



Western Michigan University
ScholarWorks at WMU

Master's Theses

Graduate College

4-1999

Barriers to Freedom: Exploring the Influence of Patriarchy on Risk Preference in Battered Women

Cathy Gordon

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses



Part of the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation

Gordon, Cathy, "Barriers to Freedom: Exploring the Influence of Patriarchy on Risk Preference in Battered Women" (1999). *Master's Theses*. 5017.

https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/5017

This Masters Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



BARRIERS TO FREEDOM: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF
PATRIARCHY ON RISK PREFERENCE IN BATTERED WOMEN

by

Cathy Gordon

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Sociology

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
April 1999

Copyright by
Cathy Gordon
1999

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members for all their support during this long and sometimes bumpy journey: Dr. Zoann Snyder who believed in my vision and advised me to go forward, Dr. Paula Brush who gave me direction and encouraged me when I needed it most, and especially Dr. Ron Kramer who stepped in as my advisor and guide throughout the process.

I would also like to thank my friend Christina White who introduced me to the plight of battered women, offered me advice when I asked, and supported me with her counseling and prayers. In addition, I must thank my family for their patience and Barb, Jane, and Karen who helped make my job easier.

Finally, I would like to thank my mentor, Dr. Susan Caulfield. She taught me how to see the world through my sociological imagination, shared her professional forte with me so I could be a better teacher, and showed me how to be an advocate for peace. Without her support I could not have come this far.

Cathy Gordon

BARRIERS TO FREEDOM: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF
PATRIARCHY ON RISK PREFERENCE IN BATTERED WOMEN

Cathy Gordon, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1999

Because contemporary families represent an increasingly diverse and complicated range of relationships and values, individuals engaged in traditional gender roles may find it difficult to challenge gender biased institutions or abandon abusive relationships. While family violence continues to be linked with economic and social power, interpersonal relationships based on traditional gender roles, which require conformity to social expectations, can also be a contributing factor. Feminist theory, which links patriarchal ideology with family violence, is used to explore culturally defined gender roles and the influence of social forces or social institutions that produce conflict, strain or violent behaviors. The influences of patriarchy on risk preference in battered women is also explored. The personal experiences of women staying at domestic violence shelters are examined through both interviews and questionnaire. Family life trends, social attitudes and beliefs about gender roles are identified and implications for intervention are also addressed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW.....	1
The Issue of Domestic Violence.....	3
Literature Review.....	5
Overview of Chapters.....	23
II. METHODOLOGY.....	24
Methods of Research.....	24
Design.....	24
Sample.....	26
Data Gathering.....	28
Ethical Considerations.....	30
Operationalization of the Variables.....	31
Reliability.....	32
Validity.....	32
III. FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS.....	34
Summary of the Interview Findings.....	34
Analysis of the Interviews.....	40
Respondent 1.....	42
Respondent 2.....	43
Respondent 3.....	44
Respondent 4.....	46

Table of Contents--continued

CHAPTER

Respondent 5.....	47
Respondent 6.....	47
Respondent 7.....	48
Respondent 8.....	49
Respondent 9.....	50
Indicators.....	52
Respondent 1--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	52
Respondent 2--Limited or Minimum Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	53
Respondent 3--Moderate Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	53
Respondent 4--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	53
Respondent 5--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	54
Respondent 6--High Level of Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	54
Respondent 7--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	54
Respondent 8--Limited or Minimum Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	55
Respondent 9--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors.....	56
Survey Findings and Analysis.....	58
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	64
Conclusion.....	67
Implications.....	70

Table of Contents--continued

CHAPTER

Limitations of the Study.....	71
Future Research.....	73

APPENDICES

A. Wheel of Control.....	74
B. Informed Consent Form.....	76
C. Survey Questionnaire.....	78
D. Interview Schedule.....	82
E. Interviews.....	86
F. Letter of Permission From the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board to Conduct Research.....	103
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	105

LIST OF TABLES

1. Conservative Beliefs Survey.....	57
-------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In the United States, the most violent place is often the home. During the last decade there has been a documented increase in wife battering, child abuse, and even murders stemming from domestic violence, and most experts say family violence is under-reported (Hutchings, 1992). Since the highly publicized murder of Nicole Brown Simpson media attention on this issue has increased and people now acknowledge it as a critical social problem. Many researchers have studied the issue of domestic violence and have provided many theoretical explanations for this phenomenon. Some feminist theories, for instance, attribute interspousal violence to power and control factors. They have identified the historical patriarchal family patterns and the culturally defined gender roles which contribute to violence against women (Avakame, 1995).

In order to establish effective batterers' diversion programs and counseling intervention for victims of domestic violence, it is important to understand how the socially structured family institution, based on historically patriarchal ideology, influences beliefs, attitudes and behaviors that make it difficult to break out of the cycle of violence. A relationship may exist between patriarchal family structures and risk-taking beliefs and behaviors. Specifically, women involved in patriarchal family structures may

have a greater tendency to avoid the risk of leaving.

This exploratory study will address the following research question: The more a woman is involved in patriarchal family structures, the less likely she will hold beliefs about and take actions for leaving a violent relationship. An expanded version of power-control theory with an emphasis on feminist theory will be used to explore the relationship between domestic violence and persistent gender roles based on patriarchal ideology. Moreover, significant obstacles which keep women and their children in abusive homes will be identified, including those that inhibit risk-taking behaviors.

For thousands of years, women's lives have been shaped and influenced by the patriarchal family structure. Gerda Lerner (1986) identifies patriarchy, specifically paternalistic dominance, as

the relationship of a dominant group, considered superior, to a subordinate group, considered inferior, in which the dominance is mitigated by mutual obligations and reciprocal rights. The dominated exchange submission for protection, unpaid labor for maintenance. . . it should be noted that responsibilities and obligations are not distributed equally among those to be protected. (p. 217)

It should also be noted that in a system with gender bias, the male child can expect to grow up and become part of the dominant group (which is also hierarchical); the subordination of the female child will be a lifelong process. Furthermore, "the basis of paternalism is an unwritten contract for exchange: economic support and protection given by the male for subordination in all matters, sexual service, and unpaid domestic service given by the female" (p. 218). Considering the ramifications of domestic abuse, it appears "the

relationship frequently continues in fact and in law, even when the male partner has defaulted on his obligation" (p. 218).

The Issue of Domestic Violence

Michigan statutes define domestic violence as "an assault upon the victim who is the abuser's spouse, former spouse, or a person residing or having resided in the same household, or a person having a child in common with the abuser" (Michigan Women's Commission, 1994). Statistics show that although both men and women can be a victim, the majority of victims are women. For women aged 15 to 44, domestic violence is the leading cause of injury (Ingrassia & Beck, 1994). Family violence is not unique to any race, class, age or profession and, on the average there is a domestic homicide every eight days in Michigan (Uniform Crime Report, 1993). Just like victims, there are no typical abusers, though they are usually men. Outwardly, abusers may appear to be loving partners, good providers and law-abiding citizens, but their abusive behavior toward their victims can lead to severe injury and even to death. Studies suggest that unequal power positions and domination or subordination roles of the victim and abuser, along with the social stigma associated with abuse, promote the construction of a shared veil of secrecy which prohibits its public exposure and thus perpetuates the existence of family violence (Pagelow, 1993).

Since July 1, 1994, fifteen new Michigan laws concerning domestic violence have come into effect and more laws are being con-

sidered. These laws, intended to protect victims of domestic violence, call for stronger penalties against the abuser, personal protection orders for victims, and improved police response, along with pro-arrest policies. Domestic violence shelters also provide support services and victim advocacy, and individual counseling and support groups are available to both victims and abusers (Michigan Women's Commission, 1994).

In spite of increased public awareness, theoretical explanations, explicit definitions and progressive laws meant to protect victims and discourage abuse, domestic violence continues to occur. Women and children remain in violent relationships or return to abusive homes even after intervention attempts have been made. Studies indicate women stay in or return to abusive relationships for several reasons including economic hardship, social isolation, and threats of violence. Another reason could be that they are responding to a cultural emphasis placed on maintaining the patriarchal family institution. Many laws currently being proposed which are intended to reinstitutionalize families, promote family values and in-as-much return to a patriarchal society also correspond with the myth of the happy harmonious family which L. J. Miller describes as the "rhetoric of sweet domesticity" (cited in Fiene, 1995, p. 182). Contemporary marital norms call for changes in gender roles, empowerment, and unprecedented freedom for women which can become a major source of conflict for individuals strongly engaged in traditional gender roles. In recent years, reports of marital conflict and family vio-

lence have increased. At the same time, "growing efforts to control violence against women through batterers' training programs and the criminalization of spouse abuse reflect a more activist stance by the legal system toward domestic violence" (Merry, 1995, p. 49).

Literature Review

The perplexities of contemporary life include, or are informed and framed by, the ideologies we procured from previous generations. Although feminism brought about important social changes, encouraged transformation of gendered structures and altered the way we view society, it appears patriarchal perceptions of the family institution still remain. These traditional standards continue to influence beliefs, values and behaviors of both the domestic violence victim and abuser. As the social roles for men and women change, alternative ways of fulfilling desires and responsibilities become available, notions of social identity are disarranged, and interpersonal conflicts increase.

Factors which regulate changes in family dynamics and transform kinship roles and responsibilities include increased economic and sexual autonomy, balanced power, division of labor and the social empowerment of women. These gendered factors can be very disturbing for abusive men who believe they represent the decline of their patriarchal family identity. As abusive men try to maintain power and control over their environment, battered women experience greater physical, sociocultural and institutional isolation (Webs-

dale, 1995). Grasmick, Hagen, Blackwell, & Arneklev (1996) found additional implications of preserving patriarchal values. They indicate women raised in patriarchal families, where differential social control existed, were much less likely to partake in risk-taking behavior. This includes behaviors which are socially desired and/or culturally acceptable. Without liberalized risk attitudes, women lack the strength to "challenge gender-biased institutions or abandon abusive relationships" (p. 195).

Conflict perspectives, which include power-control theories, are often applied to deviance and social control. According to conflict theories, people with power and privilege, such as the dominant group in patriarchal societies, protect their own interest and define deviance to suit their own needs. At its most abstract level, power-control theory "links gender differences in risk preference to patriarchal family structures" (Grasmick, et al., 1996, p. 177). Historically, tests of power-control theory have been associated with the study of adolescent delinquency, relating juvenile inclinations toward risk behaviors with crime. More recent studies suggest that, power-control theory can be applied to adults, and expanded to include gender differences in a wide variety of risk-taking behaviors.

Grasmick et al. (1996) used a more global measurement of risk preference and introduced data from a sample of adults. Their evidence revealed "a basis for expanding the scope of power-control theory beyond adolescent delinquency to include the gender pattern-

ing" and risk-taking behaviors recognized in adults, "including risks that are socially and culturally valued" (p. 177). The research objective was to broaden power-control theory by demonstrating that "family structures of origin are durable determinants of generalized attitudes toward risk taking that persist beyond adolescence and endure into adulthood" (p. 181). They concluded that "gender differences in risk preference are produced in children in patriarchal families but not in less patriarchal families" (p. 181) and that this gender difference "persists into adulthood" (p. 182). Also, the ability to predict the outcome of risk preference is enhanced when the "attitudinal (cultural) dimension of patriarchy along with the structural (occupational) dimension are identified" (p. 183). Finally, they recognized the implications for "societal trends in the gender patterning of a wide variety of risk-related behaviors" (p. 194). Results of this study support previous research which indicates a preference for risk leads not only to delinquency in adolescence but also to a variety of risk-related behaviors that includes culturally valued behavior as well as deviant behavior.

The enhanced willingness to take risks among women raised in less patriarchal families could have profound consequences, especially for those women who find themselves trapped in abusive relationships. Specifically, "ending a bad marriage often requires taking a risk, especially a financial one. . . an enhanced preference for risk among women can be a resource for leaving these settings" (Grasmick, et al., 1996, p. 195). Moreover, "power-control theory

predicts that among the women more likely to take the risk of leaving these [abusive] relationships are those who have acquired a higher risk preference from being socialized in less patriarchal families" (p. 195).

Currently, domestic violence intervention and counseling for batterers relies heavily on anger management programs, skill building or profeminist resocialization programs. According to Gondolf (1993), "anger management is a principal component of the majority of programs, even when accompanied by components that deal with sex roles and nonviolence education" (p. 243). He argues "the underlying assumption, in this approach, is that battering is anger driven rather than an outgrowth of a sense of male privilege and control" (p. 243). A major problem with this approach, however, is that many batterers negate responsibility for their actions by blaming violent behaviors on the anger without changing the underlying dynamics of their relationships. Likewise, skill building programs may be perceived as an "attempt to address the psychological deficits associated with batterers" (p. 243) and inadvertently redirect behavior rather than extinguish it. Even the profeminist resocialization programs which focus on The Wheel of Control (see Appendix A) have been criticized for "attempting to impose a worldview on a captive audience" (p. 243).

Merry (1995) studied violence control programs in a small Hawaiian community, and raised some interesting questions about intervention techniques, specifically when "battered women are offered

legally endowed selves while men encounter the criminalization of violent behavior viewed as natural to men" (p. 49). The intervention program being studied was part of a coordinated effort between feminist activists and the legal system. It was based on the Duluth, Minnesota model which focuses on the power and control dimensions of violence, and emphasizes the value of using negotiation and compromise instead of intimidation and violence in relations with women. Merry (1995) explained, "this program and the legal system in which it is embedded are endeavoring to construct new gender identities through the law" (p. 50). Men convicted of battering or those subject to restraining orders were court mandated to attend the violence control program, taught anger management skills and provided with new beliefs about gender privilege. At the same time, women were required to attend domestic violence support groups and encouraged to "take control over their lives" (p. 50).

The results of this study indicate that the legal system's attempt to manage domestic violence by redefining gender identities has met with resistance from men and failed to provide material means necessary for women to take responsibility for their lives. Further, "in some ways this intervention increases the surveillance and control of both" by agencies and the legal system (p. 51). Referring to culturally defined concepts of gender, Merry (1995) suggests these recent efforts to control domestic violence "have undermined the hegemonic understanding of violence as a natural part of gender relationships" in which "abuse, unlike the violence embedded

in patriarchal authority, is reconstituted as crime" (p. 52). In an authoritative setting, "men are told that violence against women is not part of the natural order of the world," however, such an identity "contradicts widely shared views of masculinity. . . which are based on the power to control women" (p. 53). Marshall (1993) says "masculinity is considered the embodiment and enactment of the male gender role" and "the increasingly complex and internally contradictory messages about manhood add to gender role strain." Besides, "acceptance of a rigidly defined male role has been described as one of the most salient characteristics of men who batter women partners" (pp. 204-207).

