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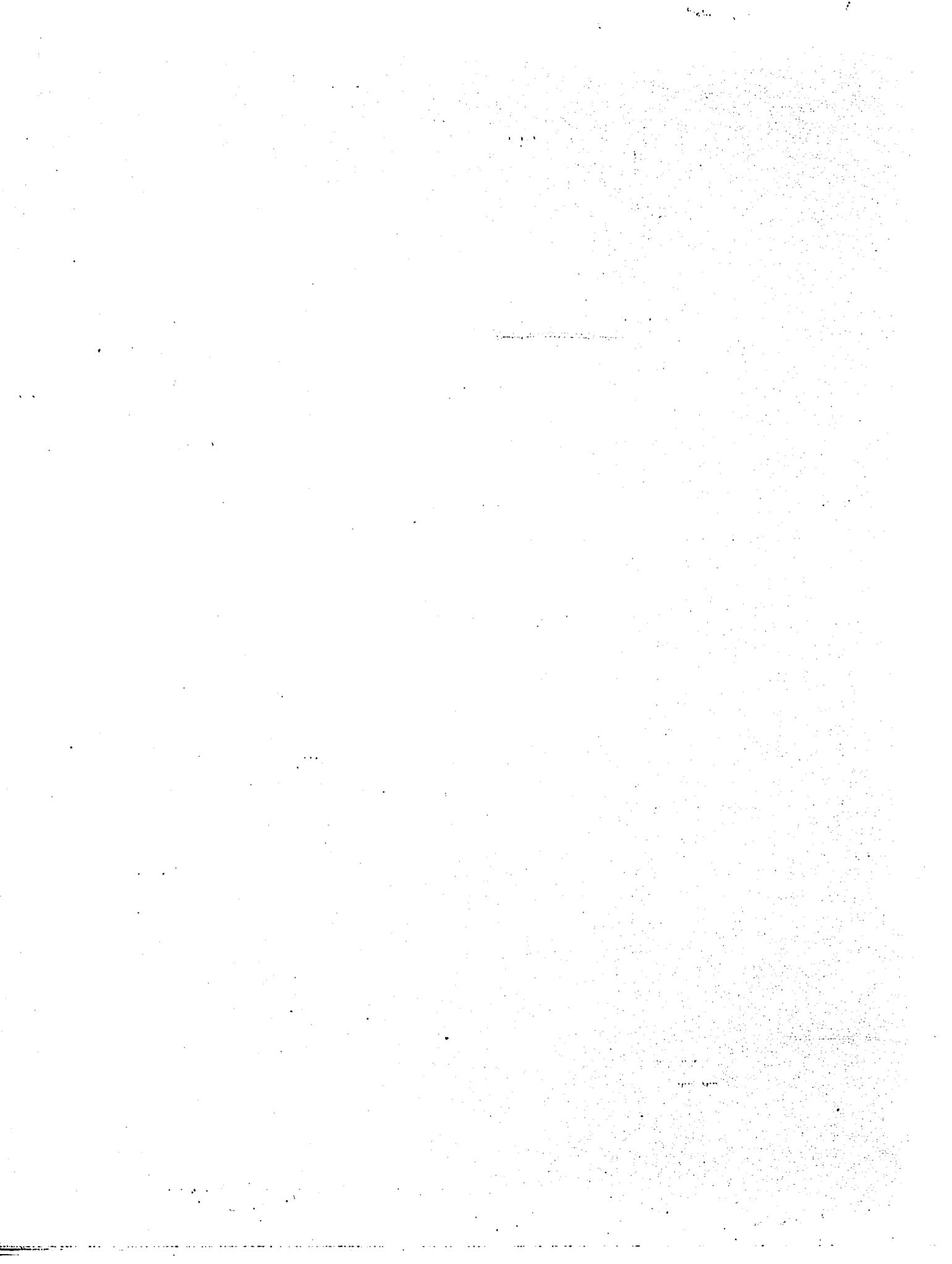
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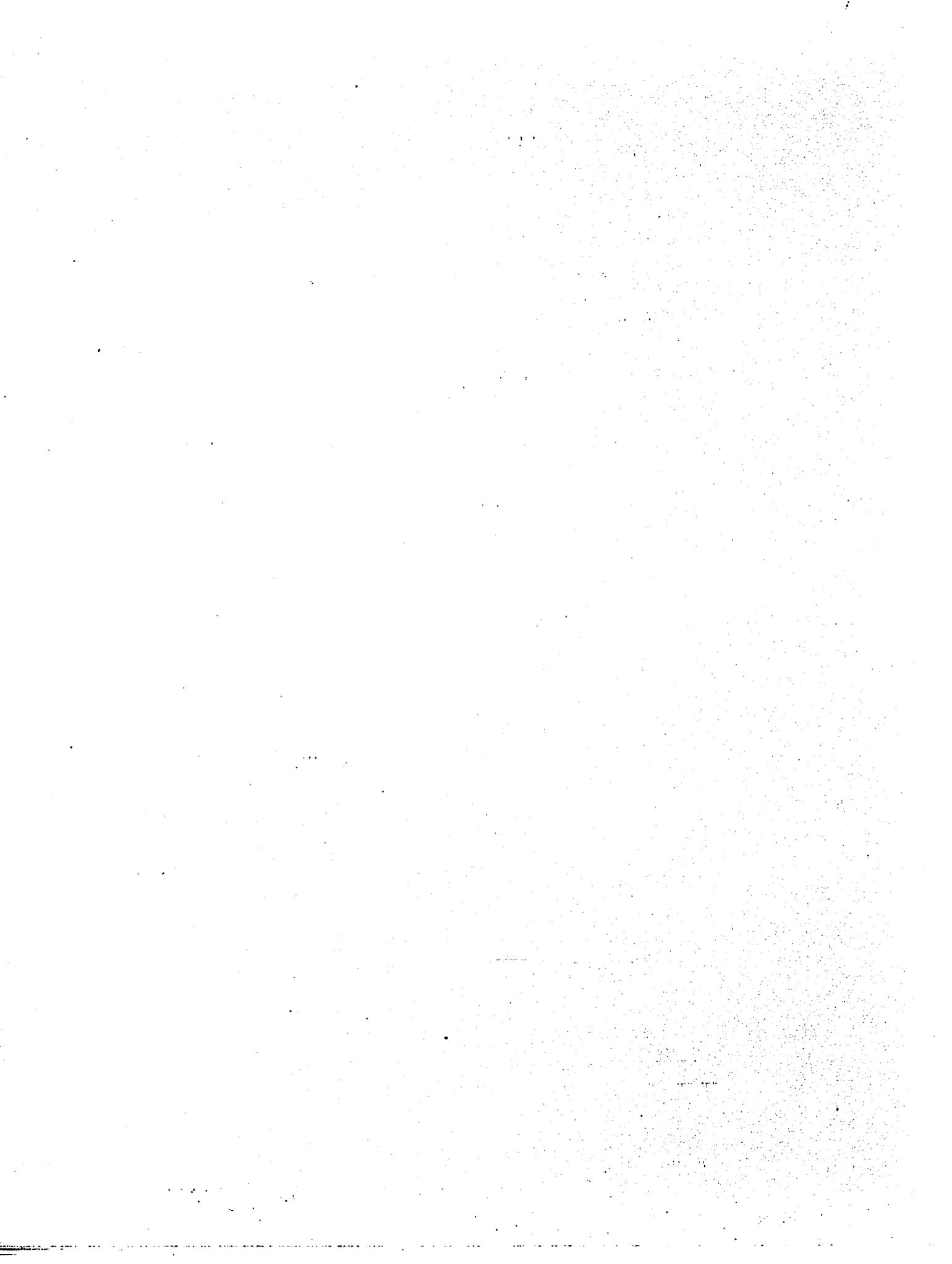
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**Sex roles, religiosity, and the response to courtship violence:
Predicting how long women remain in violent premarital
relationships**

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The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1988

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SEX ROLES, RELIGIOSITY, AND THE RESPONSE TO COURTSHIP

VIOLENCE: PREDICTING HOW LONG WOMEN REMAIN

IN VIOLENT PREMARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

by

Clifton P. Flynn

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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of the Requirements for the Degree
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Approved by


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APPROVAL PAGE

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This study examined the impact of a woman's sex role attributes and attitudes, and her religiosity on the length of time she remained with a violent premarital partner after his first use of violence against her. It was expected that women who were more individualistic -- more masculine, more modern, and less religious -- would leave the relationship sooner than women with lower levels of individualism.

The sample was comprised of 59 never-married women, 23 years of age or younger, who met each of the following additional criteria: (a) they identified themselves as "victim;" (b) they made the decision to end the relationship; (c) their decision to leave was based, at least in part, on their partner's violence; and (d) they were not cohabiting at the time the violence occurred.

A multiple regression procedure was performed to assess the relationship of the three independent variables with the dependent variable, expressed as the log of the number of days the relationship continued following the partner's first violent episode. Three additional variables served as covariates: the log of the number of days the relationship had been going on when the violence occurred, how much the woman loved her partner, and a dichotomous variable of whether or not the violence ever occurred again. Of the three independent variables, only sex role attitudes emerged as a predictor of how long a woman remained after her

partner's first use of violence. The more modern a woman's sex role attitudes, the shorter the time she remained with her partner. Upon further examination, this relationship appeared to hold only for women who had experienced only one episode of violence. Masculinity and religiosity were not related to how long a woman had stayed in the violent relationship.

Two subsequent multivariate analyses were performed which examined the relationship between individualism and two other responses to violence: (a) the decision to end the relationship and (b) who a woman blamed for her partner's violence. Women who decided to end their relationship were more individualistic (more masculine and somewhat less religious) than women whose partner participated in the decision-making. Women who mostly blamed their partner for his violence differed little on individualism from women who accepted at least half of the blame.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This study examined the impact of sex roles and religiosity on women's response to violence in premarital relationships. Sex roles were defined to include socially desirable personality characteristics typically associated with males (masculinity) and attitudes about the roles of men and women. Religiosity was defined by the frequency of engaging in specific religious behaviors.

Sex role attributes and attitudes, as well as religiosity, are conceptualized as indicators of individualism. Using a social exchange theoretical perspective, it was expected that women who were less individualistic would be willing to withstand greater costs in their relationships, and thus remain longer with a violent partner.

Sexual inequality has often been cited as a major cause of relationship violence (e.g., Straus, 1976). Dominant, traditional men abuse to maintain their dominance, while traditional passive women are unable or reluctant to leave their abusive husbands, and thus are subject to frequent and often severe violence. However, increasing equality may not insure decreased violence. As women gain more behavioral freedom and develop more egalitarian attitudes, men may be threatened and fight to maintain their status. Further, women may display some violent behaviors in their struggle for

equality in interpersonal relationships. More modern attitudes may enable some abused women to decide to terminate their relationship. Thus the role of equality in understanding violence is complex. The transition to greater equality between the sexes can lead to both increased and decreased violence. This study attempted to determine the ability of a woman's sex role characteristics to predict how long she had remained in a violent relationship.

Researchers have examined two components of what we are calling sex roles: (a) personality characteristics, which refer to concepts of masculinity and femininity; and (b) sex role attitudes or preferences, which indicate one's preferences for male and female roles ranging from traditional to modern or egalitarian. In virtually every case, the research has attempted to determine the extent to which these factors predict one's involvement in a violent relationship, whether as a perpetrator or a victim or both. Yet none of the studies has investigated relationship violence by examining both aspects of sex roles (attributes, attitudes) together.

Moreover, researchers have focused almost exclusively on sex roles as predictors of involvement in an abusive relationship. Such an approach implies that certain characteristics are only relevant to the occurrence of violence, and ignores the possibility that sex roles may influence one's response to violence as well. In addition, this traditional approach implies that the victim "causes"

her own abuse, while ignoring the attributes of the violent partner and of their interaction as a couple.

In the marital violence literature, abused wives are routinely described as passive or submissive, stereotypically feminine depictions. A recent study of courtship violence (Bernard, Bernard, & Bernard, 1985), however, found that abused females were more masculine than nonabused females. One possible explanation for these apparent contradictory findings is that the researchers are studying two very different events at two different points in time. The gender-related personality characteristics of a woman who first experiences violence may be quite different from those of a wife who has been the victim of prolonged, continuous abuse. This reasoning further suggests that the attributes, as well as attitudes, that help predict who gets hit are not necessarily the same ones that enable us to determine who stays in a violent relationship. Finally, this explanation is consistent with the somewhat paradoxical association between sexual equality and violence. More modern behaviors or attitudes may result in more women sustaining violence, yet those women possessing those same modern characteristics may be much less likely to remain in a violent relationship.

Religion has provided much of the rationale for and reinforcement of both traditional sex roles and violence by husbands against wives. The patriarchal nature of Christianity has always placed women, and particularly wives, in an inferior status relative

to men (see Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The husband was the head of the household and had the right to control his wife. This control often took the form of physical violence.

Traditional religion has also looked unfavorably on divorce. Marriages are viewed as sacred and permanent, and individuals are expected to remain with their partner, regardless of the circumstances. The interests and rights of the individual are clearly secondary. Women who are severely beaten by their husbands may be reluctant to leave the marriage because of their religious beliefs. Among conservative religious groups, abused wives are least likely to receive help from their minister, since he supports both the permanence of marriage and its hierarchical structure, which includes the right of the husband to control his wife (Wipple, 1987).

Christianity has had a significant influence on the laws and norms of the Western world. Religious beliefs regarding the inferior status of women and the permanence of marriage found their way into the legal code, as well as the normative system of this society. Consequently, abused wives, particularly women with traditional religious views, find little support from the church or from the legal system.

Religious beliefs may operate the same way as sex roles do in premarital relationships. It may be that less religious or nonreligious women may be more likely to get hit by men who expect subservient, obedient partners. However, these same unconventional

women may also be more likely to leave a partner who is abusive. Although a dating relationship is not marriage, a religious woman may be more concerned about maintaining the relationship at all costs than a less religious woman.

Few studies have examined the role of religion in relationship violence. Most studies have focused on the religious affiliation of violent spouses, and have ignored the possibility that the strength or importance of one's religious beliefs is a better indicator of the impact of religion on violent behavior. The current study investigated the role of religiosity, measured by the frequency of engaging in certain activities or beliefs, in explaining courtship violence. Only two studies (Laner, 1985; Makepeace, 1987) have examined the role of religion in courtship violence, but both focused on the occurrence of violence and not on the responses to violence. This study was designed to determine whether women with greater religiosity stayed longer in a past violent premarital relationship.

In summary, the purpose of this study was to examine the impact of sex roles and religiosity on a woman's decision to remain in a violent premarital relationship. Specifically, what is the relationship between a woman's gender-related personality characteristics, her sex role attitudes, her religious devoutness, and the length of time she stayed with a violent partner?

Background of the Study

Research on marital violence was virtually nonexistent prior to 1970. It was 1971 before the first article with the word "violence" in the title appeared in the Journal of Marriage and the Family (O'Brien, 1971). A decade later in Family Relations, Makepeace (1981) published the first research article on courtship violence. Courtship Violence and Implications for Marital Violence

Several writers (Flynn, 1987; Laner & Thompson, 1982; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985) have argued that the remarkably similar characteristics of all intimate relationships, both premarital and marital, should cause scholars to examine the more general construct of "relationship violence," rather than courtship or marital violence as separate phenomena. Consequently, information about violence in premarital relationships has great significance for understanding violence in marriage.

