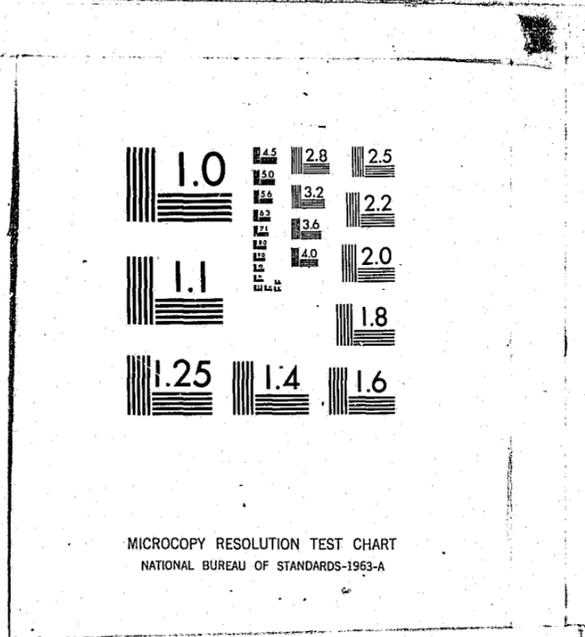


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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, 1978

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
CHILD AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION
ON
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND LEGISLATION WITH RESPECT TO
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
MARCH 4, 1978
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARCH 8, 1978

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON BATTERED WOMEN

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This paper was presented at the Second International Symposium on Victimology
in Boston, Massachusetts, September 5-11, 1976

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance and cooperation of the staff and clients of the Women's Transitional Living Center who have given generously of their time and energies. Special thanks are extended to Jean Crawford, who helped gather data, giving much of her valuable time, talents, and knowledge in this endeavor. Professor Maurice Jackson contributed greatly by his insightful questions, advice, and patience, as well as helpful suggestions and criticisms on this paper, for which the author is deeply grateful.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON BATTERED WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

This is a preliminary report on research currently being conducted on battered women, the physical assaulting of women by men, usually within the privacy of the home. The study examines particularly the female victims of batterings inflicted by men with whom there are, or were, established, on-going, romantic and/or sexual relationships.¹ The specific concern of this report centers on determining some of the ideas held about battering and the extent to which they are valid conceptions or invalid myths.

The topic of physical assaults against women has largely been limited in the United States, until very recently, to the crime of rape. An early public statement against woman-battering came from a group of women meeting in Washington, D.C., who were alerted by a small study conducted in Maryland, which revealed for the first time that household violence directed at adult female victims is far more prevalent and severe than hitherto suspected. In March, 1976, international attention was given to this important phenomenon. The Brussels, Belgium, International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women was attended by more than 2,000 women from thirty-three countries, and the issue of woman-battering was raised. Women from Australia, England, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Scotland, U.S.A., and Wales endorsed a resolution calling for action on the rights of battered women and their children throughout the world. Simultaneously with the Brussels meeting, the National Organization for Women took up the attack in the United States against woman-battering,² establishing task forces to deal

with the problem from coast to coast.

Prior to these events, measures had been taken in some countries to revise laws, provide assistance to battered women, and begin scientific research, but very little public recognition had been given to the problem in the United States (Martin, 1976:197). For example, for five years English women were establishing houses of refuge for battered women and their children, and calling on the general public, social agencies, and political institutions for recognition and correction of the problem (Pizzey, 1976). Social scientists began investigations on female battering in England and Europe (Gayford, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c; Scott, 1974, Wilson, 1975), while many Americans continued to study child battering and gradually became involved in investigating rape. The U.S. scientists who first "discovered" the phenomenon of woman-battering were largely from the fields of psychiatry, psychology, and social work (Saul, 1972; Nichols, 1975). On their part, some sociologists turned to investigation of the use of force and power in the family, and intrafamily violence (Bard and Zacker, 1974; Bean and Kerckhoff, 1971; Gelles, 1972; Goode, 1971; Steinmetz and Straus, 1974; Straus, 1971, 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1976).

The events in Brussels and Washington, D.C., combined with growing public awareness that women are frequently and systematically being brutalized within their homes, triggered an international movement to expose this "secret crime" and find solutions for it. The popular press and the media have catapulted the topic to headline and feature proportions. A subject which, when it was formerly discussed at all, was treated in whispers, is now being publicized on covers of magazines and front page articles (Do It Now, June,

1976; Ms., August, 1976; Wall Street Journal, August 20, 1976). In response to the urgent appeal from women and their organizations to social scientists to begin investigation immediately, and because of the growing awareness of the severity of the problem, men and women around the world have turned attention to the issues and initiated research. There is added impetus for new and continuing research on the "battered woman syndrome," while some researchers are investigating associated issues: correlations of woman-battering with child abuse, victim-precipitated homicide, violence culminating in homicide of female victims, and suicide.

The present study is in response to appeals for scientific data so that some understanding may be attained, particularly in view of the dearth of such projects. The problem is universal in scope, serious in nature, and relatively unexplored, especially in the United States. In view of the growing body of literature, and based on discussion with researchers working on this problem, and some initial observations, it was hypothesized that individuals raised in battering households are likely to learn to respond to frustration, anger, and/or stress by physical violence. In addition, if the individual has been socialized in a society in which physical aggression is approved, the patriarchy is established, and male dominance over females and children is acceptable, then the object/s of battering will be females and other persons over whom the male has domination. If a male with whom a female enters a conjugal relationship has learned physically violent responses, and both have been socialized in a society of approved physical aggression, patriarchy and male dominance, the conditions for victimization of the female are established. If the female places strong emphasis on conforming to the socially approved sex-roles, she is least likely to resist victimization, and

most likely to make heavy personal investment in her relationship/s with males. If the female rejects socially approved sex-roles, she is more likely to utilize available resources and options to resist victimization and turn to social institutions for cooperation and/or assistance. The more the female lacks resources and options for resolutions, the more likely the female will experience social disapproval and further victimization.

If these hypotheses are supported by the data, the inference to be drawn will be that societies, such as that described, set the female up to be a victim in the first place; when she does reach out to social agencies for assistance, the blame is thrown back at her, and the victim is doubly victimized.

METHODOLOGY

This investigation involves three distinct stages which utilize a variety of methodologies. This preliminary report focuses primarily on the first phase, which has served as a pilot study, although some progress has been made into the second phase, which is reported herein where appropriate. The final phase has not commenced at this time. These three stages investigate: 1) the battered women, 2) community resources and response to the victims, and 3) the prevalence and severity of woman-battering in the general population.

The Victims Themselves

Some women who have been physically assaulted by spouses or lovers will provide data for analysis. Information will be obtained from them and about them from the following sources:

- A. Official records kept by the Director and Staff of the Women's

Transitional Living Center (WTLC), located in Orange County, California, will be examined by historiographic methodology, i.e., record analysis which is unobtrusive and comparatively objective. This house of refuge for physically battered women and their children from which these records are drawn is one of only three in the State of California. There are only a handful of these shelters for women across the United States, although more are opening up at an accelerating rate. Europe has many such refuges, particularly England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, while Australia has over thirty. Letters have been exchanged between such shelters, comparing services, intake criteria, demographic data on clients, experiences in operation, etc. These communications are available to the investigator, as well as agency records such as: intake files, daily logs, night staff memos, and telephone counseling and referral notes. Monthly reports to funding agencies are also available which are a compilation of demographic data on clients, including ethnicity, geographic areas of residence, social class, and ages of mothers and children, as well as services and activities provided by the Center. Records are also kept of the departure of each client, i.e., if she reunited with her batterer, or made the transition to alternate living arrangements, and if so, how this was accomplished. Staff follow-ups are made whenever possible, and these records are also available to the investigator.

B. All clients of the WTLC are offered a self-administered questionnaire by a staff member shortly after admittance, and urged, but not required, to provide the information requested. It was decided to develop the questionnaire because of extreme time requirements for oral interviews, to provide for standardization of questions and relative ease of coding responses, and to avoid interviewer bias as much as possible. The instrument was pre-tested

and modified twice before being accepted for the major investigation. In keeping with the exploratory nature of this study, the questionnaire is comprehensive, detailed, and long.³ The instrument is divided into four parts: 1) personal data, 2) data regarding spouse, 3) nature of injuries, and 4) institutional response. Coded choice responses are provided for both objective and subjective items, and open-ended questions provide opportunity for individualized responses.⁴

C. In-depth interview is the methodology employed for some respondents for a variety of reasons. These include: women who have language or reading difficulties, others who have unusual case histories which yield more information than may be obtained by self-administered questionnaire, juveniles, etc. These interviews are audio taped when respondents are not inhibited by the recorder and give their consent.

D. Adolescent and teen-aged youngsters who lived in a household where there was physical violence are invited, with their mothers' permission, to write out statements describing their experiences in this environment. They are encouraged to express their feelings about these experiences, their lives at the point in time of writing, and their ideas for the future.