The legal system's reinforcement of patriarchal gendered identities can be seen in the differences between intervention programs designed for men and women. The organization of mandated batterers' intervention programs take on a carceral nature where men are told they must control their violence or face legal sanctions. In contrast, women's groups are organized around the concept of empowerment, offering women support and protection. Women are "encouraged to think of themselves as people with rights and entitlement and also to see the law as a source of help and support" (Merry, 1995, p. 53). However, turning to the law for help poses several dilemmas for battered women. They are encouraged to break their connections with men in order to stop the violence, and are thus confronted with further violence from angry partners. They often face "criticism and ostracism from their partner's family and sometimes even their own fami-

lies" (p. 68). And, women who refuse to go to court or return to abusive homes are often seen as uncooperative and "defined by the legal system as failing to take responsibility for themselves" (p. 68).

In recognizing implications for public social policy and planning, Wileman and Wileman (1995) suggest "reduction in violence is not dependent entirely upon the male assuming responsibility for change, but it is very likely to be associated with women decreasing their vulnerability and balancing power in their relationships" (p. 175). However, for women without resources, the legal system offers them a self which they are unable to claim, thus further victimizing them when they fail to leave their batterers. Besides, not all women want to end their relationships. "For many women, the violent partner is someone who occasionally offers love and sexual pleasure and on whom they depend for economic support for themselves and their children" (p. 64). Institutionally imposed intervention may stimulate a women's "consciousness of rights and willingness to seek legal help," (p. 64) but fails to address issues of culturally imposed patriarchal beliefs and attitudes. Responding to socially acceptable gender roles, "women change their fatalistic acceptance of male violence, but at the same time substitute the state for patriarchal authority" (p. 61).

Several studies recognize differences between abusive and non-abusive men as distinguished by ownership of traditional male and female gender role beliefs; as well as the connection between

lower reports of physical violence associated with relative equality in decision-making power (Marshall, 1993). Marshall acknowledges, "a loosening of rigid attitudes about appropriate roles for men and women is an important criterion for long-term change in treatment programs" (p. 208).

Additional research on the social structural sources of domestic violence also exist. Some studies provide sociological challenges to the psychological perspective by focusing on the influence of social environment, rather than of individual disorders. Others offer a feminist challenge to both the psychological and sociological perspectives, contending instead that violence is about gender and power. Rosenberg (1994) analyzes family victimization from a social structural life span perspective. He notes

intergenerational difference in the legal rights and legal protection of domestic abuse and neglect victims and reveals some startling commonalties including: occurrence within a social structure; occurrence within a family; perception by abusers and victims of abuse and neglect as normal; high incidence of low self-esteem and high dependency in abuse victims; learned helplessness and fear of abandonment among abuse victims; and poor communications and coping skills. (pp. 25-34).

Empirical data collected through interviews and observations in a rural community in the Appalachian region of Eastern Kentucky suggests abusive forms of social isolation, limited or low-paying jobs and rigid gender roles contribute to women's inability to take proactive measures against an abuser (Websdale, 1995). Additional qualitative data obtained through participant observation at a shelter for battered women in rural Tennessee supports this concept and suggests a social dynamics model for planning intervention is neces-

sary due to the nature of privacy and secrecy in couple relationships, the myth of the happy family, and the power of labels of deviance (Fiene, 1995).

Institutional social isolation is one factor keeping women in abusive homes, others are the lack of alternatives and the economic hardships faced by women fleeing an abusive spouse. The fear of being homeless or unemployed, or even murdered, prevents many from leaving destructive relationships. Batterers wage not only physical and emotional, but also economic warfare on their wives, depleting joint bank accounts and refusing to pay child support (Horn, 1992). Findings from interviews conducted with 365 battered and non-battered women regarding different facets of family violence and finances suggest that income disparity rather than overall poverty contributes to wife abuse (McCloskey, 1996).

Both marital instability and family violence related to unemployment and poverty have been widely documented. McCloskey (1996) suggests the frustration men experience is not necessarily caused by "an overall loss of economic control that attends men's unemployment but the concomitant erosion of masculine domestic power that engenders their hostility" (p. 450). At the same time, some evidence favoring a gender analysis of income and domestic violence indicates "escalating forms of wife abuse" are precipitated by disparities in "either occupational status or income favoring women, with the wife having a higher occupation or making more money than the husband" (p. 450). These findings, which are consistent with resource or struc-

tural exchange theory, "suggest that status disparity in conflict with traditional gender roles outweighs social class as a risk factor" for domestic violence (p. 451).

The life course of women, more than that of men, is distinguished by the mutual influence of power relations within and outside the family. Social policy treats men as individuals, but women as members of a family (Allmendinger, Bruckner & Bruckner, 1992). Friedkin (1995) finds significant differences in the way in which responsibility for children affects men's and women's wages. For men, the financial responsibility associated with children has a positive effect on wages, regardless of whether children under age 18 are residing in the household. This is consistent with several theories of marital wage premiums: claim to a higher wage based on financial need to support a family; conformity to social expectations that men care for a family financially; and, marriage as a signal to employers of men's greater stability and reliability as employees, due to their familial obligations. For women, the day-to-day responsibility for children (measured by the number of children residing in the household) has a negative effect on wages, consistent with family role theories emphasizing the conflicting demands of work and home (Friedkin, 1995).

Hendrix and Pearson (1995) suggest "reoccurring speculation in social science literature is that divorce rates climb when women gain more independence in marriage or more equality with men" (p. 217). They conducted cross-cultural research which examined spousal inter-

dependence, female power and divorce within social structures. Their examination proposed "societal divorce rates are heightened by the combination of high sexual equality and high independence of spouses" (p. 220). They identified five ordinal measures of spousal interdependence and sexual inequality as gender variables. The first is "female power," considered a "measure of power resources rather than a direct measure of the exercise of power." Second, task segregation based on Durkheim's (1933) notion that "groups are more functionally interdependent when there is a sharp division of labor between them" (p. 221). Next, "technological and subsistence activities" were measured including the paternal involvement in "infant care and socialization" (p. 222). And the final gender variable used was "female food production" which was considered "an aspect of the division of labor" (p. 223). Research findings revealed several kinship and complexity variables are associated with rates of divorce. Most notably, "female power and task segregation show a powerful effect on divorce" (p. 225). For societies with low segregation there is little relationship between divorce and power. In contrast, for those with high task segregation, female power produces a strong increase in divorce. Hendrix and Pearson (1995) conclude, "female power tends to push divorce frequency upwards under certain conditions. The high end of the female power scale denotes less male dominance or more sexual equality, but not the domination of men by women" (p. 227).

Today's resurgent political emphasis on family values has pro-

moted assumptions that enduring marriages and two-parent families are the best form of social organization. The proposition of family law which encourages the reinstitutionalization of the family corresponds with the patriarchal ideologies which have historically kept women in abusive relationships. Proponents of such law claim the nuclear family arrangement serves three fundamental purposes: definition of the patterns of behavior that encourage and sustain family life, maintenance of universal norms of social behavior and organization, and creation of incentives to remain in (what is thought to be) a socially beneficial arrangement. Strategies to encourage the reinstitutionalization of the family through family law include: restricting legal benefits of family life to marriage, instituting tighter controls on entry into marriage, promoting family stability through laws making divorce more difficult, protecting children from divorce, and changing the nature of family law so that marriage is defined as a moral obligation between partners rather than a personal contractual decision (Schneider, 1996). The implication of establishing laws which further constrain victims of domestic violence are overwhelming.

Duncan, Peterson, and Winter (1997) use a social psychological perspective to describe the dynamics of social systems based on authoritarian attitudes which are organized in strict hierarchies, or hegemonies. "In these systems, dominant groups retain the power to define, position, and assign a relative ranking in the hierarchy for their own and subordinate groups" (p. 42). In a successful

hegemony, "unequal power relations are normalized over time and are associated with tradition and conventional values" (p. 42). Further, "authoritarian support for some conventions, therefore, not only may support traditional values on the individual level but also may reflect existing hegemonies on a societal level" (p. 42). Feminist theorists suggest gender is a hegemonic construct and argue "characteristics often attributed to women and men (hegemonic markers) are used to justify a dominant-subordinate relationship" (p. 42). Duncan, et al. (1997) examined the three dimensions of authoritarianism (conventionalism, submission, and aggression) to explore relationships between individual authoritarianism and societal gender roles. Citing the work of Altemeyer (1981), they defined conventionalism as "a high degree of adherence to the social conventions which are perceived to be endorsed by society and its established authorities" (Altemeyer, 1981, p. 148). This might also include support for traditional gender roles. Next, authoritarian submission was defined as "a high degree of submission to the authorities who are perceived to be established and legitimate in the society in which one lives" (Altemeyer, 1981, p. 148), which might include behavior in accordance with traditional gender-role expectations. Finally, authoritarian aggression was defined as "a general aggressiveness, directed at various persons, which is perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities" (Altemeyer, 1981, p. 148), which might include "aggression toward women and men attempting to transcend traditional gender-role boundaries" (Duncan

et al., 1997, pp. 42-43).

Research methods designed by Duncan, et al. (1997) included the use of Altemeyer's (1988) Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale to measure authoritarianism and the Passive Acceptance subscale of Rickard's (1989, 1990) Feminist Identity Scale (FIS) to measure attitudes toward female and male gender roles. Results of the study, which examined gender-role identity, attitudes and perceptions, and social and political behaviors confirmed previous research, identifying "high scorers on authoritarianism as supporters of traditional gender role attitudes" (p. 45). In the final analysis, Duncan et al. (1997) found patterns in which men and women scoring high on authoritarianism differently cling to traditional gender roles. "For women, the conventionalism, submission, and aggression items of the RWA Scale were related to endorsement of traditional gender roles, whereas for men, only the aggression items were implicated" (p. 47). These results suggest "women have more invested (personally and ideologically) in maintaining or changing existing gender roles" (p. 47).

McHugh and Frieze (1997) provide additional methods for measuring gender-role attitudes which can be useful in exploring "the nature, causes, and consequences of gender-role belief systems" (p. 2). According to McHugh and Frieze (1997), "gender-role attitude scales are viewed as measuring gender-role ideology in a particular sociohistorical context" (p. 1). Specifically, they reviewed The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) constructed by Spence and Helm-

reich (1972), which is the most widely used scale of gender-role attitudes. The AWS, designed to measure attitudes toward women's roles, rights, and responsibilities, may be helpful in the understanding of intimate and domestic violence. For this study, "the advantages of using the AWS is that it allows for comparisons of responses over time, across cultures, and among different respondent groups" (p. 6).

In this exploratory research focusing on the relationship between domestic violence and patriarchal based gender roles, we consider the sociological viewpoint of Rosenberg (1994). He states that

male and female children are socialized by parents, schools, media, churches and peers, internalizing dominant sociocultural values. These values find expression through the norms of one's roles and, since such behaviors are defined as normal, they go unquestioned by others who share the same values. (p. 26).

Rosenberg's (1994) research identified elements, both macrosociological and microsociological, that are common to domestic abuse and neglect across the life span. Three major themes in his inquiry can be associated with the present study to allow for observations of the impact of social structure on domestic abuse. The first theme of victimization "is that a large proportion of abuse and neglect occurs within the family, for example, it is generally accepted that family stress and financial difficulties are common precursors to abuse" (p. 27). A second pervasive theme is that "abuse and neglect often are not labeled as such, and are not considered abnormal" (p. 27). Many studies have found "that abused women often were abused children, and believe their victimization to be justified, first by

their parents and later by their spouses" (p. 27). Finally, "in a great proportion of abuse and neglect cases, self-esteem is low and dependency is high" (p. 27). Studies of spousal abuse "encounter repeated instances of low self-esteem and high dependence combining to keep women in abusive relationships and to persuade them that they deserve their abuse" (p. 27).

Research methods regarding the study of domestic violence discussed so far have relied heavily on collection of quantitative data. Observations and interviews with victims of domestic violence can also provide valuable information about family life trends, social attitudes and beliefs about gender roles. Fiene (1995) interviewed eight battered women in a rural Appalachian shelter and proposed a social dynamics model for planning domestic violence intervention. She found "the women's social isolation was a product of their batterers' actions, the women's sense of shame, and the stigma associated with their abuse" (p. 179). Fiene discovered privacy and secrecy are a functional means for avoiding social stigmatization in the lives of battered women. Specifically, "if women have labeled themselves deviant (i.e., outside the norm of behavior that is expected of women), they anticipate the negative reactions of others" (p. 181). Fears of being "stigmatized or thought deviant" are related to "the cultural myth of the happy family and the degree of the women's commitment to marriage" (p. 182).

Fiene's (1995) method of investigation involved acting as a participant-observer in a rural eastern Tennessee shelter. There,

she talked informally with women in the shelter and conducted formal, taped interviews. "All interviews were transcribed and analyzed using grounded theory methodology; they were coded, and categories and definitions were developed across interviews" (p. 184). Fiene's (1995) study revealed "a complex picture of the women's choices as they recognized privacy boundaries, wondered what they should do, and worried about what other people might think of them" (p. 184). She concluded, "the battered women's descriptions of their relationships with both their families of origin and the families of their partners during the years of abuse reveal the nature of secret keeping. Furthermore, "battered women maintain some degree of control over what others know" (p. 185). She suggests future intervention techniques should include "examining beliefs about family life and how they direct behavior" (Fiene, 1995, p. 192).

In addition, Cotterill (1992) provides an example of qualitative research methods, which combines life-histories, semi-structured interviews, and vignettes from a feminist approach. She describes a participatory model designed to "produce non-hierarchical, non-manipulative research relationships which have the potential to overcome the separation between the researcher and the researched" (p. 594). She discusses issues of friendship, vulnerability, and power, key elements of feminist theory, but admits there are a number of potential difficulties with this approach.