There are, however, important differences between premarital and marital relationships. The economic partnership in marriage, the legal nature of the relationship, and the social sanction against divorce make ending a marriage more difficult than ending a dating relationship, whether or not violence is present. Individuals may also be more tolerant of violence between spouses than between unmarried partners. Relationship characteristics help explain the "cause" of relationship violence or why abused wives stay with their husbands, yet they may be inadequate for understanding why some individuals remain with violent premarital

partners. Consequently, it is important and appropriate to examine the characteristics of individuals in order to solve this dilemma.

Sexual Inequality and Marital Violence

The sexist nature of society and of the family has consistently emerged as a sociological explanation for family violence (Gelles & Straus, 1979; Straus, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980). As Straus (1980, p. 208) has said, "perhaps the most fundamental set of factors bringing about wife-beating are those connected with the sexist structure of the family and society."

Dobash and Dobash (1979) offer a patriarchal theory of wife abuse. In order to understand wife abuse, they argue, one must recognize the historical dominance of husbands over wives. Historically, the relationship between husbands and wives has been a hierarchical one, with wives being controlled, oppressed, and possessed by their husbands. Societal supports for this patriarchal dominance existed in legal, economic, political, and religious institutions and in normative beliefs. Physical force by a husband against his wife was viewed as the ultimate expression of male domination, and until relatively recent times, wife-beating was a husband's legal right. Though most Western countries no longer legally recognize a husband's right to beat his wife, the legacy of patriarchal dominance still fosters wife abuse.

Patriarchal domination through force is still supported by a moral order which reinforces the marital hierarchy and makes it very difficult for a woman to struggle against this, and other forms of domination and control, because her struggle is construed as wrong, immoral, and a violation of the

respect and loyalty a wife is supposed to give to her husband. (Dobash & Dobash, 1979, p. ix).

Straus (1976) presents nine ways in which the sexist structure of society and the family generates violence between intimates, focusing on wife abuse:

(1) Defense of Male Authority. The presumption of husbands' superiority in a modern individualistic society leads to husbands' use of force against wives. When men, even in their advantageous position in regard to access to society's resources, are unable to maintain their superiority through achievement, they resort to the ultimate resource — violence.

(2) Compulsive Masculinity. Drawing from Parsons, Straus argues that in modern, industrial societies, male children have difficulty achieving a masculine identity because they are reared almost exclusively by women. Boys develop a feminine identification, which they come to resent upon learning that women are considered in many ways to be inferior to men. They blame women for any shameful feminine attributes, and compulsive masculinity often results in aggression against women.

(3) Economic Constraints and Discrimination. Women are forced to remain in violent relationships due the sexist nature of the economic structure of society. Because of the lack of economic alternatives, many women choose to endure the violence rather than the poverty which would accompany divorce.

(4) Burdens of Child Care. Wives inherit primary childrearing responsibilities in a society where division of labor is based on

sex. Consequently, wives are maintained in a dependent position in the family. Should they decide to leave the marriage, wives still have responsibility for the children, but often receive little or no support from the husband or from the government.

(5) Myth of the Single Parent Household. Because of the belief that children need to be brought up by both parents, and because the lack of societal support places undue hardships on single-parent families, women stay in subordinate, violent relationships.

(6) Preeminence of Wife Role for Women. Under traditional sex role expectations, the most fulfilling and important role for women is that of wife and mother. The imposed necessity of the wife role for women's personal fulfillment reinforces dependency, making it difficult for women to leave abusive marriages.

(7) Women as Children. Although legally women are no longer considered to be the property of men, this view persists in folklore and in certain aspects of the legal system. When combined with the notion of women as "childlike," this perception of women implicitly authorizes men to use force against women, just as parents have the moral right to hit their children.

(8) Negative Self-Image. The organization of society, particularly as it operates against women's achievement, is detrimental to the development of a positive self-image for women. The resultant guilt may lead some women to tolerate abusive husbands.

(9) **Male Orientation of the Criminal Justice System.** The criminal justice system is insensitive to the needs of women and is dominated by males who are often hesitant to act against husbands. Abused wives get little relief from police or from the courts.

These inequities form the basis for policy suggestions about reducing wife abuse, and all forms of relationship violence. Straus (1977; 1980) suggests several propositions, including (a) the elimination of the husband's status as "head of the household" in our legal, religious, and normative lives; (b) the elimination of sex-typed jobs and pay discrimination against women; (c) the elimination of traditional, sex-typed family roles and responsibilities; (d) the achievement of full sexual equality; and (e) the elimination of differential socialization of children on the basis of sex.

Women as Victims and Perpetrators

Women's experience with violence is not limited to the role of victim. Women have been shown to use most forms of violence at rates comparable to those of men, both in premarital and marital relationships (Straus, 1980; Straus & Gelles, 1987).

The publication of Steinmetz's (1977-78a) article, "The Battered Husband Syndrome," sparked not only tremendous media interest, but a heated debate among researchers as well (see Fields & Kirchner, 1978; Pleck, Pleck, Grossman, & Bart, 1977-78; Steinmetz, 1977-78b; 1978). Many feminist writers were concerned that the media attention given to so-called battered husbands and

battering wives would detract from efforts to combat the more serious problem of wife abuse (Fields & Kirchner, 1978; Pagelow, 1984; Fleck et al., 1977-78). The political agenda of some writers caused them to go far beyond expressing these legitimate concerns. They chose to deny the existence of the use of violence by women, and attempted to discredit Steinmetz's research.

Few, including Steinmetz, would disagree that services for abused wives are still society's greatest need. Most observers would probably agree with Straus' (1980, p. 32) assertion that "high rates of violence by wives should not divert attention from the need to give primary attention to wives as victims as the immediate focus of social policy." However, the fact that violence by men has more serious consequences should not cause us to ignore violence by women, either as a topic worthy of research or as a social problem. To deny the fact that women too are violent or to hold that violence by women is unimportant or even justified does a grave disservice not only to the research enterprise, but ultimately to women themselves (see Steinmetz, 1987).

The Occurrence Versus the Response to Violence

Most studies of courtship and marital violence have sought to discover and describe differences between those who had experienced violence and those who had not. Researchers have not been careful to distinguish between the occurrence of violence and an individual's responses to violence after it occurs. When a study is done using a sample of abused wives from a shelter, we tend to

learn about women who remain in abusive relationships, and little about the circumstances which led to their abuse. When researchers fail to find a difference in the sex role attitudes of women who have experienced violence in a dating relationship and those who have not, we have learned nothing about how sex role attitudes may affect one's decision to remain in a violent relationship. This study sought to overcome this weakness in previous research by examining the impact of sex role socialization on one's response to experiencing relationship violence.

The Relationships Between the Sex Role Variables

The proposed study will examine stereotypically socially desirable masculine personality characteristics as related, yet conceptually distinct from, sex role attitudes and behaviors. Spence and Helmreich (1978; 1980; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975) argue for this position in their writing, stating "We propose . . . that a clear distinction be made between sex-role behavior and properties of the behaving organism" (Spence & Helmreich, 1978, p. 14). One might expect individuals who are highly sex-typed to have more traditional attitudes toward women. Evidence from their studies indicates that correlations between college students' scores on the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) — a measure of masculinity/femininity — and the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS) — sex role measure — are generally in the predicted direction but low, and often nonsignificant. As Spence and Helmreich (1978) noted,

The conjunction between an individual's masculine and feminine attributes and masculine or feminine role behaviors is likely to be weak. Not only do other types of factors enter in to determine these role preferences and adoptions, but the demands of "feminine" roles for "feminine" characteristics and of "masculine" roles for "masculine" characteristics have been overestimated. (p. 115)

Religious Beliefs and Marital Violence

Many of the same writers who view sexual inequality as a major cause of marital violence also present strong critiques of traditional religion (Davidson, 1977; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1981; Walker, 1979). Ideas regarding women's inferior position in society and in the family, as well as the motivation for establishing these ideas as social reality, are rooted in traditional religious beliefs. In their patriarchal theory of wife abuse, Dobash and Dobash (1979) present powerful historical evidence indicating the influential role of religion, and particularly Christianity, in condoning and fostering violence against women. Although some changes have occurred,

. . . the essence of the patriarchal family and of the hierarchical relationship between husband and wife has not been eliminated. It continues to be the foundation of male supremacy and of the subordination of women in society and in marriage; thus, it forms the foundation of wife beating (Dobash & Dobash, 1979, p. 45).

Davidson (1977) traced the history of wifebeating and also recounts overwhelming evidence for its foundation in early Christianity. The religious acceptance of wifebeating became well established in the legal code and in societal norms. Davidson notes (1977, p. 4) that "The 'privilege' of wifebeating is ancient indeed.

In order to find a time in history when wifebeaters did not enjoy having custom and law on their side, it is necessary to go back more than 2000 years to pre-Christian times; even further than that, to pre-Biblical times."

Bellah and his colleagues (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985) studied "evangelical Christians" and their beliefs about love and marriage. These religious conservatives strongly believed in the permanence of marriage for permanence's sake, and that love is first an obligation to another that demands self-sacrifice in favor of the interests of others. If individuals in premarital relationships have adopted or been influenced by these beliefs, then they may put them into practice in serious relationships prior to marriage. Women with strong traditional religious convictions who claim to be in love with their premarital partner may be willing to remain with an unsatisfactory partner, even a violent one, because her faith demands duty, permanence, and subjugation of self-interest. This study examined the impact of religiosity on the length of time a woman stayed in a violent premarital relationship.

Theoretical Rationale

Why should more traditional women, both in terms of sex roles and religiosity, be more likely to remain with a violent partner? What common theme binds sex roles and religion together? Using a social exchange perspective, it is proposed that the degree of a

woman's individualism plays a major role in her decision to remain in an abusive relationship.

Social exchange theorists (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Nye, 1979; Thibaut & Kelley, 1967) propose that individuals are reward-seeking and enter into dyadic relationships to gain rewards. Those relationships tend to be maintained as long as the reward/cost ratio remains favorable. Scanzoni (1975) has identified two sets of rewards that are sought in marriage, but can be applied more broadly to all intimate relationships — individualism and familism.

Familism implies that obligations and duties to the larger groups . . . take precedence (especially for the woman) over concerns about individualistic costs and rewards. That traditional posture can be contrasted with a modern or "rational" or individualistic position in which one's own interests must be at least equal to or perhaps even greater in significance than group interests. (Scanzoni, 1975, p. 188)

More generally, familism implies an orientation toward others at the expense of oneself, whereas individualism elevates the self to a status of equality with others. To include premarital relationships, familism may be redefined as placing the interests of the partner (and thus the maintenance of the relationship) ahead of self-interest.

This distinction has particular implications for women. First, there is evidence that communal or other-oriented personality characteristics have become identified as "feminine" attributes, and in fact, are more likely to be possessed by women. On the other hand, qualities that reveal a sense of agency and of self are seen

as "masculine" qualities, and are more likely to be possessed by men (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Women who become involved in an abusive relationship may find it particularly difficult to leave if they have a low degree of individualism. The lack of individualism could be manifested in the predominance of so-called feminine attributes or the virtual absence of so-called masculine attributes or both.

Second, sex role attitudes or preferences range along a continuum from traditional to modern or egalitarian (Scanzoni & Fox, 1980). Those with a traditional sex role orientation prefer conventional patterns of role specialization among the sexes, whereas those with modern attitudes prefer role interchangeability. A familistic orientation has been found to be associated with traditional sex role attitudes; conversely, an individualistic orientation has been associated with modern attitudes (Scanzoni, 1975). To the extent that women prefer traditional sex roles, they are more likely to endure greater costs in their relationships; in this case, to remain longer with a violent premarital partner.

Third, religiosity is an important predictor of gender role preference, and consequently, of individualism (Bellah et al., 1985; Scanzoni & Arnett, 1987). Not only do those with traditional religious beliefs view the wife as subordinate to the husband, but they also see marriage as a permanent obligation. Thus very religious individuals may feel it is a person's duty to remain with their partner, no matter how unfavorable the reward/cost ratio. A

woman may remain with a violent premarital partner if her religious views lead her to place her relationship and the interests of others above her own well-being.

Scanzoni and Arnett (1987), arguing that sex role attitudes and religiosity are indicators of individualism, have shown that both of these variables are related to relationship commitment. Married individuals who espoused traditional sex roles and who were more religious — i.e., were less individualistic — had higher levels of marital commitment. It is expected that women who remained longer with violent premarital partners did so because of an orientation toward others that resulted in the subordination of their own individual rights and rewards.

Hypotheses

1. The less a woman is sex-typed as masculine, the longer she will have remained in a violent relationship.
2. The more traditional a woman's sex role attitudes, the longer she will have remained in a violent relationship.
3. The greater a woman's religiosity, the longer she will have remained in a violent relationship.

Limitations of the Study

This study asked women about their experiences with relationship violence. Interpersonal violence is a sensitive topic, and some social desirability responding patterns, such as underreporting of violence, were almost certain to occur. Second, the study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal.

Consequently, conclusions about the directionality of the relationships are problematic. For example, is a woman with more traditional sex role attitudes more likely to stay in a violent relationship, or does remaining in a violent relationship cause her attitudes to become more traditional? A third and related limitation is that subjects were asked to report on past relationships. Subjects may have recalled their experiences incompletely or inaccurately, and some undoubtedly had better memories than others. In addition, for some subjects, reports on past experiences, and particularly negative ones such as those involving relationship violence, may have been re-creations rather than recollections. Thus their responses may reveal as much about current interpretations of previous occurrences of violence as they reveal about the actual occurrences.

Fourth, the sample for this study was a convenience sample made up of college students. Both the lack of randomization and the lack of diversity limit the generalizability of the results. Finally, the study relied on the responses of only one member of the couple. Studies using couple data have demonstrated great discrepancy in the reports of members of the same couple (see Ball et al., 1983; Furstenberg & Spanier, 1984), including studies of relationship violence (e.g., Szinovacz, 1983).

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Courtship Violence

Prior to the 1980s, family violence researchers had not studied courtship violence. Beginning with the ground-breaking study of Makepeace (1981), researchers discovered that violence between intimates was not limited to spouses.

Makepeace and others (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; Cate, Henton, Koval, Christopher, & Lloyd, 1982; Henton, Cate, Koval, Lloyd, & Christopher, 1983; Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Laner & Thompson, 1982) have revealed that violence occurs with relatively high frequency in premarital relationships. While most of the research has focused on college students, Henton et al. (1983) studied 644 high school students and found that 12% (78) had experienced dating violence. When students go on to college, the likelihood for involvement in an abusive relationship increases. Most researchers have reported that 20-30% of their sample report at least one experience of violence with a dating partner (21.2% - Makepeace, 1981; 22.3% - Cate et al., 1982; 27% - Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; 30% - Bernard & Bernard, 1983). These rates are remarkably similar to the rates of violence found in marriage (see Flynn, 1987). Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) interviewed a nationally representative sample of 2,143 husbands and wives, finding that 16%

reported that violence had occurred in the past year and that 28% said that they had experienced violence at some point in their marriage.

