing patterns of men and women, in their learning patterns, in how they deal with and use anger, aggression and violence, and in their different access to power.

Popular images of violent women

A major problem arises from the difficulty which society as a whole, as well as academic disciplines, have in seeing violence or aggression, even anger, as part of the female character. Traditional stereotypes of women as nurturing, gentle, passive and submissive deny any possibility of aggression or violent behaviour as a natural female response. Women who are violent tend to be seen, therefore, as inadequate, unnaturally masculine, sick or even mad, if they trangress expected ways of behaving (Heidensohn 1985; Naffine 1987; Carlen 1988; Morris 1987; Rasche 1990; Faith 1993). This is particularly true of women who kill children, since the notion of women as nurturing is inextricably bound up with notions of women as mothers. As Morris and Wilczynski (1993) put it in their discussion of mothers who kill their children:

> `violent women are usually presented [by criminologists] as `evil' - they have chosen to act in a way which contradicts traditional views of women; as `masculine -they

> are not `really' women; as `sad' - they could not cope with social pressures; or as `mad' - they did not know what they were doing.' (p. 199).

Such oversimplification of explanations of women's violence has limited our understanding (Simpson 1991; Naffine 1987; Shaw 1995).

The tendancy to see people as either masculine or feminine, to enforce gender stereotypes, leads to considerable problems for women offenders who do not fit comfortably into a feminine `role' (Carlen 1985; Cain 1989; Kersten 1990; Birch 1993; Faith 1993; Chunn & Menzies 1994). The media tend to divide women who commit violent crimes into victims or demons as Birch (1993) has shown. Women in prison experience the consequences of these gender stereotypes more than any others, and Faith (1993) shows how women's violence in prison is often equated with `masculinity'. Women can only be seen in relation to men.

From a feminist perspective - from an increasingly more accepted perspective - a real understanding of women's violence requires specific attention to be paid to the particular characteristics of the experience of women as women within society (Chesney-Lind 1989; Cain 1989; Dougherty, 1993) as well as the constraints imposed on them by class and racial factors, and to see their behaviour in context. Given the variety of behaviours which constitute `violence' and the gendered nature of socialization it makes little sense to talk about `violent women'.

EXPLANATIONS OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR BY WOMEN

As the previous section suggests, explanations for violence vary considerably between disciplines. The literature focusses variously on the links between aggression, anger and physical violence, the predisposing and individual factors, social and economic factors, and situational factors (eg. Geen 1990; Reiss and Roth 1993). It has been concerned almost exclusively with explaining male violence.

Psychosocial explanations tend to stress that aggression and violence are learned behaviours in response to frustration, to achieve goals, and by observation of violent behaviour (Boyd, 1988; Reiss and Roth 1993). They point to personality factors, cognitive learning skills, socialization, early child development, and to broader social and cultural factors such as poverty and race, and the role of predisposing factors, situational factors and activating factors.

There has been, however, an increasing recognition of the need to consider situational and environmental factors and their interaction with personal factors, rather than just personality characteristics or demographic factors (Goldstein & Keller 1983).
Reiss & Roth (1993 p. 34) similarly stress that `awareness of the diversity of violence and the complexity of its causes expands awareness of opportunities for intervention.' Felson &

Tedeschi (1993) outline a promising `social-interactionist' approach to aggression and violence which emphasises the interaction between situation and interpersonal characteristics, as well as the meaning of the events for those involved. They do not consider how this relates to women's violence. Thomas (1993) in a study of women's use of anger rather than violence similarly suggests that no single theory can ever be satisfactory and notes the move towards more integrative theories which recognize the importance of cognitive processes and the personal meanings attached to events.

Almost the only explanations which have traditionally been used to explain women's violent crime are biological. Such explanations have continued to stress hormonal factors and PMS (d'Orban & Dalton 1980; Mazur 1983; Taylor 1984). As indicated in the previous section, a number of critiques have argued against the validity of the classification of PMS as a mental disorder, that there is little empirical evidence which supports the association with crime including violence, and that it reduces women's behaviour to `irrational' emotions and raging hormones, rather than other explanations for their anger or violence (see Kendall 1991 for a review; Campbell 1993; Faith 1993). As Kendall (1991) notes:

> `Individual women, rather than the fundamental structures of existing institutions which produce feelings of anger, frustration, loneliness and powerlessness become the focus of inquiry. The prescribed change is individual change rather than social change.'(p. 91)

Similarly, violent crimes by women have been explained at the court level in terms of mental instability, personality disorder, psychosis, or character defect (Allen 1987; Sim 1990).

Explaining women's aggression

> `Differences in socialization inputs for each sex are dramatic with regard to anger and aggression.' (Lerner 1985 p. 52).

In recent years there has been an increasing focus on trying to understand and explain women's anger, aggression and violence, rather than violence in general, or as a primarily male activity. While the outward expression or result of violence by men and women may be apparently similar, the meaning of that anger is seen as very different, resulting from a different pattern of upbringing, a different chain of factors leading up to it, and different reactions to its use by both the user and observers. Much of this work has focussed on women in everyday situations, and in relationships (eg. Lerner, 1985; Tavris, 1989; Thomas, 1993) and stresses the crucial importance of socialization and upbringing patterns.

In a wide-ranging study of women's use of anger in everyday situations Thomas (1993) notes that much prior work on the origins of anger is based on male populations and on experiments under laboratory conditions, and has failed to take account of even the basic differences in the ways men and women express anger.

As Lerner points out (1985 p.1) `Women...have long been discouraged from the awareness and forthright expression of anger.' Stanko (1990, p.10) argues that `men manage danger quite differently from women', `they learn to negotiate physical danger, usually in the company of other men' as they accumulate experience in childhood, adolescence and adulthood. A few writers have considered the implications of these different patterns of socialization for women offenders (Darke, 1987; Campbell, 1993).

For the past twenty years the psychologist Anne Campbell has focussed on women's use of aggression, initially in trying to understand the aggressive behaviour of women prisoners and delinquent girls. The interesting question for her has become, not why do a very small number of women commit violent crimes, but `how do most women avoid fighting?' (p.2). In Men, Women, and Aggression (1993) which brings together much of the psychological literature on sex differences as well as her own work, she outlines some of the major ways in which men and women understand and use anger and aggression, by recognizing the gendered nature of their expression and origins. She argues that for men aggression is `a means of exerting control over other people when they feel the need to reclaim power or self-esteem'. For women it is `a temporary loss of control caused by overwhelming pressure and resulting in guilt' (p. viii). For women it is a failure of self-control, for men a means of imposing control and one which rarely results in guilt.

Formal psychological theories, Campbell argues, have always competed to establish a single theory of aggression, but it should now be acknowledged that separate theories are necessary to explain men's and women's aggression. Thus in tracing some of the psychological and sociological explanations for aggression she distinguishes between men's aggression as instrumental - a means for imposing control over others, and women's aggression as expressive - a release of accumulated tension.

Expressive theories of aggression - whether psychological or sociological - usually focus on socialization factors and the developments of social or personal controls over our basic instincts, or the fear of punishment if we fail to curb them. We are taught to restrain our instincts and to develop self-control. Instrumental theories by contrast imply that people use aggression not because they loose control, because of the clear benefits it offers. These may include social rewards such as respect, a bolstering of self-image, or material rewards. Such instrumental aggression has been described as `coercive power - the use of threats or punishments to gain compliance and to have demands met, whether they be for money, sexual gratification or political change' (Campbell 1993 p. 13).

The process by which women and men come to understand aggression, Campbell argues, is based on everyday theories or `social representations' which guide our perception of aggressive behaviour (women seeing it as stressful or unpleasant, men as a challenge) how we feel about it (fear versus outrage) and how we behave (crying, yelling or throwing things versus attacking a challenger). These social representations are learned and reinforced throughout life, in very different ways for men and women.

Early child studies suggest that there is very little difference between the anger and aggressive tendencies of male and female infants, but as they grow older and begin to recognize their gender identity they are socialized in different ways. Thus from childhood boys are taught when and how to use aggression, while girls are taught to suppress it:

> `The most remarkable thing about the socialization of aggression in girls is its absence. Girls do not learn the right way to express aggression; they simply learn not to express it.' (Campbell p.20)

Boys on the other hand witness aggression and fighting from an early age, and while they may initially be discouraged from using it, it becomes a major experience of testing and standing up for themselves - aggression and toughness are seen as an essential part of manhood, one which is reinforced by adults around them as well as by the surrounding culture. `What is called "strength of character" in boys is called "unfeminine" in girls. (Symonds quoted in Lerner, 1985).

In analysing women's day-to-day experiences of anger and aggression Campbell shows how expressive aggression develops from a control of initial anger, through periods of argument or crying which may relieve the anger if the situation improves, but which can build up to the use of physical aggression if the problem continues or increases - an explosion which again acts as a means of release. The final stage is one of guilt or embarrassment at the outburst, which, if it is witnessed, will also be subject to public censure.

ANGER + restraint and self control	>	CRYING arguing gives sense of release	>	PHYSICAL aggression if frustration continues or increases	>	GUILT embarrassment result

> `Women cry rather than hit not because of their hormones, their reinforcement history, or their role as carers but because they see aggression as a personal failure...' (Campbell 1993 p.85)

By contrast, accounts of men's experience of aggression show that it is more likely to be in a public setting, to be within a group, to act as a reinforcement of their masculinity and self-worth, and to be justified and glorified `as an adult extension of the routine physical encounters of boyhood' (Campbell,1993 p. 66; Stanko, 1990). Such an analysis of the role of aggression for men, particularly in terms of bolstering self-worth, is also stressed by Hans Toch (1969, 1994) in his classic studies of violence in men's prisons, and by James Gilligan (1992) on the basis of 25 year's experience working in a men's maximum security institution and prison hospital.

What is central to much of this analysis of women's behaviour is the self-control which women use to contain anger and aggression. Studies of everyday anger indicate that men

and women both report episodes of feeling angry with the same frequency, yet among women these are less likely to develop into aggression. In addition, however, men are able to use aggression without feeling angry. Rape and robbery Campbell suggests, two crimes committed almost always by men, are two examples of aggressive behaviour which is not usually associated with anger.

