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Domestic Violence in Appalachia with a Focus on Cabell County, WV

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN APPALACHIA WITH A FOCUS ON
CABELL COUNTY, WV

Thesis submitted to
The Graduate College of
Marshall University

In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts Program
Sociology

by

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ABSTRACT

Domestic Violence in Appalachia with a focus on Cabell County, WV

This study of domestic violence in Appalachia with a focus on Cabell County, West Virginia involves many aspects. The costs of domestic violence, as well as, how abused women here conceptualize the major contributors to abusive behavior in men are examined. The demographics of Cabell Co., WV are discussed. The effects of battering and violence on woman's work and employability are examined. What I did not anticipate to find through the qualitative interviews is the absence of a honeymoon stage in Walker's (1989) cycle of violence. Goode's (1971) resource theory provides an influential explanation of violence in Appalachia where a lot of families lack economic resources. Force then becomes one of several resources that form the basis of the family stratification system.

DEDICATION

This author wishes to dedicate this text to her children, who have been supportive in my endeavors of returning to college at a later age. MELISSA ANN and DEBBIE MARY have been there with their computer expertise all the way. RACHAEL you never gave up with your support. JAMIE RAE and WHITNEY JO MOORE and my granddaughter MAKENZIE BETH, you have made me proud. My sister MARY JANE DAURAY, also an abuse victim, and lives with me, has been there since day one. SR. ALICE BOUCHARD, I thank God for your guidance so I could empower myself and hopefully I can empower others. Also, to my mom, JEANNE MANCE DAURAY and my sister HEIDI MARIE DAURAY for the continued encouragement. And to my dad, the late RAYMOND JEAN DAURAY.

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Chapter I

OVERVIEW OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

The term family coincides with marriage. This was thought to be the norm for many centuries. A person's first experience with socialization occurs in the family. The social structure is the ordered relationships and patterned expectations that guide social interaction (Thompson & Hickey, p.42). Small units, such as the family, are seen as essential to individuals and society. They provide the intimate, face-to-face environments that people need in order to survive in modern societies and when there is abuse, the family becomes dysfunctional.

When family violence occurs there are serious economic and social consequences in society. Sociologist; can define and help to solve these social problems. A household characterized by violence is one example of a non-cooperative family setting. Another aspect of partner abuse that is evident from research is that violence among intimates is rarely an isolated incident. After the first incident the batterer is often remorseful; however, once the inhibition against violence is broken, the likelihood of subsequent abuse is high and it becomes more frequent and more severe, according to Lenore Walker (1989). The continued cycle of violence results in a woman living in a state of learned helplessness. The battered woman lives with a constant fear, coupled with a perceived inability to escape the abuse.

Evidence from several sociological studies suggests that women are more likely to leave battering relationships if they have better economic opportunities outside the household. The sociological model views domestic violence as a result of the inequality of women.

Family violence statistics reveal that between 1 and 4 million women in America experience serious assault by an intimate partner each year (Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report, August 1995). Most importantly, only about one-seventh of all domestic assaults come to the attention of the police (Florida Governor's Task Force on Domestic Violence, 1997). Forty to sixty percent of men who abuse women also abuse children (American Psychological Association, 1996). 47% of men who beat their wives do so at least 3 times per year (AMA Diagnostic & Treatment Guidelines on Domestic Violence, 1994).

West Virginia has one of the highest domestic violence rates in the nation as reported by WTAP News: "West Virginia US Attorney Thomas Johnston says there are many reasons that abuse flourishes here (in West Virginia) and men must challenge what he calls a blight on the culture of West Virginia" (WTAP News, www.wtap.com/news/headlines/985421.html). Denise Alex of WTAP News reports, "West Virginia enjoys a low crime rate, but each year about 40 percent of the state's murder victims are linked by blood or some other relationship to their killers. In West Virginia women find it difficult to leave abusive partners as families in Appalachia experience a close kinship pattern and thus familism permeates the local societies in Appalachia. Just over half of the victims reported a history of abuse as an adult (WVCADV Database 2000-2002 online at: <http://www.wvcadv.org/health.html>).

Funds were made available in July of 2002 to fund projects to better respond to violence against women in West Virginia. Reviews of data were provided by John Brown, Database Administrator for the WVCADV, county STOP Team members, and the Uniform Crime Reporting Section of the West Virginia State Police for the year 2001.

The WV STOP Violence against Women Project Evaluation data for the year 2001 showed that the spouse was most often the victim's abuser. Abusers, on the other hand, are mostly male, white, and were an average of 36 years old. Two-thirds of the abusers indicated a history of abuse themselves as a contributing factor to the violence. The abuser's fists were most often the weapon used against their victim. Other assaults, including simple assault, intimidation, and kidnapping/abduction, were the most frequent offenses suffered by domestic violence victims. Personal weapons, such as the offender's hands, feet, or teeth, were also the most common weapon reported to law enforcement.

The majority of the victims served was female, white, and were an average of 30 years old. Just over half reported a history of abuse as an adult. Most sought the services of the programs based on a self-referral or the referral of a friend. Nearly three-fourths suffered emotional abuse, while 61.5% reported being abused physically (WV STOP Violence against Women Project Evaluation FY01).

Feminist researchers have relied heavily on populations such as women's refuges and shelters, hospital emergency rooms and the criminal and divorce courts to study family violence. Mary Field Belenky, et. al. (authors of Women's Ways of Knowing (1986), New York, Basic Books) used women in these situations to develop the theoretical framework and policy suggestions.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

According to Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) April 28, 2003 the costs of intimate partner violence estimate health-related cost more than 5.8 billion dollars annually. CDC Director Dr. Julie Gerberding reports, "Violent acts against women don't end with visits to the emergency room. They are a major health

problem” (CDC, 2003). Study in 1997-2002 reports the American Journal of Prevention Medicine (January 2003) found 27% of domestic violence victims had more than 20 doctor visits a year. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control found (April 28, 2003): Battering is the greatest single cause of injury to women in the United States, much more than muggings, rapes, and automobile accidents combined. Domestic violence is the leading cause of injury to women between the ages of 15 and 44. They also discovered that: Only about 1/3 of the victims seek help. Annually, more than one million women seek medical assistance for injuries caused by battering. Battered women are often severely injured; 22-35% of women who visit emergency rooms are there for injuries related to ongoing partner abuse. Almost 25% of pregnant women seeking prenatal care have been battered during premature births, developmental delays and disabilities are some of the results of battering during pregnancy. In 66% of violent homes where the female partner is beaten, so are the children. Health care expenses from domestic violence cost US corporations between \$3-5 billion annually. 75% of all 911 calls are domestic abuse calls.

Max, Rice, Golding and Pinderhughes (1999) found the mean medical care cost per physical assault among victims who actually receive treatment is \$2,665.00. They also found that: More than 13.5 million total days are lost from job and housework productivity, which is equivalent to 47,339 person’s years. The U.S. Department of Justice estimates that 95% of assaults on spouses or ex-spouses are committed by men against women. The level of injury resulting from domestic violence is severe: 218 women presenting at a metropolitan emergency department with injuries due to domestic violence, 28% required admission to the hospital for

injuries and 13% required major medical treatment, 40% had previously required medical care for abuse. Identification: close to half of all incidents of domestic violence against women discovered in National Crime Survey; 48% were not reported to the police. Ninety-two of the women who were physically abused by their partners did not discuss these incidents with their physicians; 57% did not discuss the incidents with anyone. In 40% of cases in one study in which physicians treated battered women in an emergency department setting, staff did not discuss the abuse with the patients and it became apparent reports the (WVCADV, 2000) West Virginia Coalition for Domestic Violence that approximately a third to half of the women in shelters were returning to their batterers and even when women left a battering spouse, that same batterer went on to become involved with and abuse other women.

West Virginia Statistics

In fiscal year 2000-2001 licensed domestic programs served 18,201 West Virginians. Source: WVCADV West Virginia Coalition against Domestic Violence Annual Report FY 2000-2001. Law enforcement agencies reported a total of 10,397 complaints of domestic violence in 1998, a 4.1% increase over the 1997 figure. Source: Uniform Crime Report, West Virginia State Police, 1998. Since 1989, domestic violence complaints to law enforcement agencies have increased by 400%. Between 1990 and 1997, the number of domestic violence petitions processed by magistrate courts tripled. In 1996, officers arrested alleged perpetrators in over 35% of all domestic violence complaints in West Virginia. Source: Criminal Justice Statistical Analysis Center, Dept. of Military Affairs and Public Safety, State of West Virginia, July 1998 and Public Safety, State of West Virginia, July 1998.

Theoretical Models which have been used to explain domestic violence

(GTM) Grounded Theory Method is an inductive approach to research introduced by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in which theories are generated solely from an examination of data. The researcher attempts to extract a general abstract theory through a process grounded in the views of participants in a study of family violence. This process involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). There is a constant comparison of data with emerging categories and a theoretical sampling of different groups to maximize the similarities and the differences of information (Creswell, 2003).