E. Participant observation is another methodology employed by the researcher, which involves being present during weekly discussion groups at the WTLC, and observing the interaction of women in crisis situations who are temporarily sharing residential facilities. In addition, women's campus and community organizations are also beginning to sponsor meetings variously titled, as for example, "Speakout on Wife-Abuse," which provide an excellent environment for observation, particularly of women who are still residing with a batterer and those who formerly resided with one.⁵

Community Resources and Response to Victims

This section uses the methodologies of in-depth interviews with persons in authority, as well as their subordinates who make direct contact with victims, examination of official records, and observations at counseling and other helping agencies. Some of the agents and agency contacts are:

Hospitals, particularly emergency room personnel
 Doctors in private practice and clinics
 Legal Aid, District Attorneys, Women's Law Center, and practicing attorneys
 Judges and bailiffs
 Social workers, welfare officers, parole and probation officers
 Marriage counselors and clergymen
 Psychiatrists, psychologists, and mental health workers
 Chiefs of Police and police officers

To illustrate the variety of methodologies employed in this study, the researcher accompanies teams of volunteer workers from the Women's Transitional Living Center when they go out on public relations visits to police departments. There are 26 autonomous police departments in Orange County, California, and these women attempt to establish communications with the various chiefs about the house of refuge for women located in their own county and supported by county funds. When representatives go to headquarters after consent is secured to address the police officers at roll call, they tell them about the WTLC and ask them to give a printed card to any woman they may encounter in a domestic disturbance call where the woman appears to have been physically assaulted. (This card, dubbed the "Miranda Card" lists women's legal rights, and gives names and telephone numbers of a variety of helping agencies, including the WTLC). Following the roll call, the women are available for answering questions and informal discussions with interested officers. The investigator observes the formal and informal interactions, and interviews available officers. In addition, the investigator will take ad-

vantage of the "Ride Along" offered by at least one county department, which permits observers to ride with officers in a patrol car. Another measure will be to accompany a team of counselors as they respond to domestic disturbance calls. These observations are intended to supplement the large gap in information obtainable through official police files. As previously stated, only minor inroads have been made into the second phase of this study at the time of this preliminary report.

Prevalence and Severity of the Problem

The third phase of the study, which will be initiated next, will be an attempt to tap the frequency and severity of woman-battering at the grass-roots level. The major focus will be on women who reside in the communities who are not self-proclaimed victims of spousal assault. The methodology employed will be survey questionnaire distributed to ideologically diversified groups such as traditionalist women's groups, parent-teachers associations, church choirs, professional women's organizations, and feminist women's groups. In essence, this sample will be somewhat like a control group, i.e., these data will be supplied by women from the general population, and not from any of the official agencies. Demographic and other data will be requested by self-administered questionnaire along the same lines of inquiry as those requested from the self-pronounced or previously identified battered women. Special interest will center on coping mechanisms employed and/or their responses to victimization when battering is indicated.

THE PILOT STUDY

Despite the lack of scientific research into the phenomenon of woman-battering, the investigator, at the very onset of exploration, discovered

that everyone is an "expert" on the subject. People from all walks of life know some woman or women who are, or were, victims of spousal assault, and they usually volunteer very firmly held opinions on the causation and the cure. As a result, the researcher in the field quickly becomes acquainted with common myths or stereotypes entrenched in the minds of many in the general population, the helping agencies, and law enforcement and judicial personnel. Since a substantial number of the persons who advance these myths are the same persons to whom the female victim turns for help, it may very well be that they serve to further victimize the victim if invalid. Therefore, it seems appropriate to address these myths and examine them in light of the data gathered in the pilot study. These myths or stereotypes will be outlined, and then explored in turn, comparing them to the data gathered thus far.⁶

1. "These are pathological individuals"
 - A. Masochistic women
 - B. Weak women
 - C. Batterer is "sick"
 - D. Recidivists--they "seek out" the batterer
2. "But what did she do to provoke him?"
 - A. Justified force; poor guy stood it as long as he could
 - B. Women must somehow be at fault because:
 - a. They provoke
 - b. They train the batterer
 - c. They batter their children
3. "Why did she stay?"
 - A. Why complain now? (Revenge-seeking)
 - B. What did she "get out of" the relationship?
 - C. Trade-off for "meal ticket"
4. "But they never press charges"
 - A. Frustrations of law enforcement officers and judicial personnel
 - B. Weak-willed: "She can't make a decision and stick with it"
5. "The problem is restricted to the lower classes"

"Pathological Individuals"

The basic assumptions when this myth is invoked are that the problem is

an individual one rather than social, that it is a rare occurrence, and that one (usually the victim), or both, in the dyad are "sick" people, i.e., "mentally ill." Foremost among the diagnoses of pathology is that the victim is masochistic, and that she and her attacker receive satisfaction of certain personal needs from her beatings. Also, these women are said to be particularly weak, dependent individuals. Along with the "sick individuals" claim, offered as "proof," goes the comment that these women frequently work their way out of one battering situation into another. The common assumption is that these women "choose" to be battered by selecting battering mates.

Not only do advice columnists with extremely wide readership advance the idea that females tend to be masochistic (e.g., Landers, 1976a, 1976b), but the whole syndrome of women as "willing sufferers" has been handed down for generations through the Bible, and later "explained" by Freud. These preconceived notions are accepted as scientific knowledge by many professionals in the mental health field, and indirectly serve as the basic set of assumptions which the professional matches with his patient and renders his judgment. Szasz attacks judgmental aspects of psychiatry, saying,

In other words, the psychiatrist does not stand apart from what he observes, but is, in Harry Stack Sullivan's apt words, a "participant observer." This means that he is committed to some picture of what he considers reality--and to what he thinks society considers reality--and he observes and judges the patient's behavior in the light of these considerations (1960:116).

The Broverman, et al. (1970) study illustrates the "reality" by which some mental health experts judge women's behavior. This study revealed that practicing clinicians assigned the least valued "normal healthy adult" and "normal healthy male" traits, i.e., pathological traits, to the "normal healthy female." These included items such as: dependent, emotional, submissive, passive, and illogical.

It should not be surprising if women, psychosocialized to these stereotypes, have difficulty in rejecting them for themselves. As one young woman stated,

I knew right along that marriage wasn't going to be any bed of roses, but this was a lot worse than even I expected. Even the marriage vows say "for better or for worse," so I was prepared a little to go through hard times, but this was really worse! Anybody who likes getting slugged in the mouth is sick--man, that really hurts!

Fifty-one questionnaires, fifteen in-depth interviews, and numerous group observations have failed to reveal one adult woman who indicates that she believed herself in any way a "willing victim." Even though some in this sample were comparatively isolated, they all seem aware of the stereotype of masochism or neurosis, have questioned it against their own lives, and the usual reaction to such suggestions is anger, resentment, or denial. Only one person, a juvenile, mentioned the fact that she at first mistook beatings at the hands of her lover as being proof of his "love." Describing his attack and subsequent rape when she was thirteen years old, this young girl said that, although she was hurt, she was also flattered by the attention of an older man.⁷

The claim that any woman who allows a man to beat her more than once is a particularly weak woman is stated flatly by many persons to whom the victim may turn to for assistance. One attorney in Pennsylvania said, "Any man can make a mistake once and let her have it. But if she lets him do it a second time, she has given him her permission, and she has nobody but herself to blame." A California attorney willingly expressed his opinion of battered women, stating,

Perhaps as many as half of the women I see mention some kind of slapping, hitting, or shoving, but of these, about ten percent involve repeated or serious battering.... These women could get out of the situation if they really wanted to, but they don't want the responsibility of setting out on their own. They just don't have the courage to make the decision

until something finally happens to them that makes the marriage intolerable, or else he decides to get rid of her.

The women themselves express opposite opinions. One woman named Doris, interviewed in the house of shelter, did not believe she, or the other refugees from battering mates, were either "mentally ill" or weak women, saying,

The amazing thing about these women here is the way they have their heads on straight, in spite of all they've been through. These are extremely courageous and strong women here--we all had to be strong, or we couldn't have survived what we went through.

Doris died a week later--of a degenerative disease which had gradually rendered her unable to walk without the aid of crutches. She and her three adolescent daughters (also battered) had escaped her spouse with the assistance of a stepson. In their fear and rush for safety, the four females left their home with nothing other than the clothes they wore.

The first time her husband displayed violent behavior was two years after their marriage, Doris had related. It was the second marriage for both; she was a widow with a year-old baby, he was a divorced father of three.⁸ Doris had raised her stepchildren plus her own children. When her husband first attacked her, Doris said she had been somewhat able to defend herself, but after the onset of her disease, the beatings increased in severity and frequency. When the children tried to run interference, they also became objects of attack. When the youngest child became chronically ill, the major child abuse centered on her. The little girl's older sister wrote,

When my little sister got sick (diabetes) and kept needing water and needing to use the 'necessary' room, he kept hitting her and make her wet her pants even worse.... When I first noticed the 'conflict' between my parents, I just thought, "They're at it again!" later it was, "There he goes!"... Before my mom got sick, he tried a few things on her, but he didn't get far.... And when my mom got sick, that's when everything went to hell. She can barely hobble around and he knows she can't defend herself. Her hips are really sore and he would drive her around in the car slamming on the brakes--which is agony for her.... He was always telling me how my mother was brainwashing me and how she was breaking up the family, but all I could think was that I want the family

broken up (or him broken off) and that if my mother was brainwashing us, she was doing the best job of it I had ever seen. ...The worst thing about him is that he's so smart. We went to family counseling once and he drove the poor psychiatrist up the wall by sending the conversations around in circles as well as scaring him to death.

Doris, the mother wrote, "THIS MAN IS A WALKING TIME BOMB. IF HE DOES NOT RECEIVE HELP HE WILL EVENTUALLY KILL HIMSELF OR SOMEONE ELSE. HE DOES NOT WANT HELP--HE SAYS."