First, while "all women share important experience as a consequence of the gender, it is not sufficient to override structural

barriers of status, class, age, race and disability in unique forms of communication and understanding" (p. 594). Second, those who claim interviewing can lead to friendship have not considered that "there are statuses other than shared gender which prevent friendship from developing" (p. 594). Some critics argue "the research relationship is not a friendship" nor should it be considered as such (p. 594). Third, Finch (1984) points out "there are moral issues raised by an interview model which encourages friendship between women yet has the potential to exploit them in order to gain source material" (p. 595). Also, one must consider the participant's vulnerability in an interview, "when a woman talks about very painful aspects of her life...the research relationship is inevitably affected. The contradiction between the researcher's position as a sociologist, a woman and a friend becomes more acute yet seems impossible to reconcile" (p. 597). Therefore, the role of the re-researcher is not as a friend or counselor, but that of a sympathetic listener. Finally, in sharing her experience of doing research, Cotterill (1992) suggests the balance of power in an interview situation "is not fixed and may vary according to how particular respondents are recruited into the study and the age and status of the woman being interviewed" (p. 601). She maintains, it is always necessary to establish rapport, build trust, and provide assurance of confidentiality. Likewise, "it matters, how respondents feel about the research and how they come to be included" (p. 601).

Overview of Chapters

In Chapter I, I have introduced the issue of domestic violence and reviewed theoretical explanations from previous research. Chapter II discusses the methodology used in this study, including the design, sample and process for gathering data. Following that in Chapter III, I review the findings and analyze the data. In the final chapter, I provide a summary, conclusion, implications and limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The following research questions have guided this study. If we examine the beliefs and attitudes of domestic violence victims, will we find that the cultural emphasis placed on maintaining patriarchal family institutions directs their behaviors? Are there underlying beliefs which influence the choices battered women make about staying in or leaving an abusive relationship? Do victims of domestic violence identify with and/or exhibit passive acceptance of traditional gender-roles? What obstacles exist which may influence a woman's decision to remain in or return to an abusive relationship. Specifically, the more a woman is involved in patriarchal family structures, is she less likely to hold risk-taking beliefs and take actions for leaving.

Methods of Research

Design

The exploratory design of this study examined the manifestations of patriarchy identified within families experiencing domestic violence. Attitudes and perceptions about traditional gender-roles and patriarchy are measured using results from both survey and field research. Observations and empirical data collected through survey questionnaires and formal, tape-recorded interviews will provide an

interpretative framework for understanding attitudes, beliefs, and feelings of role-conflict which direct behaviors of women experiencing abuse. Data results are examined using feminist theory and definitions of patriarchy.

The unit of analysis is individual, women residing at or receiving outreach services from domestic violence shelters. Both current clients and those who have recently left the shelter were able to participate in the study. Domestic violence shelter counselors or client advocates were asked for their assistance in providing access to this population. Shelter counselors were asked to identify qualified individuals to be surveyed and/or made available for formal interviews. The women considered for the study had at least a minimum of three days in the facility to insure adequate time for adjustment to the circumstances of leaving their batterer. Women often come into the shelter expressing fear, anger, or hateful feelings toward their abuser. Allowing this adjustment time controlled for emotional responses which may mask their true beliefs and attitudes, while giving them time to gain their composure. A shelter counselor told the women about the study and gathered survey information from each participant either while they were residing at the shelter or within six months of leaving. Individual clients coming from both city and rural domestic violence shelters were included in the study.

Sample

After receiving administrative approval, the sample of this study was drawn from six domestic violence shelters. The shelters were chosen because they provide services to diverse racial and cultural populations. Also, the shelters represent both city populations and rural communities. Nine women were chosen randomly for formal interviews. Each participant also received a survey questionnaire prior to the interview.

Shelter counselors were contacted regarding this study and asked for input in the development of an interview questionnaire. A list of significant questions were outlined for use during the formal interviews but the researcher also allowed respondents to freely discuss their subjective experiences. The shelter counselor was also asked for their assistance in referring possible candidates to be interviewed. Once the shelter counselor agreed to be involved as an assistant, the program was thoroughly explained and they received an outline which contained a brief review of the study along with instructions for screening possible respondents.

The criteria for identifying potential respondents was that they must be women between the ages of eighteen to fifty and currently residing at the shelter or have received shelter services within the preceding six months. Specifically, the shelter counselor approached potential respondents either individually or during support groups, and explained the study to them, following the outline provided. The client's participation was strictly voluntary

and the surveys were completed under the direction of the researcher. Clients were told that the survey questionnaire allowed them to remain anonymous and that their identities would be kept confidential. Those interested in participating in an interview were told it required them to discuss personal feelings and life experiences. Also, the process of selecting women to interview was done on a random basis and clients were assured that for this reason not everyone who volunteered would be contacted. Stratified sampling was used in order to insure a greater representation from each shelter area. One problem with this method of sampling is that there is a chance of bias on the part of the counselor who chooses possible participants. Shelter counselors may be inclined to choose clients who are more articulate, better educated, or farther along in dealing with personal issues. To address this, the researcher stressed the importance of adequately representing all clients.

After clients agreed to participate, they were given further written information explaining who the researcher is, the purpose of her study, and the details they needed to participate. They were told that the study is about the attitudes and beliefs of women who have experienced domestic violence. They were also told that this information could be useful in providing better treatment and/or intervention programs. The shelter counselor explained that the researcher would be conducting the interviews, and that recorded information would be used in the final analysis, but the respondent's identity would remain confidential. Finally, each surveyed

respondent was required to sign an informed consent form (Appendix B) which will be kept in their shelter file for the duration of the research.

Data Gathering

A written survey instrument was developed by the researcher and reviewed by her sociology department graduate committee for content validity, clarity and simplicity. Next it was submitted to the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) for authorization to use. Again, informed shelter counselors identified clients who wished to participate and made arrangements for interview times.

The interview schedule consisted of both open- and closed-ended questions. The survey instruments was comprised of material taken from the following:

1. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) which includes a "Social Desirability Scale" that measures internalized beliefs of "society's sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women" (Bem, 1974, p. 156);

2. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) which measures "attitudes toward the proper roles of women" (Spence & Helmreich, 1972, p. 3); and,

3. The Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale, specifically items with content related to traditional gender roles or family structures (Altemeyer, 1988).

Data taken from the survey questionnaire (Appendix C) and

interview schedule (Appendix D) were used to identify conservative beliefs and gender role preferences. Both included demographic items to measure attitudes and beliefs across age, race, and cultures. The data were gathered at nominal and ordinal levels in accordance with the original surveys.

Formal tape-recorded interviews were conducted at participating domestic violence shelters in a private counseling room. Interviews were scheduled at a time that was convenient for the client. Allowing this flexibility made it easier to contact clients who were still residing at the shelter or those who had recently moved into permanent housing. In considering safety issues, clients who had discontinued shelter services and returned to live with an abusive mate, were not contacted for interviews.

An advantage of conducting interviews is that the researcher was able to probe for respondents' attitudes, clarify their questions, and record personal observations such as emotional expressions or body language. Also, in-depth questions were asked to identify roles, responsibilities, and decision making patterns within their relationships.

After the qualitative data were collected, the researcher transcribed tape-recorded interviews and interpreted the findings to examine patterns of strong traditional (patriarchal) values and behaviors. The results were coded, and then categories or definitions developed across interviews.

Ethical Considerations

The women who come to domestic violence shelters are typically in a very vulnerable state emotionally. It was important that they be out of any immediate crisis when approached about being involved in this study. Because the shelter counselors are in the best position to assess the women's overall mental and emotional stability, they were able to recognize their client's ability to participate as respondents. The research program was explained to them as accurately as possible and the potential respondents agreed to participate voluntarily. Also, the shelter counselor told them that they could terminate their involvement in the research at any time.

In addition, the survey questionnaires which allowed respondents to remain anonymous will maintain the women's right to privacy and interviews will be kept confidential. Above all else, it was important to minimize any emotional or psychological distress the women may have experienced when asked questions that may have elicited anxiety or produce unpleasant memories. The researcher worded interview questions in a careful and sensitive manner, and respondents were encouraged to discuss the relevance of questions at any time. Finally, the exploitive nature of participatory research which involves issues of friendship, vulnerability, and power (Cotterill, 1992) were addressed in writing interview questions and planning interactions between the researcher (or shelter counselors) and client respondents.

Operationalization of the Variables

As previously stated, the purpose of this investigation was to explore the influence of institutional patriarchy on individuals experiencing domestic violence. Specifically, the independent variables identified in this study include identified patriarchal family structures. Information relating to task segregation, gender role identity, occupational preference, religious affiliation, gendered educational tracking, and interpersonal dynamics within the family of origin were used to measure patriarchal influences. Survey and interview questions relating to the respondent's childhood experiences and adult relationships were designed to characterize feminine gender-role identity, attitudes toward men and women, passive submission to authority, and spousal interdependence. Examples of responses which signify patriarchal values are recognized in the following expressions: "If only I could be a better wife, he wouldn't get so angry with me." Also, "It is better for everyone if the man earns the living and the woman takes care of the home and family." Finally, "He works hard all day, so I make sure supper is ready and the kids behave when he gets home." Furthermore, the researcher asked questions concerning reasons for staying in the abusive relationship and the difficulties women faced in leaving the relationship, to look for patriarchal beliefs and attitudes concerning fixed gender-role expectations and perceptions about family violence.

The dependent variable in this study is the battered women's

beliefs and risk-taking behaviors. Measures of beliefs suggesting internalized patriarchal values include the women's passive acceptance of traditional gender-roles and authoritarian male-dominance, and intensified spousal interdependence. Social integration, economic self-sufficiency, advanced education or career goals and determination to leave the abusive relationship were criteria used to measure risk-taking behaviors. Patterns of behavior which were consistent across the sample were identified.

Reliability

The technique outlined for measurement in this study includes a survey instrument which can be repeated with consistency. First, this survey was developed using established measures that have proven their reliability in previous research. Second, the split-half method was used in creating measurements which are specific to this study to check for equivalence or internal consistency. In addition, the researcher was responsible for conducting interviews and coding data. Likewise, the shelter counselors received clear and specific instructions to afford greater reliability.

Validity

The researcher solicited the help of domestic violence shelter workers and her sociology graduate committee in formulating questions for the survey and formal interviews. The questions covered topics involving beliefs, attitudes and experiences of battered wo-

men. The researcher prepared questions for interviews but also allowed respondents to speak freely whenever they were so inclined. However, the researcher also monitored the direction of the discussion to maintain as much focus on the topic as possible to avoid falling into the role of counselor or therapist.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter reviews and analyzes the data collected from formal interviews and questionnaires. Throughout the analysis, direct quotes are used to support the findings. However, personal data or information which might identify the respondent has been omitted from the descriptive account of interviews (Appendix E).

Summary of the Interview Findings

Fifteen appointments were made and nine women interviewed. Participants were one African American and eight Caucasian women residing at or receiving services from domestic violence shelters. The women's ages ranged from 18 to 44 years old. Seven women had children and all were at least twenty years-old at the time of their first child's birth. Six of these women had three or more children and all said they had a good relationship with them. For many women, the role of parent appeared to have a strong influence on their decision to leave and/or return to an abusive relationship. Some women became very emotional when talking about their children. One expressed concern about two of her older children who stayed with their father when she came to the shelter, "I try not to think about keeping the family together because that wouldn't be a healthy situation." However, within weeks of the interview she returned to her

mate.

Five women held jobs outside the home at the time of the interview. Their current or previous jobs were all low-wage service positions such as nurse's aide, human resource clerk, grocery store bagger, home health aide, and fast food restaurant worker. Over half of the women did not work outside the home while living with their mates. An often cited reason for this was because her mate did not want her to work. One woman's statement was repeated by others,

He made it clear that I should not work until the kids were in school, and with each new child he emphasized that I had five more years before I could go back to work. His logic was, he worked all day, all week driving truck and my job was to take care of the house, the kids, and the bills, make sure everything was done. That was my job. And when he came home, I was suppose to pick up after him too, because that was my job.

While some did work, others found it to be too stressful. One woman explained that it was actually harder on her to work because as soon as she got home she heard "this needs to be done, that needs to be done, and if you can't handle that maybe you better think about quitting that job because you need to decide which is more important." Most respondents said the first thing they wanted to do after leaving their mate was find a job. However, one woman who worked for several months during a separation shared, "it was overwhelming and exhausting. . .it was a relief when we got back together because it was less stress on me. . .it's easier to have a husband who works to take care of things."

All of the respondents reported their mates held jobs in fac-

tories, as truck drivers or as service workers. The men also brought home more money and determined how the household income was spent. Although four women said they handled the finances with their mate's approval, five women admitted they were put in the position of having to ask for money. One woman explained she never even saw the bills,

I couldn't tell you what they are. I couldn't tell you what the garbage bill, water bill, gas bill, light bill are, I couldn't tell you. He just gave me money as I asked for it. Or sometime if he knew I didn't have any he would just leave it on the dresser.

Education levels varied from one respondent with an eighth grade education to another with three years of college. The average was 12.3 years of school. All nine said they were never encouraged academically and only two reported their school experience as positive. Six out of nine reported their education was disrupted, they either quit school or delayed completion. Often there were extended absences because of family turmoil or obligations at home. A few shared stories of how they were the object of teasing or ridicule. One woman, who dropped out in the 10th grade and went back three years later to get her diploma, explained "I used to get picked on a lot. . . kids, they are rude, they're mean. . . I kind of went all over, we moved around a lot." Three women participated in traditional extra-curricular activities, but most said they felt discouraged when it came to school activities. One explained "No, I always felt that that was reserved for kids who had more money than I did. I was one of the more poor students." Another said she would have

liked to play sports but that was not allowed. "Dad made it clear, girls inside the house, boys outside the house (she was) only allowed to watch the boys work on cars, and only if the housework was caught up." Seven said they would like to continue their education at some time but four of those said their mate would influence whether or not they actually did.

All nine respondents reported living with both parents during their childhood although not without periods of separation. During the time they were not living with their parents, three lived with grandparents and one lived with a sibling. Two women left home at age 22, two at age 18, three at age 17, one was 16 years old and another was only 13 years old when she first left home. Three women reported being thrown out of their house and two of them were homeless for a period of time. Eight out of nine reported their parents were divorced during their childhood. Seven women reported their families dealt with conflict by yelling or screaming. In addition, seven out of nine women reported experiencing violence as a child. Five respondents observed someone else fighting and seven were victims of physical abuse. Six reported they were sexually abused, one did not respond to the question, and two said they never experienced violence of any kind during their childhood. For those who experienced violence, many took on the role of caretaker,

Dad would hit mom, mom would throw something at him. When I was real young, I would get my brothers to our bedroom, if that would have been through the line of fire, we'd go outside, go on the porch. I can remember spending one cold afternoon while my parents fought inside, out on the front porch with no coats on, but it was the safest place for the

boys and I to be.