In addition, Straus et al. (1980) found that less severe forms of violence (slapping, pushing or shoving) are more common among spouses and are inflicted about as often by women as men. In about one-half of the couples, violence was mutual. Once again, similar patterns have been found for courtship violence. Studies of courtship violence consistently show that milder forms of violence are more common (Cate et al., 1982; Henton et al., 1983; Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Makepeace, 1981; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985). Although there are differences in the specific forms of violence used, there is little difference between men and women in the overall use of violence (Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984). Finally, over two-thirds of individuals in violent dating relationships report that the violence was mutual (Cate et al., 1982; Henton et al., 1983).

Effect of Violence on the Relationship

Do individuals remain in premarital relationships in which they experience violence? The evidence suggests that for many relationships, violence is not a destructive phenomenon. Henton et al. (1983) found that 41% of their sample of high school students were still dating the person with whom the violence occurred, whereas Cate et al. (1982) discovered a similar phenomenon among 53% of their sample of college students. In three separate studies of

courtship violence, two involving college students (Cate et al., 1982; Makepeace, 1981) and one involving high school students (Henton et al., 1983), approximately one-third of the students in each study reported that their relationships improved following the violence. Not only do many relationships survive the violence, but many individuals go on to marry the person who abused them in courtship (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Gayford, 1978; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985). In one study of abused wives, 30% married a man who abused them during courtship (Roscoe & Benaske, 1985). Thus, it is highly likely that a woman will remain indefinitely with a violent partner, and there is a good chance she will go on to marry him.

Sex roles and Relationship Violence

At both the societal and the individual level, explanations of marital violence have included propositions about sex role socialization and inequality between the sexes (Martin, 1981; Walker, 1979; 1981; 1984; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Roy, 1977; Straus, 1976; 1980). These writers argue that the organization of society and of the family are based on traditional norms that maintain male dominance and that condone violence by husbands against their wives. Further, the socialization of stereotypical masculine personality characteristics encourages men to employ violence, whereas the socialization of stereotypical feminine traits teaches women to endure it.

Yet, it is not at all clear that greater equality will result in a reduction of violence, at least in the short-run. Yllo's

(1983) findings suggested that the relationship between sexual inequality and wife abuse is a curvilinear one. In her comparison of marital violence in American states, she found that the highest rates of violence against wives occurred in states where wives' status (economic, educational, political and legal equality) was lowest and in states where wives' status was highest.

Straus (1976) recognized that, although the long-term consequences of a more egalitarian society are likely to result in reduced relationship violence, the transition to more egalitarian attitudes and behaviors may not be a smooth one.

The short-run consequences may be the opposite because a sizable number of men will not easily give up their traditional sex-stereotyped roles. Like traditionally oriented women, such men are conditioned by their culture to perceive only the prerogatives and advantages of the traditional male role, and to ignore its burdens, restraints and disadvantages. Thus a less violent world, and less violence in the family requires male liberation as well as women's liberation. (Straus, 1976, p. 67)

It seems likely, therefore, that men may be reluctant to give up their dominant position, and that some men may literally fight to keep it. It seems equally likely that as women's attributes and attitudes become less stereotyped, and as women struggle to attain equality, they also may turn to the use of physical violence. Finally, as women become less traditional in both attitude and behavior, they may be less willing to tolerate physical violence from an intimate partner, and thus more likely to terminate a violent relationship.

Using a nationally representative sample, Yllo (1984) examined marital equality and violence against wives in 36 states, while controlling for the societal status of women. Egalitarian marriages had the lowest rates of violence, regardless of societal context of sexual equality. However, the highest rates of violence against wives took place in husband-dominant marriages in states where women's status was highest. Straus et al. (1980) revealed that couples who shared decision-making had lower rates of violence than couples in which one spouse was dominant. Often the lack of resources contributes to the wife's lack of power in marital decision-making, including her power to leave an unsatisfactory relationship. Economic dependency, and to a lesser degree, emotional dependency, are factors associated with why abused wives remain with their husbands (Gelles, 1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; Strube & Barbour, 1983).

Sigelman et al. (1984) examined the role of relationship power and courtship violence. Women were significantly more likely to abuse and to be abused by their partners when there was a power imbalance in the relationship than when power was shared equally. This was true regardless of which partner was dominant.

At the individual level, researchers of relationship violence have focused on two aspects of gender: personality characteristics and sex role attitudes.

Personality Characteristics

The marital violence literature (Martin, 1981; Roy, 1977; Walker, 1979) has portrayed abusive men as stereotypically masculine, describing them with such adjectives as controlling, dominant, aggressive, and possessive. Abused wives, on the other hand, are described as stereotypically feminine, and depicted as passive, subservient, docile, and submissive. These descriptions, as Bernard and Bernard (1984) noted, are "based largely on anecdotal data and clinical observations" (p. 573). The limited research in this area confirms these characterizations for abusive men, but not completely for female victims of abuse.

Long (1986) examined the relationship of masculinity and femininity to self-esteem in 281 women in four categories: female professionals (n = 89), college students (n = 83), mental health clients (n = 52), and victims of domestic violence (n = 57). The victims were women who were currently residents of a shelter for battered women or had been within the previous six months. The masculinity scores of the victims of domestic violence were significantly lower than those of the professionals and students, and did not differ from those of the clients. There were no differences between the four groups on femininity scores.

Bernard and Bernard (1984) studied 46 men who had voluntarily entered a treatment program to control their violent behavior. These men, both married and unmarried, averaged 31 years of age. An assessment of personality characteristics using the MMPI revealed

men who were insecure about their own masculinity, but displayed aggression and other typically masculine traits. "These men maintain a strong masculine identification, although they may be excessively concerned with their own masculinity or obsessed with sexual thoughts" (Bernard & Bernard, 1984, p. 545). The abusive males also tended to describe their partners as assertive or aggressive (Bernard et al., 1985), in sharp contrast to the image of the passive, submissive victim. Similarly, Gondolf and Hanneken (1987) interviewed 12 "reformed batterers," describing them as "failed macho men who compensated for their inadequacy with abuse" (p. 181).

Only two studies of courtship violence have examined sex-related personality characteristics. Bernard et al. (1985), using the BSRI (Bem Sex Role Inventory), compared 15 abusive males to 24 nonabusive males, and 63 abused women with 55 nonabused women. Abusive males were more sex-typed as masculine than the control males, while abused females were less feminine than the controls. These results fit with the prevailing view about abusive males, but conflict with accepted notions of the attributes of female victims. The authors suggested that an abusive male may be threatened when his partner displays certain qualities that he considers to be appropriate only for men. When a highly sex-typed man feels that his status is threatened, he may respond in a typically masculine way in order to reassert his dominance. In intimate relationships, this masculine response sometimes takes the form of aggressive or

abusive behavior. The authors also tentatively offered an alternative explanation. Women who are less femininely sex-typed possess certain traditionally masculine characteristics, including dominance and aggression, that may make them more likely to initiate abuse. Thus these women become the targets of retaliatory violence from their partners.

Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) used the masculinity and femininity scales of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire to distinguish between those in their sample 505 white college males and females who had used violence and those who had not, and between those who had sustained violence and those who had not. They found that, for both sexes, the higher one's instrumentality (masculinity), the lower the likelihood that that person had experienced dating violence. Men who scored high on expressiveness (femininity) were more likely both to have used and received violence from a dating partner. Femininity scores were not related to women's experiences with violence.

These somewhat contradictory findings may be explained by distinguishing between those who have experienced violence and those who have remained in violent relationships. In the Bernard et al. study, college students were reporting on their experiences with dating violence, but were not necessarily currently in violent relationships. Consequently, women with stereotypically positive masculine characteristics may be the more likely victims of relationship violence, but those same characteristics may enable

women to leave violent relationships. In the Long study, subjects were women in shelters for battered women, implying that these women had been in violent relationships for an extended period of time. Perhaps women with lower masculinity scores are more likely to remain in abusive relationships. Also, the repeated victimization may contribute to the erosion of any positive masculine characteristics, such as independence. There is a positive relationship between masculinity and self-esteem (Long, 1986), and low self-esteem has been associated with spouse abuse (Walker, 1984). Thus, women who are less traditionally sex-typed may be more likely to experience violence, but sex-typed women may be more likely to remain in violent relationships.

The results from the Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) study, however, call this conclusion into question. Women who had sustained courtship violence had lower masculinity scores than women who had not. The researchers argued that instrumental skills associated with masculinity enable women to manage or avoid stressful conflict situations that otherwise would lead to violence. Further research is needed to clarify the effect of a woman's masculinity on the likelihood she will experience dating violence.

Sex Role Attitudes

The marital violence literature consistently portrays both male perpetrators and female victims as subscribing to traditional notions about the roles of men and women in society (e.g., Walker, 1979). Yet, the empirical literature has failed to provide strong

support for these views. Walker (1984), in contrast to her expectations, found battered wives to express opinions on the Attitude toward Women Scale that were more liberal or modern than the normative scores for college females. Nearly every other study has found no relationship between a woman's sex role attitude and sustaining or inflicting violence in a marital or premarital relationship, and only a weak association between traditional attitudes and use of violence by men (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Sigelman et al., 1984).

Using the Attitudes toward Women Scale, Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) compared the sex role attitudes of 52 abused wives undergoing therapy, 32 in individual therapy and 20 in conjoint therapy with their husbands, with those of two comparison groups: 20 happily married wives and 20 nonviolent, but unhappily married wives. Happily married wives had sex role attitudes that were significantly more conservative than those of the other three groups. The wives also reported on their husbands' sex role attitudes. Husbands of abused wives undergoing individual therapy were viewed as significantly more conservative than husbands in the other three groups.

Sex role attitudes have not emerged as significant predictors of courtship violence. Bernard and Bernard (1983) found no differences between the scores of abusive ($n = 26$) and nonabusive ($n = 142$) college males, or between abused ($n = 89$) and nonabused ($n = 204$) college females, on the Attitudes toward Women Scale

(AWS). Sigelman et al. (1984) found that sex role attitudes were only a weak predictor of experience of relationship violence, and then only for abusive men. Men who used violence had more traditional sex role attitudes, as measured by the Attitudes toward Women Scale, than those who had not used violence. Sex role attitudes failed to discriminate abused women from nonabused women, abused men from nonabused men, or abusive women from nonabusive women.

At least two explanations for the lack of predictive power seem equally likely and plausible. The first is that a woman's attitudes (whether about sex roles or any other topic), when considered singly, are not likely to elicit a violent response from a partner. That is, individuals are not hit solely because of what they believe. A woman may hold very modern sex role attitudes, yet never express them. Attitudes may become important when considered in the context of the relationship. Modern attitudes may lead to violence by or against a woman only when her attitudes conflict with her partner's attitudes or with the power structure of the relationship.

Second, characteristics of the individual may be more important for explaining one's responses to violence than for predicting whether one has experienced violence, particularly in nonmarital relationships. Individuals may be physically assaulted for reasons totally unrelated to their beliefs about the roles of men and women. Yet those same beliefs may play a significant role in a victim's decision to leave or stay with a violent partner. This

explanation seems particularly applicable for unmarried partners who generally do not face the legal, economic, and social barriers to ending marriage.

If both explanations are accurate, then there are significant implications for the role of sexual equality in causing or eliminating relationship violence. The above explanations lead one to the conclusion that greater equality will lead both to greater and to lesser use of violence by individuals in relationships. When egalitarian principles held by one individual are violated in a traditional relationship, then violence may result. When violence occurs, however, more modern individuals may end the relationship, and with it the opportunity for continued abuse.

There is support for both explanations in the literature. Sigelmar et al. (1984) discovered that discrepancy between the partners' attitudes is a better predictor of violence than the attitude of just one partner. Women with sex role attitudes that were either much more liberal or much more traditional than their partner's were much more likely to commit a violent act against their partner than were women whose sex role attitudes were more congruent with those of her partner. A further finding, though not statistically significant, pointed to a definite trend indicating that women were more likely to leave a violent relationship if they and their partner held highly discrepant views on the role of women. These findings suggest that the sex role attitudes of individuals are less important in predicting the occurrence of relationship

violence than is the lack of congruence between partners' attitudes. In addition, attitudes of individuals appear to be more important for explaining responses to violence than predicting involvement in an abusive relationship.

Makepeace (1987) surveyed 2,338 students at seven colleges and universities about a variety of social factor variables thought to be related to the experience of courtship violence, including egalitarian values about dating. The 391 students who had experienced violence in a dating relationship were more egalitarian in their attitudes about dating than students who had never experienced violence. Perhaps women with more modern attitudes are more likely to fight back when hit or to use violence themselves. Another possibility is that individuals with egalitarian values may be more likely to get hit, but they may also be more likely to end the relationship when they are assaulted. Once again, this explanation suggests that sex role attitudes may better explain who stays in a violent relationship than who experiences violence.

Religion, Religiosity, and Relationship Violence

In the few studies which have examined the role of religion in relationship violence, most have used religious affiliation as the measure of interest (Brutz & Ingoldsby, 1984; Laner, 1985; Straus et al., 1980). Straus et al. (1980) compared the violence rates between members of different religious groups. Among respondents with a religious affiliation, Jewish husbands had the lowest rates of wife abuse, while husbands from a minority religion had the

highest rates. Protestant wives had the lowest rates of abusing their husbands, while minority religion wives had the highest rates. Although differences did emerge between religious groups, Straus et al. attribute these differences to the social make-up of the group, arguing that differences in occupation and income among the religious groups probably account for differences between the groups in the rates of violence. Interestingly, husbands and wives who did not express a religious preference had higher rates of violence than individuals with a religious preference. In particular, women lacking a religious affiliation were more likely to be abused by their husbands. Higher rates of violence among those in minority religions or those lacking religious affiliation complements the sex role research, suggesting that less traditional women are more likely to be victims of relationship violence.

Other studies have compared the use of violence by members of one particular religious group to nonmembers. Brutz and Ingoldsby (1984) compared violence rates in Quaker families to those found in the Straus et al. (1980) national study, finding no significant difference in spousal violence. In a study of premarital relationships of Mormon and nonMormon college students, Laner (1985) found no differences in the rates of violence.

One recent study examined the effect of differences in the religions of dating partners on one's propensity to use and inflict violence. Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) found that women who had sustained violence were more likely to have had a partner with a

religion different from her own than were women who had not experienced dating violence.

Brutz & Allen (1986) effectively argue that religious commitment and not religious affiliation more appropriately reflects the influence of religion on the use of marital violence.

The use of religious affiliation implies that persons who may have completely integrated the values and behavior consistent with principles of a particular religion will have the same rates of marital violence as those who merely list their association but have no particular conviction to the religion. Such an assumption should be examined carefully. It may be that only through those who most closely mold their behavior and values to the religious principles they espouse will the influence of religion upon marital violence be made manifest. (Brutz & Allen, 1986, p. 491-492)

Following this reasoning, Makepeace (1987) used church attendance as an indicator of religious commitment and found that while men who attended church weekly were significantly more likely to abuse their dating partners than those who went less frequently, women who attended less frequently were more likely to be abused than more frequent churchgoers. Once again, these findings illustrate the patriarchal structure of most religions, suggesting that less religious women who may question or oppose this doctrine of male dominance, may risk physical abuse from their traditional male partners. However, these same women may be less likely to remain in an abusive relationship. Women who are more devout, on the other hand, may be reluctant to leave a violent partner, believing that commitment to their partner outweighs her individual interests. The proposed study will test the hypothesis that more

religious women have stayed longer in a violent premarital relationship. Religiosity, the variable of interest in the current study, is conceptually similar to the variable of religious commitment proposed by Allen and Ingoldsby (1986).