The popular stereotype describes not only the woman as pathological,⁹ but frequently her batterer is included. Sometimes the women agree; Doris felt that her spouse was dangerously mentally ill. Other women insist that their mates are ill, saying, "He can't always help himself. After all, he's an alcoholic, and they're sick, you know." (Also see Straus, 1973:120 for examples). One television personality persisted, during a talk show, in drawing out an admission of the sickness label from a guest for her spouse, until he finally asked point blank, "What do you think? Wouldn't you say your husband is mentally ill or something like that?" The woman reluctantly agreed, but with reservations, by saying, "Well, I know the way he acts isn't right, and all that, but I can't really say if he's ill or not. Probably he is, but I don't know, I'm not an expert on things like that. That's up to psychiatrists to say." Later the host turned to the same woman and said, "You said that your husband is an alcoholic. Maybe that's why he beat you." With far more conviction, this time the response was, "Sure he's an alcoholic, but I don't think that's why he beat me. It's true he beat me when he was drunk, but there were other times he beat me when he was cold sober, too!"

In group discussions among battered women, the opinions seem to be about evenly divided between accepting and rejecting the sickness label. About half of them insist that their spouses were perfect gentlemen in public, functioned well in their social spheres, and never exhibited any violent behav-

ior outside the home. Many insist that, were they to confide their awful secret to mutual friends, they would never be believed, in view of their husbands' unblemished respectability. Shortly before she died, Doris received a telephone call from a woman "friend" of many years, berating her for the shameful way she was treating her poor husband, running away from him, and worrying him to death, etc. Doris did not try to defend her actions, but expressed to the interviewer a sense of futility.

Along with the "sick individual" focus goes the piece de resistance--the "proof positive" that these women deliberately seek out men who will satisfy their need to be battered--many of them are repeaters. Questionnaire responses so far indicate that 23 percent of the women report that they have had at least one earlier romantic relationship in which battering occurred. During a group discussion, the women themselves pondered the question of why so many of them have had more than one relationship with a battering man. They all described the attributes which first attracted them to the men in the first place, and, with few exceptions, these men had appealed to them initially because they were charming, gentle, considerate and kind.¹⁰ Many said they couldn't recall any display of violence until long after the relationship was established--sometimes only after years of cohabitation. Asked at this group session why they believe a woman seems to go from one battering spouse to another, one woman volunteered,

Most of us here were brought up to believe that a woman's most important job in life is to be a wife and mother. I can tell you for myself that when I couldn't stick it out any longer with my first husband, I figured my whole life was ruined. And do you know what it's like being a single mother with a couple kids? I didn't want to be single the rest of my life.... I guess we have a hard time finding a gentle man, a man who won't belt a woman, because there are so few of them in this world to begin with.

Another "recidivist" said,

You know, I really thought he was too good to be true--and I was right, as it turned out! Actually, when you get right down to it, what man in his right mind would have anything to do with someone with three teenage kids? What's available out there to a woman like me? I'll tell you--all that's left is what some other woman couldn't stand.

In the short duration of the pilot study, the descriptive data yield a dual image of the female victim of spousal assault. The women appear to fall into two distinct categories. One is the woman who comes from a predominantly conservative childhood home, usually religious, where divorce never or rarely occurred, and where physical punishment was totally absent, or at most, very mild. It was either a loving home or a traditional, paternalistic, authoritarian home, but in either case, there was a lack of physical violence. These women react to violence with shock, do not know how to cope with it from past socialization, and are unable to reveal personal shame to parents or relatives. Because of religiosity, they sincerely entered marriage for life--for better or for worse.

The other profile is of a woman who grew up in a home where violence was common, she was beaten by one or both parents; it was a home which seems to have served as the springboard from domination by her father to domination by her husband. These women appear to enter the relationship with some expectation of physical assaults, but they believe they will have the endurance or wits to overcome these problems. One young woman named Peggy told of her father's threats upon her life if she refused to marry the man who was courting her. She married him, and began a career of battered wife, has had two children in three years, and is still trying to make her marriage "work."

There emerge two different childhood environments of polar opposites, producing women who are either inexperienced or very experienced in household violence. Analysis of these dual images reveals some commonality: women reared in homes devoid of overt conflict and full of conflict may both

be handicapped by an inability to have developed a realistic perspective on violence. Most importantly, both types of background reveal heavy emphasis on traditional sex-role socialization. These women generally appear to be persons most likely to expect to make heavy personal investments in their relationships with mates. In addition, the first-mentioned "conservative type" (if drawing yet another stereotype may be forgiven), appears more likely to enter into another marriage in which she invests even more.

Although no firm conclusions can be drawn from such sparse data, and since there is so little completed research in this field, the decision as to who seeks whom should be held in abeyance until the data roll in. It may be well to at least consider the possibility that it is just as likely that the batterer seeks out the type of woman who is most apt to stick with him, through "thick and thin," regardless of personal pain and suffering. If this investigation revealed so quickly a profile of a woman who has a strong desire to maintain a conjugal relationship, and is ready and/or willing to make great personal investment in sustaining such relationships, it is possible that batterers (or potential batterers) can also perceive these qualities in the women.

"But What Did She Do To Provoke Him?"

The assumptions underlying this often repeated question stem from the patriarchal foundations of the nuclear family in the United States. The hierarchal structure of the patriarchal family establishes the man (whether he is husband, father, brother, or lover) as head-of-household, with women and children in a subservient position to him. The deeply ingrained belief in the righteousness of domination and power properly belonging to men is not at all in conflict with related beliefs that women are property who require varying degrees of control, much like children, domesticated animals, and

pets. Only in the last few years has the traditional wedding oath of "love, honor, and obey" been altered (in some, but not all, ceremonies) to delete the word "obey" from the bride's vow, to conform with the groom's traditional vow of "love, honor, and cherish."¹² (Dobash and Dobash, 1976, call such a change a "superficial, cosmetic patch"). But many ceremonies are still being performed in which the bride swears obedience to her husband, the significance of which cannot be overlooked. If the wife disobeys her husband, what then are his rights and duties? If a child disobeys parental authority, or even challenges it, the socially approved response is the use of force, which may include physical force when necessary. It requires no large leap of the imagination to see that if the wife and children are to obey the husband and father, if they are both subservient to him, then he is "justified" if he uses physical force for control.

In his discussion of force (and the threat of force) and violence in the family, Goode (1971) deplors excessive exertion of power in the family, but nevertheless sees the need for force, bolstered by social supports, to maintain the family structure. He calls on the reader to imagine away the supports of force, giving a list of examples of husbands without force who can't "press" children's obedience, "threaten," "press," or "persuade" his wife into various wifely duties, concluding that, "...it is easy to see that substantial part of the structural strength of the family would be undermined" (1971: 627). Goode makes other interesting comments, such as,

Thus, force plays a role even when no deviant act is actually committed. The rebellious child or wife knows that the father or husband is stronger, and can call upon outsiders who will support that force with more force.... Within the family itself, the harsh fact must be faced that the member with the greater strength and willingness to use it commands more force than others do. This is usually the father, and in most cases, it will also be the parents as compared with the children.... Women, children, slaves, Colonials, lower castes, and other disadvantaged segments of any society are constrained more than others by force--

although all are to some extent--or they are enjoined to refrain from its use, simply because the existing structures would change without these buttresses (1971:625,628,635).

The implications seem clear that Goode expresses a neutral acknowledgment of the threat and use of power within the family, and a less than neutral acceptance of the necessity for it. Goode does not express an isolated viewpoint, his words are a reflection of deeply-held and fiercely-defended beliefs of many in this patriarchal society and their predecessors (Dobash and Dobash, 1976; Martin, 1976). The idea prevails that women should be dominated, and if they are recalcitrant, authority must be maintained, even if it requires a degree of physical force. The question in the minds of many is not IF the use of force is justified, but rather, centers on the question of HOW MUCH is justified? There is a thin line between necessary and excessive measures to control which slides up and down the continuum, depending on the individuals who judge. The tendency then becomes one of looking for what offense the woman committed, and measuring the "punishment" against it to see if it was merely justified, or if it was perhaps excessive.

There seems to be a great desire to look for the "reasons" why a woman was beaten, unlike other crimes where few people ask why a person was robbed, but similar to asking why a woman was raped. The image of the castrating bitch is drawn, where many men believe that sane persons of their own sex would never beat a woman unless the woman had driven the poor man beyond his endurance. There can be no denial that in the intimacy and isolation of the home, many persons are in forced interaction which creates friction. Undoubtedly, many women are unreasonable, infuriating, castrating. By the same token, it seems reasonable to assume that many men are equally offensive, but what is to explain the predominance of wife-battering as compared to the almost unheard of: husband-battering? Females are involved in far fewer

crimes of violence than men (and when they are, they frequently play the assistant role), are far less frequently assaulters than males, are more frequently murdered by husbands and lovers, and when they are the murderers, they are far more often involved in victim-precipitated homicide than men (Ward, et al., 1969; California State Department of Justice Statistical Tables, 1976; Martin, 1976; Rasko, 1976; Wolfgang, 1967).

Despite the realities of pain and threat of pain inflicted on a generally smaller and less muscular person by another who has advantages of size, weight, and muscle, many persons tend to romanticize the control of the female.¹³ Classically, Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* typifies the approval of subjugation of the strong-willed woman; later followed by the John Wayne type movies where the hero resorts to spanking the woman he loves who, thus reminded of his power and manliness, falls willingly into his strong arms. The macho ideal and the patriarchal structure of the family both serve to justify violent behavior of the male directed at the female--the only question is a matter of degree.