Women's capacity to empathise would appear to be one of the major explanations for the guilt women experience when they are angry or aggressive. Empathy is also one of the factors seen as central to therapies for controlling aggression, and an important dimension of the notion of antisocial personality among violent offenders.

Both Campbell and Lerner are clear in pointing out that within genders there are also wide differences in personality and upbringing which will lead to greater or lesser propensity to experience anger and to act aggressively. It is also recognized that both men and women may, at times, use aggression or violence instrumentally and expressively. Nevertheless, it is the constant reinforcement of men's and women's ways of behaving which help to maintain these very different social representations of anger and aggression.

Experiencing violence

What are the implications of men's greater ease with and use of aggression for women? Women are at much greater risk than men from violence in their daily lives from partners, acquaintances, friends, at home and in the workplace. They are at greater risk of physical and sexual violence from men they know. As children girls are more likely to be sexually abused than boys (Reiss and Roth 1993).

One of the `commonsense' views about violence is that experiencing it will lead to the subsequent use of violence. In an extensive review of the literature on childhood abuse and its links with subsequent delinquency, aggression, violence and abuse Widom (1989a & b) has established that this is not inevitable. Not all those who have experienced violence or sexual abuse as children will necessarily use it themselves against others. She concludes:

> `Being abused as a child may increase one's risk of becoming an abusive parent, delinquent, or an adult violent criminal. However, on the basis of the findings from the existing research literature, it cannot be said that the pathway is straight or certain.' (Widom 1989a p. 24).

In a subsequent study of the links between child abuse and neglect and adult criminal behaviour (1989b) she was also able to show that for both men and women such a background did influence the chances of adult offending, but that it had a greater effect on women since they generally have very low rates of offending:

> `experiencing early child abuse or neglect has a substantial impact on individuals with little likelihood of engaging in officially recorded adult criminal behaviour.' (p. 265)

She was also able to show that men (but not women) with a history of childhood abuse were also more likely to be convicted of violent offences than those without such a history. Among women such a history is also associated with a higher incidence of depression, and psychiatric treatment (Widom 1989b). Thus while it is evident that violence is common in the lives of many women in society, subsequent violent or offending behaviour is not inevitable.

When we consider those women who do come into conflict with the law, however, there is clear evidence of considerable experience of violence either in childhood or as adults. In Canada this has been found among women in federal and provincial prison populations, as well as women under community supervision (Comack, 1993; Shaw 1991b, 1994).

Moving from victim to offender

Many recent studies have traced the links between moving from victimized or defender status to that of offender or victimizer among women offenders (Chesney-Lind, 1989; Arnold, 1990; Gilfus, 1992; Higgs, Canavan & Meyer, 1992). In an American study Gilfus (1992) argues that economic, social and political marginality help to account for the fact that there is an overlap between being a victim of violence and being convicted for a violent offence:

> `The process of criminalization for women is indeed intricately connected to women's subordinate position in society where victimization by violence coupled with economic marginality related to race, class and gender all too often blur the boundaries between victims and offenders.' (p 86).

Exploring the links between being victimized, surviving, and becoming criminalized, she found that most of the women prisoners in her study had left home to escape from physical or sexual abuse, turned to illegal activites including prostitution in order to survive, and were in turn further victimized by friends, clients, pimps, drug pushers and the police.

> `When women have been violated and exploited as harshly and as often as the women in this study, one must ask how these experiences of violence affect women's development and women's moral orientation to the world. When extreme victimization is accompanied by poverty and racial discrimination, women may have very few options for survival by legal avenues and may find a sense of belonging and relational committment in the world of street crime when it is unattainable elsewhere.' (Gilfus, 1992 p.86).

Thus among women who enter the justice system the experience of violence in everyday situations is more common among some groups than others. Women from poorer social and economic backgrounds are likely to experience more violence on a daily basis than others, as are racial minorities. This may be from partners and friends, as well as from acquaintances and clients in working and street transactions. And apart from childhood

experiences of violence, prostitution, alcohol and drugs all place women involved in such activities at far greater risk of violence than others.

Alcohol and drugs

The role of substance abuse in aggression and violence is central, in terms of increasing aggressive reactions and lowering inhibitions (Reiss and Roth 1993). Maden, Swinton and Gunn (1994a) note a higher incidence of substance abuse problems in England and Wales among female than male prison populations (22% and 10% respectively). Brownstein et al., (1994) on the basis of a small group of women serving sentences for murder or manslaughter in New York State point to the prevalence of substance abuse as a major factor in their offences, as do other American studies of women charged with murder (Goetting 1987; Mann 1990a). Steffensmeier (1995) notes that a higher proportion of women prisoners than men committed their offences under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

Substance abuse among women federal offenders has been extensively reviewed by Lightfoot and Lambert (1991) and by Kendall (1993) but not in terms of its links to violent behaviour. Loucks and Zamble (1994) in a preliminary comparison of federally sentenced men and women found higher rates of alcoholism among men and of drug abuse among women. Moyer (1992) noted a much higher incidence of alcohol associated with murder or manslaughter charges among Aboriginals than non-Aboriginals.

Seabrook (1993) explored the relationship between alcohol, drugs, smoking and anger among women in the community, and found that prescription drug use was higher among women who felt anger, and among older women who drank more heavily. Most reviewers see substance abuse among women as symptomatic of other aspects of their lives (eg. Lightfoot and Lambert 1992).

Summary

Studies of violence by men appear to be moving away from single theory explanations towards more integrated approaches which take account of situational characteristics, social and economic factors as well as interpersonal factors. There has been increasing attention to developing understanding of women's use of anger, aggression and violence recognizing that most work in the field has been developed on the basis of men. This identifies differing socialization and up-bringing patterns for men and women which encourage men to use aggression, but women to suppress it. Women's use of aggression is characterised as largely expressive and men's as instrumental in gaining control. Thus the use of anger and aggression, ways of expressing it, reactions to its use, and the social reinforcements of such behaviours are very different for the two sexes.

Experiencing violence in childhood does not inevitably lead to its use as adults, nevertheless, among women in the criminal justice system a high proportion will have experienced some form of physical or sexual abuse as children or adults. Prison based studies indicate a link between the victimization of girls and criminalization, making them

more vulnerable to violence on the streets. Alcohol, and particularly drug use, are clearly associated with violence by women.

STUDIES OF FEMALE AGGRESSION AND VIOLENCE

This section examines the literature on violence by women in three main groups: a) studies of violence in the home; b) offence-based studies; and c) institutional studies. With the exception of child abuse, most reviewers agree that relatively few studies have been published on female aggression or violence, reflecting the rarity of female violence, and the dominance of interest in explaining male violence.

a. Violence in the home

Family violence research is plagued by many of the problems identified for criminal violence. These include the isolation of the different disciplines such as medicine, psychology or social work working in the field; the limitations of individual explanations; underreporting because of the tradition of privacy about family life; the limitations of definitions, classification methods and data collection; and gender blindness (McCall and Shields 1986; Schwartz 1989; Ohlin and Tonry 1989; Dougherty 1993; Reiss and Roth 1993).

The term `family violence' includes consideration of physical, sexual and psychological abuse between any family members, but in practice has focussed primarily on men's physical violence against partners and children (Ohlin & Tonry 1989; Strauss 1987; Light 1987; MacLeod 1987; DeKeseredy & Hinch, 1991). A major area of recent dispute, nevertheless, has centred around the issue of the relative contributions of men and women to violence within the home, allowing some researchers to claim that women use violence in the home as much as men. For example, Strauss & Gelles (1990) claimed on the basis of American survey data that `in contrast with their behaviour outside the family, within the family women are about as violent as men' (p. 11) and a Manitoba study by Sommer, Barnes & Murray (1992) made similar claims. It is still necessary for others to assert that:

> `Violence against wives..is often persistent and severe, occurs in the context of continuous intimidation and coercion, and is inextricably linked to attempts to dominate and control women (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly 1992, p. 71)

Much of this dispute centres around the methodology used, in particular the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) developed by Gelles (see Strauss & Gelles 1990), and the assumptions that violence by men and women can be regarded as the same phenomenon, that their power, responsibilities and status within the family are similar, and that their socialization patterns in relation to the use of aggression or violence are the same (Dobash et al., 1992; Dougherty, 1993; Campbell 1993). Thus Dobash et al., (1992) point out that the CTS in `measuring' incidents of violence perpetrated by husbands and wives fails to consider the `intentions, interpretations and the history of individuals' relationship' (p. 79) and cannot

measure the continued repetitious violence associated with battering. Faith (1993) notes that the Manitoba study (Sommer et al., 1992) included women throwing things, but not necessarily at their partner, in their definition of violence.

The evidence on the basis of the most serious outcome of violence in the home, murder, clearly underlines the very different consequences of such violence for men and women (Cote 1991; Dobash et al., 1992; Wilson and Daly 1993):

> `Men often kill wives after lengthy periods of prolonged physical violence accompanied by other forms of abuse and coercion; the roles in such cases are seldom if ever reversed. Men perpetrate familicidal massacres, killing spouse and children together; women do not. Men commonly hunt down and kill wives who have left them; women hardly ever behave similarly. Men kill wives as part of planned murder-suicides; analogous acts by women are almost unheard of. Men kill in response to revelations of wifely infidelity; women almost never respond similarly although their mates are often adulterous. The evidence is overwhelming that a large proportion of the spouse killings perpetrated by wives, but almost none of those perpetrated by husbands, are acts of self-defence.' (Dobash et al 1992 p. 81)

Dobash et al., (1992) also point out that part of the claim for the equivalence of male-female violence rests on the similar rates of spousal homicide in the US, a situation which is peculiar to that country alone as Wilson and Daly (1993) have demonstrated for Canada. It is also well recognized that the consequences of men's and women's violence within the home are also more severe for women (Stets & Strauss 1990; Reiss and Roth 1993). In Canada, women account for 80-90% of victims in assaults and sexual assaults between partners (Johnson, 1989). Even those who do argue that women are violent in the home conclude that `husbands as victims constitute an extremely small amount of incidents resulting in serious but not fatal injury.' (Strauss & Gelles 1990).