Both clinical and epidemiological studies show that male perpetrators of domestic violence tend to have histories of violence both inside and outside the family. Men in families in which children and wives are assaulted are five times more likely to have also assaulted a non-family person than men in non-violent families (White & Straus, 1989). Furthermore, men involved in violence both inside and outside the family engage in more severe violence than men who confine their violence inside the family (Fagen, Stewart & Hansen, 1983; Howell & Smith, 1996; Magdol, Moffitt, Caspi, Newman, Fagen & Silva, 1997; Shields, McCall, 1988).

Biosocial Criminology Regarding Domestic Violence

Males in non-human animal species have been observed attacking females showing interest in other males (Smuts, 1993). Given the strong evidence of violence, including rape, against females designed to control their sexual behavior in other mammalian species, one can assume with some confidence that similar behavior among

humans has the same ultimate goal. We can assume this because worldwide, domestic violence is overwhelmingly committed by males against females, according to studies done by Harrison & Esqueda (1999) and Arias, Samois, & O'Leary in 1988.

According to evolutionary theory, assaults against spouses or lovers are primarily driven by male fitness-promoting mechanisms of sexual proprietariness, jealousy, and suspicion of infidelity. Evidence from around the world indicates that the single most important cause of domestic violence (including homicide) is male jealousy and suspicion of infidelity. Yet to be answered is why men everywhere find it so important to control their women by behavior identical with what was observed in other animal species under the same general conditions. Domestic violence from a biosocial standpoint says, "The male brain is different from that of the female. The brains of the male effects of androgens at puberty causes male-typical behaviors like status striving, dominance, aggressiveness and are facilitated by androgen-activated brain areas that sub serve reproductive efforts. The same behaviors, as exhibited by males possessing females, also facilitate criminal behavior in certain situations", are according to Anthony Walsh in 2002, (Walsh, 2002).

Social Action Model vs. the Disease Model

Domestic violence is often either dealt with as a disease of the individual or as a disease of society. These two models are used to deal with domestic violence.

The therapeutic model operates at the level of the individuals and views most problems, including social, political, and economic, as emanating from personal troubles that require therapy. The therapeutic model has given rise to concepts such as the battered woman syndrome and learned helplessness.

A woman must experience at least two complete battering cycles before she can be labeled a “battered woman” (Walker, The Battered Woman (1979). The cycle has three distinct phases. First is the tension-building phase, followed by the explosion or acute battering incident, culminating in a calm period often referred to as the honeymoon phase. “Battered woman syndrome describes a pattern of psychological and behavioral symptoms found in women living in battering relationships.”(*People v. Romero*, 13 Cal Rptr 2d 332, 336 (Cal App 2d Dist. 1992); See Walker, L. “The Battered Woman Syndrome” (1984) p. 95-97). There are four general characteristics of the syndrome:

1. The woman believes that the violence was her fault.
2. The woman has an inability to place the responsibility for the violence elsewhere.
3. The woman fears for her life and/or her children’s lives.
4. The woman has an irrational belief that the abuser is omnipresent and omniscient.

Learned helplessness as described by Walker (1984) occurs when a victim has lost self-esteem and has no psychological energy to leave, resulting in a psychological paralysis. Women are poorly suited to their situations in domestic abuse; there is no justification for it. Cultural beliefs that influence one’s view of life and health and the “what will be-will be” attitude can be fatalistic on a woman’s life when faced with the issue of domestic violence and what to do about it. Women who lack economic resources because they do not have a good education feel they are trapped and helpless and it is implied that these women want to stay in these situations.

The social action model operates at both the individual and group levels. This model recognizes the existence of social and cultural institutions that limit, or circumscribe the options available to individuals. This model contributes to the concept

of cultural competency. Using this model, battered women are viewed as adapting to their specific environment (a violent partner) by staying alive and not being murdered. This model recognizes what many survivors ultimately know—the most dangerous time in a violent relationship is when an individual chooses to leave a violent partner.

Issues Concerning Social causes of domestic violence from a Functionalist Perspective

Sociological work has made a considerable contribution to our understanding of the causes of violence in the home. Sociologists have highlighted the darker side of family life that exists; the family is a site of violence and abuse, particularly against women. Functionalist sociologists tend to characterize “the family” as a coherent unified interest group and family relationships as essentially harmonious. Family problems were private troubles and so it did not threaten the basic premise that “the family” was a functional unit that played a vital part in the smooth running of society.

Critics of the functionalist position, however, pointed out that these assumptions about coherence, unity, and harmony do not reflect the realities of the family life, but how society would like families to be. Domestic abuses are not just the private troubles but are related to the hierarchal power structures in families and as such are social problems. The issue of power relationships in families underlies domestic violence.

For a functionalist perspective on family violence one must consider that family is the foundation and marriage is important and encouraged and conflicts are not addressed. According to Adams, “When a victim is beaten, functionalist theorists focused on these family members and recognized their ability to adjust and reorganize, rather than the need for social change at the macros and extra familial level” (Adams, 1986). In other words, this patriarchal family should ignore domestic violence. Conflict theorist feel, according

to Adam, is that the abused spouse should leave the situation. In the conflict perspective the patriarchal family exists. There is a difference of power and authority in the patriarchal family all of which the man is in control. Some abusers feel it is their place in society to keep their women in line.

Today with many women in the workforce men still tend to have more material and ideological power than women. With this in mind one can see that violence can be a way of exerting control and maintaining power. Violence is a social problem that has its roots in gendered ideologies and in continuing material inequities. Power is the ability to exercise one's will over someone and when abuse occurs; there are disparities and they discourage an intimacy based on honesty and sharing within the marriage.

Marxist Conflict Theory applied to Domestic Violence

Marxist conflict theory places domestic violence elements of social organization into the superstructure of society, all elements of social life not pertaining to the economy and production of goods and services. These are all religious, moral, legal, and familial values which are created, implemented, and modified in accordance with the vested interests of those in control of the economy-social norms, the violation of which is punishable. The Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Director Dr. Julie Gerberding reports, "Violent acts against women don't end with visits to the emergency room," (Center for Disease Control and Prevention. Costs of Intimate Partner Violence against Women in the United States; 2003) they are a major health problem which exceeds \$5.8 billion dollars each year in the United States. Marx's theory of power is such that; more power and status accrue to those who possess than to those who are objects of possession, and Marx was undoubtedly correct to presume that those in

powerful, high-status positions are unlikely to readily alter their position (Longres, 1995). Regarding domestic violence, a man who has very little resources does indeed have power in his home, and this is where control is exercised. W. Goode (1971), argued that batterers who lack power (most frequently measured in terms of income, educational achievement, and occupational status) when compared to their partners are more likely to use violence to obtain power in the relationship. Goode's resource theory and the voices of the participants suggest that the violence perpetrated by their abusive partners was purposeful and specifically intend to impede the women's ability to work. But despite a possible reluctance to alter a status quo from which they benefited, lawmakers have begun to respond to issues of domestic violence. Still, even as laws increasingly begin to reflect our national concern about domestic violence, the rates of battering still climb (Waites, 1993), and women continue to return to abusers—further swelling the domestic abuse numbers and skyrocketing medical expenses. This model is preferred by feminist sociologists. It is suggested that the beating of an individual wife by an individual husband is not an individual or family problem; it is a problem of patriarchy. All men have the capacity for violence; it is something that normal men can resort to if their needs are not met or if their expectations are thwarted. Women whom lack economic resources because they don't have a good education feel helpless and this implies that they want to stay with their abusers.

Empirical studies offer some support for this model. For instance, research has shown that men's perception that women have failed to carry out their duties to men's satisfaction is regarded by many violent men as legitimate grounds for argument, accusations and attacks. Drinking, drugs, and sexual jealousy can be important

precipitating factors. This model reminds us that the gender roles that society prescribes for women and men in families lead to expectations, which if they are not met, can provoke outbreaks of hostility resulting in violence. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Statistics, March 1998, “38% of convicted offenders in local jails committed against their intimate partner were under an active protective order.” One cannot rely on a DVP to be totally safe. From the Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service, A Medical Response to Domestic Violence, “Journal of American Medical Association”, June 17, 1992, p. 3132, “47% of the husbands who batter their wives do so three or more times a year”, reported by Evan Stark and Anne E. Flitcraft, “Spouse Abuse’ Surgeon General’s Workshop on Violence”.

Violence...Patterns between Partners

Sociologists have come up with a model to understand violence in the home, such as: violence reflects disturbed interactional patterns between partners. This model suggests that violence is a product of pathological interactions between two people; one is much to blame as the other. Each partner consciously or unconsciously upsets and provokes the other, until a violent episode ensues. In this model, violence is a phenomenon in which both partners carry blame. This model is supported by psychodynamic theories that see partners as having unconsciously selected each other because of the need to work through unresolved developmental conflicts from childhood and infancy.

Sociologist; recognize that this model has some explanatory power in helping understand how conflict escalates and can end in violence but does not really explain the gendered dimension of the problem.

Process Model of Empowerment

The Process Model of Empowerment is a therapeutic method for which women in group settings and makes a connection with each other by working through emotional distress and building personal empowerment. A shelter group for battered women can provide the genesis for self-empowerment and these battered women have usually not developed their empowerment. Personal empowerment for women is essential to changing the institutional and societal conditions that contribute to the disempowerment the women usually are going through.