The institutions to which the battered woman turns for guidance or assistance reverse direction back to her and ask, "What did you do to provoke him?" (Mätzger, 1976). Organized religions, social service agencies, and many counseling centers concentrate on preserving the "sanctity of the home," and bend every effort to maintain the bonds of matrimony by advocating corrective measures instituted by the woman. Obviously, she, not he, is the one who needs help, since she is the one who makes contact with them. One young woman who lived in the northeast U.S. was continuously thrown out of the house at night by her psychologist husband who made sure she didn't have car keys or money, finally went to see a female psychoanalyst. After the initial standard question on provocation, the wife said,

I tried to tell her that sometimes he just walked in the door in a bad mood, and before long he was mad at me over nothing at all. He'd twist my arms behind my back, pulling them up so hard I thought they'd come out of the shoulder socket. He knew better than to make marks on my body, and that doesn't make marks, but it's painful as hell. And there's no way to pull away; you can't do anything. Before he'd push me outside, he'd always make sure to grab my purse. What did the psychoanalyst say? She said I should try to remember that he has a lot of stress and strain in his profession, and he has nobody else he can take out his frustrations on, so I should make his life as pleasant and tranquil as possible and he wouldn't "boil over." Can you imagine? It was OK if I was his buffer, if I provided him with a "safety valve" for his own pressures--it was up to me to see that I didn't get hurt!

At the time of the interview, this woman had put five years and over 2,000 miles between herself and spouse, but she said she was still receiving telephoned threats from him against her life in the middle of the night.

Another woman named Beth, who left a battering husband after sixteen years, explained to the host on a taped television show:¹⁴

It didn't matter what I did. When he wanted to hit me, he'd do it for no reason or any reason at all! If I talked, I was hit, if I didn't talk, I was hit. It could start over anything--you name it. Maybe he didn't like the way I fried his eggs, or the way I made a bed, say the sheets weren't tucked in right. It didn't matter, he'd start yelling at me, and between punches he'd ask me questions. If I tried to answer he'd hit me, and if I didn't understand his question and couldn't think of what he wanted me to say, he'd hit me again. It was a case of damned if you do and damned if you don't, you can't win. I used to think maybe it was something about me that was wrong, maybe I was doing things to make him mad like that. But after 16 years I finally came to the conclusion that it wasn't me--that the problem was him!

This mother of four children had finally "run away from home," traveled across the continent to California, was given shelter at the Women's Transitional Living Center, and later employed as a staff member there. Beth soon earned her high school diploma, and is currently taking college para-legal courses toward promised employment in a law office. She secured her own divorce without legal assistance, and has since drawn up divorce (dissolution) papers for four other battered wives.

Another woman on the same televised program responded to the host's query, "What did you do?" with the statement that attacks could start as soon as her

spouse came home, or after a verbal argument, or as soon as the door was shut on departing guests. She said,

There was no "pattern," there didn't have to be a reason. He could be as nice as pie at a party, smiling and all, and as soon as the last guest left the house he might lay in to me for something I said or did. Whenever his friends were around, he always treated me like a queen, he worshiped me in public, he put me on a pedestal.

This woman's husband was a military officer, and she was expecting a court battle over the custody of the children, since she didn't have the resources to take them along when she finally left her home. She was faced with charges of abandonment.

The survey instrument tries to deal with the question of interaction preceding an assault, but it is difficult to assess the validity of responses regarding emotionally-charged situations in retrospect. 65 percent of the respondents gave a negative answer to the question, "did you provoke the attack either physically or verbally?" They frequently add comments such as, "I always tried to calm him down when I saw what was happening to him," or "he thought so--although I was just stating facts." The others who believe they did provoke the attacks write comments like, "I wouldn't agree with him," "I talked back," or "I saw it coming but did nothing to stop him."

The question of prevention generates many comments. Most write statements like, "nothing seemed to do any good--I tried everything," or "when he got it in his head to beat me, nothing could stop him." One comment reads, "First I would try to be logical and keep my temper down as if nothing he could say would shock me." Another says, "At times, I would screw up my courage and explain why I was unhappy and why I felt we were so much in disagreement so much of the time. I really, sincerely, honestly tried."

When asked if they tried to defend themselves, 94 percent say no, frequently adding a statement similar to the following: "I tried to once and he really flipped out and beat me worse than ever. He told me if I ever tried

that again he'd kill me. I never tried again. I believe he would."

Asked point-blank if they feel they deserved their beatings, not one woman has indicated agreement. Some comments are, "I wouldn't beat him for all the shitty things he did," "Not in a million years!!" and "I honestly feel I was a good wife and mother, and housekeeper, just too good."

If the women can't be made to appear guilty of their own victimization, there are other popular routes of attack. One is the traditional scape-goating of women that, as the primary socializers of the young, whatever is wrong with the adult generation, is the fault of "mom." Psychoanalysis took up the cause where the church left off, and has consistently found women to be the cause of their own troubles, and men's as well (Chesler, 1973). Mom and momism has been accused of everything from juvenile delinquency to homosexuality--either the mother smothers or neglects, seduces or freezes. Fogrebin (1974) attacks the entire syndrome of blaming women for the violence of men, examining and ridiculing the inherent inconsistencies in the thesis. Some writers infer that deprivation of motherliness in youth of the abusive parent is the primary cause of child abuse (Goode, 1971), single mothers have been blamed for juvenile delinquency in the publicized early reports on the "broken home" (Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Toby, 1957), and other authors are still defending scientifically the working mothers from charges of child neglect and harmful effects of their employment on their children (Herzog, 1970).

The charge that battered women in turn batter their own children has not yet been "legitimated" by publication, but will undoubtedly soon surface. This myth is currently in circulation, and is frequently mentioned to the researcher in the field. "But isn't it true that the battered women turn around and batter their children, too?" is often phrased as a suggestion, not a question. As a suggestion, it deserves rebuff as merely another, more

subtle form, of victimizing the victim. Despite years of research and agency dedication to the study of child abuse, the data are not in, and it would be unfair, but convenient for some, to "discover" that children are battered by their battered mothers. As a question, on the other hand, it deserves serious consideration. It does not seem improbable that frustrations, pain, and fear of being beaten by someone more powerful may be displaced onto another, less powerful, and helpless to retaliate. If one lives in an environment of violence, it is possible that violence may become a way of life.

Pizzey mentions a few cases of women who came to Chiswick Women's Aid who were suspected, or known, to batter their children. On this question she says,

In some families the mother is battered and then turns on the children out of rage and despair. It's not difficult to see why this happens, for at one time or another, if a woman's honest, she will admit to herself, 'If it wasn't for the children...' She feels pity for her children but she sometimes also resents them (1974:55).

But after several years of experience with battered women and their children, Pizzey concludes that, "Few women let their resentment against their children turn them to battering them unless they have themselves been repeatedly beaten in childhood" (1974:57).

The survey questionnaire attempts a non-threatening approach to the question of child abuse. There are questions about the children as witness to physical violence between parents, child-battering resulting from the man's response to interference in wife-battering, and the severity and frequency of the mothers' physical punishment of children. It also asks about treatment or hospitalization of any child due to injuries inflicted by either parent. To date, none of the mothers have self-reported child abuse, but 55 percent have said their husbands severely punished the children, and six percent of these reported medical care required for a child for injuries delivered by the man. Some mentioned police reports in these cases, and others mentioned "child abuse" in response to crimes the man was arrested for other than woman-

battering.

It may be difficult for the mothers to gauge the actual severity of their discipline. In discussions with battered women, some note with displeasure the way some others punish their children. One woman told the interviewer, "I know she doesn't mean to be so hard on her little boy, but she's awfully strict with him. And it's a shame, because he's such a good little kid!" Another mother mentioned that her 18 month old son was unusually aggressive, and she had to get away from her battering spouse, if for no other reason than for her son's benefit. The boy was an unusually large, cherubic-looking child who seldom spoke. The mother explained,

No matter how brutal he (her spouse) was with me, he wouldn't lay a finger on Paul, and he wouldn't let me, either. You know how babies like to bite? Well, my mother used to say all babies will bite until you bite them back, not hard, you know, but enough to let them know it hurts. But when Paul started teething, and his daddy was holding him, he'd bite his neck. Ron would squeal and yell, and say "no, no," but never slap him. So Paul got the idea it was funny. He'd bite him so hard, you won't believe this, but I've seen him draw blood. And when I'd hold the baby, riding in the back seat of the car, Paul would bite me, and it would hurt so bad the tears would come, but I couldn't slap him, or Ron would have knocked the shit out of me.

Group discussions seem to indicate that the women range from total avoidance of physical punishment to what they describe as "spanking when necessary." Beth told the interviewer that she was so afraid of taking out her own pain on her children that she wouldn't even slap them, "even when I probably should have." When the women describe their husbands, there seem to be many, like Paul's father, who totally reject physical discipline of their children, but at least half of them do use harsh physical force on their children, as well as their wives. Many, but not all of these, seem to direct a larger share of aggression to one particular child.

In view of the lack of substantial data, it seems fair to question assumptions that the battered woman is a battering-mother. More research is needed on the battering parent, and research has hardly even begun on the

battered woman, therefore, it is too early to draw any conclusions whatever. It does seem advisable to investigate the question, yet stand guard that the assumption is not dignified as "fact" until these data are obtained.

"Why Did She Stay?"

By introduction of the myth "Why did she stay?" the realities of pain and terror are brought into question, sometimes even with a hint of amusement. While many of the lay public are inclined to phrase the question: "If she is really abused, why did she stay?" psychologists and sociologists ask the latter half of the question, and look for different answers. Gelles's article, "Abused Wives: Why Do They Stay?" (1976), finds a complex relationship of factors, the major ones being: 1) severity and frequency of battering, 2) childhood experiences with violence, 3) available resources, and 4) "external constraint" or community reaction. Straus (1976:543) uses a phrase which several respondents have written on the instrument used in this study, and have verbalized to the investigator: "the marriage license seems to be a hitting license." Straus seems to expand slightly from earlier violent culture learning theory to include sexism as a component of the culture. He says sexism contributes to the frequency of wife-beating because: 1) men's personal need for power and superiority, 2) antagonism due to "sex-role differentiation and inequality," 3) socialization of the women and pressures to keep them in socially approved sex roles as wife and mother, and 4) "the male-oriented organization of the criminal justice system" (1976:543). The first two points seem to address why there are such occurrences, and the latter two points seem to attend to the reasons why the woman stays in the situation.