Predictors of Women Remaining with Abusive Partners

Because of the scarcity of information about why women remain in violent dating relationship, almost all of our knowledge comes from studies of abused wives. Perhaps the most important factor in understanding why abused wives remain with their husbands is economic dependency (Gelles, 1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; Strube & Barbour, 1983). Wives who are unemployed are much less likely to leave an abusive marriage. Though some premarital couples may have established an economic partnership, most couples have not. Consequently, economic dependency is not an appropriate variable in explaining most courtship violence. Psychological dependency or emotional commitment may be more fitting. Kalmuss and Straus (1982) examined emotional dependency along with economic dependency in a national probability sample of 1183 women. Both dimensions of dependency are positively related to abuse, but with some differences. Economic dependency was related to severe abuse, while psychological dependence was related to the experience of minor violence. Strube and Barbour (1983) examined the association between wives' psychological commitment to their partner and their decision to leave a violent marriage. Commitment was measured objectively as length of marriage, and defined subjectively by

whether the woman said she remained with her violence partner because she loved him. Both objective and subjective measures were significantly related to a woman's decision to remain with her abusive partner. These results have implications for the study of why women remain in violent premarital relationships. They suggest that the length of the relationship and the degree of commitment or involvement with the partner may be important predictors of how long a woman stays. If the decision to cohabit is considered to signify increased commitment, then women who are cohabiting may stay longer in a violent relationship than those who are not. That cohabitators have higher rates of violence than unmarried or married partners (Sigelman et al., 1984; Yllo & Straus, 1981) provides indirect support for this conclusion. In addition, violence is more likely to occur in relationships that have advanced to more serious or intimate stages rather than in casual dating relationships (Billingham, 1987; Cate et al., 1982; Henton et al., 1983; Laner & Thompson, 1982). Third, observing or witnessing violence in the family of origin has been associated with abused wives remaining with their husbands (Gelles, 1976). Gelles found that abused wives who had experienced violence as a child, either as a victim or an observer, were less likely to seek intervention (including separation or divorce) than those who had not. It seems reasonable that such a relationship would hold in courtship. Fourth, low self-esteem has been shown to be a characteristic of battered wives (Long, 1986; Walker, 1984). Whether women with low self-esteem stay

in abusive relationships, or women who are abused develop low self-esteem, or both, self-esteem may be a better predictor of who remains in a violent relationship than who experiences violence. Fifth, Gelles (1976) found that the greater the frequency and the severity of violence, the more likely abused wives were to leave or to seek intervention. One would expect more frequent and/or more severe violence to encourage women to leave their premarital partners.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Female college students in undergraduate classes completed questionnaires on their past and present dating relationships, focusing on the occurrence of violent behaviors in those relationships. Students also answered questions about their experiences with violence during their childhood. In addition, students responded to items designed to measure sex role attitudes, personality characteristics, religiosity, as well as demographic information.

Research Design

This study employed a multivariate, retrospective design. The dependent variable was time stayed (in months) in relationship following the first violent action by a woman's partner. The independent variables were masculinity, attitudes toward women in society, and religiosity. Three variables served as covariates: (a) severity of the violence experienced, (b) the amount of love for one's partner before the violence, and (c) the length of the relationship when violence first occurred. Three other covariates were eliminated because of the small sample size: (a) cohabitation status at the time of the violence, (b) the amount of violence witnessed or sustained as a child, and (c) self-esteem.

The major threats to internal validity relate to the sensitive nature of the topic under study and the retrospective nature of some of the data. Subjects may have underreported or failed to report their experiences with violence. Thus some individuals who have experienced violence were undoubtedly erroneously classified as "never having experienced violence" and excluded from the study. Further, subjects may also have had difficulty recalling past events accurately, particularly negative events associated with former intimate partners. In addition, little could be done to control for the various environmental, social, and personal factors that could account for differential involvement in relationship violence. Finally, a subject's present characteristics were used to predict her past behavior. Certainly some change has taken place in some or all of these attributes since their relationship ended that could not be assessed or estimated in the study. The main threat to external validity is a sample that is nonrandom, which limits the generalizability of the results.

Instruments

Experience With Violence

The type and frequency of the violence inflicted on the subject by her partner and the subject's use of violence on her partner were assessed using the Violence subscale of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Straus, 1979). Subjects responded to the scale for both their current and previous relationships. The original scale consisted of eight increasingly more severe acts of violence,

ranging from "threw something at the other" to "used a knife or gun." For each act, possible response categories are never, once, twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, and more than 20 times. An additional item, "choking", has been added (Straus & Gelles, 1986; Straus, 1987). Straus (1979) reported alpha coefficients of .83 for reports of husband-to-wife violence and .82 for wife-to-husband violence. Straus (1979) also presented data supporting the construct and concurrent validity of the CTS. Additional studies providing evidence for internal consistency reliability, concurrent validity and construct validity of the CTS can be found in Straus (1987). Only individuals who reported sustaining at least one of the nine violent acts in a recent past relationship were included in the present analysis.

Dependent Variable

Length of time remained in previous violent relationship. This variable was the number of months that the subject's relationship continued following her partner's first use of violence.

Independent Variables

Masculinity. The gender-related personality characteristics were measured using the Masculinity (M) subscale of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). The Masculinity (M) subscale consists of eight pairs of bipolar adjectives that tap the socially desirable characteristics (e.g., not at all independent — very independent) that are typically identified with males. Subjects rated where they fell on a

continuum of a 5-point scale (0 to 4) for each adjective pair. Ratings are summed and totaled so that the higher the score, the greater one's stereotypically positive masculine attributes. Possible scores ranged from 0 to 32. Spence and Helmreich (1978) reported an alpha coefficient for this subscale of .82 for college students, and Yoder, Rice, Adams, Priest, and Prince (1982) have found the test-retest reliability of this subscale to be satisfactory. Yoder et al. (1982) administered the PAQ to 1,007 male and 78 female cadets at the U. S. Military Academy and reported that the two and one-half month test-retest reliability for the PAQ Masculinity subscale was .58 for males, and .62 for females.

Sex role attitudes. Sex role attitudes were measured using the short version of the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS) (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973). This 25-item Likert-type scale consisted of statements about the rights and roles of women in society. The correlation between the short version and the original 55-item scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972) is .97 for both men and women. Favorable information about the reliability and validity of the full scale have been reported in Kilpatrick and Smith (1974) and Lunneborg (1974), while Yoder, et al. (1982) provided evidence for satisfactory internal consistency as well as test-retest reliability for the short form. Yoder et al. (1982) reported two and one-half month test-retest reliabilities of .74 for males and .80 for females. They also reported coefficient alphas at Time 1 and Time 2 of .83 and .85 for males, and .81 and .82 for females. Possible

responses ranged from "agree strongly" (0) to "disagree strongly" (3). Several items were recoded so that the most conservative response always received a zero. Responses were summed so that the possible scores ranged from 0 to 75.

Religiosity. Religiosity (RELIG) was measured using an 8-item scale taken from Connecticut Mutual (1981). Subjects were asked to indicate how often they do certain religious activities or have certain religious beliefs. Possible responses ranged from "never" (0) to "very often" (4). The responses on each of the items were summed to obtain a total religiosity score. Scanzoni and Arnett (1987) reported an alpha coefficient of .89 on this scale in their study of 450 husbands and wives.

Covariates

Severity and frequency of violence in dating. A variable taking into account both the frequency and severity of the violence was created using Straus's (1987) "weighted severity index." To obtain this variable, the frequency of each violent act (using approximate midpoints for each interval — 0, 1, 2, 4, 8, 15, and 25) was multiplied by the following weights: 1 for the first three acts — threw something, pushed/shoved/grabbed, and slapped; 2 for kicked, bit, or punched; 3 for hit with object; 4 for choked; 5 for beat up; 6 for threatened with a knife or gun; and 8 for used knife or gun. The products were summed to get a total weighted severity score.

Degree of love for partner. Love (LOVE) was measured by Rubin's (1970) Loving Scale. This is a 13-item Likert-type scale in which the respondent rated each item from "not at all true" (0) to "definitely true" (9). The items were summed to obtain a total score. Rubin (1970) reported that the instrument had high internal consistency, with alpha coefficients of .84 for women and .86 for men.

Length of relationship at occurrence of first violent episode. This variable was the length of time in months that the woman had been involved with her partner when she first sustained violence.

As previously reported, two variables that were to serve as covariates -- self-esteem and the amount of childhood violence experienced -- were dropped from the analysis. However, the measurement of these constructs is described below, and their correlations with the other variables in the analysis are reported in the next chapter.

Severity and frequency of violence in childhood. The CTS was also used to assess the degree of violence experienced during childhood. Using the same weighting system described above, the subjects were assigned a score for the degree of spousal violence between her parents witnessed as a child and the degree of violence inflicted on the subject by her parents. The scale measuring violence by the parents against the subject contained only eight items ("choked" was excluded). These two scores were summed to obtain a total childhood violence score.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem (SELFEST) was measured using a 10-item scale developed by Rosenberg (1965). Possible responses ranged from "agree strongly" (1) to "disagree strongly" (4). Some items were recoded so that a high score always indicated high self-esteem. The item scores were summed and averaged to obtain an overall score.

Method of Sample Selection

The sample was obtained from undergraduates classes in 1988 at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and at Guilford Technical Community College. To be included in the study, a student needed to be a female, age 23 or younger, who had been in a relationship in which a former partner had committed at least one of the nine violent acts listed on the Conflict Tactics Violence subscale (Straus, 1979). In addition, a woman had to meet the following three criteria to be included in the sample: (a) defined her role in the violent relationship as "victim" (see page 113, Question #17); (b) made the decision to end the relationship (see page 114, Question #19); and (c) decision to end the relationship was at least partly related to her partner's use of violence (see page 114, Question #20). The relatively low number of individuals who were likely to meet all of these criteria necessitated a sampling scheme to generate an adequate sample size. Details of this sampling procedure are given later in this chapter.

The greatest threat to external validity arises due to the lack of random selection. The use of students in certain classes limits the generalizability of the findings.

Procedure to Control Variables

Sex and age were controlled through the design by limiting participation to females 23 years of age or younger. The sample was restricted to blacks and whites, with only eight of the 59 subjects being black. Originally, whether a woman was cohabiting with her partner at the time of the violence was to be controlled statistically. However, only four women fell into this category; therefore, this variable was controlled through the design by eliminating women who had cohabited. Other variables that were likely to affect the dependent variables — the frequency of violence in the relationship (one episode versus more than one episode), the degree of love felt for partner, and the length of relationship before the first occurrence of violence — were controlled statistically through the use of analysis of covariance.

Method of Collecting Data

Data were collected using a group-administered questionnaire (see Appendix A). The questionnaire consisted of five sections: I. Demographic Information; II. Beliefs and Attitudes; III. Past Relationships; IV. Current Relationship; and V. Childhood Experiences. The questionnaires were distributed to students in undergraduate classrooms. In the vast majority of cases, the questionnaires were completed by students in their classes and returned to the researcher. The questionnaire took approximately 30 minutes to complete. This method of data collection had two basic advantages. First, it insured that a greater number of usable

questionnaires were returned. Second, it enabled data to be collected from a large number of subjects. It was essential that the original sample be large enough to tap the individuals who met the criteria. This was because experience with relationship violence is a sensitive phenomenon and because only individuals who had been victims in a recent past relationship could be included in the study. A smaller number of questionnaires were distributed in some classes to never-married women who completed the questionnaire away from the classroom and returned it to their instructor the following class period.

Data Analysis Plan

The hypotheses of this study were (a) the less masculine a woman, the longer she remained with her violent premarital partner; (b) the more traditional a woman, the longer she remained with her violent premarital partner; and (c) the more religious a woman, the longer she remained with her violent premarital partner. A multiple regression analysis was performed to examine the ability of the two measures of sex roles and the one measure of religiosity to predict how long a woman stayed in a violent relationship. Originally, the effect of each independent variable was to have been assessed controlling for the effects of the other two independent variables, as well as for six covariates — length of relationship in months at first occurrence of violence, cohabitation status (yes or no), degree of love for partner, self-esteem, degree of violence

experienced as a child, and a single measure of the severity and frequency of the violence in her relationship.

Before these three hypotheses could be tested, however, two issues had to be dealt with: (a) the extremely skewed distribution of the dependent variable (number of months the relationship lasted after the first occurrence of violence) and three of the covariates (number of months into the relationship when the partner's first use of violence occurred, the amount of violence in the relationship, and the amount of violence witnessed or experienced during childhood); and (b) the small sample size ($N = 59$).

Because one of the assumptions of multiple regression is that the errors are normally distributed, the dependent variable had to be converted to days and re-expressed as the log of the number of days the relationship continued following the partner's first violent episode (LDAYSTAY). The identical transformation was performed on the covariate number of months dating when violence first occurred (LOGDAYS). The amount of childhood violence was also re-expressed using a log transformation (LCWSI). The amount of violence in the target relationship was dichotomized into those women who experienced only one episode of violence, and those who were victimized on more than one occasion (VIOREP).

The original model called for the use of six covariates and three independent variables. Because of the sample size of only 59, an adjusted analysis was undertaken. Only the three covariates with the highest correlations with the dependent variable -- LOVE

($r = .52$), LOGDAYS ($r = .30$), and VIOREP ($r = .58$) — were included in the analysis. Cohabitation status was controlled via the design by eliminating from the sample the four subjects who had experienced violence in a cohabiting relationship.

Additionally, two multivariate analyses of variance (Hotelling's T-square) were performed to determine if there were differences in masculinity, sex role attitudes, and religiosity among women who differed on two other categories of responses to relationship violence: (a) whose decision it was to end the relationship, and (b) who they blamed for their partner's violence. First, women who unilaterally decided to end the relationship were compared with women who reported that their partner either shared in the decision (mutual decision) or made the decision himself. This grouping was necessitated by the small number of women whose partners ended the relationship.

Second, women who said they blamed "mostly my partner" for his violent behavior were compared with women who said either that they blamed mostly themselves or both partners about equally. As in the previous analysis, this grouping was necessitated by the small number of women who accepted most of the blame for their partner's violence. For both of these analyses, the sample was comprised of all women who had experienced violence in a past relationship and who had no missing values on any of the three dependent variables.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Out of 922 questionnaires returned, 693 were never-married black or white women, 23 years old or younger. Of these women, 315 (45.5%) had experienced some form of courtship violence.

Approximately 58% of these women (183 out of 315) had sustained violence in a past relationship only, 24.8% (n = 78) had experienced violence only in their current relationship, and 17.1% (n = 54) had sustained violence both in a past, and in their current relationship.

However, of the 237 women who met the age, race, and marital status sample requirements and who had experienced violence in a past relationship, only 64 fulfilled all three criteria for being included in this study. To be included in the study, a woman had (a) to define her role in the past violent relationship as that of victim, (b) to say that it was her decision to end the relationship, and (c) to indicate that her decision was based, at least in part, on her partner's aggressive (violent) behavior. In addition, four women who had cohabited with their violent partner were also excluded. Also, one woman failed to provide data for the dependent variable and for one of the covariates. Thus the final sample consisted of 59 women.