I have participated in the Process Model of Empowerment at Branches Domestic Violence Shelter in Huntington, WV and found it very effective. The staff and counselors were very supporting and reassured me that it was possible to live without abuse. My self-esteem was recovered and I was strong enough to file for divorce after 18 years of abuse, thanks to the Process Model of Empowerment. “For where women gather together, there exists a potentially fertile environment to develop connections and to attain person empowerment” (Janet Goodwill and Kathleen Hulbert, 1992). By using other people as mirrors they get a better self-understanding. The experience of giving and receiving support increases ones own self confidence. The skill in communication and sociability increases. By participating every participant will feel like an important part of a larger context.

The Process Model of Empowerment is believed to bring participants together to create new ideas and see new possibilities and most importantly to obtain a better quality of life. In my case, I realized that returning to college and living an abuse free life was possible through the support received at Branches Domestic Shelter in Huntington, (Cabell Co.) West Virginia.

Most importantly, the empowerment model emphasizes respect for clients. The client must decide what course of action is best for them and be highly involved in their own cases. This is the first step toward self-sufficiency for many victims of domestic violence who have been emotionally, and often financially, dependent on their abusers. Victims in crisis face numerous economic barriers, such as securing public benefits, receiving employment training entering or returning to the workforce, and finding adequate housing and child care.

A feminist style of advocacy is based on the goal of helping to empower women. The goal is to encourage self-reliance and provide information that will enable women to do for themselves. A battered woman will benefit much more if we respect her ability to control her own life and help her develop tools to advocate on her own behalf.

Research Question

Do the women who are employed suffer from violence perpetrated by their abusive partners which was purposeful and specifically intended to impede her ability to work?

Many women, who are forced out of the labor market by partner violence subsequently, fall into poverty (Kurz, 1995; Zora, 1998). For example, a disproportionate number of homeless women have experienced domestic violence, having become homeless after fleeing their abusers. My children and I experienced homelessness when we had to flee our farm due to domestic abuse; thankfully we found a transition home at the abuse shelter. In Tolman and Rosen's 2001 survey research with 753 women, recent victimizations by a partner were associated with economic hardship.

A link between domestic violence and welfare is also well established (Brandwein, 1999; Brandwein & Filiano, 2000; Brush, 1999, 2000; Bush & Wolfer, 2002; Levin, 2001; and Raphael, 1966, 2000).

Partner violence impedes women's ability to work, making it difficult for them to obtain or maintain employment. Such violence is costly for women and for organizations that employ or would seek to employ them. This study is significant to investigate the possibility, suggested by Goode's (1971) resource theory and existing empirical research, that some partner violence is perpetrated with the intent to prevent women from obtaining to maintaining employment (Goode, 1971).

Further research and activism on women's work with the context of partner violence is merited. Research has suggested that paid work, increased financial independence, and educational and vocational training and success, if occurring in a safe and supportive context, are emotionally and psychologically rehabilitative for battered women (Murphy, 1997). Investment in vocational training and employment resources may go a long way toward reducing the re-victimization of battered women by helping them feel empowered and supported while leaving their batterers and establishing safe and productive lives.

Research on the effects of battering on women's lives has previously focused on poverty, homelessness, and receipt of welfare. These studies have focused on women who were uneducated or undereducated. This data will focus on how battering obstructs one's ability to find work and maintain employment. Establishing any level of independence from an abuser, such as by working, runs counter to his goals of

establishing power and control through physical and sexual assault, social isolation, emotional degradation and economic dependence (Ferraro, 2001; Ptacek, 1999).

Battered women face multiple barriers in seeking or maintaining employment and to staying safe on the job. Battered women may lose their jobs due to short- or long-term effects of abuse or quit due to safety concerns, or be prohibited from working by their abusive partners (Lloyd, 1997; Raphael, 1996; Stable, Libbus, & Huneke, 1999).

The majority of research on domestic violence and work within the social sciences has been directed toward poverty, homelessness and welfare, as many battered women find themselves in such predicaments after leaving violent relationships (Brandwein & Filiano, 2000).

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Historical Examples of domestic violence in Appalachia

Kenneth Silverman, took a look at the 1600's and found that, "Cotton Mather's published his findings and he 'identified female virtue's as the source of female suffering'"(Silverman, 1984). Mather who, defends old order of church authority and who openly linked woman's tendency to spiritual excellence with her subordination and suffering, wrote, "But if thou hast a Husband that will do, [beat his wife] bear it patiently; and know thou shalt have Rewards hereafter, for it, as well as, praises here...". (Silverman, 1984). Historically, violence by men against their wives was often "deemed necessary for the 'well-being' of women" (Hart, 1992). My point here in this 100+ year information is that society has seen this type of behavior in action and it will be hard to change ways, it will be a slow process. Often there is a socially accepted, but largely unspoken, understanding of "how things are done around here". The lifestyle lived by one's parents and grandparents may, over the generations, have taken on a normative value and any deviation can constitute a stigmatizing event capable of defining an individual's (or family's) identity for generations to come, (Szikla, 1994). Fear of personal stigma associated with "breaking up" the family unit often prevents women from reporting family violence (American Bar Association on Domestic Violence, 1997).

The patriarchal traditionalist character of many Appalachian communities fosters women's dependence; limits help seeking behavior, maintains a pathological status quo and restricts individual development while simultaneously lessening the likelihood that an abusive partner will be censured (Szikla, 1994). Feminist; believe that violence against

women in the home has long been protected by the privacy accorded to the family and implicit right permitted to husbands to rule over their wives and children. Historian Elizabeth Pleck has shown that by the 1890's women were encouraged to bring charges in court for abuse from husbands (Weise, 2001). An interesting remark by Robert S. Weise in 2001 was that upon reviewing Floyd Circuit Court, Floyd County, KY Court Files 4860 (31 December 1906) that domestic violence was evident as, "one woman from Frasures Creek of Left Beaver claimed that she was "always obedient, submissive, and kind to her husband, he cruelly, whipped, beat and abused and assaulted and injured her leg with a large club." Internally, family dynamics reflected a husband's presumption of power without interference. Weise goes on to note, "households, therefore, represented fundamental sites for the exercise of power, particularly 'male power' and with power invariably comes conflict". These women in the early part of the twentieth century remained subservient in Floyd County, KY households. Floyd County Kentucky is located on the Big Sandy River above Louisa, Kentucky. By granting women access to divorce, Floyd County, KY courts show they expected wives and husbands to behave appropriately.

Another interesting example of domestic violence Weise points out in his book is the case of Anzie Hall in 1894. Men used force rather than deceit to obtain their wives' signatures. In 1894, Anzie Hall of Jacks Creek on Left Beaver claimed that her husband, Lewis, "a very bad & dangerous man", threatened to kill her if she refused to sell the piece of property she inherited from her father. Hall's petition to the circuit court contended that "at the time she signed the deed...her husband and two of his brothers were armed with guns and pistols and compelled her to sign the deed. She says that she

cried and begged(sic) says this was her own land that she did not intend to sell it...”(Floyd Circuit Court File 3447 (6 March, 1894).

Rural women fall into the role of being feminine; in other words they were dependent on and subservient to their men according to Tice (1990). Religious tenets that espouse male domination and female subservience may also play a role in wife battering in Appalachia. Religious traditions that oppose divorce and stress the importance of family unity may ultimately place women and children in physical danger. For example, J. Alsdurf found in 1985 that 26 percent of Protestant ministers in the US and Canada affirmed that the subordinate role requires women to defer to their abusive husbands, trusting that God will ultimately protect them by ending the violence or giving them the strength to cope (Alsdurf, 1985). Nancy Nason-Clark (1997) conducted an examination of evangelical responses to battering found that the clergy significantly underestimated the frequency of violence within their own church families and often viewed abuse as a spiritual problem with solely spiritual resolutions, thus creating a lack of referral to appropriate secular interventions. Evangelical clergy were less likely to identify power differentials reinforced through religious ideology as being a factor in domestic abuse (Nason-Clark, 1997).

Kinship in Appalachia

The people in Appalachia put a great deal of importance on the kin relationship in the everyday life of its people. Familism tends to permeate the local societies in Appalachia. The family group is the kinship unit. One of the most important factors in binding together the families within and between neighborhoods in Appalachia is kinship. The early settlement patterns cause families to comprise an extended family. Their lines

of socializing and neighboring coincide with the kin network. Bonds of kinship are considered more important than neighborhood ties and social life outside the immediate family. Topography has been a factor in determining the social relationships of the inhabitants and formation of neighborhood groupings in Appalachia.

In Cabell County, West Virginia land-ownership was one of the key factors in the emergent social stratification. Kinship was important in facilitating the acquisition of lands by providing another important fiber in the political and economic web that bonds together family and local elites. Hardship is offset by the benefits of communal support, as well as strong kinship networks, enabling people to stay and acquire land. Kinship based relations of economic and social life with affectional ties to kin and familism put kinship cooperation at the center of social life. This is why it is almost impossible for an abused woman to leave home.