Many psychologists, social psychologists, and others in these fields of endeavor, appear to concentrate on dependency, negative self-image, hostility, and locus of control scales. Sometimes suggestions are made that there may be

underlying reasons other than the battering for the woman's complaints, e.g., revenge. Implications are that there were, prior to complaints of battering, gratification of some needs which are no longer being met. Attention then focuses, not on her complaints, but rather on her reasons for complaining now, which probably is an important area for investigation, but digresses from the major issues.

Seldom do the assumptions underlying the myth "Why did she stay?" become so obvious as when one psychoanalyst said, "What I wonder is, what do these women get out of the relationship?" Conversely, the question which many of the women still living in a battering situation seems to ask is, "How do I get out of the relationship?" The questionnaire seeks answers to the various resources and alternatives available to the women other than the obvious door to physical escape--the one most of this sample used--the WILC. At best, a house of refuge is a temporary first step; its most important service is to provide safety to the women and their children. While in residence there, they receive a myriad of counseling services and establish connections with welfare, employment, legal, and housing agencies. Once removed from the isolation of her home, the battered woman often finds resources and assistance available to her which were either unknown to her, or beyond her reach before.

The survey questionnaire used in the pilot study provides an excellent source of information which draws a detailed picture of individuals, and when a sufficient sample is drawn, may yield a composite picture of battered women. By taking into account ages of respondent, number and ages of children, both her and her spouse's education and employment history and social class, it is fairly simple to objectively determine what options may have been open to her. By examining her childhood history, religion and expressed degree of religiosity, it may be discovered what her perceptions are likely to be. Her response

to victimization is examined in detail by asking if she had gone for counseling to friends, relatives, clergymen, mental health professionals or marriage counselors, and what their responses to her problems were. A search for "escape routes" other than the WTLC is conducted by asking distance to nearest relatives, and if she believes any relatives could, or would, provide shelter for her and her children (if she has any).¹⁵

The ultimate escape is suicide, and questions are directed toward contemplation of the act and method, actual attempt/s, and events which both triggered and followed the attempt. Peggy, the 21 year old woman mentioned earlier, said her marriage was forced by her father, (she is still living with her spouse), is one of the 61 percent who say they contemplated suicide, and one of the 35 percent who report an actual attempt. She says she made early attempts while still living in her parental home, such as: "slicing wrists with a razor, consuming large doses of any pills I could lay hand on, father's gun, retreating into catatonia, praying vehemently for death (young age)." She explains, "these were foiled by my sister finding me in the act." In the four years of her marriage, she reports regular and frequent beatings which resulted in: "lost hair, kicks to legs and back, banging my head against the walls, black eyes," and has since attempted suicide by "pill consumption, gun--(spouse kept a loaded gun by my bed)." In response to the question, "Were you hospitalized or treated by a physician?" she wrote, "Are you kidding? --Sorry--No one even bothered." Another woman who received no treatment wrote, "In '70 I drank a large glass full of gin. I don't drink very often and I had read that 8 oz. of liquor ingested at one time would suppress a body. I also took a couple valium. This combo wasn't sufficient to do the job." This woman also relates that she holds a B.A. degree and teaching credential, and her spouse is a writer and teacher.

The other responses reveal a complicated network of factors similar to Gelles's typology, with somewhat less emphasis on severity and frequency of battering. Preliminary examination of accumulated data shows that childhood experiences, personal resources, and community response are far greater determinants of whether the woman stays or not, and the length of time she endures battering before leaving. As stated earlier, childhood experiences seem to show women who are willing to invest a great deal in a relationship--women who have been heavily socialized into traditional sex roles. Personal resources are defined as financial as well as other resources such as: education, employability, native intelligence, health, friends and relatives (and distances between residences), number, ages and health of children. Community responses are agents and agencies the woman has available to her, and their response to her when, and if, she draws on them for assistance. For example, the religious women who are told by clergymen to pray, the medical doctors who prescribe tranquilizers (for the women), and the lawyers who strongly advise divorce.

It appears that the combination of these three variables: socialization, resources, and response, weighted in certain directions, will lock the woman into her situation until there is no release except death or spouse's voluntary departure. In other words, some women will walk out on a relationship the first time her spouse strikes her because, a) she is less willing to accept a subordinate position to this man, regardless of resources and community response. Or, b) she views the relationship as important and faces adverse community response, but has available resources to draw upon. Least likely is favorable community response, since almost all social institutions, agents, and agencies are disinclined to encourage a wife and mother to dissolve a relationship with a man. The most positive measure of this variable would be

neutrality. For example, one medical doctor whose office is located in an affluent area told the interviewer in a semi-amused manner,

Yes, I've seen women who came in for treatment of injuries they claim were given to them by their husbands. A lot of them are repeaters; they come back time and again. I ask them why they put up with it, and they can't give any good answers. It may be a matter of money, maybe they figure they'd lose out by leaving. I don't understand it--they just don't make sense. There's nothing you can do for them.

Another doctor, an obstetrician/gynecologist whose office is located in a working-class area, claimed that women come to him for his specializations, and during examinations he observes bruises and lacerations. He estimated that half the battered women he sees are pregnant. He, too, expressed puzzlement over why they "put up with" this treatment, saying,

I guess some women will put up with a lot of hell just to get a little loving.... And after listening to these women talk about their husbands, it sounds like "you only beat the one you love".... They start out loving a man, and they'll put up with a lot until they finally lose respect for him. When that's gone, then they leave.

This doctor reported that he treats his patients' wounds and prescribes "relaxants."

Frequently, the first community agents to make contact with the battered women are the police, not doctors. One police officer, a veteran of many years service, expressed disgust with the women he encounters in domestic disturbance calls. Claiming "they're all alike," he was encouraged to describe the "typical" woman he sees on these calls. He provided the following:

Well, we go in there, and there's this old broad who's in her 40's, who's yelling and screaming, and three or four kids hollering, too. She's usually a gal that's never worked a day in her life. (Interviewer: What does the house look like? Is it clean? Three or four kids, you say. Are they clean, and do they look well-fed, or are they usually dirty and neglected-looking?) No, the kids look OK, except they're all upset, and things are about average clean, except sometimes the house is torn up from the fight. But she's the kind of bag who couldn't get out there and earn her own living if her life depended on it! That's why she doesn't want him arrested, just wants us to make him stop hitting her, 'cause she knows she needs him for a meal-ticket.

These stereotypes are neither rare nor exaggerated, as the researcher in

the field soon discovers. The question now becomes, what do the women themselves perceive as their reason for staying? The survey instrument incorporates one question which directly asks: "If you have been battered more than once, what are (or were) your reasons for continuing to live with him?" Some of the responses, randomly chosen, are listed below.

I feel my husband is a sick man and I loved him and felt I could help him. At one time I really believed he would never hit me again. Then I was afraid he would hurt someone else if I left.

Loneliness and I thought my child should have a father.

I love him and he's great when he's sober.

I was afraid he would kill me if I left. Also had no place to go. My husband is extremely anxious to find me and will go to any extreme to do so. I'm going to have to be very careful.

Because of my children, and this last time it was because of a counselor.

Lack of money; he said he would change.

Fear, mostly, of him and his threats. Doubt as to being able to care for my children, as my health was very poor at that time, physically and mentally. Surgery was requested, which he refused to let me have and my health became progressively worse. After four hearings and finally a trial, a divorce or dissolution as it was then called, was finally granted. My private physician wrote to the judge which had a great influence on the case and finally ended it.

I did not know where to go or who to turn to. I was too afraid to tell him I was leaving him. I tried once. I'm afraid he'll find me now. But it would be a lot worse for me and my kids if I went back.

For three years I've been trying to get away--but nowhere to go. Until now.

I felt things would get better. I was only kidding myself.

Peggy, who still resides with her batterer wrote:

Mostly stupidity, I guess. I have no money, no car (can't drive anyway), no friends left. My parents kicked me out before--they sure as hell don't want me now. What chance is there for me, with two kids under three? I ran away once to San Jose, and he found me, came after me, and took me back. I could never get far enough away from him.

Perhaps Goode has expressed most eloquently the configurations of "reasons" why these women stay, or at least stay so long. Goode, as mentioned

earlier, seems to defend the necessity of at least some force for the continuation of the family structure, nevertheless expresses strong sentiment for the continuation of destructive relationships. His explanation indicates neither pathological nor weak individuals, and goes beyond mere self-seeking and economics. He says,

These dynamics also create two additional traits of man that increase the risk of violence among family members: the unwillingness of human beings either to submit or to escape.... Man does not submit because thereby all that gives meaning to his existence is lost, i.e., values, norms, traditions, and moral or ethical beliefs. It is especially in the family that he cannot or will not escape easily, because of his emotional investment in these relations is great, the costs of leaving are high, and the social pressures to maintain his kin ties are strong (1971:632).

The pilot study has an unfortunately small sample size, precluding firm conclusions, especially in view of the numerous variables and intervening variables under investigation. However, it may be well to consider that, from the point of view of battered women, perceived options may be indeed few, and without the assistance of others to give social support and introduce other options, they may be locked into their situations. Rather than some popular conceptions of base motives, these women may have sized up their own situations with realism and clarity, and have made the most intelligent and pragmatic choices possible.