Description of the Sample

Demographic Information

A summary of the demographic characteristics of the sample is found in Table 1. The average age of this sample was approximately 20 years ($M = 20.02$, $SD = 1.4$). Seventy-one percent (42 out of 59) were 19-21 years old. Not surprisingly, most of the students (62.7%) were either freshmen ($n = 19$) or sophomores ($n = 18$). One graduate student (age 23) who met all other sample criteria was also included. The vast majority of the subjects were white, with only eight blacks in the sample.

Approximately two-thirds of the students reported that their parents were married, whereas nearly 29% said their parents were divorced or separated. Three students reported that their parents were widowed.

A measure of parents' income revealed that although most income levels were represented, the sample was biased toward the upper end of the range. Eleven students (18.6%) reported that their parents earned \$80,000 or more each year. Nearly half of the parents (49.1%) made between \$30,000 and \$60,000. No one's parents made less than \$10,000 per year. Subjects were also asked to give the highest number of years of education completed by each parent. Fathers averaged just under three years of college ($M = 14.9$, $SD = 2.9$) and mothers slightly over 2 years ($M = 14.1$, $SD = 2.41$).

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Characteristic	n	%
AGE		
18	8	13.6
19	16	27.1
20	13	22.0
21	13	22.0
22	7	11.9
23	2	3.4
CLASS		
Freshmen	19	32.2
Sophomore	18	30.5
Junior	14	23.7
Senior	7	11.9
Graduate	1	1.7
COLLEGE ATTENDING		
University	48	81.4
Community College	11	18.6
RACE		
Black	8	13.6
White	51	86.4
PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS		
Married	39	66.1
Divorced/Separated	17	28.8
Widowed	3	5.1
PARENTS' YEARLY INCOME		
Less than \$10,000	0	0.0
\$10,000 - \$19,000	5	8.5
\$20,000 - \$29,000	5	8.5
\$30,000 - \$39,000	10	16.9
\$40,000 - \$49,000	9	15.3
\$50,000 - \$59,000	10	16.9
\$60,000 - \$69,000	3	5.1
\$70,000 - \$79,000	6	10.2
\$80,000 or more	11	18.6

In summary, the sample was a predominantly white, upper-middle class group of young college women. In general, their parents were still married to each other and were fairly well-educated.

Dating Experience and Violence

The average age at which the subjects began dating was 14.9 years (SD = 1.3). About one-fifth of the subjects reported limited dating experiences (3 dating relationships or less), 32% (n = 19) had been involved in 4 to 6 relationships, 14% (n = 8) had been in 7 to 9 relationships, and 34% (n = 20) had had 10 or more dating relationships.

For most of the subjects, the target relationship was the only one in which they had experienced violence (78%, n = 46). The remaining subjects had experienced violence from two previous partners.

Forty-seven of the 59 women (79.7%) were currently involved in a relationship. Of these 47, 10 were dating a partner who had used violence against them.

Childhood Experiences With Violence

Most of the subjects had relatively limited exposure to violence while growing up. In fact, 14 women (23.7) reported that their parents had never used any of the violent acts on each other or on the respondent. The average number of violent acts witnessed or sustained by the subjects was 13.69 (SD = 21.80).

In the literature, the first three items on the Conflict Tactics Scale are designated as "minor" violence, while the

remaining items constitute "major" violence. Using this distinction, 39 women experienced no major violence during their childhood. Of the remaining 20 subjects, 8 witnessed major violence between their parents only, 7 sustained major violence from their parents only, and 5 experienced both forms of major violence.

Parents' spousal violence witnessed. Slightly over half of the respondents (n = 31) stated that their parents had not used any of the nine behaviors against each other. Information about spousal violence among the subjects' parents is found in Table 2. The most common forms of violence committed were minor, with more respondents reporting that they had witnessed their parents throw something at the other than any other act (20 out of 59). The more serious forms of violence were relatively infrequent, although 4 subjects had seen one parent choke the other, 3 reported that one parent beat up the other, and 3 said that one parent had threatened the other with a knife or gun. No subject reported that a parent had actually used a knife or a gun on a spouse. The average number of violent acts witnessed between parents was 4.64 (SD = 11.44).

Parents' violence against subjects. Only 16 subjects (27.1%) had not sustained any violence from their parents. Table 3 presents the frequencies of eight acts of violence that subjects sustained from their parents ("choked" was not included on this scale). Spanking was clearly the most frequent form of violence used by parents, although 17 women reported never having been spanked or slapped. About 30% (n = 18) of the sample had been

pushed, shoved, or grabbed by their parents. Only one woman reported being beaten up by a parent, and no subjects reported that their parents had used or threatened to use a knife or a gun against them. On the average, parents used violence against the respondents 9.05 times ($SD = 13.02$).

The Violent Relationship

The study focused on the respondents' most recent past relationship in which their partner had used any form of violence against them. The average length of this target relationship was 15.4 months ($SD = 14.3$). For a majority of the sample (56%), the relationship had begun over 3 years prior to the survey. Because of the relatively young age of the subjects, it is not surprising that three-fourths of the sample indicated that this relationship began before they started college. The target violent relationship ended, on the average, a little more than two years prior to the study ($M = 25.2$ months, $SD = 18.8$). For the most part, then, these college students are describing relationships that took place during their high school years.

The violence-related characteristics of the target relationship are presented in Table 4. Many women were victims of their partner's violent actions early in the relationship. Ten women (17%) had sustained violence in the first month of the relationship, and by the end of the third month, that number had risen to 24 (40.8%). However, 20 subjects (34.7%) had been dating for at least a year before their partner first used violence against them. For a

Table 4
 Violence-Related Characteristics of Dating Relationship
 (N = 59)

Characteristic	n	%
MONTHS DATING WHEN VIOLENCE OCCURRED		
Less than 1	1	1.7
1	9	15.3
2	8	13.6
3	6	10.2
4	2	3.4
5	5	8.6
6	4	6.8
8	2	3.4
10	1	1.7
11	1	1.7
12	8	13.6
13	2	3.4
15	1	1.7
16	1	1.7
18	2	3.4
22	1	1.7
23	1	1.7
24	2	3.4
34	1	1.7
36	1	1.7
STAGE OF RELATIONSHIP WHEN VIOLENCE OCCURRED		
Casual	16	27.1
Serious	29	49.2
In love	13	22.0
Engaged	1	1.7
EFFECT OF VIOLENCE ON RELATIONSHIP		
Improved	3	5.1
Did not change	11	18.6
Got worse	45	76.3

Table 4
(Continued)

Characteristic	n	%
WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR PARTNER'S VIOLENCE		
Mostly partner	48	81.4
Both about equally	9	15.3
Mostly me	2	3.4
SUBJECT USED VIOLENCE		
Yes	27	45.8
No	32	54.2
WHO WAS FIRST TO USE VIOLENCE		
Partner	53	94.6
Subject	3	5.4
	(3 did not respond)	
NUMBER OF VIOLENT ACTS SUSTAINED		
1	24	40.7
2	8	13.6
3	15	25.4
4	5	8.5
5	4	6.8
6	2	3.4
8	1	1.7
LEVEL OF VIOLENCE		
Minor	31	52.5
Major	28	47.5
HOW OFTEN PARTNER WAS VIOLENT AFTER FIRST TIME		
Never again	21	35.6
Rarely	18	30.5
Sometimes	16	27.1
Often	4	6.8

majority of this sample, the violence occurred when the relationship had advanced at least to the serious stage. Only 16 women (27.1%) indicated that they first experienced violence in a casual dating relationship. Apparently the length of the relationship is not always the best indicator of the seriousness of the relationship. Approximately three-fourths of the respondents (n = 45) reported that the relationship became worse following the first time their partner used violence against them. Considering that the sample consisted of women who left their partner at least partly because of his violence, such a high percentage would be expected. However, 11 women stated that the relationship was not affected by the first occurrence of violence, and three said the relationship actually improved.

When asked who was to blame for their partner's violence, over 80% (n = 48) of the women said "mostly my partner." Only two women accepted most of the blame for their partner's violent behavior. Once again, given the criteria for being included in the sample, these results were to be expected.

Close to one-half of the subjects (n = 27) reported that they had used some form of violence in the target relationship. In almost every case (n = 53), the partner was the first to use violence.

Most of the subjects experienced a small number of violent acts. Twenty-four women (40.7%) reported sustaining only one act of physical aggression, whereas 12 women (20.4%) were inflicted four or

more times. Nearly half of the subjects were victims of major violence (more severe than slapped). Minor violence (threw something at, pushed/shoved/grabbed, or slapped) was experienced by 31 subjects, and major violence by 28.

When asked how often their partner's violence recurred after the first episode, approximately two-thirds of the sample said never ($n = 21$) or rarely ($n = 18$). Sixteen women reported that violence sometimes occurred again, and four said that they were victimized often. As can be seen in Table 5, when the violence occurred only once, it was almost always minor violence. However, when repeated incidents of violence were reported, they were twice as likely to include major violence.

Table 6 provides the number and percentage of subjects experiencing each specific act of violence and the mean frequency of the act's occurrence. Subjects were more likely to have been pushed, shoved, or grabbed ($n = 53$) than any other form of violence, with these behaviors being sustained an average of 4.59 times per subject. Twenty-eight subjects had had something thrown at them at least once, whereas 25 had been slapped by their partner. Five subjects had been choked by their partner, four had been beaten up, six had been threatened with a knife or gun, and one subject had been attacked by her partner with a knife or gun.

The Dependent Variable

Subjects were asked to indicate how many months their relationship continued following their partner's first use of violence. The frequency distribution of their responses is found in Table 7.

Table 5
Cross-classification of Level of Violence
and Frequency of Violence

		FREQUENCY OF VIOLENCE		
		Once	Repeated	Total
LEVEL OF VIOLENCE	Minor	18	13	31
	Major	3	25	28
	Total	21	38	59

Table 6
 Frequency and Percentage of Violent Acts
 Used by Partner by Type
 (N = 59)

Type of Violent Act		FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF VIOLENT ACTS							Mean Freq
		0	1	2	3-5	6-10	11-20	20+	
THREW SOMETHING AT	n	31	8	14	5	1	0	0	1.08
	%	52.5	13.6	23.7	8.5	1.7	0.0	0.0	
PUSHED/SHOVED/ GRABBED	n	6	16	9	13	10	2	3	4.59
	%	10.2	27.1	15.3	22.0	16.9	3.4	5.1	
SLAPPED	n	34	10	9	4	2	0	0	1.03
	%	57.6	16.9	15.3	6.8	3.4	0.0	0.0	
KICKED/BIT/HIT WITH FIST	n	48	3	3	3	2	0	0	.63
	%	81.4	5.1	5.1	5.1	3.4	0.0	0.0	
HIT/TRIED TO HIT WITH SOMETHING	n	38	7	5	4	4	1	0	1.36
	%	64.4	11.9	8.5	6.8	6.8	1.7	0.0	
CHOKED	n	54	3	2	0	0	0	0	.12
	%	91.5	5.1	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
BEAT UP	n	55	2	0	2	0	0	0	.17
	%	93.2	3.4	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	
THREATENED WITH KNIFE OR GUN	n	53	6	0	0	0	0	0	.10
	%	89.8	10.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
USED KNIFE OR GUN	n	58	1	0	0	0	0	0	.02
	%	98.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	

Table 7
 Frequency Distribution of Time Stayed with Partner
 Following Partner's First Use of Violence
 (N = 59)

Number of Months Stayed	n	%
0	7	11.9
.25 (1 week)	1	1.7
.5 (2 weeks)	3	5.1
1	11	18.6
2	6	10.2
3	5	8.5
4	1	1.7
5	2	3.4
6	4	6.8
7	3	5.1
12	4	6.8
14	1	1.7
15	1	1.7
18	1	1.7
20	1	1.7
22	1	1.7
24	1	1.7
28	2	3.4
29	1	1.7
32	1	1.7
36	1	1.7
43	1	1.7

Over one-third of the women (37.3%, $n = 22$) ended their relationship one month or less after the first violent episode. Of those 22, seven reported that the relationship was ended immediately. For sixteen of the subjects, the relationship continued for at least another year, with two subjects remaining at least three more years with their partner.

The mean number of months stayed was 7.7, but this number is misleading due to the skewed distribution of this variable. The median months stayed was three, and the mode was one month.

For the purpose of analysis, the dependent variable was converted from months to the log of the number of days the woman remained in the relationship. The mean of the log of the number of days stayed was 4.13 ($SD = 2.12$). When expressed in days, women stayed an average of 62.07 days ($SD = 8.35$), or about two months after they first sustained violence from their partner. This transformed mean was very close to the median number of months subjects stayed after the violence occurred.

A legend of the abbreviated variable names is in Table 8. The means and standard deviations for all seven of the variables employed in the analysis can be found in Table 9. Table 10 contains the correlation matrix for these variables, along with two other covariates which were eliminated from the analysis: self-esteem (SELFEST) and the log of the amount of violence experienced during childhood (LCWSI).

Table 8

Legend of Abbreviated Variable Names

Dependent Variable

LDAYSTAY - The log of the number of days the woman remained in relationship following her partner's first use of violence.

Independent variables

M - Masculinity. Measured using the Masculinity subscale of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ).

AWS - Sex Role Attitudes. Measured using the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS).

RELIG - Religiosity. Measured using scale devised for Connecticut Mutual (1981) study.

Covariates

VIOREP - The frequency of violent episodes experienced. Dichotomous variable, coded as 0 if violence occurred only one time, coded as 1 if violence was repeated on future occasions.

LOVE - How much subject loved her partner a few days before partner's first use of violence. Measured using Rubin's (1970) Loving Scale.

LOGDAYS - The log of the number of days the relationship had been going on when the partner first used violence.

SELFEST - Self-esteem. Measured using Rosenberg's (1965) scale.

LCWSI - The log of the severity and frequency of violence experienced during childhood. Measured using the "Weighted Severity Index" (WSI) of the Conflict Tactics Violence subscale.

Table 9
Means and Standard Deviations of Time Subjects
Remained in the Relationship, Covariates,
and Independent Variables

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>	<u>Possible Range</u>	<u>Actual Range</u>
<u>Dependent Variable</u>				
LDAYSTAY	4.13	2.12		0 - 7.16
(converted to days)	62.07	8.35		0 - 1290
<u>Covariates</u>				
VIOREP	.64	.48	0 - 1	0 - 1
LOVE	68.95	28.53	0 - 117	4 - 117
LOGDAYS	4.98	1.15		1.38 - 6.99
(converted to days)	144.94	3.17		4 - 1080
<u>Independent Variables</u>				
M	20.25	5.66	0 - 32	8 - 30
AWS	58.41	7.04	0 - 75	41 - 72
RELIG	15.02	6.41	0 - 32	2 - 28

Table 10
Correlation Matrix with Dependent and Independent
Variables, and Covariates

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 LDAYSTAY									
2 M	.01								
3 AWS	-.12	.17							
4 RELIG	-.03	-.03	-.37						
5 VIOREP	.58	-.02	-.10	-.12					
6 LOVE	.52	.09	-.11	.01	.38				
7 LOGDAYS	.30	.38	.43	-.05	-.10	.27			
8 LCWSI	-.04	.21	-.06	.05	.25	.06	-.11		
9 SELFEST	.13	.61	.12	-.13	.05	.12	.32	.16	

Note: For SELFEST, n = 58; for all other variables, n = 59.