Six women reported their mothers worked outside the home during their childhood. They held jobs in factories, offices, grocery stores, banks and restaurants. All nine respondents said their mothers were responsible for all household tasks. One woman said, "My mom worked and did everything. From a very young age I took over the household duties and responsibilities for my brothers." Another woman also said her mother handled all inside chores and even outside duties were assigned, "my dad wanted no part of it. . . (he) would do the outside work, like the mowing lawn, and she would do the weeding." A third said, "my mother did all the work, my father didn't do nothing but all the beating and all the abusing." Finally, one woman who said her mother did not go to work outside the home until the kids were older explained "Dad was outside, and mother was inside, she was the disciplinarian and took care of everything."

Five out of nine women reported they had very poor relationships with their mothers. They used terms such as "demanding and critical, distant, unfeeling, mean, hateful and not supportive" to describe their mothers. One woman was very emotional when she shared "there were a few things that happened where I didn't want her to touch me. . . I didn't want her to talk to me. . . a couple different times, a couple different things. . . it just bothered me and I hated her for it." Another woman said her mother never showed her any affection, "She wasn't my mother. . . there was no hugging or affection. . . no love between parents or with children. . . no praise

or encouragement." One recalled how her mother bragged to friends about never having to "whip" her but then added "I remember always being cracked up side the head. . .she would grab and shake me."

As for relationships with their fathers, only two women said they felt close to their dads, three were sexually abused by a father or stepfather, and four reported their fathers were absent or had little contact with them during their childhood. Responding to the question about her relationship with her father, one woman said "I didn't have one. He didn't want one." Another shared "I had no relationship with my father. . .I learned to forgive him, but I had no relationship with him." A third said, "I did not respect him as a person. He couldn't financially support, I don't think he was capable of emotionally supporting us, I just didn't think much of him." One woman who said she had a good relationship with her father thought it was "because he never hardly ever saw us so when he did see us he didn't want to be the bad person," what's more "we get along really good. He don't say much to me. My mom gives me her opinions, but my dad is more mellow, he's just laid back and he don't say much, he lets my mom say it."

"Freedom to come and go, being yourself, job/self support, confidence, pride, having what you want, and feeling good about yourself" were responses made to the question of what defines an independent woman. One woman said, "I think, freedom to come and go, freedoms to make your own decisions, whatever they may be." Then when asked if a woman needed a man to be complete she responded

"Depends on the woman. I don't know because I've been with my husband basically since I was a kid. But I don't believe that a man should determine your worth." Eight other respondents said "no, a woman does not need a man to be complete," however, most qualified their answers. One said, "No. Its nice if you find the right one though." A second woman said,

No, I don't feel that, I don't feel like I'm incomplete without a man. . .I feel that at sometimes you can get use to anything. . .people get use to being held, you know which is a good thing, but there's also a bad thing, but you know what, it's both kind of addicting at the same times. . .you can get easily use to being around a guy and it is hard not to.

A similar response was "It'd be nice, but no. I mean I'd love to have loved." One young woman gave a lot of thought to her response saying, "No. I'm trying to figure out but why? I mean you can be everything in the last question and be happy." She said an independent woman has "pride, self-esteem, a job, car, home, and freedom. I mean you wouldn't need a man to be happy (physically or mentally) . . .once in a while it would be nice to have someone tell you that you look nice, or something to give you compliments." Finally, one woman's comment summarized that of others

realistically no, emotionally yes. Basically no, but emotionally the way that we were raised, the way we feel. . .books . . .all center around a male-female relationship or, a male-male or female-female relationship. . .it all centers around having someone.

Analysis of the Interviews

Lerner (1986) provides some guidelines for considering which particular aspects of family structure should be identified as pat-

riarchal,

Women have for millennia participated in the process of their own subordination because they have been psychologically shaped so as to internalize the idea of their own inferiority. Each individual woman was linked to her male kin in her family of origin through ties which implied specific obligation. Her indoctrination, from early childhood on, emphasized her obligation not only to make an economic contribution to the kin and household but also to accept a marriage partner in line with family interests (p. 219).

Throughout her lifetime, a woman's sexual control was linked to paternalistic protection and "in various stages of her life, she exchanged male protectors, but she never outgrew the childlike state of being subordinate and under protection" (p. 219).

Indicators of patriarchal beliefs and behaviors are thus identified through the woman's experienced reality of self. These include significant patterns of male dominance, coercion, devaluation, and physical and sexual abuse, which are not only tolerated but also disclosed as "normal" family experiences. Specifically, a patriarchal family structure was said to exist when the woman's family of origin manifested fundamental subordination, submission exchanged for protection and economic support, unpaid labor, unequal responsibilities, or sexual services. Rigid gender roles, social isolation and established hierarchies within families was also considered indicators of paternalistic dominance.

Each interview was examined for evidence which suggests these women, as a group, live(d) within a patriarchal family structure. Results indicate this is evident. Eight out of nine women shared similar childhood experiences (with a minimum of four identifiable

indicators) that have been characterized as elements of patriarchal family structure. At the time of their interviews, all nine women had been living within patriarchal structured families.

Based on data provided during the formal interviews, the independent variable identified as indicators of patriarchal family structures are listed, (1) within family of origin, and (2) within current relationship, for each respondent. Statements from the women, which support the assigned categories, are provided and key descriptors underscored.

Respondent 1

Subordination, submission, unpaid labor, social isolation, sexual and physical abuse, rigid gender roles, abuse normalized:

1. Childhood included sexual abuse by stepfather. She was responsible for household chores and self care. "It was my job to do the household chores, but mom did the laundry because she said I couldn't do it right, because I was as 'useless' as my dad. I was a latch-key kid. . .spent many hours alone in my room." Her mother was extremely controlling and critical. "I left home at 17 but mom insisted I come back or she would disown me. . .the first time of many I remember mom used that as manipulation to get me to do what she wanted."

2. As an adult, her husband controlled all aspects of her life. "When we were first married, my husband made it clear that I should not work until the kids were in school. With each new child

he said 'five more years' before I could go back to work." Rigid gender roles were enforced.

His logic was, he worked all day, all week driving truck and my job was to take care of the house, the kids, and the bills, make sure everything was done. That was my job. And when he came home, I was suppose to pick up after him too, because that was my job.

Her mate kept her socially isolated by disrupting ties with her family and friends, and often treated her like a child "He would discipline me by locking me in a closet. . .for a long time, I thought this was normal."

Respondent 2

Subordination, submission, unpaid labor, unequal responsibility, sexual and physical abuse, rigid gender roles, abuse normalized.

1. Childhood experiences include father's abuse, "My dad was abusive, physically and sexually to me and my two sisters." Her mother was both subordinate and submissive. "Dad didn't like arguing in front of the kids, he was not physically abusive to mom but there was a lot of yelling. Mom always ended up crying during the arguments but did not fight back." Her brothers were encouraged to be violent and controlling. "I lived with my grandmother for awhile because my brother was very aggressive with me to the point they thought he would kill me." She was required to stay home from school to care for siblings and gave earned money to the family. Rigid gender roles were enforced, "my dad was always demanding of the girls

and lenient of the boys" "mom did not work outside the home. . .she was the disciplinarian and took care of everything." The family lacked social integration. "Dad did not see his relatives and mom was estranged from her family."

2. As an adult her husband has been physically and sexually abusive to her and the children. "My youngest boy has lots of mental and emotional problems. . .I blame it on my husband for sexually abusing the older boy who abused this one. . .and for causing the family to split up." Her mate also had economic control. "He told me what bills he had and gave me the rest of the money only to pay other expenses. . .if there was any left by the time he got home from the bar." Paternalistic dominance still influences her, "I would still like to have acceptance from my brothers. . .they consider my ex-husband poor white trash."

Respondent 3

Subordination, submission, unequal responsibilities, rigid gender roles, social isolation, abuse normalized.

1. Childhood experiences centered on her parents fighting, "they screamed, yelled, threw things, hit each other, it was a rather violent house." Often she protected her siblings during these fights. Her mother blamed her for the negative family situation, "I can remember when I was six years old, mom told me 'the only reason I am going back to your dad is because of you, because you are crying and miss your father'. . .then he beat her up and beat us up." She

was required to stay home from school to keep dad company. Gender roles were enforced.

My mom was raised that that was women's work and my dad was raised that way as well, so being the only daughter, those were my duties, my gender correct duties. The boys had a lot more freedom than I did, and less was demanded of them than of me. It was a given that I was going to do the household chores, the boys were never involved in those. I was followed on dates, but the boys were told to get all the sex they could, from all the women that they could, but I better not let a boy touch me.

The family lacked social integration, "dad was not close to his family and mom visited her family maybe every other year, I wouldn't say she was close to her family either."

2. Her adult relationship continued the pattern of violence. "When I first met my husband, he was beating me up, when the kids got to be old enough, he started hitting them." "I grew up with a father who was controlling and verbally and physically abusive. . . I just really thought it was normal." Her mate has continued to harass her since she moved out, "there has been a lot of manipulation, he's tried to move my mail. . . today I went to vote in the school election to find out that I've been erased, I don't exist." Her mate was often unemployed but still controlled the finances, "my check was either taken to the bank by him or finally when direct deposit came about, it was direct deposited. So when I needed money, I was put in a position of asking him for money." Gender roles were enforced. "That was my life, I was the wife who kept my husband's annoyances at a minimum. . . made sure dinner was on the table whenever he got home from work, even if I worked."

Respondent 4

Subordination, submission, sexual and physical abuse, rigid gender roles, social isolation.

1. She describes early childhood traumas before the age of 16 months, but does not remember the abuse her mother talks about, "I remember a lot of yelling and slamming doors." Her adoptive father committed suicide when she was 15 years old. "I was his little princess, he spoiled me rotten." Her mother worked part-time when she was young and full-time after they divorced. Gender roles were enforced. "The household work was done by my mom, the garden was my dad, I mean the outside was my dad, the inside was my mom. . .the bottom line." Her father was very involved in his church. "We went to church every Sunday. . .my dad was heavily, heavily into it. . .my mom did it just to make herself look good."

2. In her adult relationship, economic security was provided. "I never worked. . .he worked, he had the money, it was more or less no questions asked. He worked and he did what he wanted to do." Her mate had total control over all aspects of her life. "He had control of everything, money, housing, food, what I wore, who I talked to, what I watched on TV, what I listened to on the radio, pretty much everything." As such she experienced social isolation and unequal responsibilities. "I did all the chores, I mean inside the home. He did anything outside, even going to the grocery store."

Respondent 5

Subordination, submission, sexual and physical abuse, abuse normalized.

1. Childhood obstacles include an alcoholic mother and an abusive, often absent father. Her brother was allowed to dominate her,

My brother use to kick the crap out of me. Most brothers will, but it was more violent because he played the dad, he was the dad role. If I got in trouble, not only did I have to answer to my mom, but I also had to answer to him and get my butt kicked.

The pattern of abuse began early, "I was molested by a family friend until about age eight, and you know hit, and neglected to a certain extent."

2. In her adult relationship, her mate controlled economic resources. "I would put my money in with his, but I wouldn't pay bills and everything. He made the decisions, he was a control freak, he was always in control."

Respondent 6

Rigid gender roles (Adult only: Subordination, submission, unequal responsibilities).

1. During her childhood, gender roles were enforced. "Mom did everything. Dad was gone a lot, weeks and sometimes months at a time." Her mother did not work outside the home until her parents divorced when she was 16 years old.

2. Her adult relationships are very different. There was not

violence in her first short-term marriage, but her second marriage has lasted much longer and this husband has been abusive for years.

We divorced and I keep taking him back. It is my fault things didn't work out. . . I knew the relationship was wrong. I knew it was bad, but I thought I still loved him. I thought there was still stuff to work out.

She is responsible for household tasks and handles the finances

"Most everything is my responsibility, inside and outside. I determined how our money was spent, asked his opinion, but he went along."

Respondent 7

Subordination, submission, sexual and physical abuse, rigid gender roles, social isolation, abuse normalized.

1. Her childhood saw rigid gender roles and also sexual and physical abuse. "My mother did all the work, my father didn't do nothing but all the beating and abusing. When I was in kindergarten I hid under a table at my cousin's house to get away from my father, he later beat me for that." Her father sexually abused her,

I remember this particular night. . . he came into my room naked. I don't remember anything else, I just remember seeing him come into my room with no clothes on. . . I closed my eyes and I don't remember anything until the next morning.

She lived with her grandparents for awhile and admired their traditional relationship.

My grandmother has only worked one week in her entire life, but my grandfather was not controlling. She had a life outside the home, she would go to church or she could go out with friends. He gives her money, he paid the bills, but he had other women. That was her only beef, she had a life, but they didn't do anything together. We never saw my grandmother get

mad at him. They have been married 50 years and I never saw them argue.

2. Her adult relationship continued the pattern of rigid gender roles and unequal responsibilities. "I did them (household tasks), he pretty much did nothing except give orders." Her mate controlled economic resources, "He did (handled the money), I never saw the bills. He just gave me money as I asked for it. Sometime if he knew I didn't have any, he would just leave it on the dresser." She is resigned to her situation, "I wanted a man that took care of me and paid all the bills, and that's what I got. My grandmother says you take the good with the bad' and that's what I did." She feels isolated,

If he didn't think I should go out with girlfriends, then I didn't go. He got his life, he goes out with his friends and I'm sitting at home with babies all the time. He didn't want to take me nowhere, didn't want to do nothing with me.

Respondent 8

(Adult only: Submission, subordination, economic control.)

1. Her mother worked outside the home and household responsibilities were shared. "My mom took care of if more or less because my dad drove truck. When my dad is home, he will cook. Both my brother and I helped out. . . rules were the same for both of us." She considers her parents "role models" and said she "never saw any violence growing up."

2. The current relationship with manifestations of submission, subordination, and economic control began when she was 16

years old. Her mate grew up in a violent home, "His dad use to beat the crap out of his mom all the time. But his mom is also a very controlling person, so it was like both an equal thing." She did not work outside the home and when asked who determined how the money was spent, she responded, "He'd let me sometimes, but him. He spent a lot of money too, after I left him I found out he was doing drugs, and I had no clue."

Respondent 9

Subordination, submission, sexual and physical abuse, unequal responsibility, abuse normalized.

1. Her parents divorced early in her life, she was sexually abused, moved often, and always felt inferior, "My mom, to me her men have always been more important to her than we have."