"But They Never Press Charges"

This disclaimer is made most frequently by law enforcement officers and persons in the criminal justice system, and repeated by sympathetic others. It is usually preceded by statements of the high price police officers pay for their response to domestic disturbance calls, which is beyond question. Statistics reveal that the majority of requests for police assistance are "domestic disturbance" calls, and that many officers are killed and injured in response to these calls (Goode, 1969; Martin, 1976). In 1974, 22 percent, and in 1975, 16 percent of all police officers killed were responding to

"disturbance calls (family quarrels, man with gun, etc.)." In 1974, 27.5 percent of all assaults on law enforcement officers occurred in the same category of calls, higher than any other type of activity (FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1974, 1975). The traditional approach to "noncrime" calls of domestic disturbance has been an official policy of "adjustment without arrest." One of Parnas's reasons for investigating police response to these calls, in addition to the heavy volume, was,

...the social context of the domestic disturbance and the policy of nonarrest, with the resulting use of discretionary methods of adjustment by the patrolman, provide a look at the police officer's role in giving assistance to an alleged offender as well as to the complainant (1967:915).

Parnas conducted extensive research through the cooperation of the Chicago Police Department, which was one of the first of several studies which have effected gradual change in police training methods and establishment of some Family Crisis Intervention Units (Parnas, 1967; Bard, 1970a, 1970b).

Despite recent re-education and sensitization of administrative personnel to the dangers and inconsistencies inherent in statutes and official policies, changes are slow in filtering down to many officers who must answer these calls. Added to his cognition of inherent danger is an admixture of the officer's own perceptions of women's proper position in relationship to men's, reluctance to interfere in "family squabbles," and distaste for "social work" vs. law enforcement. The responding officer frequently sees himself as a victim: entering into extreme personal danger in situations where his actions and decisions are based on sometimes ambiguous codes, and where his sense of professionalism is reduced. If that sacrifice isn't enough, the officer knows by experience and reputation that the battered woman is highly unlikely to press charges. Many writers have described the predicament and inconsistencies of police intervention and control of intrafamily violence,

as well as the codes and problems in the criminal justice system (Bannon, 1975; Bard and Zacker, 1974; Gingold, 1976; Martin, 1976; Parnas, 1967; Straus, 1976).

Battered women frequently react in outrage to mention of police and the criminal justice system, based on personal experiences. Kim, mother of a 14 month old boy, interviewed at the WTLC, bitterly described her experiences with the police. She gave background details, describing the first attack by her husband early in the pregnancy. Badly beaten, Kim began hemorrhaging and feared loss of her unborn baby. She said she left him, returning to her widowed mother's home, already crowded with younger siblings. Kim related that her husband kept after her every day for two weeks, begging her to return home, claiming he didn't know what happened. She said,

...John was, after all, my baby's father. So I went back. The first time I called the police was when we lived in _____, but they wouldn't even come. That department never did send out anybody, and I called them three times. When we moved to _____, one night--the baby was three months old then--he was beating me and tearing up the place. I tried to call the police, but he tore the phone out. I grabbed up Kevin and when I was running out the door he threw the phone at me so hard it smashed the wall. I got to my neighbors, called the police, and they argued about coming, said to stay where I was safe. I needed some of the baby's things and mine, so I kept begging them to send somebody.... I stood out in the middle of the night in front of our place waiting for them to come. It took a long, long time. An older man and a younger man came in a car and argued with me about going back in--they kept saying it was best if I went somewhere else. I couldn't go without our things, so when we finally got to the door, it was locked--of course I had no key.

That did it! They wanted to leave then and there, saying they have no right to enter--it's his house. I told them it's my house, too. Finally I got one of them to hold the baby and the other one boosted me through a window (Kim is 5'2", weighs 108 pounds). I ran around to the door and let them in. They said, "make it fast!" John was asleep on the bed, dead drunk. I threw things into a bag, shaking so bad, so scared. But when I turned to leave the bedroom, I saw and heard something I'll never forget as long as I live. The younger cop had John sitting up on the edge of the bed, and he was patting him on the shoulder saying, "Take it easy, buddy. It's OK. I've been through the same thing with my wife." Those words are etched in my brain. That bastard was sympathizing with my husband!

I got them to take me and Kevin to my mom's, but I wanted to press charges, and they wouldn't let me! I went to the police station the next day, determined to press charges, and they wouldn't even take a complaint. There was nothing I could do, because they didn't even write up a report, so there wasn't even a record that it happened at all.

Commander James Bannon (1975) has pointed out the effects of compatibility of perceptions of male-female roles of the policeman and the male spouse offender, the veneration of the sanctity of the home, and the paradox of sending persons to "arbitrate" who are themselves heavily socialized to masculine role images and the use of coercive physical force. Bannon, a veteran of the Detroit Police Department, says, "This paradox suggests to me that traditionally trained and socialized policemen are the worst possible choice to attempt to intervene in domestic violence" (1975:3).

Time and again, when a woman indicates the police were called, she writes or says comments such as:

They wouldn't come.
They said to cool down, to talk things over.
They didn't witness a crime, so there's nothing they can do.
"Shut up, lady, or I'll run YOU in."
They wouldn't let me sign anything.
"If you two don't settle down, I'll have to arrest you both."
They wouldn't take a report.
I asked them what I should do, and they said to come in on Monday morning.
I'm standing there bleeding, I didn't know what to do, and they didn't tell me.

Many of the survey instruments which receive a "yes" response to the question, "Did you request that your spouse be arrested?" are followed by the word "nothing" in reply to the question, "What happened?"

Doris told of three times the police were called to her home, and responded. She evaluated their attitudes toward her spouse on call one as "tough or aggressive," and on calls two and three as "polite but firm." Her 200 pound husband was arrested on call one because he became abusive to the police. It took six officers to restrain him, and he was booked on charges of resisting arrest. In the struggle, he was injured by police. Doris did sign an assault

complaint, and moved out of the family home with her three daughters. Within two weeks, her husband "kidnapped" the girls on their way home from school. He telephoned Doris saying that if she wanted to ever see the girls again, she would have to come home. She did. Doris wrote that charges were dropped because, "my witness did not appear, and by this time we were 'reconciled.'" Her husband's only "penalty" was court-ordered psychiatric counseling, which he did not obtain, and which was never enforced. Doris related that after once having dropped charges, the police were not interested in getting her to sign a complaint and her attorney advised against it.

Sgt. Don Weese, Investigator with the Los Angeles Police Department, was questioned by a television talk show host. The dialogue which follows seems to exemplify some police attitudes.

Interviewer: Some people seem to think police are reluctant to arrest these abusive husbands. What do you think?

Sgt. Weese: Well, a lot of it depends on what the situation is when the officer arrives. It's the policy to protect life, of course. What our problem is that so often there is a wife who really does not want to prosecute. She wants the husband to be told not to do this again and the matter to be dropped at that point.

Interviewer: And if you try to pursue the issue?

Sgt. Weese: Sometimes it's tragic for the officer. He makes the arrest. If the husband resists, before he's finished with the arrest, he has to fight the wife and arrest the wife and the husband. The officer is in the middle of a family matter, and of course he has to tread water as he makes the arrest or decides whether to arrest. It's a difficult decision to make; when the policeman arrives he is actually in social work at that time. He's trying to satisfy both parties....

There are some persons who look at these matters somewhat differently. For example, Bannon says,

In my view the police attitude, which seems to say that what happens between man and wife in their own home is beyond the authority or ability of the police to control is a "cop out." The real reason that police avoid domestic violence situations to the greatest extent possible is because we do not know how to cope with them. And besides we share societies view that domestic violence is an individual problem and not a public issue (1975:3).

Interviewed on the same television program as Sgt. Weese was Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge Leslie W. Light. Judge Light, following comments by Public Defender Wilbur Littlefield about the high predictability of women backing down from prosecuting their assailants, said,

I remember when I first went with the district attorney's office, I was fortunate enough to sit in on an office hearing of a wife-beating complaint where the deputy who was handling it was an experienced man. And I could see that the technique was to really put the pressure on the woman to make sure this was something she really wants to do.

(Interviewer: Did she think they were picking on her?) Yes, but I think what they were really trying to do is to make sure that this is a case, that when we get to court, this woman's not going to change her mind like most of the others and back down. So he "put the screws" to her, she buckled under and decided, no, it's better I shouldn't do it, and she didn't. Four months later that woman was a victim of a murder, and her husband was the murderer. Now that got to me....

But most of the police officers, in 90 percent of the cases they see, the woman comes down the next morning and wants the guy out of jail. And they say, "It isn't worth it, I mean, I want to go out doing something that's really going to be productive as far as putting somebody in jail that belongs there and not spin my wheels." So these women have to be willing, when they start the ball rolling, to keep pushing it with the rest of us, because if they stop, nobody else wants to push the ball, either.

Judge Light said that the maximum sentence for felony wife-beating in California is ten years in state prison, but as far as he knew, no man had ever received such a sentence, adding that there is no additional punishment for repeaters. As for protection for the woman against her assailant while the man is free on bail awaiting trial, Judge Light admitted there is very little the system can do for her. He said,

...and it's a fact of life that if somebody says, "I'm going to kill you," you've got to be on your guard because the law can't do anything about it until he takes an overt step to try to accomplish it. Mere threats don't put people in jail. (There's nothing that can be done) until he takes that first step that goes beyond planning.