Statistical Testing of Hypotheses

To test each of the three hypotheses, and to determine the combined predictive ability of three independent variables, a two-step hierarchical regression analysis was performed. The dependent variable was the log of the number of days the woman remained in the relationship following her partner's first use of violence (LDAYSTAY). The hypotheses were that women with (a) less masculine personality characteristics, (b) more traditional sex role attitudes, and (c) greater religiosity would have remained longer with a violent premarital partner.

The results of the two-step multiple regression procedure can be found in Table 11. In the initial step, LDAYSTAY was regressed on the three covariates — a dichotomous variable indicating the frequency of violence in the relationship (whether there was only one episode or repeated occurrences: VIOREP), how much the woman loved her partner a few days before he first committed a violent act against her (LOVE), and the log of the number of days the relationship had existed when her partner first inflicted violence (LOGDAYS).

All three variables were highly significant predictors, with VIOREP emerging as the most important predictor. In addition, the relationship between each of the covariates and the dependent variable was a positive one: the more often violence occurred, the more a woman loved her partner, and the longer they had been dating when the violence occurred, the longer she remained in the

Table 11
 Hierarchical Regression of Time Remaining in Relationship
 on Covariates and Independent Variables

Dependent Variable: Time Remaining in Relationship (LDAYSTAY)						
Predictor Variables	b	<u>Step 1</u> Beta	p	b	<u>Step 2</u> Beta	p
VIOREP	2.22	.51	.0001	2.27	.52	.0001
LOVE	.02	.26	.0219	.01	.19	.0844
LOGDAYS	.51	.28	.0077	.82	.45	.0005
M				-.05	-.14	.1803
AWS				-.07	-.23	.0505
RELIG				-.01	-.03	.7435
R-Square		.51			.56	
Adjusted R-Square		.48			.51	

relationship. That women would remain longer in more violent relationships seems illogical. However, in order to have been repeatedly victimized by her partner, a woman would have to remain in the relationship. The overall model with only the covariates was significant, $F(3,55) = 18.957$, $p = .0001$, and accounted for about 51% of the variability in the dependent variable.

In step two, the independent variables — masculinity (M), sex role attitudes (AWS), and religiosity (RELIG) — were entered into the model. Hypothesis One predicted masculinity to be positively related to the time a woman stayed in the relationship. Masculinity, though in the expected direction of more stereotypically masculine women leaving the relationship sooner, was not significant. Thus, the first hypothesis was not supported.

Some support for Hypothesis Two was found. Of the three variables, only AWS approached significance ($p = .0505$). The effect was in the hypothesized direction — i.e., that the more modern one's sex role attitudes, the shorter the time remained in a violent premarital relationship.

There was no relationship between the dependent variable and religiosity. Hypothesis Three was not supported.

The full model also was significant, $F(6,52) = 11.016$, $p = .0001$, and it explained 56% of the variability in the dependent variable.

It was suspected that the effect of the independent variables on how long a woman remained with a violent partner might depend on

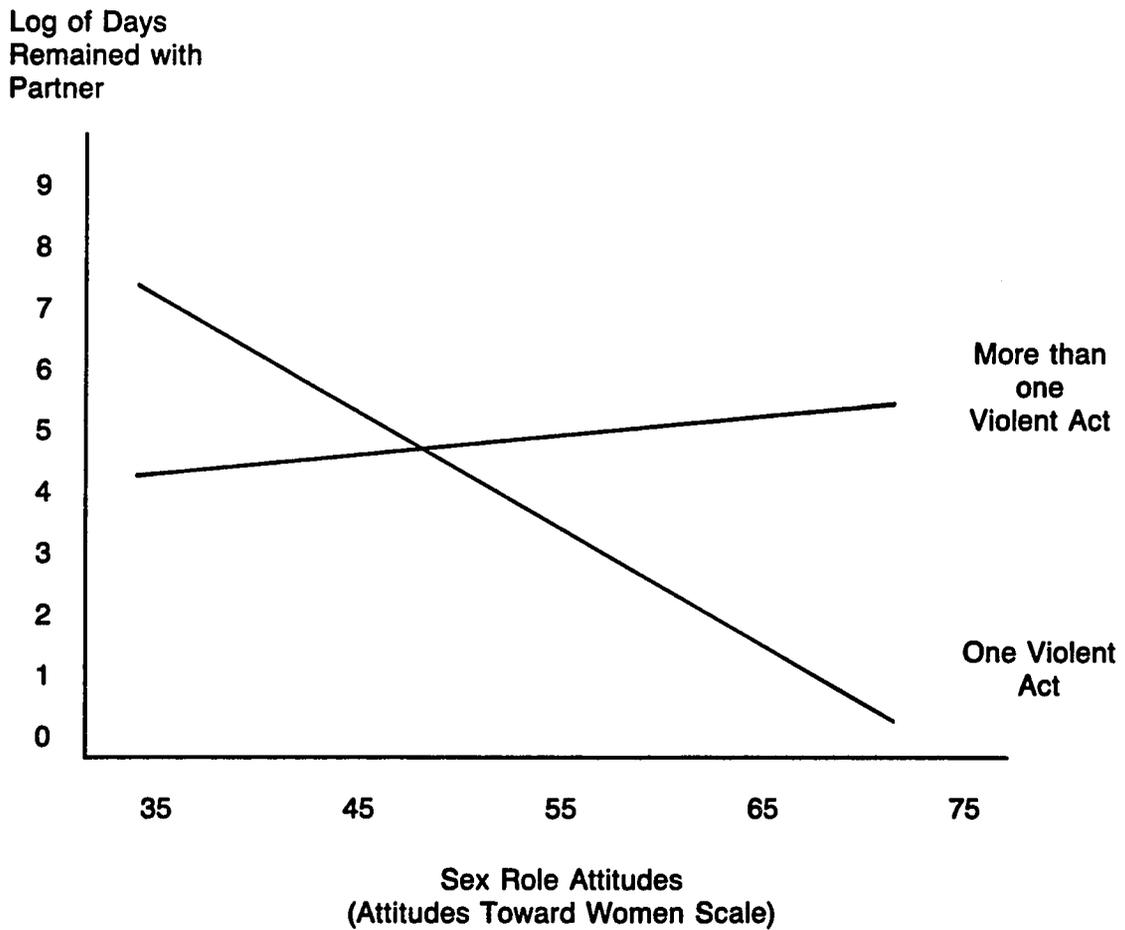
the amount of violence in the relationship. However, the small sample size prohibited the testing of any interaction terms. In Figure 1, the bivariate relationship between sex role attitudes (AWS) and time stayed after violence (LDAYSTAY) is presented graphically for each level of VIOREP (violence occurred only once; violence occurred again). The graph provides limited evidence supporting an interaction between sex role attitudes and violence level. It appears that a relationship between sex role attitudes and time stayed existed only in relationships where the violence occurred on only one occasion. For these 21 women (VIOREP = 0), the more modern their attitudes, the less time they remained with their partner. When violence occurred repeatedly in a relationship, a woman's sex role attitudes appeared to have little impact on how long she stayed with her partner.

Other Responses to Violence

Remaining with a violent partner is just one possible response to premarital violence. Following the main analysis, two secondary analyses were conducted to examine two other responses: (a) who decided to end the relationship; and (b) who the respondent blamed for her partner's violence. It was expected that (a) women who made the decision to end the relationship would be more individualistic (more "masculine," more modern, less religious) than women whose partner shared in or made the decision to end the relationship, and (b) women who blamed their partner for his violence would be more

Figure 1

Relationship Between Sex Role Attitudes and the Time Remained with Partner
at Each Level of Violence



individualistic than women who accepted at least part of the blame for their partner's violence. Because one's masculinity, sex role attitudes, and religiosity are not independent, a multivariate analysis that examines the joint effects of these variables was chosen.

The sample for these analyses was enlarged to include all women who had experienced violence in a past relationship. Women who had missing values or who defined their role regarding the use of violent behavior as the "aggressor" were excluded from the analyses. Of the 237 women who had experienced violence in a former relationship, 188 met these criteria and formed the sample.

Decision to End the Relationship

Regarding the last violent relationship, subjects were asked, "Whose decision was it to end the relationship?" Most subjects reported that it was their decision to end the relationship (76.1%, $n = 143$), whereas 17% ($n = 32$) said the decision was mutual. Only 13 subjects (6.9%) said that their partner ended the relationship. A Hotelling's T-square was used to compare women in two groups, based on who made the decision to end the relationship (DECEND). Because of the small number of women whose partner's ended the relationship, these women were combined with women who said the decision was mutual to form one comparison group. Thus, women who said the decision was hers were compared with women whose partners had participated in the decision-making (mutual decision or partner's decision). The dependent variables were the same predictor

variables, masculinity (M), sex role attitudes (AWS), and religiosity (RELIG). Group means and standard deviations are found in Table 12.

The results of the Hotelling's T-square revealed a significant effect for decision-making group, $F(3,184) = 4.452$, $p = .0048$. That is, there was at least one difference between the two groups. As a follow-up procedure to this analysis, univariate analyses of each dependent variable were performed to determine which variables were accounting for the observed effect.

First, there was a significant difference between the two groups on masculinity, $F(1,186) = 5.43$, $p = .0209$. Women who made the decision to end their violent relationship scored significantly higher on the masculinity scale than women for whom the decision to end the relationship was made partly or solely by their partner.

Second, there was no significance difference between the two groups on sex role attitudes, $F(1,186) = 1.41$, $p = .2358$. In fact, contrary to expectations, women who ended their relationships were slightly more traditional than women who had less involvement in the decision to end the relationship.

Third, the difference in religiosity between the two groups approached statistical significance, $F(1,186) = 2.97$, $p = .0863$. As expected, women who decided on their own to end the relationship, were less religious than women whose partner's participated in or dominated that decision.

Table 12
 Mean Scores of Masculinity, Sex Role Attitudes,
 and Religiosity for Person Deciding
 to End Relationship

Variables	PERSON DECIDING TO END RELATIONSHIP	
	Subject's Decision (n=143)	At least Partly Partner's Decision (n=45)
MASCULINITY	20.902 (5.088)	18.911 (4.704)
SEX ROLE ATTITUDES	57.273 (8.019)	58.889 (7.720)
RELIGIOSITY	15.531 (6.447)	17.422 (6.316)

Blame

When asked who they thought was to blame for their partner's aggressive behavior 60.1% (n = 113) of the subjects said "mostly my partner," 33% (n = 62) said "both about equally," and only 6.9% (n = 13) said, "mostly me."

A second Hotelling's T-square was performed to determine if differences in sex roles and religiosity existed between women on the basis of assigned blame. Because of the small number of women who blamed themselves for their partner's violence, these women and women who said they shared equally in the blame were grouped together and compared with women who felt that their partner was mostly to blame for his violent behavior. Group means and standard deviations are presented in Table 13.

The analysis failed to reveal a significant effect for blame group, $F(3,184) = 2.087$, $p = .1035$, indicating no multivariate effect of the three dependent variables. Since the results failed to reach statistical significance, no further analyses were performed.

Summary of Results

To summarize the findings, of the three hypotheses in this study, only Hypothesis Two received any empirical support. The more traditional a woman's sex role attitudes, the longer she remained with a violent partner. Both Hypothesis One -- which expected less masculine women to stay longer -- and Hypothesis Three

Table 13
 Mean Scores for Masculinity, Sex Role Attitudes,
 and Religiosity for Person Blamed

Variables	PERSON BLAMED	
	Mostly Partner (n=113)	Subject at Least Half (n=75)
MASCULINITY	20.832 (5.051)	19.813 (5.042)
SEX ROLE ATTITUDES	58.655 (7.191)	56.160 (8.830)
RELIGIOSITY	16.062 (6.331)	15.867 (8.667)

— which predicted more religious women would stay longer — were not supported.

Two additional analyses were performed, examining the relationship between the three individualism variables and two other responses to violence. Women who ended their violent relationship were more individualistic than women whose partners shared in that decision. Women who blamed their partner for his violence were not more individualistic than women who shared at least half of the blame.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, three indicators of a woman's individualism — her sex role attributes (masculinity) and attitudes, and her religiosity — were used to predict how long a woman remained with a violent premarital partner. In addition, the relationship between the three indicators of individualism and two other types of responses of women in relationship violence were examined. On these three indicators of individualism, women who decided to end their relationship were compared with women whose partner shared in that decision, and women who blamed their partner for his violence were compared with women who accepted at least half of the blame.

On the whole, the results from this study indicate that the role of individualism in impacting a woman's responses to receiving violence is one that is very complex, and yet is, at best, secondary and indirect. Only a woman's sex role attitudes were related to how long she remained in the violent relationship. Masculinity and, to a lesser degree, religiosity were associated with who decided to end the relationship. Individualism was not related to who was blamed for the violence.

In this chapter, the relationship of each of the three indicators of individualism with the response to relationship violence is discussed separately. Following that discussion, the

complex connection between individualism and relationship violence is examined. Then, the relative influence of individual characteristics and relationship characteristics in understanding relationship violence is explored, followed by a methodological critique of this study. Finally, recommendations for future research are offered.

Indicators of Individualism

Masculinity

The degree of a woman's masculinity or instrumentality had little effect on her response to relationship violence. More stereotypically masculine women did leave their violent premarital partner sooner than their more traditionally sex-typed counterparts, but this relationship was not statistically significant. One possible explanation is that women who are less sex-typed may be more apt to engage in conflict with their partners. If and when violence does result from this conflict, more "masculine" women who are hit may be as likely to stay and fight as to leave the relationship, at least in the short run. Women whose gender-related personality characteristics are more similar to their partner's may view violence, not necessarily as less objectionable, but as more normal. Further, these women may be more likely to employ violence themselves. Once that happens, it might make it more difficult for a woman to leave her partner immediately for committing an act that she herself has committed against him. The evidence in the literature for the proposition that more "masculine" women may be

more likely to sustain violence or for the proposition that less sex-typed women are more likely to use violence is weak (see Bernard et al., 1985; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987). Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) found that women with higher masculinity scores were less likely to experience dating violence. "It is possible," they argued, "that these women are simply more likely to remove themselves from conflict situations or volatile relationship where the other wants to control through violence" (p. 244). Further, the instrumental skills associated with masculinity, such as self-confidence or holding up well under pressure, may have enabled individuals to manage stressful conflict situations that might otherwise have escalated into violence.

None of these studies has distinguished women who use violence against a violent partner from those in a relationship in which they are the only partner to employ violence. It may be that only the more masculine women who sustain violence are more likely to inflict it.

A second explanation for the lack of a strong relationship between masculinity and how long a woman stayed with a violent partner is that her nontraditional sex role attributes may better equip her to withstand her partner's behavior. In other words, whereas a high degree of masculinity may lead some women to leave a violent partner fairly quickly, such characteristics may provide other women with the strength either to co-exist with a violent partner or to influence her partner's behavior in response to his

own violence. Women high in instrumentality may express these qualities by ending the relationship, yet they may also be able to extract concessions from their partner that reduce the likelihood of future violence.

It seems reasonable to expect that the qualities of independence, self-control, and assertiveness provide strength for the woman who experiences dating violence. The manner in which she expresses that strength appears to be less predictable.