Peggy Cantrell, an associate professor at East Tennessee State University says:

My own sense is that the violence in Appalachia is more family-oriented than stranger-oriented. Several studies since 1985 show Appalachia's domestic violence and incest rates are higher than national averages. We're supposed to be a very family-oriented society. But traditional family values may include strong authority and strict discipline, including violent punishment. That's a very ingrained, traditional value. The Appalachian family is still patriarchal. The dominance of the father, combined with isolation and a close-knit family, can lead to more domestic violence and incest. (Associated Press 22 Sept. 1991).

Social Norms of Appalachia

People in Appalachia can not remain anonymous, especially for rural residents. The neighborhoods seem to consist of family or clan members. Most members of the communities have experienced many happenings together. The nearest abuse shelter

may be so far from an abused woman's community that it is hard for her to leave an abusive environment. Police agencies in rural communities typically cover very broad geographic service areas with limited personnel and equipment (Feyen, 1989). Law enforcement personnel are often unwilling to respond to calls for help in domestic violence incidents (Feyan, 1989) and rural women do not necessarily believe that the police can help them. Overall, criminal justice systems are less likely to be utilized in rural battering cases (Abel & Suh, 1987).

For a rural woman who experiences violence from her partner, both geographical distance and lack of confidence can help keep her socially isolated. In most communities everyone knows everything about everyone. The decision to leave a violent partner is not a simple matter. A woman, no doubt, has emotional ties to her community and this is an extra burden for rural women to face when whether to flee or not. The statistics, according to Fr. John Rausch, (of Catholic Exchange, 2002) are such that, "violence against women indicate no assurance for a women's safety even among kith and kin" (www.stmarycatholicexchange.com). Poverty in itself limits a victim's options. Lacking adequate education, starting a family at an early age and being abused as a child narrows the possibilities for a victim of domestic abuse in poverty. Many victims seek help only after the perpetrator touches the children (in my case, when my then husband hit my daughter for trying to protect me, it was then I knew I must escape).

This true story from a safe house in rural Appalachia demonstrates what many women fear, and some face, when a horror movie turns real: The husband comes home drunk with a gun. Frustrated with the world he wields his power over the people he can easily control; his wife and family. In a display of mountain machismo he shoots the

phone off the wall, and then he threatens to kill his family and commit suicide. Time to think fast! The woman calms her husband as best she can, then ask to beg some cigarettes at a neighbor's. Without purse or coats she and her three kids dash off into the cold January night before he changes his mind. This episode reported by Fr. Rausch is all too familiar a scene in Appalachia (www.stmarycatholicexchange.com). I too, have been forced to flee into the cold night, barefoot without coat or shoes and worse yet, without my children. It was impossible for me to flee to a shelter, my driveway was 1 ¼ miles off of the hard top road. The ridge tops that I had loved suddenly became the walls to a prison, impossible to climb through all the briars and such. So the barn is where I retreated to and found warmth along my old ewe, which thankfully was of the long haired type (Corridale). Smelling the fresh scent of her wool reminded me of happy times when I would spin her fleece, thus I was in denial of my abuse.

Appalachian Communities and Domestic Violence

Violence in the home is never justified. There are obstacles of living in Appalachia: it has fewer resources, greater isolation, and closer kinship ties. Many find the prospect of leaving all that is known and familiar behind, much too great an obstacle to leave the home where they are being abused. The victim fears gossip and ostracism by the community.

Sister Mary Kay of Beattysville, KY said, "The key to extricating oneself from abusive situations is dignity and having the courage to step out. She also noted that, "Society's attitude needs to change; we need to ask why men abuse, not why women go back" (www.stmarycatholicexchange.com). The decision to leave a violent partner is not a simple matter. For rural women especially, who experiences violence from her partner,

both geographical distance and fear of a lack of confidentiality, can work to keep them socially isolated. Most women in Appalachia would not want to live anywhere else. There is a bond between themselves, the land, the countryside and the way of life. It can be extremely difficult for a woman to walk away from the land, friends, and familiar life. One must understand the difficulties women experiencing domestic violence face in Appalachian communities. Many women find it almost impossible to leave when it means abandoning their farm animals which are usually the livelihood for the family. “Children are concerned with having to leave household pets behind; and for farming families this problem was particularly acute”, Sister Mary Kay says (<http://www.countryside.gov.uk/domesticviolence>).

Carol Sexty, Policy and Research Manager at Save the Children said, “The research worryingly indicates that it is most often the children who are the hidden victims of domestic violence in rural areas, and children who are further penalized by the gaps in service provision which leave them to vulnerable to disaffection from the education system and society as a whole” (September 2003, www.savethechildren.org.uk).

Problems with schooling and social isolation are highlighted as key issues by those children and service providers questioned in the study. In cases where rural children had to move away to escape violence, it could be a number of months before a school place was found for them, which had significant social and academic consequences. Abrupt departures from friends, often with no opportunity to say goodbye, were found to be particularly distressing, geographical isolation also made it difficult for children in rural areas to make new friendships.

Domestic Violence and Social Control in Appalachia

In her ethnographic study of Appalachian women, Patricia Gagne (1992) writes of Leah and her abusive husband Andy. After years of violence at Andy's hands, Leah left. A shelter worker helped her relocate. But after several months she returned to Andy. She concluded in her study of Appalachian women that with a cultural acceptance of men's authority over women, violence would not be as effective a means of social control. Gagne, also goes on to report, "Social control has been suggested as a conflict tactic that is used in the Appalachian community" (Gagne, 1992).

Gagne (1992) points out that in the field of cultural anthropology, researchers like Jaquelyn Campbell (1992) have found that, "across cultures, wife battering is linked to male dominance and cultural norms that tolerate domestic violence". Because of findings like Campbell's, a solid argument exists that, at the institutional/state level, part of the problem is that legislatures are composed primarily of men - - men who are presumably influenced by a culture that encourages them to view women as objects of possession (Gagne, 1992).

Men, who abuse women, do so out of sense of male entitlement and masculine social conditioning in order to gain power and control over their partners. Domestic violence is a pattern of behaviors that one person exercises over another within a relationship in order to dominate and gain power, and to control. Domestic violence is not an anger management problem. Abusers are experts at managing their anger in order to intimidate and control their partner. Domestic violence is viewed by many as a social problem and now there must be a social change regarding family abuse.

Use of Guns in West Virginia Domestic Violence Incidents

West Virginia has one of the worst domestic violence rates in the nation as reported by WTAP News, “West Virginia US Attorney Thomas Johnston says, ‘there are many reasons that abuse flourishes here (in West Virginia) and men must challenge’, what he calls a blight on the culture of West Virginia”, database available online at (<http://www.wtap.com/news/headlines/985421.html>). Denise Alex of WTAP News reports, “West Virginia enjoys a low crime rate, but each year about 40 percent of the state’s murder victims are linked by blood or some other relationship to their killers.

2003 DEC 25 – (NewsRx.com)—In a state where a domestic-related killing occurs about every 2 weeks, more funding is needed for advocates to help victims of domestic violence in West Virginia, participants in a women’s health conference said. Thirty-one of a total of 70 West Virginia homicides in 2002 were domestic violence-related, according to WV State statistics (Copyright 2003, Women’s Health Weekly via NewsRx.com/issuesww.html). “Normally you don’t think of it as a health issue”, Delegate Barbara Fleischauer, D-Monongalia, said of domestic violence; “It is a very important one. It’s not just murders, it’s all the people who live in fear and hide their bruises”. Fleischauer was chairwoman of the 2003 Women’s Health Policy Conference in Charleston, WV, which addressed the issue of guns and domestic violence. Firearms were used in about 80% of all of domestic violence-related fatalities in 1999, said Dr. Jim Kaplan, WV state medical examiner. An important issue addressed was that how the state addresses the use of firearms in domestic violence is limited by “judicial personnel not taking the issue of domestic violence seriously by making exemptions to law in allowing people who are subject to domestic violence protection orders; the leeway to use firearms during hunting season” (Copyright 2003, Women’s Health Weekly via

NewsRx.com). Another concern is that there is no standardized directive for what to do with weapons seized in domestic violence cases. Police must seize any weapon used in a domestic violence case, according to WV State Police 2nd Lt. Jan Hudson, officers also may choose to seize weapons found during a consensual search or in plain sight that were not used in the domestic violence case. In the latter situation, officers sometimes seize the weapons and keep them in evidence lockers until the end of a domestic violence petition, or allow the accused to the weapons to a family member or friend, Hudson also said, “there is not a policy in place on how to handle this”.

The West Virginia Statistical Analysis Center, October 19, 1998, conducted a research project aimed at examining the possible line between domestic violence and the availability and the use of guns in West Virginia. The fact we are mostly rural, the availability of firearms (a lot of deer hunters) leads to a very high incident of death or injuries related to domestic violence. U.S. Federal statistics reveal how guns were instrumental in 70% of domestic violence homicides. This study was conducted to attempt to measure the degree to which the conditions in the state of West Virginia mirrored or contradicted the national figures.