Faith (1993) notes that violence between same-sex partners has only recently been acknowledged, but that there is no evidence that `butches' are more aggressive than `femmes', and no association between lesbianism and violence (Lobell 1986; Brooks 1981 cited in Faith 1993).

As with all forms of violence, therefore, the dominance of male violence has meant that most research focusses on the characteristics of male batterers, on demonstrating their greater contribution to violence in the home, and on explanations which stress their power and control over women. Little has been written about women who are violent towards their partners except in the case of murder (Campbell 1993; Dougherty 1993). Stets & Strauss (1990) like Campbell (1993) suggests that men's violence against their partners is instrumental in maintaining control, while women's is an expression of their frustration or stress.

It is not only feminist writers, or those writing from the perspective of women as victims of abuse, who put forward such views. Reiss and Roth (1993) conclude that feminist theory

which focuses on the unequal distribution of power within the family is one of the most fruitful ways of understanding family violence and for developing prevention and intervention programmes.

Child abuse by women

Child abuse has not gone unnoticed by researchers as a serious social problem requiring understanding and intervention. While the research is extensive, gender is rarely a conceptual marker (for an exception see McCall & Shields 1986).

Feminist studies of child abuse have focussed almost solely on male perpetrators, an approach which Gordon (1987) argues should be transcended. Dougherty (1993 p. 94) argues that child abuse by women has `virtually been ignored' by those working from a women-centred perspective leaving only `gender neutral psychiatric factors and defects in character structure' as explanations.

> `Defending women against violence is so urgent that we fear women's loss of status as political, deserving `victims' if we acknowledge women's own aggressions. These complexities are at their greatest in the situation of mothers, because they are simultaneously victims and victimizers, dependent and depended upon, weak and powerful' (Gordon 1987 p. 69)

Nevertheless there are exception as Washbourne (1983) suggests:

> `feminists have recognized that women are on occasion violent towards men and understand that violence as the result of societal and interpersonal pressures on women. Women's violence towards children needs to be recognized and discussed in the same context. Women's abuse of children stems directly from their own oppression in society and within the family'. (p. 291)

No single definition of child abuse has been widely accepted (Garbarino 1989; Lenton 1990) and there is no consistency in the use of terms which may include `neglectful', `maltreating', `aggressive', `abusive', `physically abusive' and even `potentially abusive'. Some researchers include spanking as abuse, others exclude it. Such inconsistencies create methodological and theoretical problems (Keller & Erne 1983).

The extent of women's violence towards children

Since women undertake the majority of child care they are more likely to be reported in abuse statistics. Thus in England and Wales Heidensohn reported (1992) that natural mothers were implicated in 33% and natural fathers in 29% of physical abuse cases from 1983-87. However, when account was taken of who the child was living with, the fathers were implicated in 61% of cases and the mothers in 36%. As Gordon argues:

> `Given that men spend on the whole so much less time with children than women, what is remarkable is not that women are violent towards children but that men are responsible for nearly half of the child abuse.' (1987 p.69)

In the US, Gelles (1987) examined violence against children in a small sample of families known to agencies and the police for violence, and a group not so identified. Most of the violence involved spanking or slapping. Not surprisingly, he found mothers, the primary caretakers and disciplinarians, to be the most physically aggressive parent. Studies of child abuse treatment programmes also find an over-representation of women since they tend to be held during the day when fathers are unable to attend (Dougherty 1993). Furthermore:

> `women are always implicated because even when men are the culprits, women are usually the primary caretakers who have been, by definition, in some ways unable to protect the children.' (Gordon 1987 p.69)

It is of interest, however, that while the numbers of single parent households headed by women has increased, rates of severe violence in the family are decreasing. Ethier, Palacio-Quinton & Jourdan-Ionescu (1992) argue that three-quarters of `child maltreatment' cases involve neglect rather than violence.

Nonetheless, some mothers are violent towards their children. For Gordon (1987) this means that `child abuse research becomes more interesting and challenging to feminists'. The question becomes `what motivates women's rage and abuse of power'?

Mothers who abuse their children are most often the subject of clinical studies which tend to be `gender-blind' in failing to consider the differences between men and women's experiences within the family (Milner & Crouch 1993). Individual-based studies have not identified a clear psychological profile of parents who maltreat their children (Lenton 1990) and Milner and Crouch (1993) conclude that less than 10% of all child abusers in the US have psychiatric disturbances. The characteristics of child abusers which have been identified in such studies include hyper-reaction to misbehaviour of children (Bradley & Peters 1991) a sense of general incompetence, loss of control over one's life, overall distress and depression, anxiety, loneliness, occasional thought disorders, and an inability to cope with everyday, not to mention extraordinary, demands' (Meier (1995) in Dougherty 1993 p. 102). Dougherty argues that:

> `the exhibition of these specific types of behaviours and emotions by women is best understood as the manifestation of a generalized condition among women who conform to the normative expectations that the patriarchy sets for them, rather than as the manifestation of a defective character shared by abusive parents.' (p. 103)

Intergenerational explanations suggest that the majority of women who abuse children are themselves abused, they may recreate a disciplinary style which involves violence, inherit the same social realities such as poverty or isolation which leads to frustration and aggression, or react aggressively to a child's distress which recall's their own (Lenton 1990;

Ney 1988). As the discussion in the previous section outlined, however, the path from victim to victimizer is neither straight nor clear. Oldershaw, Walters & Hall (1989 p. 258) cite data that reveal `aggressive, non-compliant tendencies' in abused children, no differences between abused and non-abused children, or find abused children to be more compliant than others.

Cultural explanations suggest that certain cultures may sanction violence towards children. Lenton (1990) reports that some parents often believe they are rightly `disciplining' their children, rather than `abusing' them. In terms of situational factors, DeKeseredy & Hinch (1991) report that Canadian sociologists have spent little time studying child abuse. Studies of the role of stress (Milner & Crouch 1993) socio-economic disadvantage (Ethier et al., 1992-3; Friedrich & Wheeler 1982) isolation and lack of support (Lovell & Hawkins 1988) however, have all provided clear results. Overall, in a thorough review of the social and structural theories of family violence McCall & Shields (1986) conclude that while they may not be able to explain violence, they `cast light on how intrafamily violence is possible'. (p. 99)

Child sexual abuse

Information on child sexual abuse by women is rare, whether based on crime reports, clinic samples or random population surveys although there are indications of an increasing interest in the issue. The Virginia Child Protection Newsletter (VCPN) (1989) reports that 4% of offenders in a Dallas incest treatment programme were female, as well as 4% of perpetrators reported by a random sample of women. Studies which do exist are usually based on very small samples eg. Johnson (1989) or single case studies eg. Higgs, Canavan & Meyer (1992). Knopp and Lackey (1987) collated information from 44 treatment programmes and provide a detailed account of some of the problems of measuring incidence. Finkelhor and Russell (1984) based on two incidence studies estimated that some 14% of sexual abuse of boys was committed by females, and 6% of girls. The definitions used in such studies, however, are often vague or overinclusive. Thus one study reported by Finkelhor and Russell (1984) classified women as perpetrators of sexual abuse if they allowed sexual abuse to happen to their children.

Mathews, Matthews and Speltz (1991) distinguish between women who have been coerced into abuse by males, those `taught' without coercion, and those with a long history of family sexual abuse.

There is some indication that female sex abusers are more likely to have been sexually abused themselves than male abusers. Knopp and Lackey (1987) found that between 93-100% of female perpetrators in treatment had been sexually abused. Johnson (1989) discusses some of the literature in her own study of 13 girls aged 4 to 13 in a programme for sexual perpetrators. She found that all those in her study had been sexually abused, mostly by family members, and came from families with histories of sexual, physical and substance abuse. It is evident, nevertheless, that many women who experienced sexual

abuse in childhood do not become abusers. Higgs et al., (1992) suggest this is explained by women's socialization patterns which stress caring and nurturing.

Most reviewers, therefore, point to a constellation of factors associated with violence in the home, including stress, the social learning and family transmission of violence, social isolation, substance abuse, and poverty. A few stress the differential impacts of these factors on women.

b. Offence-based studies

In terms of violent crime, the few studies of women's violence have usually focussed on spectacular events such as murder or infanticide. Others forms of violence such as assaults and robbery, or violence by girls have been largely ignored.

Girls and adolescents

There has been `a virtual absence of studies concerned with the natural expression of aggression by girls' (Campbell 1982 p.138). The few studies of physical bullying in schools (Pulkkinen and Saastamoinen, 1986) suggest that, as with other forms of aggressive behaviour, it is twice as common among boys. Traditionally, delinquency studies have excluded girls. Among those which have compared boys and girls the much lower level of violent behaviour among girls than boys is evident (eg. Gomme 1985 in Simourd and Andrews, 1994; Kirsten 1990).

Campbell (1982, 1986, 1993) has explored the motivation for fights among working class girls. Fighting by adolescent girls she argues has tended to be interpreted as `chaotic activity reflecting individual pathology or inadequate socialization' rather than meaningful behaviour establishing their position in their social order (Campbell, 1982 p.138). In England and Wales she concluded that such fights, as with those among boys, helped to establish and maintain public self-respect and social status. In the US she reports that around 10% of gang members were estimated to be female (1993 p.125) and have always been a feature of gang life. Among girls in gangs in New York she found they were less concerned than boys with the use of aggression and criminal violence for monetary gain. Their use of aggression was to retain status and reputation, and to protect themselves from victimization. The gang offered acceptance and safety. Fear of loosing both, she argues, is transformed into belligerance - a shift from expressive to instrumental aggression:

> `Self-control and the containment of anger do nothing to prevent victimization. So they come to see aggression as a way of controlling other people. It becomes instrumental.... The indisputable law on the street is fight or get beaten. The reasoning that leads women to this instrumental use of aggression is not confined to the gang. Wherever women face lives of brutal exploitation that destroys their faith in the value of trust and intimacy, they will be driven to it.' (p. 140)

Such experience from the US should not be seen as universal, however. Reporting on girls in street gangs in Paris, Lagree and Fai (1989) concluded that they occupied a subordinate position in relation to the young men in the gangs, reflecting the sexual divisions of roles in the working class society from which they came. They were not involved in fighting and in fact debarred from taking part.