2. Her current relationship is very violent. Her mate is controlling and extremely physically abusive. "There are times when we can get along just fine, then if I say the wrong thing he is mad. He throws me on the floor. . . I have rug burn scars all over me." She seems resigned to her situation, "I've threatened to call the police, but I just never went through with it." She is both submissive and subordinate to her mate. Recently she returned home after an abusive incident.

He didn't have any money and he was hungry. There are so many things that make me feel like I am only there because of the money, or to do laundry and dishes, keep the house clean. I buy everything, I get tired of spending all the money, but I do. He's got a lock box he keeps his money in so I know he has money. He tells me he doesn't have any money, but when its

time to go to the horse races or play golf, then he's got money.

She has no sense of worth or self esteem

I don't think I'm attractive, because when you don't hear it, you start not believing it. Sometimes he makes me feel like I'm only there to do housework and for extra money. We had a fight and he told me 'well I didn't want you back' so I asked why he told me to come back, and he didn't answer.

Grasmick (1996) provides guidelines for identifying risk-taking beliefs and behaviors which include challenging "gender-biased institutions or abandoning abusive relationships. . . including risks that are socially and culturally valued" (p. 177). Each interview was examined for "socially and culturally valued" risk-taking beliefs and behaviors. For this study, specific indicators include increased economic and sexual autonomy, balanced power in relationships, division of labor, social integration and social enfranchisement, augmented education, and anomalous occupations.

Evidence from the interviews indicates, as a group, these women do not exhibit risk-taking beliefs and behaviors. Each woman interviewed had left and then returned to an abusive mate on one or more occasion. A battered woman is more likely to be killed when she leaves an abusive mate, therefore the very act of leaving should be considered "risk-taking behavior." However, for the purpose of this study, risk-taking has been explicitly identified as valuable or beneficial behaviors which exist over a period of time. Only one out of nine women, respondent six, ranked high for the identified criteria of risk-taking beliefs and behaviors. This may be significant because her family of origin did not exhibit notable patri-

archal identifiers. A second woman, respondent three, exhibits some recently acquired behaviors and was ranked as having moderate risk-taking values. Some women, respondents four and five, manifested deviant behaviors which might be classified as risk-taking but which were in fact often dangerous or potentially life-threatening. Still others, respondents two and eight, who took risks to survive abusive situations, were ranked as having limited or minimum levels of risk-taking behaviors. Data results from the interviews provide few indicators for risk-taking values. The dependent variable, risk-taking beliefs and behaviors are identified in the following.

Indicators

Indicators include increased economic and sexual autonomy (self-rule), balanced power, division of labor, social integration (friendships, attachments), augmented education (advanced, extended), and anomalous occupations (abnormal, exceptional, unusual).

Respondent 1--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors

She still feels dominated by her mother, "I could never talk to my mother. After all these years I still lie to her." She left her home of origin at 17, but returned home shortly after that at her mother's request. She left her abusive mate and lived independently for several months, but returned shortly after the interview "I want to be independent, but it's easier to have a husband who works to take care of things."

Respondent 2--Limited or Minimum Risk-Taking Behaviors

She has been divorced for thirteen years, worked on and off in service positions and completed 2 years of college. Currently she gets disability and because of past abuse will probably not continue her education, "It may be awhile. . .I have so many phobias, messed up, don't trust people, suffer many effects of my childhood. I have been in and out of counseling for years."

Respondent 3--Moderate Risk-Taking Behaviors

She went to college for three years and works full-time in a business office. She has plans to continue her education with a Masters Degree in mind "I am working on my Bachelors right now and when I'm done with that I am going to get a law degree." She has filed for divorce.

Respondent 4--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors

She exhibits self-destructive risk-taking behaviors that do not meet the outlined criteria. She skipped school often, drinks alcohol excessively and has been homeless off and on for years. "I didn't do drugs, I drank a lot, I have ulcers now. I could have bought out a liquor store as much as I drank, I didn't care." "I lived on the streets for years, I'd sleep under the bridge in a sleeping bag. . .at somebody's house, wherever."

Respondent 5--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors

She ran away from home at age thirteen, has been homeless off and on for years, and dropped out of school in the ninth grade. It may appear she has freedom and independence but living on the streets has resulted in numerous assaults "I was raped by the one guy when I was 13, and then when I was 15, and twice after that." She exhibits risk-taking behavior but in such a way they could be life-threatening. According to our definition, there are no indicators of valuable risk-taking behavior.

Respondent 6--High Level of Risk-Taking Behaviors

From her teen years to present, she demonstrates risk-taking behaviors including independence and sexual autonomy. "I have always gone off on adventures. As a teenager, I would take off on my own and go out in the fields to get away. I hitchhiked to New York and Vermont." She went to college, earned an Associates Degree, and owns her own service business. Although her mate is controlling and abusive, she has some power in the relationship. She considers herself to be a "risk-taker" and much different than her parents "My views are totally different, my perspective, my values. . . more mature, not traditional. I love being different."

Respondent 7--Limited or no Risk-Taking Behaviors

As a child she chose to live with her grandmother to get away from her father's abuse "I got up, I was suppose to go to school and

I walked to my grandmother's house, maybe 40 or 60 blocks away. I walked to my grandmother's and begged her not to send me back there." As an adult, she left her husband after 20 years of abuse and traveled to a shelter about 260 miles away from home "I told one of the ladies here that when I left and got on the highway, I felt like a teenager running away from home." She chose to go where no one knew her. "I've been with him so long that it's easy for him to come along and tell me everything I need to hear." She dropped out of high school because she had no encouragement and then went back to get her GED after she was married. She dreams about continuing her education.

That's why I enrolled in college. . .my current job is like an entry level position that could lead to a career in nursing. But with a husband like that, you pretty much can't be consistent. . .it was hard to finish anything, to do anything that made me feel good about myself.

During the interview she talked about a brighter future, "First I have to get out of here and find out what I really like. I might do things I've wanted to do all my life, like go horseback riding. I might decide to take lessons or start roller skating. I want to be independent." Three months after the interview, she returned to live with her husband.

Respondent 8--Limited or Minimum Risk-Taking Behaviors

She considers herself "independent" because she has been living on her own, has a job and takes care of her child. "I do everything that's suppose to be done. I did it before when I lived with

him, I like it better now." No other risk-taking indicators were found.

Respondent 9--Limited or No Risk-Taking Behaviors

She left home at 17 to live with a boyfriend for a short time. She currently works in a service position. She has no power in her personal relationship, is socially isolated, and will not continue her education without her mate's approval.

He is trying to talk me into going to college, but I don't know if I'll ever do it. When I went back to finish high school, I got nothing but him thinking I was sleeping with this guy or flirting with that guy. That's why I think I won't go to college, because I'll get accused of the same thing.

She has left and returned to the abusive situations several times.

"I don't know what he's going to think, me coming somewhere to talk to someone about him doing this to me. I'm afraid that if he finds out, then I would get in a lot of trouble."

Prior to the formal interview, women in this study responded to a 24 statement survey which illustrates attitudes people have about the role of women. Participants were asked to provide answers, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, which best described their own thoughts or beliefs. Data taken from the survey (Table 1) was used in the final analysis. The most conservative response for each statement was identified and used to measure patriarchal beliefs and risk-taking behaviors.

Table 1
Conservative Beliefs Survey

Q#	Conser- vative*	SA	A	D	SD	No	Comment
1	SA *	3	3	1	1	1	Women need protection and support.
2	SA		1	6	2		Women should not work outside home.
3	SA			4	5		Husband head of house.
4	SA		1	6	2		Men given preference.
5	SA			5	3	1	Mother teaches values.
6	SD	6	3				Parent authority shared.
7	SA			5	2	2	Childish to maintain maiden name.
8	SA			7	2		Minimize irritation for man.
9	SA		1	5	2	1	Woman keeps house neat and clean.
10	SA		2	6	1		Man does yard work.
11	SA			6	3		Woman always cooks.
12	SA *		2	3	1	3	Children better with strict discipline.
13	SA			3	6		Women shouldn't expect same freedom as men.
14	SA			4	5		Sons encouraged more re college.

Table 1--Continued

Q#	Conser- vative	SA	A	D	SD	No	Comment
15	SA		1	3	5		Women worry less about rights/more about wife/mom.
16	SD	5	4				Plan budget together.
17	SA			6	2	1	Obligation to satisfy husbands sexual desire.
18	SD *		3	2		4	Women should pay on dates.
19	SD	3	6				Women take more leadership roles.
20	SA			5	4		Women only capable of earning less \$\$.
21	SA			7	2		Husband=job & wife=home/children.
22	SA			3	6		No obligation for husband to tell of \$\$ plans.
23	SA			1	8		Men should earn more than women.
24	SD	9					Men should help with household chores.
SA = Strongly Agree				A = Agree			
D = Disagree				SD = Strongly Disagree			
NO = No Opinion/Don't Know				* = Conservative response			

Survey Findings and Analysis

Each participant was given the Conservative Beliefs Survey

(Appendix D) before the formal interview. Overall, the results in Table 1 do not reflect highly conservative or traditional attitudes and beliefs. Respondents appear to hold risk-taking values and attitudes which incorporate beliefs of gender equality, shared parental responsibility, shared household tasks, and less rigid gender roles.

One exception is the response to question #1. Six out of nine women either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "Most women need and want the kind of protection and support that men have traditionally given them." A seventh woman "didn't know" or had "no opinion." Two other questions, regarding discipline in the home and regarding women sharing equally in paying expenses showed mixed results. Both seem to represent conservative beliefs that conflict with other responses in the survey.

The survey was written to identify conservative values related to patriarchal ideology. Specifically, Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitude Towards Women Survey (AWS) was used to construct statements which identified gender-role attitudes and indicators of patriarchal family structures. An interesting note is that responses to the questions in this survey do not correspond with the information women provided during their formal interviews. While respondents say they think this way, their behaviors were often the opposite. The following inconsistencies found in statements 3, 8, 9, 10, 13, 22, and 24 appear to reflect strong indications of patriarchal values and beliefs.

Statement 3, "If a husband is living in the home, he should be

the head of the household." All nine women disagreed with this statement. However, responses made during their formal interviews indicate that all nine held subordinate positions in the family.

Statement 8, "A wife should make every effort to minimize irritation and inconvenience to the male head of the family." All nine women disagreed with this statement. However, all nine women admitted they did what was necessary to keep their mate happy. One woman even said "that was my job."

Statements 9 and 10, "It is the woman's primary responsibility to keep the house clean." "It is the man's primary responsibility to do the yardwork." All but two women disagreed with these statements. However, all nine women said they were totally responsible for household tasks while their mate did outside tasks.

Statement 13, "A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom as a man." All nine women disagreed with this statement. However, interview responses revealed that when they were living with an abusive mate, all nine lacked autonomy and privilege. Most did not even question their subordinate position "He had his friends and I stayed home with the babies."

Statement 22, "In general, the husband has no obligation to inform his wife of his financial plans." All nine women disagreed with this statement. However, only two respondents said they were involved in determining how family money was spent. Even then, it was with their mate's approval. Some admitted they never saw the

money and did not have any knowledge about family resources.

Statement 24, "When women are more active outside the home due to economic conditions, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry." All nine strongly agreed with this statement. However, this did not happen in their homes.

Survey statements which reflect risk-taking beliefs also do not correspond with responses made during formal interviews. As a group, these women did not tend to indicate risk-taking values. Statements 2, 7, 15, 17, 19, 21, and 24 were used to measure risk-taking beliefs.

Statement 2, "Women with children should not work outside the home if they don't have to financially." Economic autonomy is an indicator of risk-taking behavior. Eight women disagreed with this statement. During the formal interviews, six women admitted that, although they wanted to work outside the home, their mate would not allow them to work.

Statement 7, "It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage." This risk-taking behavior relates to social enfranchisement. It would be considered a "risk" for a woman to question the tradition of assuming her mate's surname. Seven women disagreed with this statement and two had no opinion. Most respondents appeared to be uncomfortable when answering this question.

Statement 15, "Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers." Balanced power in a

relationship is an indicator of risk-taking behavior. Eight women disagreed with this statement. Most respondents seemed to go through the motion of "being a good wife." While those with children said "being a good mother" was something they worried about often. Before being exposed to support groups or counseling, not one respondent questioned her own rights within the family or other institutions.

Statement 17, "It is the fundamental obligation of every wife to satisfy her husband's sexual desires." Sexual autonomy is an indicator of risk-taking behavior. Eight women disagreed with this statement and one did not respond. According to interview statements, each respondent had experienced physical and/or sexual abuse either by her mate or an other familiar male. Exchanging sexual services for protection, economic or emotional support had been normalized within her lifetime.

Statement 19, "Women should take more responsibility in assuming leadership positions in their community or government." Social integration, i.e., running for school board, serving on a church committee, or volunteering to raise money for a playground, is an indicator of risk-taking behavior. All nine women agreed with this statement. However, most respondents were socially isolated when they lived with their mates. Not one had ever assumed a leadership role, even within their own families.

Statement 21, "The husband's responsibility is to his job and the wife's responsibility is to the home and children." Division of

labor is an indicator of risk-taking behavior. Although nine women disagreed with this statement, they all assumed this responsibility for the home and children.

Statement 24, "When women are more active outside the home due to economic conditions, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry." Balanced power, division of labor and economic autonomy are indicators of risk-taking behavior. All nine women strongly agreed with this statement. At the same time, they continued to handle all household tasks even when they worked outside the home.

At first glance, the tally results of the survey suggest these women, as a group, did not hold patriarchal beliefs. However, responses to survey questions did not reflect behaviors revealed during the formal interviews. The influence of patriarchy on risk preference is evident in this sample of respondents.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the data indicate that these women, as a group, come from or now live within patriarchal family structures. At the same time, they do not, as a group, demonstrate risk-taking beliefs or behaviors. During the interviews, all nine women shared personal experiences of fundamental subordination and submission within their relationships. As children, seven revealed episodes of physical or sexual abuse. Some women felt inferior, others neglected, and all complied with gender role expectations. The pattern of dominance and submission continued into their adult lives. They remained constant in the role of dependent, obedient servant even though their mates abused them. Six out of nine identified abusive, controlling behavior directed toward them as normal. As Rosenberg (1994) noted, "abused women often were abused children, and believe their victimization to be justified, first by their parents and later by their spouses" (p. 27). While two women said they did not experience violence in their family of origin, they nevertheless accepted violence in their current relationships.