Specific conditions in the state relating to high availability of firearms, the relatively lower educational and income status of spouses, the traditional Appalachian conservative culture and low level of support and public awareness services in the state, seemed to magnify the problem of domestic violence even more. (Personally, I have experienced being shot at; there is an obvious bullet hole on the kitchen door of my log cabin, fired from the inside as I was locked outside in the snow). I have empathy for the women I have met and who experienced similar episodes of domestic violence.

Barriers to Treatment for Appalachian Women regarding domestic abuse

Many barriers exist in rural Appalachia that inhibit and prevent women from obtaining needed services. There is a lack of financial resources to pay for child care, transportation, and seek medical care. Traditional Appalachian values of family solidarity, self-reliance, and pride have held families together while domestic violence goes on inside closed cabin doors. Cultural beliefs that influence one's view of life and health are the "what will be- will be" attitude which can be fatalistic on a woman's life when faced with the issue of domestic violence and what to do about it. The typical rural isolationist attitudes are one; with a general lack of trust in institutions, there is a need to ensure program communications regarding domestic violence to overcome the barriers of geographic isolation, readability, and cultural differences of the Appalachians from other parts of the United States. These cultural barriers include a mistrust of outsiders, fear of the "system", a tradition of self-sufficiency and taking care of one's own, and of social isolation, all of which are obstacles, hopefully, to be overcome in Appalachia in order to help eradicate domestic abuse in families.

Health care and domestic violence Cost

Feminist researchers have relied heavily on populations such as women's refuges and shelters, hospital emergency rooms and the criminal and divorce courts to find answers for questions regarding domestic violence. Women in these situations are used to develop the theoretical framework and policy for domestic violence programs and models. Domestic violence advocates face new challenges in the field of healthcare as the cost of injuries; whether for minor bruising or major surgical intervention or mental health care. In the United States domestic violence is one of the most serious threats to

women's health. In order to ensure meaningful long-term social and institutional change for battered women, the following healthcare issues must be addressed: Why battered women need a strengthened health care response and why health care providers should care. Roles of domestic violence organizations can play in the health care settings and develop a health care response to domestic violence. Explore routine screening for domestic violence, as well as, insurance discrimination against battered and formerly battered women.

Why Battered Women need a Strengthened Healthcare Response

Domestic abuse victims come into frequent contact with health care professionals, but physicians often treat their injuries symptomatically. The health care community then misses the opportunity for intervention. The victims continue to suffer physical and emotional abuse in most cases. Health professionals often fail to perceive that domestic violence is part of a patient's life. Rates of non-identification of battered women remain high. Health care providers can make a difference. They are often the first and sometimes only helping professionals to see the battered woman's injury.

Research shows that some of the contributing factors that prevent health professionals' identification of battered women are lack of knowledge about domestic violence. There is support of positive change when nurses and other health care professionals can assess, empower, and become advocates for battered women. J. C. Campbell's (1992) found that, "rural battered women experience increased isolation and financial dependence" make it so hard for health care workers to interrupt this cycle of abuse. Simply having a written protocol on domestic violence was not enough; however,

there must be a practical application of the domestic-abuse policy for the health care staff (Campbell, 1992).

Domestic Violence and a Woman's Employment

Women have reported that their batterers stalked and/or assaulted them immediately prior to or during a work shift, threatened their child or children, hid or stole their care keys or transportation money, repeatedly called or sent e-mail messages to them throughout the work day, spread lies about them disguised as concern (e.g., telling the boss that she has a drug problem, had been stealing from the company, or was suffering from mental illness), and destroyed work documents. In Shepard and Pence's (1988) study, over half the women reported having been harassed at work by phone or in person by their abusers.

Some women leave their jobs due to their partner's demands or threats or as part of leaving a community to escape the violence; others may try to retain their current, perhaps stable and lucrative, employment (Chenier, 1998).

The desire to maintain employment creates a situation in which a batterer knows with some level of certainty when and where his victim may be found, even after a relationship has ended. A batterer may seek out his (ex)partner while she is at work and perhaps even target her coworkers or employers if he believes that she is receiving assistance and support from them (Newman & Baron, 1998; and Solomon, 2001).

In terms of assault, Warchol's (1998) analysis of Department of Justice data found between 1992 and 1996, partners assaulted an average of 18,000 people at work each year. Women were 5 times more likely to be victimized by a partner at work than were men, accounting for 15,000 of these incidents each year. Beyond the immediate

physical injuries due to partner violence, women may suffer from long-term ailments such as chronic pain, vision or hearing loss, ulcers, indigestion, and eating disorders, all of which may complicate employment (Coker, Smith, Bethea, King, & McKeon, 2000; Wilson, 1997).

Costs associated with partner battering are staggering, estimated to be as high as \$5 billion per year in terms of absenteeism, tardiness, lowered productivity, turnover, increased security costs, and medical expenses (Johnson & Indvik, 1999; Robertson, 1998; Zachary, 2000).

Battered women incur an estimated \$24 million a year in medical expenses, much of which is paid by employee-sponsored health care plans (Greenfield, et. al., 1998). Unfortunately, one response employers use to cope with the effects of partner violence on their employees is termination of the victim's employment. Shepard and Pence (1988) found that many of the women in their study had lost their jobs because of excessive absenteeism, tardiness, poor job performance, or the threatening and disruptive behavior exhibited by their partners in the workplace. Browne, Salomon, and Bassuk (1999) found that only one-third of the battered women in the study were able to keep their full-time jobs for 6 months or longer the year following a report of domestic violence. Clearly, abuse and battering affect women's ability to obtain and maintain employment, regardless of specific reason stated for job loss.

Reasons Treatment may not work with some Perpetrators

According to Morley D. Glicken and Dale K. Sechrest (2003), "men resist the treatment experience", and even when court-mandated, abusers drop out in numbers that make its use highly problematic. As one might expect, given the widespread

nature of battering in our society, there are always prevailing attitudes among a number of people that violence is the fault of women and children, or that it serves as a positive control mechanism for keeping dysfunctional families together (Glicken, Sechrest, 2003). Giles-Sims (1983) believed violence may be rewarding to the abuser because it often results in “pleasing changes” in the spouse’s behavior (Giles-Sims, 1983). Glicken (1995) also found that abusers are frequently insensitive to the pain they inflict. When one asks them about an abusive episode, they frequently understate the harm done. They deny hearing bones break or believe that the victim is the responsible one since they should not have been sitting the way they were when struck...the victim should have seen that the abuser was angry and removed themselves from the situation (Glicken, 1995). Abusers frequently test adult partners and children by making expectations so unclear that failure is almost always likely to result, as pointed out by Waldo in 1987 (Waldo, 1987). Scher and Stevens (1985) report that violence to women is rooted in cultural and historical folkways and mores, which, “define men as caretakers who are necessary tough and aggressive”. This view of abusive behavior is explained by a society that trains men to be winners at any cost. Men act aggressive towards those who might be competitors. Anxiety related to the need to always be a winner may result in violent acts.

Sociology makes an important contribution to understanding domestic violence. The visibility of domestic violence encourages analysis of social construction of both private troubles and social problems in the context of assumed and desired normality.

Sociological study has helped to refine ideas about the structure of families and has drawn attention to the gap between ideologies and realities in family life. Beyond

the family, violence has serious economic and social consequences in society. Our society places a high value on marriage stability and women are the ones expected to keep the family together, even at a cost to themselves. Most families only want the violence to stop; they do not want subsequent involvement with a system they perceive as intrusive, unhelpful, and punitive. There will be fines, court cost, and if the husband is jailed and working there will be added financial difficulties to the family. I have experienced these unnecessary financial difficulties to the family. I have experienced this unnecessary financial loss on top of the abuse. Yet, if arrests are not made and treatment is not ordered, the abusers behavior has few external controls and the violence is likely to go on. In my case, court ordered therapy and private counseling through Catholic Diocese did not work to prevent violence.

I must agree with Jane H. Wolf-Smith and Ralph LaRossa (1992) assessment of shelters: What shelters were able to do was to decrease the woman's willingness to honor the male's perception of the abusive behavior. Shelters, and treatment provided in the shelters were able to change the cycle of abuse by helping women to not accept the apologies in lieu of...elimination of abusive behavior (Wolf-Smith, LaRossa, 1992).

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Family Violence in Appalachia with a Focus on Huntington (Cabell Co.) WV

I will attempt to explain how family violence in Appalachia is different from other parts of our country. About 23 million people live in the 410 counties of the Appalachian region; 42 percent of the region's population is rural, compared with 20 percent of the national population. There are many factors which contribute to domestic violence in Appalachia. I hypothesizes that poverty, religion, and isolation have a great impact on domestic violence in Appalachia. Is domestic violence in Appalachia expressed somewhat differently than abuse elsewhere? Huntington (Cabell Co.) WV has domestic violence problems and demographics which are typical of most of Appalachia's river cities of the same size. The region's economic fortunes were based in the past mostly on the extraction of natural resources. Coal remains an important resource, but it is not a major provider of jobs. Interviews conducted examine the effects of battering and violence on a woman's work in employability in Cabell County, West Virginia and these interviews also discuss the three cycle stage of domestic violence as described by Dr. Lenore Walker (1989). A survey distributed to a sample of abused women in Cabell County, West Virginia looks at how these abused women conceptualize the major contributors to violent behavior among abusive men. I also want to find out what the medical costs for domestic violence totals in Cabell might be and I do this by using existing records on DVP's (domestic violence petitions) in Cabell County, WV. I then take the total of these DVP's and apply the average cost of medical treatment for each

domestic violence petition in order to get some idea of the cost of domestic violence in Cabell County, West Virginia for the period of 1992-1998.