The finding that women who alone made the decision to end their violent relationship scored higher on the masculinity scale than women whose partner had some say in that decision suggests that sex role attributes may have at least an indirect effect on leaving the relationship. Perhaps less sex-typed women do not immediately decide to leave a relationship after their partner has been violent, but when the relationship does end, it is because the women make the decision to end it. By being the "leaver" and not the one who is left, it is possible that her psychological adjustment following the end of that relationship is somewhat enhanced. These findings should be viewed with caution, as it is very probable that women who are high in instrumentality are more likely to have made the decision to end a relationship, whether violence occurred or not.

In addition, it is important to distinguish between statistical and conceptual significance. Whereas women who made the decision to leave their partner were significantly more masculine statistically than those whose partner's shared in the decision to end the

relationship, the difference between the means for the two groups was only two points (20.9 versus 18.9). The conceptual significance of that difference is less apparent.

Women who placed the blame for their partner's violence mostly on their partner did not differ on the masculinity scale from those who accepted at least half of the blame. If less sex-typed women view their own personality characteristics as either atypical or as contributing to their partner's use of violence, then they may be less likely to readily assign most of the blame to him. A simpler explanation is that most women, regardless of gender-related personality attributes, are apt to blame their partner for his violence.

Sex Role Attitudes

Sex role attitudes was the one indicator of individualism that was related to how long a woman remained with a violent premarital partner. As predicted, the more modern a woman's attitudes, the less time she remained in the violent relationship. Further, a descriptive analysis of this relationship at two levels of violence suggests that the relationship is true only for women who experienced just one episode of violence. For women who sustained repeated episodes of violence, sex role attitudes appeared to be unrelated to how long they remained with their partner.

The influence of sex role attitudes on staying with a violent partner may be more powerful early in the relationship and diminish in importance the longer the relationship continues. For many

modern women, one violent incident may be one too many. These women who value equality between the sexes are least likely to tolerate even the mildest forms of the ultimate act of male domination -- violence.

But if a woman remains after the first episode and is repeatedly victimized, then the power of that victimization may override her sex role attitudes in determining if and when she leaves. Staying with a violent partner may produce cognitive dissonance that a woman resolves by concluding that she still cares for her partner, thereby minimizing the impact of her sex role attitudes in the decision-making process. Also, the longer a woman remains with her partner, their shared history and an awareness of the investment she has made would seem to make it more difficult for her to leave her partner. Thus modern attitudes may enable some women to get out of a relationship after the first occurrence of violence. For women who stay on and experience more violence, modern attitudes appear to be of no help in shortening the time she remains with a violent partner.

Interestingly, women who decided to end the relationship were not more modern than women whose partner shared in or singularly made that decision. This finding may reflect the fact that women are more likely than men to end relationships, whatever their attitudes about the roles of women in society. An alternative explanation is that modern women may be more likely not only to leave a violent partner, but to be left by him as well. That is,

some men who use violence on their partner may use her modern attitudes to justify his actions and to provide an excuse to end the relationship.

Women who placed most of the blame for their partner's violence on their partner were more modern than women who accepted a share of the blame. Thus sex role attitudes, like masculinity, may have an indirect effect on a woman's decision to end the relationship. If a woman can resolve the issue of blame in her favor and against her partner, then perhaps the time she remains with that partner will be minimized. Recognizing that her partner, and not herself, is to blame for his actions is a logical first step in the consideration of ending a relationship.

Religiosity

For this sample, a woman's religiosity was not related to how long she remained with a violent partner. The strong religious norms and pressures that often encourage the subordination of women and which make it difficult for some wives to leave violent marriages apparently do not operate at the premarital level. It is possible that, for religious persons, their beliefs are as likely to give them the strength to leave a violent relationship as to tolerate one. Perhaps a young person's religious practices comprise a very separate aspect of her life that generally has little influence on her romantic relationships.

As with the other indicators of individualism, religiosity may also exert an indirect effect on how long a woman stays with a

violent partner. These findings suggested that women who decided to end a violent relationship were less religious than those whose partner participated in that decision. This finding may result from the fact that less religious women are more likely to end any relationship, violent or not. Even if that is true, when involved with a partner who is violent, the ability to end the relationship is even more valuable.

There were no differences in religiosity between women who blamed their partner for his violence and women who shared in the blame. It was expected that women who accepted part of the blame would have been more religious. For many, however, it appears that one's religiosity may operate as much to identify the sinner as it does to distribute the blame for the sin.

Individualism and Relationship Violence

This research project began with the premise that understanding the role of individualism in explaining relationship violence was dependent upon whether one was interested in the occurrence of, or the response to, violence. More specifically, the researcher hypothesized that while more individualistic women may be more likely to experience violence, they may also be less likely to remain with a violent partner.

The results of this study reveal that the relationship between individualism, as measured by sex role attributes and attitudes, and religiosity, and dating violence is much more complex. Although not addressed in this study, the findings from studies which have

examined the relationship between these variables and the occurrence of violence are mixed. Some studies provide evidence that more individualistic women are at greater risk of receiving relationship violence (Bernard et al., 1985; Makepeace, 1986). Other studies have uncovered no such relationship (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; Sigelman et al., 1984). The role of masculinity is particularly confusing. Women who have more of the positive personality characteristics typically associated with men have been predicted and found to be both more likely (Bernard et al., 1985) and less likely (Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987) to have received violence.

The role of individualism in understanding the response to violence is even less clear. The results from the present study lead to the conclusion that only certain manifestations of individualism may be important for explaining some responses to relationship violence. Knowledge of a woman's sex role attitudes was helpful in predicting how long she remained with a violent partner, and then only at lower levels of violence. Her degree of masculinity and religiosity provided little predictive power. Similarly, women who blamed their partner for his violent behavior had more modern sex role attitudes than women who shouldered some of the blame themselves. On the other hand, women who made the decision to end their violent relationship were more nonsex-typed (masculine) and less religious than women whose partner shared in making that decision, but did not differ in sex role attitudes.

From one perspective, at least one aspect of individualism was always a significant predictor in the expected direction -- i.e., more individualistic women respond in ways that lead to ending the relationship. Yet it is also possible to conclude that the inconsistent showing of the individualism variables implies that the individualism does not always contribute to the avoidance of or escape from violence. Several unanswered questions remain. Are women with stereotypically masculine characteristics more tolerant of violence or more likely to use violence themselves? If so, then this expression of individualism leads to increased, rather than decreased, violence. How do modern women who remain in violent relationships resolve their attitudes with their experiences? Does the lack of a difference in sex role attitudes based on who ended the relationship indicate that modern women are as likely to be left as they are to leave?

The inconsistent predictive power of individualistic characteristics suggests that sex roles and religiosity operate in complex ways to impact a woman's response to relationship violence. These findings also imply that the characteristics of the relationship are more important than those of the individual in affecting women's response to sustaining dating violence.

Individual Versus Relationship Characteristics

The results from this study and others (e.g., Billingham, 1987; Sigelman et al., 1984; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987) underscore the primacy of relationship variables over individual variables in both the cause of, and the response to, violence. Researchers have tended to focus on individual characteristics of men and women who have inflicted violence, sustained it, or both. Yet the phenomenon of relationship violence can only take place in the context of a relationship. It is becoming increasingly evident that the nature of the interaction between partners largely determines whether violence occurs, as well as what happens after it does.

In the major analysis of the current study, two relationship variables -- extent of love for violent partner and how long they had been dating when the violence first occurred -- served as covariates, along with the dichotomous variable, frequency of violence. After frequency of violence, these two variables had the highest correlation with the dependent variable, time remained with violent partner after his first use of violence. In the hierarchical regression, the model containing only these covariates explained 51% of the variability in women's response to dating violence. When the independent variables, all of which were characteristics of individuals, were added to the model, the full model explained only an additional 5% of the variability in the dependent measure, and then only sex role attitudes was close to being significant.

Other studies have reached similar conclusions. Sigelman et al. (1984) found that scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, failed to discriminate abusive college males from nonabusive males, or abused college females from nonabused females. In a subsequent analysis, however, when the discrepancy between the subject's sex role attitudes and the partner's attitudes were examined, differences emerged for women, but not for men. Women who were either much more liberal or much more conservative than their partner were significantly more likely to have used violence than women without a large discrepancy between their sex role attitudes and their partner's. Though not significant, women whose sex role attitudes differed greatly from their partner's in either direction, liberal or conservative, were more likely to have ended the abusive relationship than women in relationships without such an attitudinal discrepancy. Further, when these researchers looked at the allocation of power in the dating relationship, women in relationships where an extreme power imbalance existed in either direction were more likely to be abused and to be abusive than women in more egalitarian relationships. At least for women, relationship characteristics related to sex roles and power were better predictors of the occurrence of violence and women's response to it.

A recent study by Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) provides evidence for the important role of relationship factors in understanding relationship violence. Of the five variables that were significant predictors of a woman sustaining violence, four were relationship

variables: woman was in a serious relationship but seeing other men, the number of dates with a partner, number of different partners dated, and having a religion different from her partner. The only individual characteristic that was predictive was masculinity, with more "masculine" women being less likely to experience violence.

One of the most consistent findings in the courtship violence literature is that violence typically occurs after the relationship has developed to some level of seriousness. Our study reinforces these findings, and illustrates the importance of including in future research variables that tap the development of the relationship, temporally and emotionally. This study provides some support for the notion that the shared history and the personal investment over time — how long the relationship had been going on when the violence occurred — are relationship factors that are related to, yet different from, how much one loves one's partner. Investments of both time and emotion are likely to substantially affect the manner in which a woman responds to violence from her partner.

Methodological Advances and Limitations

Methodological Strengths

This study makes three major methodological contributions to research on relationship violence. First, it distinguishes between the occurrence of relationship violence and one's response to violence. Until now, the purpose of most studies was to identify

variables that discriminated individuals who had experienced violence from those who had not. This research moves beyond this stage of inquiry, recognizing that the impact of certain variables may be quite different, depending upon whether one is focusing on the "cause" or the "effect" of relationship violence.

Second, this study examined the effects of the three variables representing individualism — masculinity, sex role attitudes, and religiosity — in a multivariate framework. Traditionally, studies have explored the bivariate relationships between chosen variables and the experience of violence. While such research is necessary at the descriptive stage of any subject of inquiry, a univariate approach fails to capture the reality of the world in which people live. In this case, one's sex role attitudes are not independent from one's religiosity. One's gender-related personality characteristics do not operate in isolation from other personal attributes or environmental influences. Rather, each of these independent variables operates in the presence of the other two, and the covariates, as well as countless others that go unmeasured and unnoticed. The analysis used in this study moved beyond simple bivariate relationships to more closely approximate the social reality.

Third, this study built and tested a theoretical and statistical model. With few exceptions (see Demaris, 1987), researchers have merely hypothesized and tested differences on specified variables between those who have or have not experienced

relationship violence. This investigation, though interested specifically in three variables, identified other variables likely to influence how long a woman might remain in a premarital relationship, and controlled for these variables either statistically or through the design.

Limitations

This study, however, was not without its weaknesses. The first limitation relates to the sample. The sample for this study was small and nonrepresentative, and therefore all results and the conclusions based on those results must be considered with caution. Due to the small sample size, the model as originally conceived could not be tested.

Despite the small sample size, however, over half of the variability in the dependent variable was explained. The controls employed in this study, both statistical and in the design, were important. The success of the controls offsets, to some extent, the limitations of a small sample.

Second, this research employed present day characteristics of individuals to predict past behavior. The implication of such an approach -- namely, that those characteristics have remained relatively stable over the high school and college years -- is one that is difficult to fully accept. Further, the causal arrow connecting the phenomena in question could be pointing in the opposite direction. It may be that experiencing violence or remaining with a violent partner has a greater effect on one's

personality attributes, sex role attitudes, religiosity, and other characteristics than the reverse. Only through carefully planned and conducted longitudinal studies can these relationships be confidently asserted.

Third, the dependent variable, time remained with partner after his first use of violence, was confounded with the frequency of partner's violence. A woman who left after the first occurrence of violence did not have an opportunity to experience repeated episodes. Similarly, in order for a woman to have experienced repeated episodes of violence, she had to have remained longer in the relationship. One possible solution to this problem would require using only individuals that have experienced comparable amounts of more serious violence.

Fourth, only the responses of the female victim were included in this investigation. The evidence suggests that it is a couple's interdependence, and not the individual characteristics of its members, that has the more powerful effect on the occurrence of violence and on how each partner responds to that violence.

Fifth, several problems with the questionnaire were noted. The subjects were asked if a former partner had used any of the acts on the Conflict Tactics Violence Subscale against them. However, no context was provided for their response, so that some subjects may have included acts that were done in a playful manner. If so, these subjects would not qualify as being victims of violence. This deficiency may also account for the relatively large proportion of

subjects in the overall sample (45.5%), compared to previous studies, that had experienced courtship violence.

Further, the wording of the item that defined the subject's role as victim or aggressor in the relationship implied, but failed to state, "physical" aggressor. Some women were excluded from the study who said that they and their partner were aggressors "about equally," yet reported that they had used few or no violent behaviors against their partner.

Finally, it is also possible that the weak showing of the three individualism variables may be partly attributable to the instruments used to measure them. The sex role instrument, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, contains items that are outdated or ambiguous, and thus not truly measuring sex role modernity. The religiosity scale, while tapping the frequency of certain religious behaviors, may not accurately reflect the importance or the influence of religion in an individual's life.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study has broken new ground in focusing on the response to relationship violence rather than focusing on its occurrence. Researchers should continue to explore this distinction by investigating a variety of possible responses to exposure to violence from an intimate partner. Future studies could examine immediate versus delayed responses to courtship violence, as well as the responses of both victim and perpetrator. Perhaps one's response to violence in one relationship may affect how an

individual responds to violence in a future relationship. A woman, for example, who has left a violent partner immediately after the first occurrence of violence may be less likely to be involved or remain with a current partner who has been abusive toward her.

Second, researchers must recognize that violence takes place in the context of a relationship, and that the characteristics of that relationship can have a powerful effect on one's response to violence. In the future, social scientists should follow the example of Szinovacz (1983) and others by assessing both members of a couple. Beyond measuring both partners and reporting differences, researchers must conduct more sophisticated techniques, such as repeated measures design (Ball et al., 1983), that take these two perspectives into account.

Third, investigators need to follow relationship development over time. This temporal approach can and should be followed at two different levels. At the micro level, researchers need to study the interaction sequences that precede, include, and follow violent episodes. At the macro level, individuals should be tracked over time to determine more accurately the effects that relationship characteristics have on violence and one's response to it in the current, as well as in a future, relationship.

Fourth, there is tremendous variability among the characteristics of human beings, and for ethical and other reasons, social science researchers are able to exercise very little experimental control. Future researchers must increase the

confidence of their conclusions by building theoretical models to be tested, models which control through the design, statistically, or both, extraneous variability which may prevent the effects of the variables of interest from being observed. In addition, because of huge subject-to-subject variability, social science research must employ large samples if real effects are to be identified.

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE: COLLEGE STUDENTS AND
DATING RELATIONSHIPS

COLLEGE STUDENTS AND DATING RELATIONSHIPS

This is a study about college students and their dating relationships. You can help contribute to our knowledge about male-female relationships through your thoughtful participation in this research.

Please do not place your name or any other identifying information on the questionnaire so that anonymity will be assured. Your responses will be completely confidential. Please answer as accurately and as honestly as you can.