Recent media attention in the US has focussed on the emergence of `girl gangs' associated with the drug trade and violence (Maher & Curtis, 1995). Chesney-Lind (1992, in Faith 1993) argues, as do Maher and Curtis that their existence has been largely promoted by the media, and that there is little evidence to support a new wave of violent females. While girls do engage in violent acts on the streets, they are more likely to be the targets than initiators.

Infanticide/killing children

As noted earlier the interpretation of gender differences is difficult in this area because women are more likely to have care of children, often as single mothers, and to spend more time with them. In the US Reiss and Roth (1993) report that infants and small children are more likely to be killed by their mothers than their fathers, in part as a result of the mother's greater caretaking role. Child deaths are also likely to result from combinations of circumstances and actors eg. an individual parent, both parents, boy-friends, step parents and grandparents, foster parents and babysitters (Greenland 1987). They may result from a single event or an extended history of battering or neglect. In very rare cases they may be identified with severe pathology (eg. the Munchausen by Proxy Syndrome, Schreier & Libow 1993).

A detailed study of deaths from child abuse and neglect in Canada, the United Kingdom and the USA, and of the many problems of research in this field, was undertaken by Greenland (1987). Of the 100 cases examined in Ontario, he found that slightly more women than men were responsible for a child's death, they tended to be younger than male perpetrators, and the child more likely to die as a result of neglect than abuse. Male perpetrators were more likely to have injured the child physically. In the United Kingdom, among 68 deaths, there was a higher frequency of male perpetrators.

Greenland stresses the variety of circumstances in such deaths and the importance of studying a total population rather than the most extreme cases. In both samples he attributed the largest proportion of deaths to the `battered child syndrome', followed by child neglect and homicide (ie. a single event not related to a history of abuse). In both countries he also identified baby-sitters and temporary carers as a specific group. Some of the factors associated with high risk children and their parents were also identified. He concluded that the proportion of deaths attributable to mental illness was rare, and that there is an indisputable link between child abuse and neglect deaths, and poverty and family stress in all three countries.

Morris and Wilcznski (1993) in their study of mothers who kill their children report that children under one year of age made up 12% of all deaths in England and Wales in 1989. Most of those children were killed by parents. An analysis of all such cases where the suspect was a parent between 1982 and 1989, a total of 493, indicated that almost half of the children were killed by their mothers. As they underline, this is in marked contrast to other types of homicide where women are usually well outnumbered by men.

What is also evident from the work of Wilcznicki and Morris as well as other writers (eg. Allen, 1987a & b) is the differential way in which such men and women were treated by the courts. Of those originally charged with murder, more than half of the fathers were sentenced to imprisonment, compared with under 10% of the mothers. The great majority of those mothers were subsequently convicted on a lesser charge and received probation or (psychiatric) hospital orders. This was generally on the grounds of diminished responsibility (that at the time of the crime they suffering from an abnormality of the mind). Of those cases where the initial charge was manslaughter, just over half the mothers received a sentence of imprisonment, compared with the majority of the fathers. Thus overall, the criminal justice system in England and Wales is less likely to convict mothers who kill their children for murder, and less likely to sentence them to prison. In the USA the authors suggest, such mothers are more likely to receive a sentence of imprisonment.

Those mothers who do receive a prison sentence tend to be seen as `bad' mothers in contrast to otherwise `good' mothers who were seen to be suffering from some form of personality disorder or depressive illness. Morris and Wilczynski conclude that this tendency to see women's violent behaviour as unnatural is not in the end helpful to women. Like Greenland (1987) they argue that the reasons mothers may kill their children are `many and varied', and `normal' women can kill their children when they are confronted by social and economic circumstances which are severe enough' (p. 215). The focus on the pathology of the mother diverts attention away from the poverty and isolation in which such mothers often live and, they argue, their lack of social and economic power in a society which regards all women as natural mothers.

Husain, Anasseril and Harris (1983) in a study of 23 homicidal women admitted for pre-trial psychiatric evaluation found those who had killed a child were much younger than other women. Korbin (1989) in a study of nine women imprisoned for killing their child suggests that the deaths followed a pattern of abuse of the child, that the women had provided warning signals to professionals, family members and neighbours after previous incidents, and had rationalized and minimized the abuse to themselves. Her work confirms that of other researchers in the field in highlighting the `plethora of adverse conditions and risk factors' in the life histories and current circumstances of the women, including their own histories of abuse. On the basis of other work in the field (eg. Daro 1987; Fontana & Alfaro 1987) she suggests that prediction of such fatal incidents may be impossible, but that intervention and education should be directed beyond individual families to community networks which can support them, and research, at the circumstances leading to such events.

Murder and manslaughter

As has already been indicated, the most infrequent violent behaviour by women has received the greatest amount of attention. Over ten years ago in a study of women as victims and perpetrators of homicide, Wilbanks (1982) noted the relative lack of good accounts of murder by women, and the reliance on mythology or sexual steriotypes about women which were generally used to explain such murders. Again, explanations of murder by men he argued, as Allen (1987) has also convincingly shown, have usually been in terms of poor socialization, or economic or financial factors, but for women, in terms of mental instability or pathology.

Wilbanks also noted the problems of interpreting `official' data on murder or manslaughter given that a charge or conviction itself reflects the interpretation of an event which might in other circumstances have been seen as an accident; of the limitations of clinical studies which `explain' individual motivation; and of the limitations of prison-based studies which examine the characteristics of prison populations of women who kill. All such studies, he suggested, have serious biases. The selective processes which result in a charge being laid, the type of charge, a finding of guilt and the type of sentence, all filter out cases which might provide a more balanced picture of women whose actions result in a death.

As has been indicated, it has long been recognized that when women commit murder it usually involves a close partner or relative (Rasche, 1990; d'Orban 1990). Since the early 1980's there has been a considerable increase in studies of homicide by women, most of them American (Husain, Anasseril & Harris 1983; Weisheit 1986; Browne 1986, 1987; Ewing 1986; Goetting 1987, 1988; Walker 1989; Daly and Wilson 1988, 1992, Wilson, Daly and Wright 1990; Block 1990; Jurik and Winn 1990; Bannister 1991; Silverman and Kennedy 1993). The great majority of these accounts, as the discussion of family violence suggests, situate killing by women in the context of their histories of abuse within the family, and as acts of self-defence (Browne & Williams 1989).

Few of these accounts consider murder of a partner which does not follow this pattern. As Dobash and Dobash argue (1994)

> `There are of course some exceptions to this pattern...but such cases are relatively rare in comparison to the general pattern...and would not pose a challenge to the dominant statistically established pattern of domestic homicides which are committed in the context of male violence.' (p. 17).

In the USA there have also been a number of studies exploring the apparently high rate of homicides among black women (eg. McClain 1982-83; Mann 1990b) and the links with alcohol or drug use by both women convicted of murder and their partners (Mann 1990a; Goetting 1987; Brownstein et al 1994; Blount et al., 1994). The later suggest that substance abuse by both parties is more likely to be present in situations where women kill an abusive partner, than among abused women who do not.

Few accounts consider murder outside a domestic situation. A number of writers have reported that multiple or serial murder is almost always, although not exclusively, committed by men (Skrapec 1993; Gresswell & Hollin, 1994). Other accounts include discursive studies of notorious cases and their representation by the press and public, including the case of Aileen Warnos characterised as the first female serial killer (Birch 1993; Skrapec 1993).

Canadian studies of murder and manslaughter

In Canada there have been a number of studies of male and female conjugal homicides (eg. Daly & Wilson 1993; Wilson, Daly & Wright 1990; Cote 1991; Silverman and Kennedy, 1993) `documentary' studies of women who kill (eg. Priest, 1992; Vallee, 1986) biographical and autobiographical accounts (Walford, 1987; MacDonald & Gould, 1987) and empirical descriptive studies (Silverman and Kennedy, 1987, 1988, 1993; Nouwens, 1991; Moyer, 1992). Moyer, Nouwens and Silverman and Kennedy have also documented differences between rates of homicide by Aboriginal and non-aboriginal women, and the links between murder and alcohol or drug abuse.

Silverman and Kennedy (1993) using data compiled from police reports of murder for 1961-1990 reports that `the trend in rates of killing by women...has been very stable since the early 1970's' (p. 146) while that by men has risen considerably. Secondly, they confirm that most homicides by women take place within a domestic context, 75% of female offenders kill members of their own family, 40% a partner, and 22% a child. They tend to be relatively young, and two-thirds of them married or cohabiting. They almost all kill alone (89%) and only one victim (95%). Two-thirds are white (65%) but 28% Aboriginal.

This overrepresentation of Aboriginal women (and men) is explored further by Sharon Moyer (1992) in a comparative study of murder and manslaughter by Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals between 1962 and 1984. Using police reports of incidents she found that 30% of all female suspects were Aboriginal compared with 18% of male suspects. In addition, there had been an increase in the proportion of Aboriginal women suspects between 1962 and 1984 from 12% to 22%, while among non-Aboriginal women the rates increased little (from 10% to 12%). Police reports also indicated that Aboriginal women were less likely to kill someone in a domestic situation than non-Aboriginal women (57% compared with 72%). Among young offenders (or those under 18 years) there were similarly greater increases in the involvement of Aboriginal girls over the twenty year period than non-Aboriginals, although it is important to stress that the total number of female young offenders involved was very small (125).

While information on sentencing in Canada is very limited, Moyer suggests some important differences in how the courts dealt with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. An analysis of court data for 1976 and 1980 indicated that non-Aboriginal women were more likely to be found unfit to stand trial than Aboriginal women, and 21% of the former were found not guilty by reason of insanity compared with 2% of Aboriginals. On the other hand, when both groups of women were sentenced, Aboriginal women were more

likely to be convicted of manslaughter and given shorter sentences than non-Aboriginal women. The latter were more often given life sentences for first or second degree murder. Nevertheless, over half of the women in both groups received either a non-custodial sentence or a provincial sentence under two years.