Battered Women Syndrome in Appalachia

Walker's (1989) cyclical theory for domestic violence realizes that violent behavior increases in severity as the relationship matures. Walker's theory is an attempt to explain why battered women remain with their abusers. According to this view, the cycle of violence consists of three stages: tension building stage, violent episode, and honeymoon stage.

During the tension building phase, the victim is subjected to verbal abuse and minor battering incidents, such as slaps, pinches and psychological abuse. In this phase, the woman tries to pacify her batterer by using techniques that have worked previously. Typically, the woman showers her abuser with kindness or attempts to avoid him. However, the victim's attempts to pacify her batterer are often fruitless and only work to delay the inevitable acute battering incident.

The active battering phase begins with the verbal abuse and minor battering which evolves into an acute battering incident. A release of the tensions built during phase one characterizes the active battering phase, which usually lasts for a period from two to twenty-four hours. Most importantly, the violence during this phase is unpredictable and inevitable, and statistics indicate that the risk of the batterer murdering his victim is at its greatest. The batterer places his victim in a constant state of fear, and she is unable to control her batter's violence by using techniques that worked in the tension building phase. The victim, realizing her lack of control, attempts to mitigate the violence by becoming passive.

After the active battering phase comes to a close, the cycle of violence enters the calm respite phase or honeymoon phase. The calm, loving respite phase is the most psychologically victimizing phase because the batterer fools the victim, who is relieved that the abuse has ended, into believing that he has changed. However, the batterer usually begins again to abuse his victim and the cycle of abuse begins anew. This continued cycle of violence results in a woman living in a state of learned helplessness (Walker, 1989). The battered woman lives with a constant fear, coupled with a perceived inability to escape the abuse.

I address these stages in interviews with battered women at the Branches Abuse Shelter in Huntington, (Cabell Co.) West Virginia.

SAMPLE FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CABELL CO., WV

My sampling techniques consist of analyzing local data for Cabell Co., WV which is already in existence. Analyzing existing statistics can provide the main data for a social scientific inquiry, which this research will reflect. Out of a population of 95,682 in Cabell County, W.V. for the years 1992-1998 there were 5,414 domestic violence arrests.

The Effects of Battering and Violence on Woman's Work and Employability

Data were obtained through interviews of twelve residents of Branch's Abuse Shelter in Huntington, (Cabell Co.) West Virginia. The focus was on women who had obtained substantial education and built solid and lucrative careers prior to being abused. Research in the past decade has begun to focus on the effects of violence at work, but; importantly, largely ignored the effects of partner violence on women's ability to work (Neuman & Baron, 1998; O'Leary-Kelly, Griffin & Glew, 1996).

It is estimated that women lose nearly \$18 million in earnings each year as a result of partner violence (Greenfield, et. al. 1998). Using Goode's resource theory indicates how some partner violence is perpetrated with the intent to prevent women from obtaining or maintaining employment (Goode, 1971).

The purpose of this study is to provide detailed accounts by women about their work related experiences within the context of a violent relationship. Financial resources are critical in battered women's struggle to find safety and become independent from their abusers. Batterers may abuse employed women, or women seeking employment to prevent them from obtaining financial means or to establish independence and social power.

Delimitations and Limitations

Prior research has identified patterns of abuse that prevented or disrupted women's employment although research in the organizational management arena has continuously denied the relevance of partner violence to work, effects of partner violence that are directly related to work and organizations clearly include absence, turnover, and replacement.

Batterers may abuse employed women, or women seeking employment, to prevent them from obtaining any level of financial means with which they could establish independence, resourcefulness, and social power. One must understand this within a framework that illustrates the way in which women's resistance to partner abuse, both individually and collectively, threatens the historically and legally established gendered hierarchy within intimate relationships, as well as, contests notions of structurally supported hegemonic masculinity in the United States.

Goode, argued that batterers who lack power (most frequently measured in terms of income, educational achievement, and occupational status) when compared to their partners are more likely to use violence to obtain power in the relationship (Goode, 1971). Goode's resource theory and the voices of the participants suggest that the violence perpetrated by their abusive partners was purposeful and specifically intend to impede the women's ability to work (Goode, 1971).

Qualitative semi-structured interviews seem to be the most appropriate, given the nature of the inquiry. Conducting interviews in a semi-structural format provides for a wealth of information to be gathered. Not having to conform to a rigid schedule, the women will be in a zone of comfort and safety (Branches Domestic Abuse Shelter in Huntington, WV) and they can decide for themselves how much detail to provide about their victimization and work experiences. Such flexibility is essential because many of the women are in very dangerous and vulnerable positions at the time of an interview (being a resident of a domestic violence shelter). It is important to remember that the battered woman does not like abuse, nor is she responsible for her victimization, given the prevalence of domestic abuse in our society.

Indeed, in emphasizing the epistemic privilege, or the specific vantage point, of the participants, it is hoped that this research will provide members of a marginalized and often silenced group greater opportunity to offer meaningful accounts of the ways in which the world is organized according to the oppressions these women experienced (Collins, 1989; Elliot, 1994; Narayan, 1998; and Smith, 1987).

The interview schedule includes questions regarding the women's experiences with abuse, violent victimization, and help-seeking behaviors. The women were asked to

participate in the interviews during weekly “house meetings” via formal letters and verbal invitation. The interviews were conducted at the discretion of the women with private rooms at the shelter and lasted an average of 55 minutes each.

This methodology may be criticized because of its lack of reliability and generalizability, but it may also be credited for producing a richly detailed and descriptive set of narratives that would not have been possible through alternative means of data collection (Kvale, 1996; Lofland & Lofland, 1995). It follows a tradition within feminist epistemology of privileging women’s diverse standpoints while also providing them with a greater voice as they contribute to academic inquiry (DeVault, 1999; Harding, 1987; Hartsock, 1983; Naples, 1999; Reinharz, 1992; and Smith, 1989).

Anticipated Ethical Issues

Participant of the survey must be 19 years of age. The right to participate is voluntary and the right to withdraw can be at any time during the interview. The purpose of the study was explained to the individual so she can understand the nature of the research. The identity of the women will not be revealed, therefore, they will not be signing consent forms. The names of any people discussed during the interviews will be changed by the researcher. The actual names of the women’s employers will be replaced with descriptions of the organization or industry with the text of their narratives. Aside from the changes, quotes from the participants will be verbatim.

Anticipated Findings

I anticipated finding what the following researcher found regarding domestic violence and employment:

The effects of abuse on women’s work and employability are numerous. Many women are not able to look for work due

to physical and psychological abuse, which contributes to their social isolation, emotional degradation, and feelings of worthlessness (Kurz, 1995).

This is indeed what I discovered.

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV Conceptualize the
Major Contributors to Abusive Men

During the month of May 2004, I conducted a survey in Cabell County West Virginia (at Branches Domestic Abuse Shelter) in order to measure how 42 women conceptualized the major contributors to abusive behavior in men; in order to enhance programs for intervention and prevention.

Although a focus of domestic violence research has been to understand and treat abused women as victims, there is relatively little published literature addressing how they as “experts” on spousal abuse understand its causes.

For the purpose of this project, abuse is defined as the physical abuse of a woman by her husband or boyfriend.

The forty-two participants were asked several questions to assess their perceptions of what factors contributed to abusive behavior. The participants have all been victims of abuse at least once in their life. Participants of the survey were all over the age of 19. The right to participate was voluntary and there was a right to withdraw at any time during the survey. The purpose of the study was explained to the individual so she could understand the nature of the research. Participants all remained anonymous.

Respondents were asked on a 5 point Likert Scale how major a contributor they think each of the seven factors are to causing abusive behavior in men. The seven factors are:

1. Man was abused as a child.
2. Man saw his mother abused as a child.
3. Man wants to control women.
4. Man's inability to control anger.
5. Man's friends accept his violent behavior.
6. People accept violence toward women as normal behavior.
7. Woman's friends do not offer to help.

Chapter IV.

FINDINGS

A look at Huntington, (Cabell Co.) West Virginia, reveals that from approximately the middle of the twentieth century U.S. Route 60 and then, in the 1970's, Interstate 64 have shaped the distribution of the population on the Cabell County landscape. When considering Huntington's Urban Density, one can notice high concentrations of population along major avenues running parallel through Huntington following the Ohio River. This is typical of Appalachia's river cities.