Common attributes for all nine respondents included low self-esteem and a lack of self-worth. Previous studies of spousal abuse "encounter repeated instances of low self-esteem and high dependence combining to keep women in abusive relationships and to persuade

them that they deserve their abuse" (Rosenberg, 1994, p. 27). For these women, risk-taking behaviors were mostly limited to deviant, self-destructive activities. Risky behavior such as living on the streets, abusing alcohol, and returning to an abusive mate may be manifestations of each one's negative definition of self.

On the other hand, as children, some women took steps to remove themselves from sexually abusive situations. This past year, all nine had removed themselves from abusive circumstances in an effort to survive. Despite their good intentions, most returned to abusive mates shortly after they left the shelters. As noted earlier, "ending a bad marriage often requires taking a risk, especially a financial one. . . .an enhanced preference for risk among women can be a resource for leaving." All told, these women do not exhibit an enhanced willingness to take risks. This is supported by predictions of power-control theory that "among the women more likely to take the risk of leaving these relationships are those who have acquired a higher risk preference from being socialized in less patriarchal families" (Grasmick, et al., 1996, p. 195). In this study, only one respondent exhibits higher risk taking behaviors and she was socialized in a less patriarchal family. Lack of risk preference are likely behavioral consequences of the dominant sex-role socialization patterns in the culture and of the existing family structure.

Answers to survey statements indicate these women, as a group, did not exhibit patriarchal ideology in their responses. At the

same time, information provided during their interviews disclosed significant manifestations of patriarchy. It appears, for these women, the family institution is both oppressive and protective, experienced sometimes one way or the other. Contrary to what may actually be happening in their homes, they gave socially acceptable responses to survey questions. If the survey had been given after the interviews or if statements had been worded differently, such as eliminating the use of should, then their responses might have been different. As Feine (1995) discovered, "privacy and secrecy are a functional means for avoiding the social stigmatization in the lives of battered women" (p. 181). Specifically, "if women have labeled themselves deviant (i.e., outside the norm of behavior that is expected of women), they anticipate the negative reactions of others" (p. 181). Results in this study compare with previous research which found "a complex picture of the women's choices as they recognized privacy boundaries. . .and worried about what other people might think of them." As such, "battered women maintain some degree of control over what others know" (Feine, 1995, pp. 184-185).

Finally, it appears women in conflict do not hold patriarchal values, but as a practical matter, their behavior is a necessary accommodation for survival. Living in a patriarchal family structure does not mean women internalize those values. Instead, they do the things they need to do, or have done, in order to survive. They are following the unwritten contract of paternalism. Lerner (1986) points out "it was a rational choice for women, under conditions of

public powerlessness and economic dependency, to choose strong protectors for themselves and their children" (p. 218). For these women, fear and uncertainty are compounded by the fact that there are no models in their lives for the newly required empowerment and desired risk-taking behaviors. This is what they know, who they are, and it is at least familiar. When the battered woman seeks help from shelters and the legal system, she is forced to challenge her very definition of self. Learner (1986) relates that

to step outside of patriarchal thought means: being skeptical toward every known system of thought; being critical of all assumptions, ordering values and definitions. Testing one's statement by trusting our own, the female experience. Since such experience has usually been trivialized or ignored, it means overcoming the deep-seated resistance within ourselves toward accepting ourselves and our knowledge as valid. (p. 228)

When a battered woman risks leaving an abusive relationship, she faces obvious obstacles such as limited financial resources and low job skills. In addition, she must confront her own identity which may cause more strain than she is willing or able to bear.

Conclusion

Kimmel (1992) describes the essence of patriarchy as "a system of domination in which men exercise power over women" (p. 163). According to feminist theory, women's lives differ from men and these gender differences shape their lives. First, a women's experience is often patterned around bearing children and caring for others, being gentle rather than tough, and being peaceful rather than violent. These socially learned characteristics are often considered

less valuable than traditional masculine attributes. Second, long held beliefs that women are inferior to men means that in most social situations, women's positions are unequal to men. Compared with men, women have less power, freedom, respect, or money. Third, this devaluation of women allows them to be oppressed, subordinated, controlled, or abused by men. This oppression may involve overt physical violence such as rape, abuse, or incest. It may also resemble more subtle forms such as unpaid household work, lack of financial control, or being excluded from decision making. Feminist theory assumes that, based on these negative experiences, women are bound to challenge the status quo by seeking gender equality in education, career, marriage, and other areas of life. This study examined whether strong patriarchal influences would inhibit risk-taking behaviors and prevent this from happening.

In order to answer the research questions presented in this study, we must consider the problems of gender differences, inequality, and oppression. Information provided here suggests the effects of patriarchal socialization can be identified. Furthermore, it appears patriarchal ideology does influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of battered women. As noted earlier, when respondents were asked specific questions concerning roles of women, they verbally expressed higher risk preferences. However, their choices with regards to education, career, marriage and other areas of life revealed contradictory behaviors. This may be an example of the inherent strain battered women, trained in the patriarchal tradition, exper-

ience when trying to break the cycle of violence.

Each woman interviewed could be described as having inner strength or intuitive survival skills, but they lacked self-esteem and a sense of worth. The process of cultural devaluation was learned in school as well as at home. Early on, most were abused or neglected. They lacked reliable role models and grew up in homes where affection was scarce and violence was a way of life. First as children, now as adults, they endure less power, freedom and respect than the men in their lives. Moreover, women in this study identified with or exhibited passive acceptance of traditional gender-roles. Like their mothers before them, they focused on taking care of the home and family, gave up control over their finances, and allowed the male head of the house to make decisions for them.

Citing childhood experiences, battered women in this study often commented that their mate's abuse was seen as normal. Many have read about abuse, received counseling or participated in support groups. Intellectually they want to challenge the status quo, they want their lives to be different. A lifetime of oppression makes this difficult to achieve. If they choose to leave an abusive relationship it means facing obstacles such as having little money, less education, or limited job skills. They are also challenged by underlying beliefs concerning their own identity which influences their decisions. Even though battered women seek help from shelters and the legal system, the affects of patriarchal ideology may prevent them from accepting so-called empowered roles which are neces-

sary for maintaining their independence. For the women in this study, taking necessary actions to survive has meant giving up personal autonomy, both physically and intellectually. To do otherwise involves greater risks. According to Lerner (1986)

it means developing intellectual courage, the courage to stand alone, the courage to reach farther than our grasp, the courage to risk failure. Perhaps the greatest challenge to thinking women is the challenge to move from the desire for safety and approval to the most unfeminine quality of all-that of intellectual arrogance, the supreme hubris which asserts to itself the right to reorder the world. (p. 228)

The battered woman must ultimately assume responsibility for herself, and only she experiences the consequences of that behavior. Notwithstanding, it appears the more she is involved in patriarchal family structures, the less likely she is to act upon risk-taking beliefs and take action for leaving. Telling a battered woman she is empowered and must take risks is not the same as giving her the resources or tools to overcome cultural norms. "As long as both men and women regard the subordination of half the human race to the other as "natural," it is impossible to envision a society in which difference do not connote either dominance or subordination" (Lerner, 1986, p. 229).

Implications

The consequences of living within patriarchal family structures include lower self-esteem and coping skills, stigma and self-blame, and decreased risk preference. The persistence of abuse de-means and affronts society and the human condition. Historical ex-

planations for family-based abuse center on individual pathology. Rosenberg (1994) states "since a psychological orientation primarily helps the troubled person adapt to the social system without questioning the system itself, it is the task of the sociological perspective to illuminate the social structural roots of family abuse" (p. 31). Results of this study support the social structural or sociocultural approach which suggests the nature of the system itself must be examined. While individual and group psychotherapy can help victims of abuse interpret and cope with their situation at least temporarily, it cannot provide them with essential risk-taking values needed for long-term adjustment.

This exploratory study is an initial step toward identifying risk preference and the influence of patriarchy on battered women. Confronting culturally based patriarchal ideology has important implications for the legal system and domestic violence intervention programs. Certainly, a social dynamic model of intervention should be used to examine beliefs about family life and how they direct behavior, specifically the "myth of the happy family and feelings of deviance." Further, intervention for battered women, encouraged to learn new roles, must also address issues from her family of origin, and the process of resocialization (Fiene, 1995, p. 192).

Limitations of the Study

There were certain limitations within this study that may have affected its outcome and generalizability. First, the limited number

of shelters used in this research does not allow for generalization across populations. Administrators and counselors were very cooperative, however it was difficult to find individuals willing to participate. This is a very transient population and several times women agreed to participate but left the shelter before their scheduled interview. At the same time, others made appointments but canceled them at the last minute. In addition, client census was down during the time of this study which limited counselor referrals.

Second, the differences between ages of respondents may affect measures of attitudes. Although the age of participants ranged from eighteen to forty-five, a larger sample would be necessary to allow results to be generalized across generations. Third, the severity of abuse the women have experienced or their primary reason for residing at the shelter may not present a true measure of association between variables. Some women enter shelters because they are primarily homeless rather than battered. Also, women with economic resources who can afford to go elsewhere are less likely to be staying at a shelter. This could mean that only a certain population, poor or working class women, were approached about participating in the study.

Finally, the counselors who are responsible for selecting clients may be an inherent source of bias which could affect the results. Shelter counselors may have chosen women who were more educated, well adjusted or familiar with domestic violence issues.

Likewise, the sample consists of volunteers which means women who were not willing to volunteer are not represented in the study.

Future Research

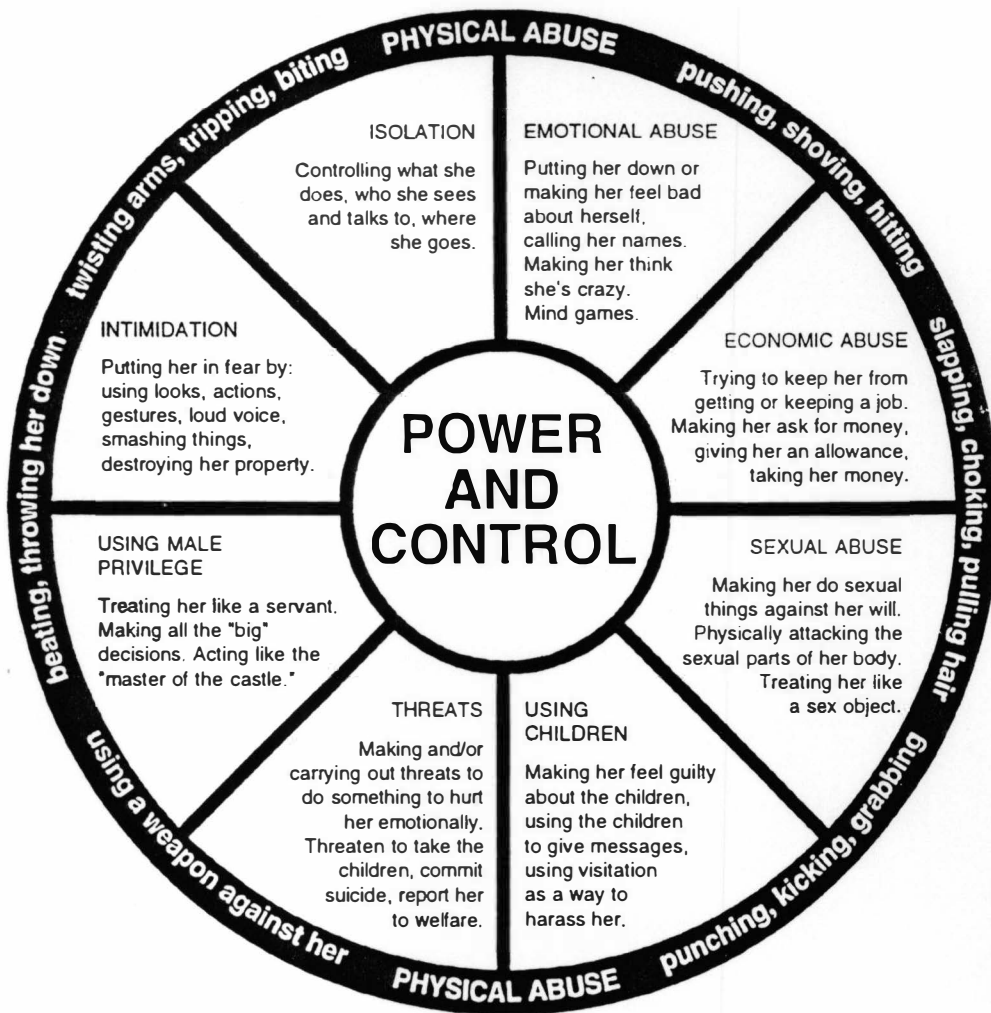
The better one understands the complex interactions of the individual within the family, and of the family within the encompassing society, the better one can evaluate proposed solutions. Progress towards ending abuse and neglect is by no means certain. Research addressing trends in family relations may yield more informed understanding and a more solid knowledge base on which to build solutions.

The significance of feminist and power-control theories which explain the cycle of family violence cannot be ignored. The consequence of gender on risk preference associated with patriarchal families is evident. Special attention should be directed to issues of inter-generational transmission of patriarchy. Reframing culturally based social systems depends on future research which addresses the enduring effects into adulthood of being raised in patriarchal families.

Appendix A
Wheel of Control

WHEEL OF CONTROL

WHAT IS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE?



Appendix B
Informed Consent Form

College of Arts and Sciences
Department of Sociology
Criminal Justice Program

Western Michigan University
H. S. I. R. B.
Approved for use for one year from this date:
FAX (616) 937-2885

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Principal Investigator Dr. Ron Kramer, Ph.D

Research Associate Ms. Cathy Gordon

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
H. S. I. R. B.
Approved for use for one year from this date:
Richard A. Wright
HSIRB Chair

I have been invited to participate in a research project entitled "Barriers to Freedom: Exploring the Influence of Patriarchy on Family Violence." I understand that this research is intended to study roles and relationships found in families experiencing domestic abuse. I further understand that this is Cathy Gordon's thesis project.

My consent to participate in this project indicates that I will be asked to attend one, one and one-half hour private session with Dr. Kramer/Ms. Gordon. I will be asked to meet Dr. Kramer/Ms. Gordon for this session in a room designated [REDACTED]. The session will involve completing a short questionnaire and an interview. I will be asked to provide general information about myself such as my age, level of education, and employment status. I will also be asked to discuss personal experiences and my feelings or beliefs.

As in all research, there may be unforeseen risks to the participant. If an accidental injury occurs, appropriate emergency measures will be taken; however, no compensation or treatment will be made available to me except as otherwise specified in this consent form. I understand that one potential risk of my participation in this project is that I may be upset by the content of the interview. I understand, however, that Dr. Kramer/Ms. Gordon is prepared to provide crisis counseling should I become significantly upset and that he or she is prepared to make a referral to the shelter staff if I need further counseling about this topic.