Similar patterns of conviction and sentence were noted by Nouwens (1991) in a review of all women receiving federal sentences between 1971 and 1990 for murder or manslaughter. While this review excluded women who had not received a federal sentence, of the 293 women in the sample, 61% were Caucasian, 34% Aboriginal (including Metis and Inuit) and the remaining 5% other races. She found that 91% of Aboriginal women had served sentences for manslaughter rather than murder, compared with 64% of the non-Aboriginal women. Their sentences were also shorter, an average of 3.7 years compared with 5.7 for the non-Aboriginal women, and given that few had been convicted of first or second degree murder, very few received life sentences. The Aboriginal women also tended to be younger than the rest, and more likely to be serving their first federal term.

As Moyer (1992) has pointed out, however, such descriptive material cannot take account of the social contexts in which the events took place, nor the social and economic changes which have affected the lives of Aboriginal women over the past 20 or 30 years.

On the basis of a file review of 85 women serving federal sentences for murder or manslaughter in 1989, the variety of immediate circumstances is evident (Shaw 1992). Some had killed an abusive partner, or an acquaintance after sexual advances; some a lover or a member of a lover's family; some had killed someone in a very complex situation after days of drinking and drug use, and often had no recollection of the event; some had killed clients or acquaintances such a `Johns' or drug dealers; a few had killed a child, although not always their own; four women had been convicted of murder as a partner in a robbery.

Walford (1987) and Priest (1992) provide biographical accounts of women convicted of murder or manslaughter in Canada. They too underline the variety of circumstances and chance which are involved, illustrating that the act may be `accidental' or planned, the outcome of a long history of abuse, or a response to overwhelming frustration. Priest, however, still feels compelled to demonize and differentiate the `genuine killers' from the rest. Overall, much of the literature on women committing murder or manslaughter points, as Faith (1993) underlines, to the ordinariness of most women who do so, not to their extraordinary and abnormal characteristics.

Assaults and robbery

Pat Carlen (1988) is one the few writers who has not shied away from considering women's potential for violence, but does so in the context of their experiences of growing up as women. In her study of the criminal careers of 39 working class women in England and Wales she found that they:

> `had between them committed the whole gamut of more serious crimes including `granny bashing', `baby bashing', `mugging', armed robbery, arson...'(p.17)

This is not surprising given that she had specifically selected the sample to enable her to look at the lives of long-term offenders. A number of them had been members of mixed hell-raising gangs as teenagers, where fighting was just one source of excitement. They had lived in predominantly poor areas where crime and fighting was a way of life. Twenty two of the 39 women had been placed in children's homes `in Care' for behaviour or family reasons rather than breaking the law. They had chosen to offend in response to finding themselves exploited because of their working-class origins, their unwillingness to conform to gender expectations, and in some cases their race. She argues that their experience in Care in particular had had very negative consequences.

Fourteen of the 39 women had convictions for violence against the person (although only three for robbery). Asked how they had learnt to fight, most said they had been forced to fight or threathen violence in order to survive family life, street life, Care, welfare surveillance, Borstal (youth custody), police or prison. They stressed they had only used violence as adults when they had felt threathened.

Warren & Rosenbaum (1986) in a follow-up study of Californian women committed for status and offence behaviour as adolescents found that all had offended as adults, including 35% arrested for a violent offences. On the other hand two thirds of those arrested for violence as juveniles had no further arrests for violence as adults. More recent concerns in the US have centred on increases in violence by male and female cocaine users. Maher & Curtis (1995) review some of this research in their study of women and crack cocaine in New York and cite Inciardi (1986) as claiming that the `new female criminal' had arrived. This is countered by other research (eg. Goldstein et al., 1991) indicating that among male users there is an increase in the use of violence, but among female users an increase in victimization. Mayer and Curtis confirm Goldstein's findings and conclude that there is little evidence of the violent female urban `Gansta':

> `It is the everyday contexts in which these women work that provide the high propensity for violence, not the women themselves.' (p. 161).

Very little research has been completed on women charged with robbery. Immarigeon and Chesney-Lind (1992) report (although based on studies up to 1977) that women's role in robbery is less active than men's and they are not usually the initiators. A more recent study by Sommers and Baskin (1991) reported in Maher & Curtis (1995) suggests that drugs and a prior history of prostitution are important factors in robberies by women in the US.

In Canada, Loucks and Zamble (1994) in a selected study reported higher proportions of women serving a federal sentence for assault than men, and lower levels for robbery. Only two studies have considered robbery specifically. Girouard (1988) looked at the offence characteristics of all 13 women serving sentences for robbery in Quebec in 1985. He concluded that while vastly outnumbered by the numbers of men committed for robbery,

these women's involvement was generally as serious as that of men, requiring various combinations of planning, intimidation and aggression. Over three-quarters acted with a male partner but did not necessarily play a peripheral role.

In the second, and broader study, Savard and Biron (1986) interviewed 19 women convicted of non-domestic violent crimes in Quebec. They excluded offences involving a family member or cases indicating mental disturbance. Eleven had been convicted for armed robbery, five manslaughter, two attempted murder and two kidnapping, but they stress that such violent offences were the exception in their patterns of offending behaviour. Even among those with considerable offence histories, the use of violence was sporadic and rare. Evidence of violence and sexual abuse in their childhood, running away from home and surviving on the street through drugs, theft and prostitution was much more common.

c. Institutional studies

A few studies based on populations of offenders in institutions have included consideration of violent women. They have included basic descriptive studies of female prison populations (Robertson, Bankier & Swartz 1987; Long, Sultan, Keifer and Schrum 1984; Shaw 1992, 1994); differences between non-violent and violent female offenders (Balthazar and Cook 1984); comparisons of male and female serious offender populations (Loucks and Zamble 1994); surveys of psychiatric diagnoses in male and female prison populations (Maden, Swinton & Gunn 1994) and of psychiatric diagnosis and violence (Brownstone and Swaminath 1989).

Balthazar and Cook (1984) could find no factors differentiating women sentenced for violent and non-violent offences. The most detailed accounts tend to be those based on psychiatric assessments, and using standardized psychological or psychiatric measures. In general they focus on current or past diagnosis of pathology and on individual demographic factors which are not placed in the context of the lives of the women. Many focus on the long-standing finding of higher levels of psychiatric disorders among women compared with men in institutional populations.

One of the most recent and detailed accounts by Maden et al (1994a 1994b) is based on samples of male and female prison populations in England and Wales. They recognize some of the problems of studies based on institutional populations including the differential processing of men and women through the courts which influences gender differences in prison populations, that cross-sectional studies are biased towards those serving long sentences, and that individual prison staff can influence levels of recorded diagnoses. They noted a higher prevalence of personality disorder, neurosis, mental handicap, drug abuse and self-harm among women than men, but stress that not all female prisoners were more disordered than male prisoners, nor that they all had a higher need for psychiatric treatment. Their only finding in relation to violent offending is its relationship to self-harm (suicide attempts as well as cutting).

A study of women admitted to Winnepeg Remand Centre (Robertson et al., 1987) fails to consider race as a variable when some two thirds of the female prison population in that province are likely to be Aboriginal (Comack, 1993). Their findings in relation to violent offences included an association with drug and alcohol abuse, a past history of violence, a family history of crime, alcoholism and physical abuse, low education and socio-economic status, and childhood disruption.

Brownstone and Swaminath (1989) undertook a retrospective study of female offenders admitted to psychiatric hospital for psychiatric assessment or under a Warrant of the Lieutenant Governor. Over half the sample had been charged with a violent offence. They found that women with longer criminal histories were not more violent than others, and no relationship between type of crime and specific diagnosis. They recognized their sample as unrepresentative, and suggested that violence may be too complex an event to predict on the basis of demographic variables. They suggest the need to examine the history of sexual and physical abuse, as well as family history and other factors in relationship to criminality.

Loucks and Zamble (1994) report the preliminary findings of a study comparing selected male and female federally sentenced offenders, convicted of `serious crimes'. They do not indicate how they selected their sample nor defined `serious', and note that the women included were not representative of female offenders as a whole. The main differences noted were in the much higher incidence of previous suicide attempts, depression and drug abuse among the women than the men.

On the basis of her study of 30 violent female offenders at the Prison For Women, Julie Darke (1987) outlined the prolonged and severe physical and sexual abuse they experienced as they grew up, much of it by family members or friends. Mostly, but not always, the assailants were men, and the abuse continued for periods of up to 15 years. The women's response included considerable anger and lack of trust in people, especially men. They tended to blame themselves for their past abuse, and felt out of control and powerless.

> `Given the justifiable reasons for anger, it should come as no surprise that 73% of these women have problems with anger control and personal aggression. They have periods of explosions. The tendency of women on the street is to suppress anger until there is an event which triggers some kind of lashing out or explosion. Some may allow themselves to express their anger only under the influence of drugs and alcohol.'(Ibid. p.143)

In prison they appeared passive and withdrawn much of the time. The majority had histories of depression, attempted suicide and slashing, and substance abuse.

> `To alleviate feelings of powerlessness, some women take on the facade of being aggressive and invulnerable. This facade is traditionally male in a lot of ways. It may be seen as the only alternative for some of these women breaking from a stereotypically passive and vulnerable female role.' (Ibid. p.144)

Violence in institutions

It is important to separate a conviction for a violent offence from the use of aggressive or violent behaviour in prison. It is recognized that offenders convicted for murder, for example, and those serving long sentences are less likely to be charged with discipline offences in prison than others (see discussion in Shaw 1991a; Faith 1993).

Most studies of institutional violence, whether general hospitals, psychiatric hospitals or correctional institutions, underline the fact that serious assaults are rare, and are usually committed by a small minority of individuals (Rice, Harris, Varney and Quinsey 1989; Zamble & Porporino 1988; Davies 1991). They tend to be young and male and in psychiatric hospitals, to have `low coping skills', be likely to self-injure or attempt suicide, and to be withdrawn or depressed. Rice et al., (1989) on the basis of 15 years study of institutional violence point out that the great majority of the literature has focussed on the individual characteristics of assaultive individuals. Only more recently have situational or structural explanations been considered.

In a recent review Davies (1991) similarly argues that violence in institutions is an interactive phenomenon. Overcrowding, provocation by staff or other inmates, staff inexperience or tolerance of violence are all situational factors which interact with individual and systemic factors. Both Rice et al., and Davies underline the fact that staff are often unaware of triggering an event, while patients claimed they were provoked. Assaults were often associated with staff demands for action, refusal of requests, or the imposition of sanctions. They concluded that assaults resulted from an interaction between environmental and internal factors and could not be explained by patient pathology.