This area is considered "Appalachian" in the sense that Cabell County, WV is included in the Appalachian Regional Commission's list of Appalachian counties. Huntington historically prospered through the region's economic involvement with the steel industry and as a switching point in the rail and river transport of coal and other natural resources from southwestern West Virginia and southeastern West Virginia and southeastern Kentucky. Economic development strategies that focused on industrial and mining job development tended to result in jobs of poorer quality. These strategies of economic development tend to worsen the living conditions of women as the number of single parent households increased in the region and more women and children found themselves slipping deeper and deeper into poverty.

Huntington's mean poverty rate over the period of time (1985-1995) was 21.27%. This period saw a great deal of economic hardship as local steel mills in Ashland, KY and Huntington, WV shut down. Looking at these poverty rates for local communities, balanced against the high rate of suburban and relatively high per capita

and median family incomes would appear to indicate a high degree of differentiation between the “haves” and the “have nots” in the Cabell County region.

In 1999, WV University Survey Research Center reported 28% of all of WV’s youth live below the poverty level, compared to the national rate of 17%. Thirteen percent of these youth, compared to nine percent nationally live in extreme poverty, their family incomes being 50% below poverty level. In 1999, 52.7% of all school children (K-12) were approved for free lunch; this is a good indicator for poverty in the state. The southern counties of the state of WV have seen a great deal of social and economic devastation through flooding, which has exacerbated poor economic conditions. Goode’s (1971) resource theory is applied to domestic abuse in West Virginia and makes some sense of why men abuse.

Findings for Cabell County West Virginia for Period of 1992-1998

The Demography of Cabell County, West Virginia consists of a population of 95,682, with 19.2% persons living below the poverty level. The median age is 36.7 years, primarily white (93.4%) with blacks at 4.3%. High school graduates of persons 25 years of age or over is 80% and the same age group with a Bachelor’s Degree or higher is 20.9%. There are 21,957 people with disabilities in Cabell County, WV. The female population for Cabell County is 52.2%.

The study population is the aggregation of elements from which a sample is selected, and in this case the domestic violence arrests are 5,417. When one figures an average per assault, the mean medical care cost per physical assault is \$2,665.00. I use this figure by Max, Rice, Golding and Pinderhughes (1999) whom found the mean medical care cost per physical assault among victims who actually receive

treatment is \$2,665.00. By applying \$2,665.00 for each assault in Cabell County, West Virginia, we have a cost of \$14,363,305.00 for the period from 1992 – 1998. The cost of 32,502 possible unreported assaults of domestic violence for Cabell Co., WV would be: $32,502 \times \$2,665.00 = \$86,617,830.00$ (not including child assaults).

By using and studying existing data, I find increases in divorce and decreases in marriages in Cabell Co., WV, which may have contributed to rising arrest rates for domestic violence during the period of 1992-1998. My sampling distribution is based on the number of domestic violence arrests during the period, which totaled 5,417 with the critical region being the population of 95,682 during the same period.

Assumptions of Statistical Techniques

According to the American Psychological Association, Violence and the Family: Report of the APA Presidential Task Force on Violence and the Family (1996),p. 80, “40-60% of men who abuse women also abuse children”. By applying these statistics from the national level to Cabell County, WV, I find at least 2,700 of the arrests resulted in 2,700 people capable of harming children from 1992-1998 time periods. Between 30-50% of all marriages will at some point involve the use of physical violence. Statistics from: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1994. Applying this to Cabell County, WV, I find the potential for at least one of the 4,146 marriages during the 1992-1998 periods, for 2000 assaults.

Problem with this Study

Only about one out of seven of all domestic assaults come to the attention of the police; according to Florida Governor’s Task force on Domestic and Sexual Violence, Florida Mortality Review Project, 1997, p.3. Applying this statistic to the

5,417 DVP Domestic Violence Abuse arrests in Cabell Co., WV, this means there could have been 32,502 assaults that went unreported bringing the total amount of domestic violence cases to 37,915 in the 1992 – 1998 periods.

Findings for Major Contributor to Abusive Behavior in
Cabell Co., West Virginia

In order of importance, the survey conducted at Branches Domestic Violence Shelter in Huntington, WV (Cabell Co.), (in the summer of 2004 administered to forty-two women) revealed that 4.33% of the men had an ability to control anger. 4.07% of the men want to control women. 3.36% of the men's friends accept violent behavior. 2.71% of men saw their mother abused as a child. 2.48% of the men were abused as a child. Lastly, 2.45% believed that the woman's friends do not offer help. The women overwhelmingly believe that their partners could control their anger (4.07%). Domestic violence is not an anger management problem. Abusers are experts at managing their anger in order to intimidate and control their partner. One respondent reported, "It's only when he wants to get his way that he hits me". Thus the response of 4.07% followed that men want to control women. It was made very clear to me by the respondents that abuse does not have to occur, it's only when the man wants control. After the survey instrument was completed I had an informal discussion with the women and went over the three stage cycle of violence as Walker (1989) describes the tension building stage, the acute battering stage and then the calm period referred to as the honeymoon stage. The women made comments on the absence of a honeymoon stage. This is an important finding; the cycle of violence, with the absence of a honeymoon stage. The acceptance of family violence in the

culture of Appalachia seems to be the norm. This is evident from the 3.36% of women who found that the men's friends accept the violent behavior. Several of the respondents mention that their families also accepted violence as normal in family life. In my case, my mother-in-law said to me, "You should have come here and I would have taken care of you", so the secrecy of my abuse would not be discovered by my employer. 2.48% of the women felt that a man seeing his mother abused was the major cause of violence in the home. Being raised in an atmosphere of abuse children will begin to normalize family violence and this became apparent to me as I heard over and over again, "He saw his mother hit". Lastly, 2.45% of the women believed that a woman's friends do not offer to help". Friends can only help so much, as one respondent replied, "I need money to rent a place, I cannot stay here forever". Another was quick to reply, "I've never even had a job before. Where do I start?" This was a major problem for abused women because most people would be encouraged to leave the abuse center after 30 days. In some cases extensions were made but mostly not. There is a need for abused women to have an economic back up if they are going to leave the abuse successfully; otherwise, they seem to believe they have no choice but to return home to the abuser. This is also what I witnessed over and over again during my stay at Branches Abuse Shelter in Huntington, WV.

What My Interviews Discovered

A total of twelve abuse victims interviewed all experienced lack of employment due to incidences of domestic violence. Out of the 42 women I had contact with on the survey, only 12 women had employment. Women whom lack economic resources because they do not have a good education are trapped or feel trapped and this is where

these women experience Walker's learned helplessness and thus it is implied that the abused women want to stay in their situations. Employers, I am told, do not tolerate absenteeism, especially when domestic abuse is revealed. One of the respondents said, "It upset me because my co-workers thought I must like the beatings because I stay". Ten of the women interviewed all were fired from their employment due to domestic violence. I have also been dismissed from my employment (as an executive secretary) because of domestic violence. Most of the women had limited educations and had not had a job. When asked if these women experience the three stage cycle of violence; which consist of tension building, violent episode and then a honeymoon stage, I received a response from ten of the participants that a honeymoon stage was absent. I was not anticipating finding that most women do no experience a three stage cycle of violence. Future research is most needed. These women did experience a tension building stage and battering stage but lacked remorse from the abuser. Walker's (1989) research reveals that after two cycles of abuse that the victim believes there is no way out and she calls this learned helplessness. The women who were in the abuse shelter, did indeed, break out of the learned helplessness stage; otherwise they would not have been there. However, because there are limited funds and resources for a woman to start her life anew, she may return home because she cannot afford to leave. One respondent said, "I have no choice but to go home, I know it will be worse when I go back" she should know best as this was the third time she had been to Branches. When a woman fills out a Domestic Violence Petition (DVP) she has a choice to request that the abuser leave the residence, however, most of the women did not do this because the abuser would know where to

reach her. The police force is short handed and it takes a while for them to respond to a 911 call. One woman said, “It took me six hours to get the police here”.

Is this a social norm in Appalachia? The reason I brought the three stage cycle of violence into the interview was because, I too, experienced domestic abuse minus a honeymoon stage in the three stage cycle of violence. This research reveals that if a batterer believes he has a right to abuse, there is no honeymoon stage or apology. After all, some abusers feel it is their place to keep their women in line.

One woman interviewed stated, “My husband rules our family with his fist and it has always been that way in both of our families”. Perhaps it goes further back than that for the people of Appalachia. The South was settled primarily by people from the fringes of Britain, also known as, the Scotch-Irish (Fischer, 1989). The Scottish and the Irish were descendants of the Celts, and like the Celts reckoned their wealth in terms of animals, and were accustomed to intertribal warfare and cattle raiding. Men use violence not only to protect their castle from those outside it but also to control those within it. Such violence has often had legal and religious approval both in Europe, as well as, in Appalachia.

Nisbett and Cohen (1996) says that, “the South retains a version of the culture of honor, and this culture is largely responsible for the greater violence of the region”. They also attribute that the frontier legacy of the South and West legitimized self-protective or defensive violence...also legitimized violence for the purpose of discipline, control and punishment.