One way in which I may benefit from this activity is having the chance to talk about my experiences, which research indicates is beneficial for individuals who have suffered from domestic abuse. I also understand this information may help improve support services and others who have shared a similar experience may benefit from the knowledge that is gained from this research.

I understand that all the information collected from me is confidential. That means that my name will not appear on any papers on which this information is recorded. The forms will all be coded, and Dr. Kramer/Ms. Gordon will keep a separate master list with the names of participants and the corresponding code numbers. Once the data are collected and analyzed, the master list will be destroyed. All other data collected including consent documents, audio tapes and/or transcripts will be saved for a minimum of three years and stored in a secured room located in the Kercher Center for Social Research at Western Michigan University.

I understand that I may refuse to participate or quit at any time during the study without prejudice or penalty. If I have any questions or concerns about this study, I may contact either Dr. Ron Kramer at 616-387-5284 or Ms. Cathy Gordon at 517-278-8788. I may also contact the Chair of Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at 616-387-8293 or the Vice President for Research at 387-8398 with any concerns that I have. My signature below indicates that I understand the purpose and requirements of the study and that I agree to participate.

Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix C
Survey Questionnaire

Survey Questionnaire

Participant # _____

The statements listed below describe attitudes which people have about the role of women. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Please note whether you Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD), Have No Opinion (NO). Which answer best describes your thoughts or beliefs.

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree
 NO = No Opinion

1. Most women need and want the kind of protection and support the men have traditionally given them.
 SA A D SD NO
2. Women with children should not work outside the home if they don't have to financially.
 SA A D SD NO
3. If a husband is living in the home, he should be the head of the household.
 SA A D SD NO
4. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
 SA A D SD NO
5. The mother should be the one to teach values to the children.
 SA A D SD NO
6. Parental authority and responsibility for discipline of the children should be equally divided between husband and wife.
 SA A D SD NO
7. It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage.
 SA A D SD NO
8. A wife should make every effort to minimize irritation and inconvenience to the male head of the family.
 SA A D SD NO
9. It is the woman's primary responsibility to keep the house neat and clean.
 SA A D SD NO

10. It is the man's primary responsibility to do the yard work.
SA A D SD NO
11. The wife should always be the one to cook.
SA A D SD NO
12. Children are better off in a home with parents who are strict disciplinarians.
SA A D SD NO
13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom as a man.
SA A D SD NO
14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
SA A D SD NO
15. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
SA A D SD NO
16. The husband and wife should plan the budget and manage money together.
SA A D SD NO
17. It is the fundamental obligation of every wife to satisfy her husband's sexual desires.
SA A D SD NO
18. Women who earn as much as their dates should share equally in paying expenses when they go out together.
SA A D SD NO
19. Women should take more responsibility in assuming leadership positions in their community or government.
SA A D SD NO
20. On the average, women should be regarded as being less capable of contributing financially than are men.
SA A D SD NO
21. The husband's responsibility is to his job and the wife's responsibility is to the home and children.
SA A D SD NO
22. In general, the husband has no obligation to inform his wife of his financial plans.
SA A D SD NO

23. It is only fair that men (workers) should receive more pay than women, even for the same job.
SA A D SD NO
24. When women are more active outside the home due to economic conditions, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.
SA A D SD NO

Appendix D
Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CASE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

123

First, I would like to have you complete a short survey about various roles and relationships (attached). After that I will interview you about your background, some childhood experiences, and also ask you some questions that will allow you to share your feelings and beliefs about roles and relationships.

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your race/ethnicity?
 - a. African American
 - b. Alaskan Native
 - c. American Indian
 - d. Asian American
 - e. Caucasian
 - f. Hispanic
 - g. International/Non Resident
 - h. Multiracial
 - i. Pacific Islander
 - j. Other _____
3. Do you have children?
 - a. How old were you when you had your first child?
 - b. Tell me about them/how many/ages.
 - c. How would you describe your relationship with them?

(Probes: Friends, adversaries, reversed roles where child acts as parent)
4. Do you work outside the home?

(IF YES)

 - a. What is your job?
 - b. Does your mate work?
 - c. What is your mate's job?
 - d. Which one of you bring home more money?
 - e. Who determines how the money is divided and/or spent?
 - f. How handles the finances? (Example - paying bills or buying things)
 - g. Describe for me how household tasks are taken care of in your home.

(IF NO)

- a. Why not?
(Probe: Taking care of children, limited skills, mate's decision)
 - b. Does your mate work?
(Probe: If not, are you getting public assistance?)
 - c. What is your mate's job?
 - d. Who determines how the money is divided and/or spent?
 - e. Who handles the finances? (Example - Paying bills or buying things)
 - f. Describe how household tasks are taken care of in your home.
5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- a. (If less than high school graduate) Why did you leave school?
 - b. Please describe what going to high school was like for you?
(Probes: What were some of your experiences? Did your family and/or teachers encourage you academically? Did you participate in extra-curricular activities, including sports? Were you ever involved in an activity that many would consider meant for boys--like sports, shop class, camping out?)
 - c. Have you thought about continuing your education?
(Probe: if so, how, when, where?)
 - d. How did you come to that decision?
(Probe: Who's decision (you or mate), related to work or future goals.)
- 6.
- a. Who did you live with during your childhood?
 - b. Did you have much contact with your relatives (extended family)?
(Probe: Who initiated visits or family activities, mom or dad?)
 - c. When did you first leave (family of origin) home?
(Probes: How old were you, were there special circumstances, did you live on your own or with a friend/mate, did you relocate or go to school, etc.)
- 7.
- a. Growing up, did your mother work outside the home?
(Probes: If so, did she always? What do you remember about her work?)
 - b. How would you describe the roles your parents took in household tasks?
(Example - housework, cooking, child care, finances)
8. Tell me about your relationship with your mother during your childhood.
(Example - Friends, adversarial, absent or not around, more freedom or rules).

(Probe: Were rules different or same for boys & girls?)

9. Tell me about your relationship with your father during your childhood.
(Example - Friends, adversarial, absent or not around, more freedom or rules)
(Probe: Were rules different or same for boys & girls?)
10. How did your family generally deal with conflicts?
(Probe: To me, conflicts are situations where people want different outcomes.)
(Example - Fight, yell, get physical, talk about it)
11. Growing up, did you experience violence in your family?
a. IF YES, Could you share something about that experience?
(Probe: Were you a victim or a witness to someone else's abuse?)
12. Could you tell me a little about your current situation, what brought you here?
13. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?
(Probe: What things are helping you right now?)
14. When you think of women as being independent, what do you think they have?
(Probe: Career/job, own a home, freedom to come and go, etc.)
15. Does a woman need a man in her life in order to be happy/complete?
16. Were there any statements in the survey that you have questions about?
(Probe: How do you see your role as a female growing and now? Do you see any comparison between your parents' roles and the roles you're in in your family life now?)

Appendix E
Interviews

INTERVIEWS(512) Respondent #1

Respondent is in her early thirties. She has young children. She believes she has a good relationship with them and is a better parent than her own mother. Still, she admits she "can understand why my mom slapped me across the face all the time. . .to get my attention." She said she encourages open communication with them, something she never had with her own mother. She describes herself as being a "latch-key kid" who spent many hours alone while her mother worked full-time in a foundry.

During her childhood, she lived with her mom and step-dad (who she believed was her real dad). She recalled they did not have a good relationship, "but you talk about a man, I'd rather spit on him than look at him. . .I'd rather kill him, than to look at him." He was an alcoholic and she believes he sexually molested her at a young age. When she was 8 years old her mother told her "the truth about (her) real dad" because her biological father was trying to get visitation. In a manipulative way, her mother did not allow this to happen. Only recently has she been able to have a relationship with him and she feels a lot of resentment about this.

Most of the interview focused on the very poor relationship she had (and still has) with her mother. She said she could not talk openly or honestly with her mother, and in fact mom's behaviors

encouraged her to lie. She gave details about situations where her mother constantly accused her of things she had not done and said "after all these years, I still lie to my mother." She said their relationship was very adversarial and although mom "was never around," she was "critical" when she was there. For instance, it was her job to do the household chores, "but mom did the laundry so it was done right" because according to her mom she was "about as useless as my dad." She admits she "never liked" her mom and "hated [my] life growing up." She often "thought about suicide" and tried to be away from home as much as possible.

She left home at age 17 to live with relatives out of state, but her mom insisted she come back or she would "disown me" so she did. She said this was the "first time of many when mom used that as manipulation to get (her) to do what she wanted." The relationship with her husband appears to be very similar to this. Her husband has been extremely abusive mentally, emotionally and occasionally physically. He treated her very much like a child, even disciplining her by locking her in a closet. She had been abused in a previous relationship and "for a long time thought this was normal."

(520) Respondent #2

Respondent is in her early forties and has children. A great amount of her attention centers around these children and the problems resulting from their experiences with sexual abuse. She has

been divorced for 13 years but her ex-husband, described as "a manipulative con," has been stalking her.

She has been in and out of counseling several times. She explained she does "not trust people" and believes she is "messed up" as the result of her childhood traumas. For several years she lived with her grandmother she says because her older brother was very aggressive with her to the point "they thought he would kill me." Then she moved back home with her parents at age 12, only to be shuffled back and forth during the next few years. It was at that time that her father was arrested for sexually abusing her ("not the first time he did it"). Her mother left the home, came back later and eventually divorced her father when she was 19. The oldest of eight children, she was often required to stay home from school to baby-sit, then ordered to give any money earned to the family. At other times, she skipped school because "it was difficult to be around people, especially boys because of the sexual abuse." She remembers being "a chunky chicken" with "old raggy clothes (who) had to wear dad's underwear to school."

Her mother did not work outside the home, she was the "disciplinarian and took care of everything." They did not have a good relationship, "she wasn't my mother. . . she was distant and unfeeling. . . there was no hugging or affection. . . no love between parents or with the children. . . no praise or encouragement." Her relationship with her father was also bad, she described him as being "abusive physically and sexually." She said he was not

affectionate except during the sexual abuse when "he talked to me nice" but otherwise he was "always demanding of the girls and lenient of the boys." She explained he often encouraged "organized violence" with her siblings. Her dad would call out "royal rumble" and "the boys would get on the floor and start beating the piss out of each other." She says he gave the kids an occasional "swat on the butt" but "did not spank." Her mom sent the kids to their rooms when there was conflict, except on one occasion she recalled "my mother only hit me once, that's when I told her my dad was abusing me. . .she slapped me across the face. . .that was the first time (literally) she ever touched me."

(608) Respondent #3

Respondent is in her late thirties and has children. She works in a business office and is attending college part-time. She plans to obtain a degree in social work. She has filed for divorce from the man she married at age 18. He has physically abused her since they first met and she came to the shelter only after he started abusing the children. She said "He would promise to get better and quit doing it (hitting the kids), so I, you know that would calm me down for awhile, I wouldn't want to leave" but the abuse escalated earlier this year.

A childhood filled with violence, she remembered at home they "screamed, yelled, threw things, hit each other, it was a rather violent house" and she often acted as protector for her siblings.

At the age of 10, her family moved into a multi-racial neighborhood, located in a deteriorating part of town. She recalled "it was a welfare neighborhood, and that was rough, not growing up with Black people, we got our butts kicked on a regular basis, 'til we decided to fight back. There was always violence in the neighborhood."

As a child, she enjoyed school but was often absent. She said "my dad was a controlled person, who did not work and he liked the children to keep him company. He did not want to be home alone all day. . .so there were a lot of absences keeping dad company." She lived with both parents although she recalled "mom would leave my dad, that probably happened five times. The sixth time she actually did get a divorce, I was 17 at the time. He would beat her up, she would stay gone for awhile, he would promise her the world, she would go back." However, her mom made it clear she "blamed the kids for going back." At the time, her mother worked outside the home and she "resented it" because they (the kids) "weren't allowed to call her there or bother her." At a very young age (8) she "took over the household duties and responsibility for (her) brothers." She "got the boys ready for school, did the housecleaning, cooking, and laundry." She accepted this without argument. "My mom was raised that that was women's work and my dad was raised that way as well, so being the only daughter, those were my duties. . . my gender correct duties."

During her marriage, her husband was often unemployed but al-

ways controlled the finances. She said "my check was either taken to the bank by him, finally when direct deposit came about, it was direct deposited. So, when I need money for gas or to go to lunch with the girls, I was put in a position of asking him for money." Within the last few years she took some psychology classes at colleges and they studied issues of domestic violence. She said that's when she began to see herself.

I thought, my God, I'm living in that situation and I really hadn't seen it before. I grew up with a father who was controlling and verbally and physically abusive. I just really thought that was normal. You know, it's really a warped sense you get when you grow up that way, you think, well everybody lives this way. . .I mean my gosh, I was 36 years old.

(609) Respondent #4

Respondent is in her late twenties. Her behavior and rapid speech pattern suggests she may be high on drugs or alcohol during the interview. She has young children, but only one lives with her, the others have been placed for adoption. She lives on public assistance and has never held a permanent job. During the time she lived with the father of her oldest children (4 years), he worked and at his request she did not. She said "he worked, he had the money. . .it was more or less no question asked. . .he worked, and he did what he wanted to do." He also controlled the finances and she had to ask for money. "He had control of anything involving money. . .housing, clothing, food, what I wore, who I talked to, what I watched on TV, what I listened to on the radio, pretty much

everything." She did all the inside household chores and he did things outside, including "going to the grocery store."

She does not have any clear memories of her early childhood before the age of 10. As an infant, she was physically and sexually abused, abandoned by her birth mother, and later abused in a foster home (she learned this by reading court records). She was adopted at 16 months and believes she was a "spoiled brat" because her adoptive parents treated her "like a princess." Her parents separated and divorced when she was in her early teens. Later, her father committed suicide. She recalled "everything went down from there" and she began drinking heavily. Her relationship with her mother "soured," she dropped out of school, and at 16 she was "forced out of the house." She moved several states away to live with an older brother, graduated from high school, and continued to abuse alcohol. Then, she said "I came back home, I was there for awhile, she (mom) threw me out, let me back in, and then threw me out a last time." For the next three years she was homeless and she "lived in a tent, at somebody's house, or under a bridge." Currently she does not have a relationship with either her mother or brother.