On the basis of their findings, Rice and her colleagues developed a staff training programme to develop skills in handling patients and situations using non-restrictive, nonauthoritarian and nonprovocative ways of interacting with them, and the indentification of situational factors associated with assaults.

Violence by women in prison

As Axon notes (1989) many female offenders come from very abusive backgrounds in which they were either victimized and/or do not learn appropriate ways of handling violence. `Many women suffer from unrecognized and unexpressed grief and rage which may escape their control. In prison, living conditions are stressful and may trigger underlying fears and emotions.' (p. 53)

Although in some countries disciplinary charges in men's and women's prisons may be similar, or even higher for women, there is considerable evidence that women are charged for more trivial behaviour than men and much less serious violence (Lindquist 1980; Hattem 1984; Nesbitt & Argento 1984; Mandaraka-Sheppard 1986; Shaw 1991a; Kersten 1990). Higher rates of discipline charges are found in institutions with higher security, and in young offender institutions, and among young single women. Women are more likely

than men to act alone rather than in a group. Women serving shorter sentences tend to be charged more than long-termers. Lindquist (1980) found that both men and women with a history of juvenile incarceration were more likely to be charged than others.

There is also evidence that, as in men's institutions, women sentenced for crimes against children are more likely to be the targets of attack by other inmates (Carlen 1985; Faith 1993).

Comparing institutions for male and female adolescents Kersten (1990) found major differences in the extent and type of aggressive and violent behaviour. Girls were more likely to self injure or attempt suicide, and less likely to fight than boys. There were also clear expectations about `feminine' and `masculine' behaviour which were penalized in the case of the girls.

In the only detailed comparative study of discipline in women's prisons, Mandaraka-Sheppard (1986) demonstrated that organizational practices including punishment methods, the quality of inmate/staff relations, staff age and experience, a perceived lack of autonomy, and lack of incentives to good behaviour were the main factors explaining discipline charges, and not age, offence histories or a history of violent behaviour.

Her study, based on prisons in England and Wales, highlights the importance of inmates' perceptions of events and the dynamics of interaction in the prison setting. Inmates saw boredom and provocation as the main factor leading to fights and arguments. The witholding of their rights, favouritism, unfairness or victimization were seen as the main source of confrontation with staff. Physical violence was significantly higher in high security prisons, individual rather than collective, and involved younger women who felt the institution to be a hostile environment.

> `Inmates who responded defiantly, and whose behaviour took the form of physical violence, were more likely to interpret the actions of others in the prison environment (either staff or inmates) as hostile and threathening to their autonomy, not withstanding the degree of their rated potency and previous violent criminal record.'(Ibid. p.203)

But the comparison between institutions made it clear that not all institutions induced the same responses from such women. Moreover, Mandaraka-Sheppard stresses the adverse consequences of labelling women as manipulative, violent or dangerous which set up staff expectations, encouraged the hostile interpretation of actions and induced resistence:

> `Physical violence was more likely to be a result of harsh institutional practices, which induced defiant responses on the part of inmates, which in turn shaped the form of overt behaviour resulting in more punishment'(Ibid. p.203)

A number of writers have noted the tendancy to medicalize women's violence in institutions, and the use of drugs to deal with women perceived to be violent (Mandaraka-Sheppard 1986; Sim 1990; Hattem 1992).

Self injury and suicide

Many studies of women indicate that violence is more likely to be inflicted on themselves, in terms of suicide attempts or slashing, than other people, and that this is particularly true of women in institutions. Kersten (1990) found a higher incidence of suicide and self-injury in institutions for female adolescents in Germany and Australia than boys' institutions. Loucks and Zamble (1994) report higher rates among federally sentenced women (48% a prior suicide attempt) than federally sentenced men (13% a prior suicide attempt). Darke (1987) reported a history of suicide and slashing among violent offenders at the Prison for Women. Similar findings are reported by Maden, Swinton and Gunn (1994b) among male and female prisoners in England and Wales (32% of the women reported prior self-injury or suicide attempts and 17% of the men). They also confirmed other findings that self-injury was also higher among women sentenced for a violent offence than others (Cookson 1977; Wilkins and Coid 1991).

Grossman (1992) considers the disproportionate incidence of suicide among Aboriginal women in the federal population, and stresses the importance of recognizing the impact of the institution as well as the history of violence and discrimination experienced by Aboriginal women. Jan Heney (1990) has stressed the high level of childhood sexual abuse and physical abuse among women at the Prison for Women who self-injure or attempt suicide.

Summary

This section has reviewed three areas of work on women's violence: violence in the home; offence-based studies; institutional studies. The literature illustrates the considerable disputes and differences in approach and methods used, and the lack of consensus over definitions and measurement.

Much of the literature relating to women's violence in the home is concerned with arguments over the extent of such violence and whether male and female actions can be equated. Most reviewers suggest a constellation of factors associated with such violence, including social learning and the family transmission of violence, stress, poverty, social isolation, and substance abuse. The differential experiences of women and men in the family in terms of their socialization, their use of anger and aggression, and the unequal distribution of power and status are seen as the most fruitful ways for understanding such violence and developing prevention and intervention programmes.

Offence-based studies provide very patchy information about women's violence reflecting the arbitrary nature of many categories. Most of the literature focusses on the least frequent offence of murder, and in terms of its links to family violence. The differential response of

justice systems to men and women's violence is evident. What little work exists on adolescents, and on assault and robbery by women suggests considerable histories of abuse, family disruption, institutional care, substance abuse and street crime.

Institutional studies which consider women's violence often include demographic and descriptive surveys using standarized psychiatric and psychological measures. They do not take account of context of women's violence, or the problems of pathologizing women's behaviour. Disruptive family backgrounds and abuse histories, substance abuse, slashing and suicide attempts would appear to be common among women who use violence more than others.

Finally, studies of violence in institutions suggest that the differences between men and women's behaviour in institutions is in keeping with accounts of the differential socialization of men and women in the use of anger and aggression. The factors associated with the production of disciplinary events including management and organizational practices, would appear to be similar in both men's and women's institutions. While there are many problems in comparing violence and discipline in male and female institutions, size, management style, inmate-staff relations and staff training would all appear to be crucial factors. In women's institutions the differences in women's use and expression of anger and aggression, and the severe consequences of past experiences of abuse particularly among those likely to use violence or self-injure in prison, reinforce the crucial importance of staff training and alternative responses, apart from any programmes developed for the women themselves.

MEASUREMENT AND TOOLS

On the existence of measures and tools for women in this field there is almost nothing to report. Most of the measurement tools, or evaluations in the fields of anger management, assessment of risk and need, risk prediction, institutional violence and assault, are based on men, or relate to male populations.

Thomas (1993) similarly stresses that tools for measuring women's anger have not been developed. `Many of the anger tools in current use were developed by men (eg. Spielberger et al., (1983) and a common method of tool development was borrowing items from previously developed tools.' (p. 261) None consider women's own accounts of how they feel when angry. Thus she points out that most tools cite hitting as an expression of anger, but never crying, a common response elicted from the women in her study.

Most institutional classification systems concerned with assessing risk and need, as well as being based on male populations, are American. Assessments of their relevance to women offenders indicate that they consistently overclassify women in security terms (as has been true in Canada too) have not been adjusted to suit female populations, nor validated for females (Nesbitt and Argento 1984; Burke and Adams 1991; Shaw 1991a). The primary

emphasis of many of these scales is on security and risk rather than need, although it is recognized that women are much less violent in prison or outside than men. In a discussion of security classification in innovative women's prisons in the US, Axon (1989 p. 72) notes that it was regarded as `a very simple undertaking for female offenders' and did not require a highly sophisticated classification system.

A few attempts to apply existing risk predictors used for men to female populations have been made. Loucks and Zamble (1994) report preliminary findings from such a study of federal offenders. Simourd and Andrews (1994) in a meta-analysis of delinquency studies found that risk factors for male and female delinquents were similar. Bonta, Pang, Wallace-Capretta (in press) report on the review of prediction studies by Gendreau et al., (1992) which demonstrated that very few studies had included female populations. Their own study applying the SIR scale (Statistical Prediction of Recidivism) used for federal parole prediction to federally sentenced women found that most women classified as low risk, and there was only a mild association with recidivism. A number of risk factors which are predictive of men's recidivism fail to do so for women. Their attempt to include factors more appropriate for female offenders also failed to produce positive results. Finally, Coulson (1993) reported on the use of the LSI (Level of Supervision Inventory) to predict recidivism for provincially sentenced women in Ontario. He concludes that it appeared to be useful for selecting high and low risk women for parole and half-way house placement. The study also demonstrated, however, the much lower average risk scores of women, compared with provincially sentenced males, in Ontario.

Assessment tools developed for women

In recognition of the need to develop tools which are more women-centred Scarth and McLean (1993) have proposed the use of women's own knowledge to aid in the development of a psychological skills and needs inventory for women. They outline many of the problems raised by traditional assessments which fail to take account of women's experience as women. Apart from a treatment needs assessment for women with substance abuse problems, also developed at the Prison For Women (Lightfoot and Lambert 1991, 1992) there would seem to be little progress so far in this area. That study does highlight the fact that many women were not diagnosed as dependant on drugs or alcohol, nor abusers, yet reported serious impairment on the day of their offence (Lightfoot and Lambert 1992) underlining the limitations of standardized classification systems.

Overall, the size of an institution, its overall goals, and the characteristics of its inmates would all seem to be important factors determining risk. The federally sentenced female population, and the new facilities will be very small compared with many State and federal institutions in the USA, as well as male penitentiaries in Canada. Because of the two year rule, a high proportion of the female population are convicted of murder or manslaughter, are likely to be first offenders, and unlikely to reoffend. Since the overall focus set out in *Creating Choices* is to be on the needs of the women, it is questionnable whether a classification tool developed primarily for risk prediction would be useful. In addition, as

the previous section underlined, institutional behaviour, which is often used to classify risk, focusses on individual behaviour without assessing the role of the institution in an event.

PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT

The following section offers some guidance, on the basis of the literature examined, for the development of programmes which focus on women's anger, aggression and violence. As has been underlined above, it is rarely useful to talk about violent women given the diversity of behaviour involved, and the variety of circumstances and situational factors. Such programmes should more appropriately be based on the following assumptions:

1. That some women, because of their experiences, have a greater propensity to use violence than others, or in certain circumstances, and to use it against themselves. This is not the same as labelling them violent and anticipating violence on their part.

2. That the situational context in which violent incidents occur is of central importance, and there is a need to develop management practices and programmes which help both inmate and staff develop a better understanding of how to anticipate, avoid, and develop alternative responses.

3. That many women sentenced for a violent offence have rarely used violence before. For these women, as well as others, there may be value in programmes which can help to develop understanding of women's use of anger and aggression, and about how they can be used constructively in our lives, as well as dealing with the grief accompanying violence.

4. That exploring the sources of family violence and child abuse and neglect may be helpful for women who have experienced abusive relationships, as well as for developing an understanding of women's abuse of children.

Existing programmes

As with measurement tools, most programme development relating to violence including anger management or batterers programmes have been developed for men. A few programmes which touch on anger management and understanding violence do exist in women's institutions or in the community in America. In the community a number of programmes concerned with women at risk, or abusive of children have been identified, but few of them work from a women-centred perspective, or use innovative approaches. No programmes for women in psychiatric settings were identified.

Overall, there is little evidence of programme evaluation for women's programmes in terms of their long-term effectiveness. A number of programmes using a women-centred approach rely on end-of-programme evaluations, which, as Kendall (1993) identified are

usually very reponsive and positive. Kendall's evaluation of feminist programmes at the Prison for Women (1993) stands apart as one of the few attempts to consider the implications of such work with women in a prison setting.

A number of the programmes cited in recent literature appear to be directed towards the immediate goal of institutional management and violence reduction rather than longer term goals. These include an anger management programme for women (Smith et al., 1994) cognitive skills training for women (Haworth, 1993) and programmes for the reduction of assaults in psychiatric hospitals and correctional institutions (Rice et al., 1989) conflict resolution training for inmates and staff (Love, 1994) and pet therapy (Haynes, 1994).

Some of these approaches appear to have been successful in reducing the incidence of assaults or aggressive incidents in institutions including prisons. However, some of the programmes which have been used for women show no evidence of awareness of gender differences. The anger management programme for women in prison described by Smith, Smith & Becker (1994) utilized the American Psychiatric Associations's DSM III to explain why people become angry, and made no attempt to place anger within the context of women's lives and socialization patterns. (A critique of the lack of scientific basis in decisions about what is `normal' behaviour for women, and of the process of development of some of the DSM classifications for women is given by Caplan (1991)).

Much of the current focus of treatment programmes in male institutions stresses the targetting of offenders, and the identification of high need as a criterion for programme entry. In an account of the characteristics of successful programmes, Coulson and Nutbrown (1992) outline what they term the structural features of programmes, such as cognitive skills training, which have shown success. These include positive reinforcement and motivation of clients (`it's your job to motivate them, don't blame the clients'); `learning by doing' with the use of a lot of structured activities; drawing material from a variety of sources; the integration of components within the programme, and the use of repetition; active participation from the teacher; working within the everyday world of the clients; monitoring of progress, and programme evaluation. All these components would appear to be useful for the development of programmes for women.

There is also a stress, however, on the use of `heavily scripted' instructions and a highly structured programme which is geared to a specific and high-need clientele. In part this is to facilitate careful programme evaluation. However, these components suggest a rigidity in the approach to programme development which is incompatible with some of the primary factors identified as important for women (Beleneky et al., 1986; Smolick 1990; Kendall 1993). These include the utilization of peer support and experiences, the development of programmes around the needs of the particular women involved in a programme, the need to have time and flexibility to deal with personal issues raised by the women, and the reduction of hierarchy between the teacher and the clients. Coulson and Nutbrown also argue that `defining and dealing with offenders as victims of putative imperfections in social and economic structures will provide nothing for them except a new

set of excuses' (p. 206) suggesting that the notion of contextualizing women's experiences is not part of their aim, or that they may misunderstand the concepts of programmes developed specifically for women.

Women-specific approaches

General programme development for women's prisons in the US was extensively reviewed by Axon (1989) and more recently by Kendall (1993). Kendall has provided a clear account of the components of a woman-centred approach for both individual and group programming which will not be repeated here. She also discusses the difficulties of developing programmes within a prison setting, and some of the incompatibilities between the philosophy of a woman-centred approach and prison regimes.

Kendall outlines the principles of feminist therapy as a philosophy - rather than a method - of treatment which forms the basis for much women-centred programming. It attempts to reduce the distance between counsellor and client, focusses on contextualizing women's lives and actions, and working with their experiences. This approach can be used for both group programmes, guiding and training self-help support groups, and individual counselling.

In part this approach to programme development for women utilizes recent understanding about how women approach ideas. In their discussion of women's approach to knowledge and learning Belenkey, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) argue that:

> `educators can help women develop their own authentic voices if they emphasise connection over separation, understanding and acceptance over assessment, and collaboration over debate; if they accord respect to and allow time for the knowledge that emerges from firsthand experience; if instead of imposing their own expectations and arbitrary requirements, they encourage students to evolve their own patterns of work based on the problems they are pursuing. These are the lessons we have learned in listening to women's voices.' (p. 229)

A few feminist group work programmes in women's prisons which are relevant to women's anger and violence are reported by Kendall (1993) to which the reader is referred for a more detailed discussion. The Family Violence Programme at Bedford Hills Correctional Facility (New York State) (Smolick 1990) would appear to be an exemplary and successful programme although it has not been systematically evaluated. While the framework of the programme is concerned with family violence, it includes work with women sentenced for child-related crimes. This programme is voluntary, without systematic screening apart from a history of violence in their lives, and self-determined by the individual women in terms of what needs and issues they regard as pressing. It offers a variety of groups, including a peer support group for women sentenced for killing a child, as well as individual counselling and staff training, and programme staff may mediate in situations of violence within the institution. The peer support group for women sentenced

for child death (Kaplan 1988) appears to be particularly effective in providing support for the women most likely to be victimized within the institution.

Kendall also gives an account of an anger group for female offenders at Renz Correctional Facility (Columbia, Missouri) (Wilfley, Rodon & Anderson, 1986) designed to help women acknowledge, accept and release their anger constructively.

The Peer-Support Programme developed at the Prison for Women (Pollack 1993) was designed to provide a network of counselling and support for women who self-injure (Heney 1990) and clearly relates to the needs of women who act violently. Pollack's evaluation of the programme suggests that both peer counsellors and those who received counselling felt more self-confidence and empowerment, and greater trust and understanding.

Axon (1989) in her review of exemplary programmes for women outlines a number of American programmes in women's prisons which deal with issues of aggression and violence. These include an Alternative to Violence programme adapted (it is not known how well) from a programme for men, and used in a number of women's prisons. It provides two three-day workshops to develop skills in relation to the use of anger and violence, and a follow-up advanced workshop on factors contributing to violence such as fear and anger. She also notes a programme for female sexual offenders which forms part of the Genesis II programme in Minneapolis (Mathews, Matthews & Speltz 1989). The Virginia Child Protection Newsletter (1989) also provides a range of information on programmes and treatment approaches for female sex offenders.

Other American programmes which would appear to be of some relevance are reported in Immarigeon and Chesney-Lind (1992). These include a community-based programme Our New Beginnings in Portland Oregan developed by women serving time in the 1980's, which includes anger counselling services, and The Women at Risk programme in North Carolina which runs four 12 week-cycle groups teaching problem-solving and parenting techniques which do not rely on violence or self-destructive behaviour.

A family violence prevention programme Home Improvement -Tools for Building Better Relationships was recently piloted by Jane Katz and Cheryl Hall women at Burnaby Correctional Centre (Katz, 1994). The initial intention was to encourage women to talk about violence in their homes by focussing on ways of bringing-up non-violent children. The women found it too difficult or painful to talk about their children since they had little contact with them. A broader-based programme was, therefore, developed dealing with violence in any home-based relationships.

The resulting manual for a 16 session programme utilizes a wide range of information and resources, although much of it has been adapted from programmes for abusive men. The authors note, too, that most of the women acknowledged that they had been both abusers and abused, and underline that `there is little resource material available for violent women'. On the basis of their experience in running the programme, and the response of

the women taking part, the authors make a number of recommendations for future programmes many of them already identified in Kendall (1993) including:

- the need for a longer programme than the 8 three-hour session piloted in order to develop trust with facilitators and within the group;
- allowing participants to have input into the programme content and format;
- flexibility for dealing with personal problems, and capacity to undertake individual work as necessary arising from group sessions;
- the importance of trust and confidentiality that personal information would not end up in their files;
- the importance of staff orientation and awareness.

A promising group programme for women who abuse their partners (Women for Change Program, 1994) has recently been developed by The Elizabeth Fry Society of Winnepeg, Manitoba and awaits funding. It locates women's use of violence within their own experience of violence and focusses on understanding abusive behaviour, helping to identify pre-violence cues, developing self-awareness of their own learning experiences as women, on self-esteem and the management of anger. The programme provides for eleven sessions using written, verbal, physical and visual material, builds upon the women's current and past experiences, and stresses the central importance of confidentiality for group members and facilitators.

An innovative programme for women in prison and the community in Halifax The Coverdale Community Chaplaincy Project (1992, 1994) included group and individual anger management work. The project was designed primarily for women with histories of abuse, and offered a service of feminist and pastoral counselling. The project was unable to get follow-on funding after federal funding ended in 1994, but developed considerable expertise and tools for dealing with women's anger, as well as experience of the difficulties of working on anger management within a custodial setting.

Other resource material may provide value in developing programmes. Nobody: Making Peace with Motherhood (1994) is a study based on the experiences of eight women in conflict with the law who had given up or lost custody of their children either permanently or temporarily. Almost all the women had struggled with alcohol and drug addiction. The study provides a detailed account based on their own words, of their own childhood experiences and adolescence, of relationships, motherhood, parenting and loss. While the study does not focus specifically on violent behaviour or abuse, it provides a very readable account which contextualizes the behaviour of the women, as well as providing an accompanying commentary and discussion. Since it is based on the experiences of women offenders it provides valuable resource material for a variety of programmes including those concerned with family violence and women's use of anger.