The issue of protection and safety of the woman is seldom mentioned when the stereotype "But they never press charges" is invoked. The fact that the victims' fears of retaliation for prosecution are used against them is avoided.

A director of a shelter for battered women told the interviewer:

Ever since we opened our doors, I have repeatedly taken women who want to press charges down to the police station. They're all set when they walk in there--they are determined to get justice for themselves, at last. They've made up their minds to go through with it. But damn it! Every single one of them has been talked out of it by the time these people get through with them! They'll sit them down, and play on their fears of the guy, remind them that he'll only be locked up for a couple hours, at the most, and then back out on the streets, on bail, looking for them! Of course, he knows where her relatives and friends live, maybe he'll go there looking for her, and make all kinds of trouble. And if he beat her before, just think of what he'll do this time when he catches her. Maybe this time he'll kill her! One officer's favorite phrase is, "My best advice to you, lady, is to run and hide." What the hell can any of us say to her after something like that? The most defeating part is, most of it's true. But what good is the law if it can't protect half the citizens?

It seems to be a re-enactment of "Catch 22," because the victim is blamed for not pressing charges, but when she attempts to do so, she's dissuaded from doing it by her accusers. "Putting the screws" on the battered woman is similar to the criminal justice system's traditional handling of the rape victim. The victim's fears of retaliation may be justified, and even if she is temporarily hidden in a women's shelter, the day must come when she will leave that support and security, and set out to re-establish a home for herself and children. The system itself leaks information to the husband about the wife's location, frequently when agencies are pressing him for child support payments. The trauma many of these women face when the case is finally heard is extreme; many of them believe they will be killed. Most states have some form of order of protection or restraining order. Attorney Joyce Hastings, who has represented many battered women in divorce (dissolution) cases, says about such orders,

The only men who are actually restrained by these are the ones who have awe or fear of the legal process in the first place. Most of them see it as nothing more than a piece of paper, and its protective value is just as strong as that--a piece of paper. If a man is determined to get to her, he will--if he can find her.

It seems obvious that there are flaws in the system. While there un-

doubtedly are many women who would back out (as do many other solo-complainants) of prosecution because of emotional attachment for her spouse, regardless of protective measures, a great many other victims would follow through. "But they never press charges" is repeatedly encountered as a disqualifier for the women--to effectively throw the guilt for lack of prosecution and punishment of persons who have committed crimes back on to the victim herself. It promotes the idea that those who are hired or appointed to protect the civil rights, property, and lives of citizens are ready, willing, even eager, to spring into action, but they are frustrated and handicapped in their efforts to do so by the victims' own unwillingness to act. It is suggested that the myth of the emotional, vascillating, irresponsible female who begs law officers to save her, and then refuses to assist them in prosecution, further victimizes the victim. Perhaps, again, the victim of battering knows her spouse better than anyone else, knows her own fear and helplessness better than anyone else, and makes the only practical decision possible, based on this knowledge. Propagation of this myth serves to absolve the protective and legal agencies of the responsibility for the perpetuation of this form of human misery. By insisting that "domestic violence is an individual problem and not a public issue," (Bannon, 1975:1), the criminal justice system may, as Bannon says, contribute to inter-personal violence.

The Problem is Restricted to the Lower Classes

In the social sciences, most of the emphasis of those working in "social problems," "disorganization," or "deviance," has been turned toward the economically disadvantaged, and prison and other confined populations (Liazos, 1975). Unquestionably, the subject of battered women is nothing new to the police, welfare workers, and other social agents to whom these women in the lower socioeconomic classes most frequently turn. The phenomenon has been

credited to the "lower classes" both in popular myth and by some writers (Goode, 1969, 1971). Although some still insist on pointing an accusing finger at "those people," a gradual awareness has developed that there is no such class barrier. England publicly recognized the phenomenon a few years ago, and Pizzey let it be known that money and privilege does not distinguish the non-violent man from the woman-beater. She says,

Wife-beating has gone on for hundreds of years.... For ages wife-beating was thought to be a working-class activity, for the middle- and upper-class women never let on. As far as I can see the reason why 'battered wives' are getting a hearing is that for the first time a middle-class woman has said, 'It's happened to me.' That makes it respectable and all the more shocking (1974: 46).

Steinmetz and Straus attack several myths associated with intrafamily violence, and one of them is that it is primarily a working class phenomenon (1974:7-8). They maintain that the evidence for making these conclusions is lacking, and that if there are inter-class differences, they suggest they are small.

It is possible that the American public would have been vaguely aware of the "skeleton in the closet," (Martin, 1976:15-17), and continued to ignore this distasteful topic as long as it was confined to the lower strata of society. However, the study conducted by a group of women in affluent Montgomery County, Maryland, revealed that a high percentage of these women reported frequent and serious physical abuse. Perhaps the very realization that this problem crosses class lines was the catalyst necessary to give it the "respectability" needed to become a serious social concern.

This pilot study may stand accused of being heavily weighted in the direction of working-class respondents, since the sample largely consists of battered women who have fled their homes to a house of refuge. It may reasonably be assumed that middle class women have somewhat greater access to fi-

nancial and other resources, and with more available options, may be able to leave a battering spouse without this action becoming a matter of public record. In actuality, 40 percent of the women who have been admitted to the WTLC are considered middle class, which is less than population averages, but still a sizeable proportion. Other women, who have volunteered to participate in the study, have been largely from the middle class which has served to counterbalance the lower class bias, and the total sample is approximately evenly representative of both socioeconomic classes. As a result, educational attainment of this sample ranges from grammar school to Ph.D., of both the women and their spouses. The women are housewives, teachers, therapists, nurses, librarians, etc. Their spouses range from unemployed laborers to doctors, psychiatrists, dentists, writers, and engineers.

Doris, for example, a college graduate, lived in a home in a very affluent area of southern California, and could scarcely be classified as working-class.¹⁶ However, when she lost the use of her legs, she was no longer able to drive a car, reducing her available resources. Many of the women who lived in expensive homes, had highly educated husbands with sizeable incomes, are also women whose husbands kept tight control of all incomes, and watched their movements carefully. One woman, the wife of an international corporation chief executive and member of the church board of directors, finally drove off one day in the family camper. She claimed that all her telephone calls were screened, and the rooms of her home "bugged," which was attested to by her 20 year old daughter.

It appears that woman-battering does cross socioeconomic class lines, but there may be variations due to class. From in-depth interviews and group discussion, there appear to be subtle differences. For instance, the middle class batterer seems to be more inclined to use psychological battering and forms of "punishment" which neither destroy the home nor leave

obvious marks on the woman's body. For example, the psychologist who locked his wife outdoors on cold winter nights, first making sure she couldn't escape by car. Another man locked his wife in a dark room until she would "behave." Even in the "heat of passion" these men seem more inclined to strike the woman from the neck downward, (several women report their spouses made comments like "no one will ever see what I did to you.") Most of these women relate they covered up visible bruises by neck scarves and clothing to cover arms and legs. The working class man seems less inclined to use subtle forms of battering, and frequently strikes at the face, head, and neck of the woman. When these women are employed, most report they tried to camouflage by use of make-up and dark glasses.¹⁷

From these data gathered, no estimation of inter-class frequency in the general population can be assumed, but the investigator is inclined to agree with Steinmetz and Straus that some reasons exist for the popular but erroneous notion that woman-battering is confined to the working classes. Some of these reasons are: interpretation of the data, greater visibility of intra-family violence, and the greater tendency to call on the police (1974:8). What this pilot study has shown is that woman-battering is not confined to the ghetto, that these women who endured battering more than once had a variety of individual circumstances which guided their responses that differed slightly by social class, and that techniques of physical abuse employed by their spouses differed somewhat along class lines.

IMPLICATIONS

The pilot study has generated data which appear to give support to the hypotheses set forth earlier, but continued exploration is imperative. In 85 percent of the cases in which respondents claimed reliable knowledge about their spouses' parental background, they related that either the spouse, or

his mother, were battered when he was a child, and in some cases, both were battered. Some women report extremely harsh discipline which they define as cruelty or torture, and a variety of deprivations in their spouses' youth.¹⁸ The typology of the female victim, as described earlier, appears to conform to the hypothesized batterers' mate. These tentative findings invite comparison with more and larger studies.

In addition, valuable insights have been gained which will guide future research conducted by this investigator, and may be useful to others. The study was initiated to explore the phenomenon of woman-battering, and there were no expectations of definitively "explaining" woman-battering in the United States. However, the frequency and intensity with which some stereotypes or myths were introduced, caused the investigator to examine them, not only questioning their validity, but also asking what functions they may serve. An overview of the common myths examined in light of these data imply contradictions in many ways. The investigator suggests perhaps alternative conceptualizations are warranted. A brief re-examination follows below.

"These are pathological individuals." It is suggested that the "illness" label serves to excuse society and its agents, since these are purported to be problems within the psyche, which can only be alleviated by specialists of the body and mind, i.e., the medical industry. Parsons proposed an alternate view of illness as, among other things "exemption from normal social role responsibilities" (1964:436), Goffman eloquently described the "us-them" effects of being different (1963), while Szasz warned of the dangers of delegating power to psychiatrists to perform as agents of social control (1974). Insisting that this is an individual rather than social problem serves to set up a barrier between the agencies and institutions which were established to function for society and the people who live in this society. Massive

bureaucracies with armies of skilled experts and computerized technology are available for solving pressing social problems, but as long as battered women and their children are restricted to the category of individuals, no matter how many thousands there may be, these giant forces will not begin to move on their behalf.