She believes her "privileged childhood" (in addition to the early abuse) is the cause of her poor relationships with men. She admits

I'm afraid its going to be the same thing my dad did (commit suicide). I mean I use to use men and take advantage of them when I saw they had money and a nice car, and hey I was, you know, into partying or do

whatever so I had what I want, and when they ran out of money and I ran them dry, that was it, bye bye.

She says right now she is very involved in church and that is helping her, "I love it, I love it, its the greatest thing in the world, that's where I spend most of my weekend, is at the church." She recalled growing up "religion was a strong part of the family" and they went to church every Sunday. "I didn't want anything to do with it, but my dad was heavily heavily into it. . .my mom did it just to make herself look good."

(610) Respondent #5

Respondent is in her late teens. She is very attractive and seems more mature than her age. Before coming to the shelter she lived with her mom, and off and on with a boyfriend. She said she left home the first time at age 13 and stayed with friends, but "actually packed and got out of my home when dad threw me out at 15." She has been homeless off and on since then. She openly shared about her experiences including being raped, a miscarried pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse, and several violent interactions.

School was difficult for her, she says even as young as 5 years old she "hated school." When she told her mom she wanted to quit school in the 8th grade, mom said "no you can't, you know I already knew this was coming. . .when you were 5, they (school officials) told me you would probably quit school." It was always

difficult she recalled "it was very boring, it was hard for me to listen cause I didn't care what was going on." She never finished ninth grade. At home there was a lot of tension, especially when both parents were home "because they didn't want to be together and it showed." She said her mother was an alcoholic,

I couldn't stand her. . .she was mean, she was grouchy, she would sleep until 4 o'clock and then wake up and hurry to clean the house cause my dad was going to be home in an hour. . .he would come home and she'd have this smile on her face, which was so fake. . .all we did was pretend.

She did not have a good relationship with her father either, "I didn't have one. He didn't want one. . .you know he never even picked me up. . .no affection what-so-ever. . .just criticism." Usually when he came home he went into a room by himself and shut the door. "He was kind of like, you know the guy upstairs that no one knows, was just kind of strange, comes in every day at the same time. . .but you don't really know him and then all the sudden he comes down and yells at you." Her mother handled conflict by "extreme yells" and also never showed her any affection, "no hugs or nothing." Her older brother took on the role of father and was allowed to discipline her which often included physical beatings.

Her first of many abusive relationships was at the age of 13 when she first started dating. She recalled "the guy kicked the crap out of me every weekend" but she thought that was normal because "I was molested (by a family friend until age 8) and you know hit, and was neglected to a certain extent." She said she

has read books about abuse that explain her self-destructive behaviors, "I was bad, I was bad. . .drugs, alcohol, you name it, fighting constantly. . .you never knew the boundaries. . .you never knew what to look out for, you don't know those red flags . . .and you end up walking right into them." At the shelter she does not participate in support groups because

there's too many people. . .I mean I don't trust anybody. . .I don't trust anybody. I'll trust you enough to be around you, but I won't trust you enough to let you in. . .I think basically that's a lot of just how I was when I was a kid and everything, it was pretty obvious. . .and I wonder, if it was so obvious, how come no one knew?

(706) Respondent #6

Respondent is in her early forties and has children. She said she is friends with her children and "the oldest tries to take care of me." She has an associates degree and owns a small business. "At home" she said, "everything is my responsibility" which includes handling the finances, with her mate's input.

She recalled a "normal happy childhood" and said she "never experienced violence" in the home. When her parents fought they would "yell and scream all the time" but it never became physical. "You mean like pushing, shoving, breaking things? Nope, nope just my ex-husband." She asserts "I never knew (violence) existed until I got older." Her mom did not work outside the home and took care of all household chores. Her father's job took him away from home and he was gone often, "weeks and sometimes months at a

time." Her parents divorced when she was a teen.

She left home right after high school and moved a thousand miles away with a boyfriend. They went without jobs or housing lined up. She recalled, "even as a teenager I would always go off on adventures" like "hitchhiking to New York City or up the coast just to get away." She was almost thirty when she had her first child. She considers herself to be "a risk taker" and unlike her parents is "totally different, because of my age too. My views are totally different, my perspective. . .my values, what I think. . .more mature. . .not traditional. . .I love being different." She has lived with her abusive husband off and on for years and believes "even though he is controlling, I am still the stronger one." She states

I was never sexually abused or anything like that. . .my life is the way it is today because of me, not because of my father, not because of my mother. . .I mean maybe some things lead to certain things. . .but what I do today is my fault, my responsibility, not because of them.

(710) Respondent #7

Respondent is in her late thirties and has children. This woman was delightful, very easy to talk with, very open and expressive. Parenting is an important part of her life and many of her decisions have centered around their best interest. This, she feels is in contrast to her own "rough childhood" where she had "no encouragement or support."

The oldest of eight children, she lived with her mother and

father until she was 11, then with her grandparents until she was 16, then back with her mother and stepfather for a few years. These memories are painful for her because she left home to escape sexual abuse but experienced another kind of abuse. She recalled when they (cousins) found out her father had sexually molested her, they became verbally abusive, accusing her of things, they called her "bitches, ho and slut" so much that the parents of other neighbor girls would not let their kids play with her. "They jumped on me, they slapped me upside my head, they told me I was nothing, they told me I was just like my father and that was the last person in the world I wanted to be like, cause I hated the man." She grew up accepting this definition of who she was, "felt worthless," and didn't care about herself.

I was treated so badly, and I was always told bad things about myself till now I don't really, I think that that's one reason that allows me to stay in the situation with my husband for so long, it was the only thing that I was use to. I was use to being treated bad.

She said her husband

use to tell me that all the time, I use to tell him 'you don't care about me' and he said 'gnaw, you don't care about your mother fuckin self' which is true because if I had cared about myself, I wouldn't stayed, I would not allow nobody to treat me like. . .but I was use to being treated bad, so hey when you get use to something, it becomes your way of life.

During her marriage, she took care of the house and children. Her husband "pretty much did nothing except give orders" which terrified her for years and she did whatever he said to do. After some time she realized that it did not stop him from

abusing her, "keeping everything done. . .making sure every thing was perfect did not change the way he treated me." She worked to have money of her own so she didn't have to ask him all the time, because "if he didn't think I should go out with girlfriends, then I didn't go." Meanwhile, "he got this life, he goes out with his friends and I'm sitting at home with babies all the time. . . didn't want to take me nowhere. . .didn't want to do nothing with me." After leaving him, she said she felt like a child leaving her parents home "I felt like a kid most of the time, but I really felt like a kid during those times. I told one of the ladies here that when I left and got on the highway, I felt like a teenager running away from home."

With much enthusiasm she talked about starting a new life, going to college, getting a good job and finding out about herself.

There are so many things I have to learn about myself. . .what do I like to do, who I am. . .I don't want nobody controlling me. I mean I am faithful, I show my love and I want him (her mate) to be able to see it. . .for any man to see the way I love, he would have to be a loving caring man himself. . .and he would truly appreciate me.

Three months after this interview, she returned to live with her husband.

(713) Respondent #8

Respondent is in her mid-twenties and has a child. She is receiving "court ordered" counseling at the shelter because she

violated a PPO when she took her child to see her mate following an altercation. She said she "was put in jail, had to testify in court and the judge told me to get counseling."

She left home in her early twenties to live with this man she had dated since she was 16. She recalled

he treated me the same then as he does now but I didn't see it. . .he was very controlling. . .he never actually hit me or anything but he was very controlling, and he did stuff like call me stupid and all that stuff.

During the time she lived with him, she did not work outside home. Her mate decided how their money was spent and she often had to ask for money. She said she paid the bills though because "he spent a lot of money. . .after I left him, I found out he was doing drugs, and I had no clue."

During her childhood, her mom worked as a waitress and her father was a truck driver. She recalled "my mom took care of it (household tasks) more or less because my dad drove truck. But my dad, both of them, when my dad is home, he'll cook. . .man he's like the perfect guy, I mean I keep saying I got to find a guy like my dad." She believes she had a "good relationship" with both parents, rules were the same for her and a brother, and she "never saw any violence" in the home. She considers her parents "role models" and when asked if a woman needs a man in her life in order to be happy or complete, she responded "no, it's nice if you find the right one though. . .like my dad. . .he's just so perfect." When asked to give an example of someone who is independent she said "me. . .because I have a job, I take care of

my (child) by myself, I do everything for, that's suppose to be done. . . I did it before when I lived with him, I like it better now."

(810) Respondent #9

Respondent is in her early twenties. She has a gentle disposition, a pleasant sense of humor, intelligence, and a rare physical beauty. Yet she has no sense of self-worth or self-esteem. Although she is very attractive, she talks about being "inadequate" and feeling "hopeless." She admits "sometimes (I feel attractive) but not all the time, cause when you don't hear it, you start not believing it."

The middle child of three girls, she lived with her "mom during the week and with dad on the weekends." Her parents divorced when she was five and she remembers "there was yelling and physical abuse." She recalled her mother had numerous relationships after that, "I don't know, my mom, her men, to me, the way that I felt, her men have always been more important to her than we have." She was not close to her mother, 'we'd get along once in awhile. . . but most of the time I was nasty to her . . . she use to chase me around with a yardstick." To compensate she stayed with her father as often as possible "my dad and I are really close, always have been."

She says her childhood was difficult because they "moved around a lot. . . every two or three years" and she was never able

to settle into a school or make friends. Although her extended family lived within a 30 mile radius, she never saw them, "(mom) never got around to taking us or anything. . .it wasn't important to her." Meanwhile, her sister (two years older) lived with her maternal grandparents.

she use to show horses a lot. . .they traveled all over the United States showing horses. . .that's why she lived with them. . .and my younger sister and I were kind of the misfits on that side of the family. . .they never included us in anything.

There were other traumatic events in her life (including sexual abuse) that she says "I just wish I could forget about it." In her current relationship, her mate is extremely abusive.

Yeah, there's times when we can get along just fine, then if I say the wrong thing he's mad. . .I mean, we argue over the stupidest little stuff. He throws me on the floor. . .I have rug burn scars all over me, from being thrown on the floor. I've had black eyes before, marks on my neck.

He often tells her he doesn't want her and yet, she has left and returned several times.

I went back and I kick myself in the butt for going back. . .I don't know, there's just something about it. . .I do love him. . .but, I don't know, after him telling me he didn't want me back, then fine. . .that's a pretty low thing to say to someone.

Shortly after the interview, she returned to her mate.

Appendix F

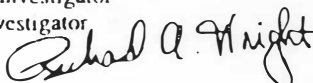
Letter of Permission From the Human Subjects
Institutional Review Board to
Conduct Research

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Date: [REDACTED]

To: Ronald Kramer, Principal Investigator
Cathy Gordon, Student Investigator

From: Richard Wright, Chair



Re: HSIRB Project Number 98-04-01

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Barriers to Freedom: Exploring the Influence of Patriarchy on Family Violence" has been **approved** under the **expedited** category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may **only** conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: [REDACTED]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allmendinger, J., Bruckner, H., & Bruckner, E. (1992). Martial bonds and social pension. Journal of Soziale Welt, 43(1), 90-116.
- Altemeyer, B. (1988). Enemies of freedom: Understanding right-wing authoritarianism. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Avakame, E.F. (1995). Explaining domestic violence. Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences, 55(7), 2151-A.
- Cotterill, P. (1992). Interviewing women: Issues of friendship, vulnerability, and power. Journal of Women's Studies International Forum, 15(5-6), 593-606.
- Duncan, L.E., Peterson, B.E., & Winter, D.G. (1997). Authoritarianism and gender roles: Toward a psychological analysis of hegemonic relationships. PSPB - Society for Personality and Social Psychology, 23(1), 41-49.
- Fiene, J.I. (1995). Battered women: Keeping the secret. Journal of Affilia, 10(2), 179-193.
- Friedkin, R.J. (1995). The effect of marital timing on individual earnings (marital status, gender). Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences, 56(3), 1141-A.
- Gondolf, E.W. (1993). Male batterers. In Hampton, R.L., Gullotta, T.P., Adams, G.R., Potter, E.H., Weissberg, R. P. (Eds.) Family violence: Prevention and treatment (pp. 230-257). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Grasmick, H.G., Hagan, J., Blackwell, B.S., & Arneklev, B.J. (1996). Risk preferences and patriarchy: Extending power and control theory. Journal of Social Forces, 75(1), 177-199.
- Hendrix, L., & Person, W. Jr. (1995). Spousal interdependence, female power and divorce: A cross-cultural examination. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 26(2), 217-232.
- Horn, P. (1992). Beating back the revolution: Domestic violence's economic toll on women. Journal of Dollars and Sense, 182, 21-22.

- Hutchings, N. (1992). Family violence. Journal of Peace Review, 4(3), 24-27.
- Ingrassia, M., & Beck, M. (1994, July 4). Patterns of abuse. News-week, CXXIV 1, 30-31.
- Kimmel, M.S. (1992). Reading men: Men, masculinity, and publishing. Contemporary Sociology, 21, 162-71.
- Lerner, G. (1986). The creation of patriarchy. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marshall, D.L. (1993). Violence and the male gender role. Journal of College Student Psychotherapy, 8(3), 203-218.
- McCloskey, L.A. (1996). Socioeconomic and coercive power within the family. Journal of Gender and Society, 10(4), 449-463.
- McHugh, M.C., & Frieze, I.H. (1997). The measurement of gender-role attitudes. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21, 1-16.
- Merry, S.E. (1995). Gender violence and legally engendered selves. Journal of Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 2(1-1), 49-73.
- Pagelow, M.D. (1993). Justice for victims of spouse abuse in divorce and child custody cases. Journal of Violence and Victims, 8(1), 69-83.
- Rosenberg, E. (1994). A life span perspective of domestic abuse and neglect. Journal of Sociological Viewpoints, 10, 25-34.
- Schneider, C.E. (1996). The law and the stability of marriage: The family as a social institution. In Popenoe, D., Elshtain, J., & Blankenhorn, D. (Eds.). Promises to keep: Decline and renewal of marriage in America (pp. 187-214). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. (1972). The attitudes toward women scale: An objective instrument to measure attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. Abstracted in the JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 2, 66.
- Uniform Crime Division Report. (1993). Michigan State Police. Lansing, MI.
- Websdale, N. (1995). An ethnographic assessment of the policing of domestic violence in rural eastern Kentucky. Journal of Social Justice, 22(1), 101-122.

Wileman, R., & Wileman, B. (1995). Towards balancing power in domestic violence relationships. The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy, 16(4), 165-176.