A study based on the experiences of women serving life and long-term sentences also provides some guidance for programme development although not specifically concerned with violent behaviour, (Jose-Kampfner 1990). On the basis of discussions with 70 women

serving long sentences, Jose-Kampfer examines their reactions in terms of the stages experienced by terminally ill patients (Kubler-Ross) - shock, denial, anger, depression, bargaining, acceptance and hope - and explores these stages as a basis for working with the women. The use of such as approach elsewhere in the US is also reported in Axon (1989).

Non-prison based approaches and sources

Apart from programmes developed for women offenders, a number of writers have developed women-centred approaches to women's anger (eg. Lerner 1985; Bass & Davies 1988; Wilt 1993; Estes 1992; Miller 1994; and see Kendall 1993). Their work is part of a trend towards the recognition of gender issues in counselling psychology. Betz and Fitzgerald (1993) for example, in a review of individual therapy and counselling, stress that feminist therapy is a perspective which is congruent with any non biological-based theory of intervention. They discuss the use of individual/diversity approaches in relation to counselling women, men, racial and minority groups, and lesbian and gay clients.

A number of the approaches concerned with anger have been developed with private (often middle class) clients in individual therapy. They usually distinguish between women who suppress or internalize their anger and those who express it verbally or use violence, and focus on the positive functions of anger. Estes (1992), for example, is a Jungian analyst who uses myths and stories as `medicine' to help women understand and empower themselves. She sees anger, particularly that arising from past experiences, as a `creative force' to be used to change, develop and protect.

Lerner (The Dance of Anger 1985) writes about and for women who experience anger, providing a guide to changing patterns of relationships. She explores why women who do express their anger are seen as threathening to others, and focusses particularly on exploring family relationships. Her approach includes understanding the sources of anger, learning more positive communication skills, learning to observe and stop unproductive ways of interacting, and anticipating and dealing with resistence to change from other people. The guide emphasises practical tasks and exercises which can be used to develop a more constructive use of anger.

The Courage to Heal (Bass and Davies 1988) based on women's experiences was specifically written for women who were sexually abused in childhood. Unlike many books it does recognize that some women use violence. It discusses the links between anger, eating disorders, substance abuse and other forms of self-abuse including suicide and slashing, as responses to sexual abuse. It provides practical guides for changing patterns of response including anger, as well as an extensive bibliography of resources. The authors regard anger as `the backbone of healing' whether it has been suppressed, or acted out in violent behaviour:

> `[Some] survivors have been angry their whole lives. They grew up in families or circumstances so pitted against each other that they learned early to fight for

> survival...Sometimes the line between anger and violence blurred, and it became a destructive force.'
>
> `Few women have wholeheartedly embraced anger as a positive force. ....But anger doesn't have to be suppressed or destructive. Instead, it can be both a healthy response to violation and a transformative, powerful energy.'(p. 122-3)

Dorothy Wilt (in Thomas 1993) outlines an individual therapeutic approach for women who suppress, and those who act out, their anger. She uses developmental and feminist perspectives to explore the sources of anger, to develop an understanding of anger management, teach techniques for dealing with it, calming or expressive techniques, and the development of assertive rather than aggressive responses.

In Women Who Hurt Themselves Dusty Miller (1994) outlines her three-step programme of individual therapy for women who abuse themselves, rather than others, as a response to childhood trauma. Based on her experience as a clinical psychologist she considers women who harm themselves through such actions as alcoholism, drug addiction, eating disorders, self-injury and excessive dieting or cosmetic surgery. She sees childhood traumas as arising not only from sexual abuse, but from physical or psychological abuse, neglect or invasive childhood experiences, and the self-abusive patterns as reenacting the harm the women experienced. They represent `a request for the protection [they] did not receive as a child' (p. 9). Miller terms this pattern Trauma Reenactment Syndrome (TRS) and argues that many such women are often misdiagnosed. Her programme of treatment identifies three stages of therapy she terms the outer circle, the middle circle and the inner circle. She emphasises the importance of developing supportive networks during this process, but suggests that such work requires a long time-scale.

The major limitation of some of this material is that it is community based, not designed for women in conflict with the law, and does not deal with the implications of working or being in a prison setting. In some cases the language used may require a high level of literacy and may also be inappropriate, written for a middle-class audience and about a clientele who can afford private therapy. It often assumes that clients will have access to counselling on a long-term basis, and streses that it may require a number of years for effective work to be completed. There is a stress on the need at times to find alternative outlets for anger including its physical expression (shouting, screaming, playing sports) as well as relaxation and comforting activities (taking a warm bath, going shopping, talking with friends) which assume considerable freedom and access to other support systems and resources. Such sources need to be used and adapted with care, therefore.

Community programmes for mothers who abuse their children

Finally, there exists a range of programmes in the community designed to prevent child abuse and neglect. Most programmes developed for mothers who abuse their children have a psychological basis and are designed to change certain predisposing behaviours. Treatment goals, especially for abusive mothers, often reinforce traditional female roles and

behaviour. A woman who wants her children returned from placement, for example, is often required to clean up her home and improve her appearance. Even self-help groups, which tend to have greater success than treatment programmes in working with abusive parents, are more likely to focus on helping women become better wives, mothers and girlfriends than on helping them develop their own strengths and interests. While some practitioners have developed innovative approaches, such as using assertiveness training, the field as a whole has not moved much beyond the traditional ways of working with women (Washburne 1983).

An Ontario study (Hornick and Clarke 1986) used `lay therapists' who acted as helpers, role models and friends, in conjunction with social service treatment. This was found to be more effective in changing behaviour patterns and beliefs among abusing and high-risk mothers, and more cost-efficient. In a review of 21 studies that report on treatment outcomes for abusive and/or neglectful parents (almost all mothers) Wolfe and Wekerle (1993) report that parent-focussed interventions targetting child-rearing competence and stress management are the most useful. Other intervention targets included child rearing skills, general family functioning, positive child interaction skills, social skills, anger managment, social isolation and home cleanliness skills. In almost every study some positive results are reported, but only two studies followed-up cases, so that long-term effects are not known.

Apart from psychologically-based treatment, other programmes have been developed in response to the high incidence of social isolation reported among known abusive mothers. One half-day programme of 23 weeks to increase social networks involved stress management, anger management, positive self-talk in increasing self esteem, problem-solving and assertiveness (Lovell & Hawkins 1988). While social networks outside the group did not increase significantly during this period, researchers found some improvements in the quality and quantity of social networks within the group.

The most innovative programme which may have some application for in-prison group programmes is a 12-week group programme to help low-income abusive mothers build more effective bases of social support (Lovell, Reid and Richey 1992). Sessions were designed to increase interpersonal skills including basic conversation, self-protection and assertion. The project used metaphor, visual aids, humour and stress-reduction techniques. Group sessions were structured around a `relational road-map' as a metaphor of friendship. This was found to be less threathening than direct feedback or confrontation. While the group was experimental it received positive evaluation and high participation.

Conclusion

This review suggest there is a need and an opportunity to develop some innovative programming in the women's facilities concerned with women and violence. This includes a need to develop:

a. resource material about women's anger and violence;

b. resource material which is geared to the lives and backgrounds of the women in terms of their experience of violence, racial and cultural differences, and conflict with the law to their realities.
c. resource material about how violence and conflict develop in institutions;
d. resources which utilize the experiences of the women themselves and of women who have been through the system and who have learned to deal with anger and violence;
e. innovative ways of involving women in learning processes, using for example theatre, or film which develop alternative ways of learning, understanding, and channelling anger and energy.

Apart from individual counselling and peer-support programmes, such resources would be useful in the development for both staff and inmates of:

1. Education and awareness programmes which focus on women's ways of knowing, understanding anger, gendered patterns of socialization, class and racial patterns, family violence, child abuse, using anger constructively.
2. Group and individual programmes for women who use violence and anger more than others, relaxation, control, conflict resolution, peer support.

In conclusion, Kendall (1993, 1994) in particular raises many of the issues concerned with programme development in prison. Many of the issues faced by women with the most disruptive and violent histories cannot be dealt with in short-term group programmes or brief periods of individual counselling. They may require considerable additional support and resources. It cannot be expected that `change' will be rapid if it concerns a life-time of experiences of violence. It is unwise, perhaps to expect clear long-term results. Kendall also stresses the danger of therapeutic approaches and individual counselling which locate the problem within the individual. There is still too a major power imbalance between staff and inmates. Even if programmes are women-centred, without some choice in attending programmes, women may not benefit from them.

The issue of confidentiality and trust is also central (Axon 1989; Kendall 1993) and the extent to which women will feel able to disclose and feel trust with programmes run by prison staff is crucial. Finally, if programmes are targetted to specific women, such women may be unwilling to take part, and to identify themselves in such a way. It must be considered whether selecting out women identified, by whatever methods, as having problems with the use of violence is the best way of approaching programme development.

APPENDIX

The Literature Review

As requested by CSC, the search covered the disciplines of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, criminology, social work and education and focused on the most recently published literature. An initial search was conducted for the time period 1980-1994 to examine the range of material available, and subsequently limited to the period 1984-94. Searches were made using a variety of key words for any aspect of violent behaviour by women as well as programme, measurement and classification issues relating to women and violent behaviour.

The CD ROM data-bases searched included the Social Science Index (SSI-including psychiatry, social work, criminology et al.,); Sociofile (sociology, criminology et al.,); Psychlit (psychology and related fields); Eric (education); Uncover (general); Canadian Business and Current Affairs (CBCA)(Canadian Newpapers 1993-4).

Additional library searches were conducted at University of Montreal, University of Quebec at Montreal, McGill University, Concordia University, Dept. of Forensic Psychiatry-McGill University, the library of the Ministry of the Solicitor General, Ottawa.

Criminal justice and correctional sources in the US included the NCJRS (international) data-base, the Information Centre of the National Institute of Justice, Fay Knopp and the Safer Society Program, Russ Immarigeon Criminal Justice Writer, Sharon Smolick, Bedford Hills Correctional Facility, New York.

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