You are under no obligation to participate in this study and may withdraw at any time. Choosing not to participate will not affect your standing in this course. If you do participate, you are free to omit any question that you do not want to answer. However, we would appreciate it if you would answer every question so that your questionnaire can be included in the study. (You may be instructed to skip certain parts of the questionnaire that do not apply to you.)

This questionnaire will take approximately 45 minutes to complete. We hope you will choose to participate in this important research project.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

SECTION I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your sex? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Female
- 2 Male

2. What is your race? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 White
- 2 Black
- 3 Other (specify _____)

3. How old are you? _____

4. What class are you in? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Freshman
- 2 Sophomore
- 3 Junior
- 4 Senior

5. What is your major? _____

6. What is your marital status? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Never married
- 2 Married
- 3 Separated
- 4 Divorced

Please circle the highest number of years of education completed by each of your parents.

7. Father's education: (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

High School				College				Graduate School			
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

8. Mother's education: (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

High School				College				Graduate School			
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

9. Please circle the number beside the range that applies to your family's average yearly income.

- 1 Less than \$10,000
- 2 \$10,000 - \$19,999
- 3 \$20,000 - \$29,999
- 4 \$30,000 - \$39,999
- 5 \$40,000 - \$49,999
- 6 \$50,000 - \$59,999
- 7 \$60,000 - \$69,999
- 8 \$70,000 - \$79,999
- 9 \$80,000 or over

10. What is your parents' marital status? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Married
- 2 Divorced
- 3 Separated

11. How often do attend church? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Rarely or never
- 2 Once a month
- 3 Once a week
- 4 More than once a week

SECTION II. BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

The items in this section deal with your beliefs and attitudes about different topics.

1. The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Please express your feeling about each statement by circling the number that indicates whether you agree strongly, agree mildly, disagree mildly, or disagree strongly:

	Agree Strongly (AS)	Agree Mildly (AM)	Disagree Mildly (DM)	Disagree Strongly (DS)
	AS	AM	DM	DS
a. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.	0	1	2	3
b. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.	0	1	2	3
c. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.	0	1	2	3
d. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.	0	1	2	3
e. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.	0	1	2	3
f. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in the household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.	0	1	2	3
g. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.	0	1	2	3
h. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.	0	1	2	3
i. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.	0	1	2	3
j. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.	0	1	2	3

	Agree Strongly (AS)	Agree Mildly (AM)	Disagree Mildly (DM)	Disagree Strongly (DS)
	AS	AM	DM	DS
k. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.	0	1	2	3
l. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.	0	1	2	3
m. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.	0	1	2	3
n. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters are.	0	1	2	3
o. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and a man to darn socks.	0	1	2	3
p. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.	0	1	2	3
q. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.	0	1	2	3
r. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.	0	1	2	3
s. Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.	0	1	2	3
t. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.	0	1	2	3
u. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.	0	1	2	3
v. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.	0	1	2	3
w. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.	0	1	2	3
x. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.	0	1	2	3
y. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.	0	1	2	3

2. The items below inquire about what kind of a person you think you are. Each item consists of a pair of characteristics. Please circle the number that describes where you fall on the scale. Be certain to answer every question, even if you are not sure.

Not at all aggressive	1 2 3 4 5	Very aggressive
Very whiny	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all whiny
Not at all independent	1 2 3 4 5	Very independent
Not at all arrogant	1 2 3 4 5	Very arrogant
Not at all emotional	1 2 3 4 5	Very emotional
Very submissive	1 2 3 4 5	Very dominant
Very boastful	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all boastful
Not at all excitable in a major crisis	1 2 3 4 5	Very excitable in a major crisis
Very passive	1 2 3 4 5	Very active
Not at all egotistical	1 2 3 4 5	Very egotistical
Not at all able to devote self completely to others	1 2 3 4 5	Able to devote self completely to others
Not at all spineless	1 2 3 4 5	Very spineless
Very rough	1 2 3 4 5	Very gentle
Not at all complaining	1 2 3 4 5	Very complaining
Not at all helpful to others	1 2 3 4 5	Very helpful to others
Not at all competitive	1 2 3 4 5	Very competitive
Subordinates oneself to others	1 2 3 4 5	Never subordinates oneself to others
Very home oriented	1 2 3 4 5	Very worldly
Very greedy	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all greedy
Not at all kind	1 2 3 4 5	Very kind
Indifferent to others' approval	1 2 3 4 5	Highly needful of others' approval

Very dictatorial	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all dictatorial
Feelings not easily hurt	1 2 3 4 5	Feelings easily hurt
Doesn't nag	1 2 3 4 5	Nags a lot
Not at all aware of feelings of others	1 2 3 4 5	Very aware of feelings of others
Can make decisions easily	1 2 3 4 5	Has difficulty making decisions
Very fussy	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all fussy
Give up very easily	1 2 3 4 5	Never gives up easily
Very cynical	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all cynical
Never cries	1 2 3 4 5	Cries very easily
Not at all self-confident	1 2 3 4 5	Very self-confident
Does not look out only for self; principled	1 2 3 4 5	Looks out only for self; unprincipled
Feels very inferior	1 2 3 4 5	Feels very superior
Not at all hostile	1 2 3 4 5	Very hostile
Not at all understanding of others	1 2 3 4 5	Very understanding of others
Very cold in relations with others	1 2 3 4 5	Very warm in relations with others
Very servile*	1 2 3 4 5	Not at all servile
Very little need for security	1 2 3 4 5	Very strong need for security
Not at all gullible	1 2 3 4 5	Very gullible
Goes to pieces under pressure	1 2 3 4 5	Stands up well under pressure

*servile—submissive, characteristic of a servant

3. Please indicate how often you do each of these religious activities or have these religious beliefs. (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a. Attend religious services	0	1	2	3	4
b. Engage in prayer	0	1	2	3	4
c. Encourage others to turn to religion	0	1	2	3	4
d. Participate in a church social activity	0	1	2	3	4
e. Listen to or watch religious broadcasts	0	1	2	3	4
f. Read the Bible	0	1	2	3	4
g. Feel that God loves you	0	1	2	3	4
h. Have something you call a religious experience	0	1	2	3	4

4. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following items. (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Agree Somewhat	Strongly Agree
a. I feel I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.	1	2	3	4
b. I feel I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
c. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I'm a failure.	1	2	3	4
d. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4
e. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
f. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4
g. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4
h. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
i. I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
j. At times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4

SECTION III. PAST RELATIONSHIPS

The following questions apply only to your PAST relationships.
(Do not include your present relationship.)

1. At what age did you begin dating? _____

2. How many dating relationships have you been involved in? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)
 - 1 3 or fewer
 - 2 4 to 6
 - 3 7 to 9
 - 4 10 or more

3. Place a check beside each of the following behaviors that a partner in a PAST relationship has done to you.

Check if a FORMER partner
has done it to you

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Threw something at you | _____ |
| Pushed, grabbed, or shoved | _____ |
| Slapped | _____ |
| Kicked, bit, or hit with fist | _____ |
| Hit or tried to hit with something | _____ |
| Choked | _____ |
| Beat up | _____ |
| Threatened with a knife or gun | _____ |
| Used a knife or gun | _____ |

4. How many different FORMER partners have done at least one of the behaviors listed in QUESTION 3 to you?

Number of FORMER Partners _____

IF YOU HAVE NEVER HAD A FORMER PARTNER WHO HAS DONE ANY OF THE ABOVE BEHAVIORS TO YOU, SKIP THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND GO TO SECTION IV - CURRENT RELATIONSHIP - ON PAGE 15.

QUESTIONS 5 through 24 ask about a FORMER relationship in which your partner did any of the aggressive behaviors listed in QUESTION #3 (threw something at you, pushed, shoved, or grabbed you, slapped you, etc.). If more than one FORMER partner has done at least one of these behaviors to you, then answer the following questions based on the LAST relationship in which a FORMER partner did any of these aggressive behaviors to you.

5. How long ago did this relationship begin? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Less than 1 year ago
- 2 1-2 years ago
- 3 2-3 years ago
- 4 Over 3 years ago

6. Did the relationship begin after you started college? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

7. How long did this relationship last? Number of months _____

8. How long ago did the relationship end? Number of months _____

9. How often did YOUR FORMER PARTNER do each of the following behaviors to you? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	Over 20 Times
a. Threw something at you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Pushed, shoved, or grabbed	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Slapped	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Hit or tried to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Choked	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Beat up	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Threatened with a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Used a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. How long had you been dating when your FORMER partner FIRST did one of the aggressive behaviors in Question #9 to you?

Number of months _____

11. Were you living together at the time? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

12. How was the relationship affected following your FORMER partner's FIRST use of an aggressive behavior? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Relationship improved
- 2 Relationship did not change
- 3 Relationship got worse

13. What stage would you say the relationship was in when your FORMER partner FIRST did one of the behaviors in QUESTION #9 to you? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Casual dating
- 2 Serious dating
- 3 In love
- 4 Engaged to be married

14. After the FIRST time your FORMER partner did one of these behaviors to you, how long did the relationship continue?

Number of months _____

15. After the FIRST time your FORMER partner used one of these behaviors against you, how often did he/she do it again before the end of the relationship? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Never again
- 2 Rarely
- 3 Sometimes
- 4 Often

16. After the LAST time your FORMER partner used one of the aggressive behaviors against you, how long did the relationship continue?

Number of months _____

17. Which of the following best describes your role and your FORMER partner's role in using any of these behaviors in this relationship? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 I was the aggressor most of the time, my partner was the victim
- 2 I was the victim most of the time, my partner was the aggressor
- 3 Both my partner and myself were aggressors about equally

18. Who do you think was to blame for your FORMER partner's aggressive behavior?
(CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Mostly my partner
- 2 Mostly me
- 3 Both about equally

19. Whose decision was it to end the relationship? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 My decision
- 2 My partner's decision
- 3 Mutual decision

20. Did the relationship end: (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Mostly because of your partner's aggressive behavior
- 2 Partly because of your partner's aggressive behavior
- 3 For reasons not related to your partner's aggressive behavior

21. Think about your feelings for your FORMER partner a few days BEFORE the first time your partner used an aggressive behavior against you. How true is each of the following statements in describing how you felt about your partner just before the first aggressive behavior occurred? If the statement is not at all true of your feelings, circle a 0. If the statement is true, circle a number from 1 to 9 to show how true.

	NOT AT ALL TRUE	DEFINITELY TRUE
a. If my partner were feeling bad, I would really want to make him/her feel better.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
b. I felt that I could confide in my partner about virtually everything.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
c. I found it easy to ignore my partner's faults.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
d. I would have done almost anything for my partner.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
e. I felt very possessive toward my partner.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
f. If I could never be with my partner, I would feel miserable.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
g. If I were lonely, my first thought would be to seek my partner out.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	

	NOT AT ALL TRUE									DEFINITELY TRUE
h. One of my primary concerns was my partner's welfare.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
i. I would forgive my partner for practically anything.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
j. I felt responsible for my partner's well-being.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
k. When I was with my partner, I spent a good deal of time just looking at him/her.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
l. I would greatly enjoy being confided in by my partner.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
m. It would have been hard for me to get along without my partner.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Until now, you have been answering questions about your partner's use of aggressive behaviors against you. The following question asks about YOUR use of aggressive behaviors in this relationship.

22. Please indicate how often YOU did each of the following behaviors to your FORMER partner. (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	Over 20 Times
a. Threw something at him/her	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Pushed, shoved, or grabbed	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Slapped	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Hit or tried to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Choked	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Beat up	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Threatened with a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Used a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

23. Who was the **FIRST** person to engage in one or more of the above behaviors?
(**CIRCLE THE NUMBER**)

- 1 I was
- 2 My partner was

24. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about the **LAST** relationship in which a partner used an aggressive behavior against you? **Please use the space below.**

SECTION IV. CURRENT RELATIONSHIP

The following questions are about your current relationship.

IF YOU ARE NOT IN A RELATIONSHIP AT THE PRESENT TIME, THEN SKIP THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND GO TO SECTION V - CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES - ON PAGE 19.

1. Which of the following terms best describes the stage your relationship is in? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)
 - 1 Casual dating
 - 2 Serious dating
 - 3 In love
 - 4 Engaged to be married

2. How long has the relationship been going on? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

Number of months _____

3. Are you and your partner living together? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)
 - 1 Yes (How long? Number of months _____)
 - 2 No

4. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship with your CURRENT partner? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)
 - 1 I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go to almost any length to see that it does.
 - 2 I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does.
 - 3 I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.
 - 4 It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can't do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed.
 - 5 It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the relationship going.
 - 6 My relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.

5. How true is each of the following statements in describing how you feel about your CURRENT partner? If the statement is not at all true of your feelings, circle a 0. If the statement is true, circle a number from 1 to 9 to show how true.

	NOT AT ALL TRUE	DEFINITELY TRUE
a. If my partner were feeling bad, I would really want to make him/her feel better.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
b. I feel that I could confide in my partner about virtually everything.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
c. I find it easy to ignore my partner's faults.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
d. I would do almost anything for my partner.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
e. I feel very possessive toward my partner.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
f. If I could never be with my partner, I would feel miserable.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
g. If I were lonely, my first thought would be to seek my partner out.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
h. One of my primary concerns is my partner's welfare.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
i. I would forgive my partner for practically anything.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
j. I feel responsible for my partner's well-being.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
k. When I am with my partner, I spend a good deal of time just looking at him/her.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
l. I would greatly enjoy being confided in by my partner.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
m. It would be hard for me to get along without my partner.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	

6. Please indicate for each item how often **YOUR CURRENT PARTNER** has done it during your relationship. **(CIRCLE THE NUMBER)**

	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	Over 20 Times
a. Threw something at you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Pushed, shoved or grabbed	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Slapped	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Hit or tried to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Choked you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Beat you up	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Threatened with a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Used a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. Please indicate for each item how often **YOU** have done it to your **CURRENT** partner during your relationship. **(CIRCLE THE NUMBER)**

	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	Over 20 Times
a. Threw something at him/her	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Pushed, shoved, or grabbed	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Slapped	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Hit or tried to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Choked	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Beat up	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Threatened with a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Used a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. How long had you been dating when you first experienced one of the acts listed above?

Number of months _____

9. At what stage would you say the relationship was in when you first experienced one of the acts listed above? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Casual dating
- 2 Serious dating
- 3 In love
- 4 Engaged to be married

10. Were you living together at the time? (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

11. When did you last experience one of the above acts?

If there is anything else you would like us to know about you and/or your relationships, please use this space to tell us.

SECTION V. CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

1. Please indicate how often you ever saw **YOUR PARENTS** do each of the following to **EACH OTHER** while you were growing up? **(CIRCLE THE NUMBER)**

	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	Over 20 Times
a. Throw something at the other	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Push, shove, or grab	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Slap	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Kick, bite, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Hit or try to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Choke	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Beat up	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Threaten to use a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Use a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. Please indicate how often **EITHER OF YOUR PARENTS** did any of the following to **YOU** as a child. (CIRCLE THE NUMBER)

	Never	Once	Twice	3-5	6-10	11-20	Over 20
				Times	Times	Times	Times
a. Threw something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Pushed, shoved, or grabbed	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Slapped or spanked	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Hit or tried to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Beat up	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Threatened to use a gun or knife	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Used a gun or knife	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

- THANK YOU -