"But what did she do to provoke him?" The assumptions of provocation and justification serve to divert attention from the real question: does any individual have the right to inflict pain, injury, and suffering on another person with impunity? Does this society set up a book of rules whereby a man has a right to slap for this offense, and break a jaw for another, and is only to be held accountable if he breaks a jaw for the former? It appears that this myth must be dealt with extensively in our studies, because only when no one interjects this question will there be a decrease in woman-battering. The very fact that it is introduced immediately into a discussion of woman-battering implies a pervasive acceptance of the dominant male/subordinate female roles in this country.

"Why did she stay?" There have been many studies in this country into poverty, crime and delinquency, deviance, ethnic groups, etc., but until recently, there were few studies about half of society: women. Since 1970, the literature on women has been flooding the market. Books and journals, many written by women, have carried forth the message of oppression and discrimination of women in this society (Bernard, 1973; Denmark, 1974; Chesler, 1973; Gornick and Moran, 1971; de Beauvoir, 1974; Huber, 1974; Mill, 1971; Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1975; Rowbotham, 1975). A light reading of a few of these volumes should establish some understanding of the pressures within marriage and the social pressures to stay married, the problems of employment, housing, divorce, single parenting, child care services, etc. The

society that fosters dependence of the female on the male serves to limit her opportunities for independence, and then damns her because she cannot, or will not, break the chain of dependency. To break out of a battering relationship, many of these women must reject an entire lifetime of internalized beliefs in her own place as a second-class member of society, and face massive disapproval on all sides. She must come to the decision and action almost entirely without assistance, support, or encouragement of any kind. The wonder of the matter is not why she stayed, but rather, how she ever dares to break away in the first place. It seems a minor miracle if, once away, she manages to remain away.

"But they never press charges." Although this myth is founded on truth, it is all the more damaging to the women whose only recourse is to turn to law enforcement and the judicial system. The problem with its reiteration is that it is only half the truth, and the other half is what makes all the difference. Implications drawn from this study are that the women do not press charges because: 1) they are ignorant of their civil rights, 2) they are systematically persuaded not to demand equal justice under the law, 3) they have no protection under the law (or in society) against retaliation, and 4) when they do press charges they face intense humiliation due to public exposure of the most private details of their lives with their spouses. In view of these obstacles, it is not at all surprising that only a relatively miniscule proportion of woman-battering cases ever continues to adjudication. The perpetuation of this half-true myth serves to exonerate agencies of social control and the judicial system against claims of bias and dereliction of duty. In view of some of the complicated issues of citizens' rights which have received diligent attention, it appears that casting total blame for the system's failure to protect these women and children back on to the wo-

men merely postpones the necessity for serious consideration of possible modification of laws, procedures, processing, and/or attitudes. In a country which conceived ways to work harmoniously on a scientific space project with the U.S.S.R., and found ways to open doors to thousands of Vietnam refugees, it does not seem an impossible task for agents of social control to find ways to provide for battered women and their children:

"The problem is restricted to the lower classes." As in many other social issues, now and in the past, there is a tendency to label any repugnant or socially undesirable behavior as dissasociated from the majority of the American citizens. This fosters an apathetic attitude among the great masses of citizens who, if made aware of injustice or deprivation, might demand effective changes. Limitation to the lower classes insinuates isolated aberrations, and blocks massive social change. For example, drugs which are now illegal and considered extremely dangerous were once flowing unobstructed in the lower socioeconomic strata. It was only when opium, cocaine, morphine and "loco weed" became progressively more popular up the class ladder that a multi-billion dollar industry of social control began to flourish. It seems an unfortunate fact of life that, until the last lingering doubt disappears that this phenomenon, woman-battering, crosses class lines and also "flourishes" in the middle class, little remedial social action will occur.

It is hoped that this preliminary report is of assistance to social scientists exploring these fields, and that it serves to sensitize others to the need for more and larger studies. Szasz makes an appropriate statement:

In our society there are two principal sources of legitimacy: tradition and science. Time is a supreme ethical arbiter. Whatever a social practice might be, if people engage in it, generation after generation, then that practice becomes accepted not only as necessary but also as good. Slavery is an example (1972:54).

Add to the above: woman-battering.

FOOTNOTES

1. Casual, short-term, or platonic relationships are therefore excluded, although cohabitation is not a necessary prerequisite for inclusion in this study. In cases of cohabitation, there is no arbitrary distinction drawn between legal or quasi-legal arrangements. For convenience and consistency, the term "spouse" will be substituted in this paper for alternative designations such as husband, lover, etc.
2. The concept "battering" is defined as physical assault which ranges from painful slaps at one end, and homicide at the other end of a continuum. Inherent in this definition is an overt physical attack by an assaulter on a victim who may or may not attempt self-defense. Battering is to be distinguished from forms of "mutual combat" such as pushing, shoving, etc. engaged in by two people equally determined to do damage to the other.
3. Despite its unusual length, to date the questionnaire has not been rejected by any woman, and has been fully completed by every respondent except one. That particular woman was a European immigrant who left the WTLG after spending only two days there. She had fled her battering husband, leaving her four teen-aged youngsters behind. She abruptly left the Center to return to her home, children, and spouse. Incompletion of the questionnaire may have been due to difficulties with the language, or the woman's own state of emotions, or simply a lack of time.
4. The instrument is being distributed to other researchers working on this problem across the country. In view of the fact that no other such form is presently available, there is a need for a standardized instrument. If adopted, this will permit researchers to compare data gathered in different geographic areas for cross-sectional analysis.
5. At these group events, the leaders usually lead into a discussion of woman-battering by telling the assembly their own experiences, after which others are invited to share theirs. Participants are not questioned into self-revelation; all responses are voluntary. The theory behind these efforts is that the battered woman is usually isolated within the privacy of her home, and frequently believes that her batterings are unique, shameful, and very personal.
6. Whenever statements made by respondents contain material which might endanger anonymity, these statements were altered. All names are pseudonyms, and other possibly identifying materials were slightly modified. These measures in no way change the basic content or meaning, but were initiated to protect the confidentiality and right to privacy of respondents, in view of the highly sensitive nature of the subject matter.
7. When this girl had the opportunity to move into her lover's home, she willingly agreed. Once there, she vied with his legal wife and another young woman who lived with him for his attention, until one beating was so severe she had to be taken to the hospital. She was admitted for treatment of internal injuries, but lied to the doctors about the cause of her wounds. This girl, together with the man's wife and her two children, made their escape together a few months later, with a neighbor's help, while the man was away from home. Neither one knew how to drive a car, nor did they have access to any money.

- Separate interviews with both young women revealed identical tales of fear, brutality, and virtual captivity. The man, at 43, has fathered 13 children by three wives, plus two illegitimate children.
8. Doris revealed that she found out after marriage that her husband had also battered his first wife. Her stepchildren first made this claim, which was later verified by an adult relative.
 9. One woman in this sample, for example, would be very difficult to describe as "mentally ill," or neurotic, despite many years of severe batterings. During a group discussion, she described how, the previous summer, she and her three teenaged sons had collaborated on a back yard fund-raiser "circus." The first week-end was such a success with the neighborhood they repeated the event the following week-end, raising over \$500 for donation to a national charity drive.
 10. Dr. Barbara Star, also researching battered women, reports the same descriptions are offered by the women in her study.
 11. This woman told the interviewer that her two and a half year old son is already beginning to copy his father's behavior: when he gets angry or frustrated, he punches her and abuses his year old brother.
 12. One of the celebrated weddings in the last decade was between Princess Anne of Britain and Captain Mark Phillips. Televised for viewers around the world, the vows taken by the Princess included the traditional phrase, "love, honor, and obey."
 13. Reported weights of males and females gathered by questionnaire reveals an average weight differential of 63 pounds. Comparison showed six female respondents reported their spouses' weights to be 85 to 100 pounds heavier than their own. The investigator has not observed discrepancies between estimated and self-reported weight, and therefore has no reason to suspect exaggerated differences.
 14. Ironically, the same night and at the same time that this television show was aired in southern California, Beth's husband (who had traveled from the east coast and traced her down to the WTLC), began banging on the door, demanding his wife whom he threatened to kill. The hysterical women inside, who had been watching the TV program, called the police. It took twenty minutes for them to arrive. The police officers warned the man to leave quietly or he would be arrested for disturbing the peace, and then left. Fortunately for the frightened women and children inside the building, he followed their advice.
 15. A frequent response to the question of parental attitudes toward their battered daughters' complaints is, "You made your bed, now you lie in it." Beth repeated this statement during her television interview.
 16. It is interesting to note that on the three occasions when the police were called to this home, there was prompt and concerned response. This is not always the case when respondents lived in lower-class neighborhoods; many of them reporting that the police never arrived, or they arrived very late, or that their attitudes toward themselves were: "neutral," "concerned but not helpful," or "rude, angry, hostile or blaming."

17. The interviewer noted that one woman had both eyes blackened, but did not realize the extent of injury until the woman removed skilfully applied make-up.
18. Doris was one who described particularly brutal childhood experiences of her spouse. Due to the length of the marriage, and the fact that Doris was well acquainted with her spouse's mother and siblings, there may be considerable reliability in what she related during interviews. She described a household in which her husband was the eldest of five children, who was not only pressured to "succeed," but was severely punished for every failure. Although his brothers and sister were physically punished, all felt that he and his mother received the brunt of the father's violence. Doris described episodes of forced-feeding of undesired foods to vomiting, after which the boy had to resume eating to vomiting, and this pattern was repeated. Her husband declared his own hatred of both his mother and father, and treated his mother aggressively. Interestingly, none of the other four siblings exhibited hostility and hatred, and seemed to go to a non-violent extreme: Doris said all of them completely avoided any form of physical discipline on their own children.

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