A woman in her early sixties expressed she has not been able to have her husband arrested for abusing her in the earlier years of her marriage and went on to say, “every

time I called the law, nothing would be done”. Perhaps Nisbett and Cohen (1996) say it best:

Consistent with the notion those southerners are more accepting of violence for purposes of control, the South has laws more lenient toward domestic violence, is more tolerant of corporal punishment in the schools, and has systems of justice more willing to carry out executions” (Nisbett, Cohen (1996).

I also experienced trouble trying to get the police to respond to a domestic violence call in Wayne County, WV. I was told that police were shorthanded and not to call unless there was a body. I heard that police response is very slow, from most of the respondents I have interviewed, some waiting as long as six hours. A domestic violence call is a very dangerous one for law enforcement to respond to and when a woman leaves home there are usually “many calls to 911”. In my case and most of the women I interviewed; we became to know the officers because of having to call 911 much more than once.

My most memorable interview took place over the course of two months, while as a client at Branches Domestic Abuse Shelter in Huntington, WV. I will just refer to her as Natasha for the sake of anonymity. (My daughter’s and I arrived at the shelter a few days before Thanksgiving Day. We walked the 1 ¼ miles down our mountain through the woods and waited hours on the road before we got a ride to the Post Office and then a ride to the shelter on advise from the police.) A few weeks went by and I noticed a beautiful tear faced woman whom seemed so withdrawn. One day we got to talking and we compared our thoughts on domestic violence in Wayne County, WV. She was a physician from Russia who had married a man who was in the military and returned to his native Wayne County, WV for what she thought would be wedded bliss. She could hardly speak English at this time. Her husband proceeded to beat her daily and threaten

with having her taken away by the police and being deported. He would remove the air conditioner and lock her in the house when he went shopping or whatever. Her mother-in-law lived within sight of Natasha's home and would "do nothing" to help her daughter-in-law. She knew he was purposely hitting her in her vital organs, "he would hit my liver". I experienced the same; my abuser (military police) had also seemed to place his hits at vital places. This is something I suspected; (that there was a target place) and finding someone who had experienced the same, confirmed my thoughts that there was indeed a place to strike while abusing. She decided that finding the police was the thing she had to do and when the chance arose she escaped and made it to a gas station and arrived at Branches via the police also. We also discussed the absence of remorse from the abusers we were married to. This patriarchal traditionalist character of many Appalachian communities fosters women's dependence on men, but also lessens the chances that an abusive partner will be censured. Violence to women certainly seems to be rooted in cultural and historical folkways and mores. In both our cases our abusers never served any jail time or penalties for the abuse we received. I am grateful that, even though the response time is great for domestic violence cases, that the police do transport the abused victims to a domestic abuse shelter. Through this interview I realized that a woman can be socially isolated through domestic violence.

While at Branches I met a woman whom was there because her abuser (her husband) hit her son, and that, she says, "was what did it" and she made her way to the abuse shelter with the help of the police. She also was successful in starting her life over. (We are expecting our first grandchild; so something of a miracle happened. My son Jamie would probably not have met his wife if I had not made that fateful trip to

Branches.) We talked about the lack of remorse from our abusers and, “would they ever feel sorry for what they’ve done” was the topic of a lot of conversations. At the time (1997) I did not know what the cycle of violence was so I thought abuse happened because perhaps it was my fault.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Karl Marx saw the state employs the only legitimate means of enforcing the laws of society. People who disobey can be punished by the State in the interest of society. By arresting perpetrators of domestic violence the State can possibly lower the cost of intimate partner violence.

What I did not anticipate to find through qualitative interviews is the absence of a honeymoon stage in Walker's (1989) cycle of violence. Goode's (1971) resource theory provides an influential explanation of violence in Appalachia where a lot of families lack economic resources. Force then becomes one of several resources that form the basis of the family stratification system. Women who cannot be economically self-supporting may become trapped in "learned helplessness" as many women have an internalized blame for a husband's violence because she depends on her husband for economic support (Walker, 1989).

Suggestions for Future Research

One way to strengthen one's analysis is through a thought-out research design. My choice was non-experimental and does not have any random assignment in design. There are usually descriptive studies conducted using a simple survey instrument only once. While they are useful in their own right, they are weak in establishing a cause/effect relationship. I would like to discover patterns which would involve asking some questions to make more sense of one's data. I would like to further do research on the frequencies of abuse between couples. I would like to find out the magnitude of the abuse and how brutal the assault was. Perhaps a survey using the Likert Scale at an abuse

shelter would give an indication of the level of abuse. I would, also, want to investigate structure and find out what are the different types of abuse: physical, mental, or sexual. The processes must also be investigated to find out if there is any order among the elements of structure. Do abusers begin with mental abuse and move on to physical and sexual abuse? I would, also, want to find out why, what causes abuse? Does it occur more often during the good times or bad or both? In this study one must notice in 1995 the amount of Domestic Violence Petitions (DVP) skyrocketed to a level of 1153 in Cabell County, West Virginia, alone.

Domestic violence and the availability and the use of firearms is a serious public health and community problem that has not been fully understood or confronted and the study recommends that adequate resources, as well as, public community involvement to address this social problem which is affecting society as a whole. Even though domestic violence cuts across all socioeconomic groups it is crystal clear that combined experience of poverty and isolation due to the rural ness of West Virginia; that there are particular difficulties for victims of domestic violence in our state. In my case, I encountered Sr. Alice (a Catholic Sister) who administered programs to help people in poverty in Wayne County, West Virginia (1986). I was not there for domestic violence help; but she, being wise, realized I was a battered woman (with four children) and no employment due to isolation. She enabled me to empower myself through many discussions we had. I now know that; “I had to love myself enough not to be abused”, and people working in these programs can reach women and give them a step in self-empowerment. Sr. Alice also confronted me about my depression and took me for my first visit to counseling. She said, “Its five o’clock in the afternoon, you should not still

be in your pajamas. I think you may be suffering from depression and I can recommend you a good therapist. There is nothing to be ashamed of getting help". Sr. Alice took me to my first therapy session and continued to faithfully take me and when she could not take me Sr. Mariette and Sr. Roberta would drive me. It took eight years of counseling before I realized I could return to school and finish college, relocate and become abuse free. I experienced a true learned helplessness as described by Lenore Walker (1989) but at the time I did not realize it. By reaching out to academia for answers regarding intimate partner abuse; I hope to help other women in similar situations so they will be able to move on with their life.

The problem I want to research further is more services that can safely mediate serving legal papers, arrests and other measures that must be made to get victims to safety and to protect law enforcement in the process, as well. Violence against women is increasingly recognized as a significant health and human rights concern, according to Heise (Heise, et. al.,1999).

Further attention should be focused on how Blue Shield of California developed their program on domestic violence for its 2,500 employees of which 2/3 are women. The idea that in the workplace, the victims are removed from their batterers, and information can be relayed to workers about what they can do in case of family violence. Hospitals and other health care facilities can look at using this approach of reaching the victim in the absence of the abuser.

I would investigate further to find out the consequences of these domestic violence arrests. Do the couples involved in domestic violence arrests get counseling

help or perhaps serve jail time? And out of these domestic violence arrests how many of them occur as a result of a plaintiff disobeying a protective order already active?

My last area of research would be to widen my area of surveys in West Virginia and surrounding areas of Appalachia to determine the absence of the honeymoon stage in the three cycle of domestic violence. Is this a social norm in West Virginia and surrounding areas of Appalachia?

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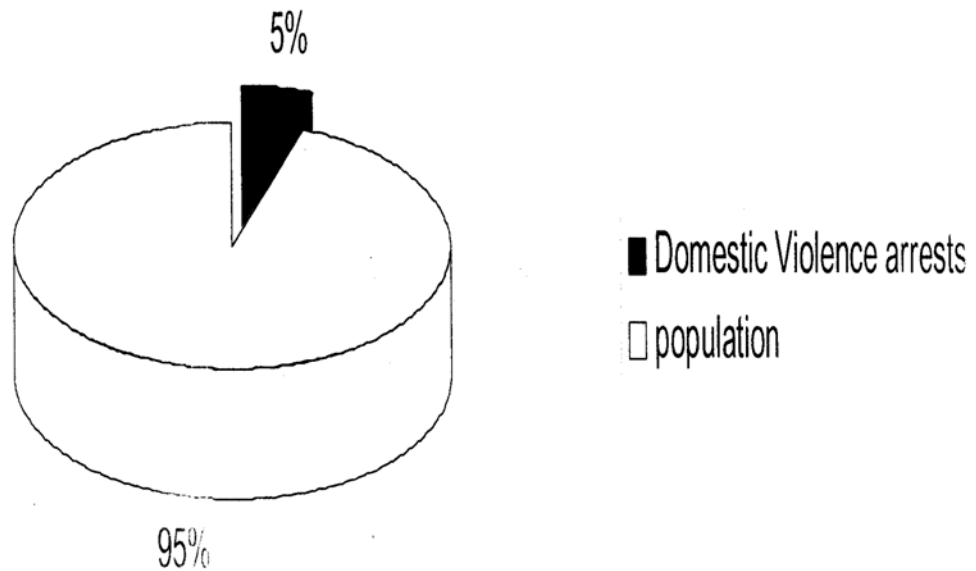
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APPENDICES

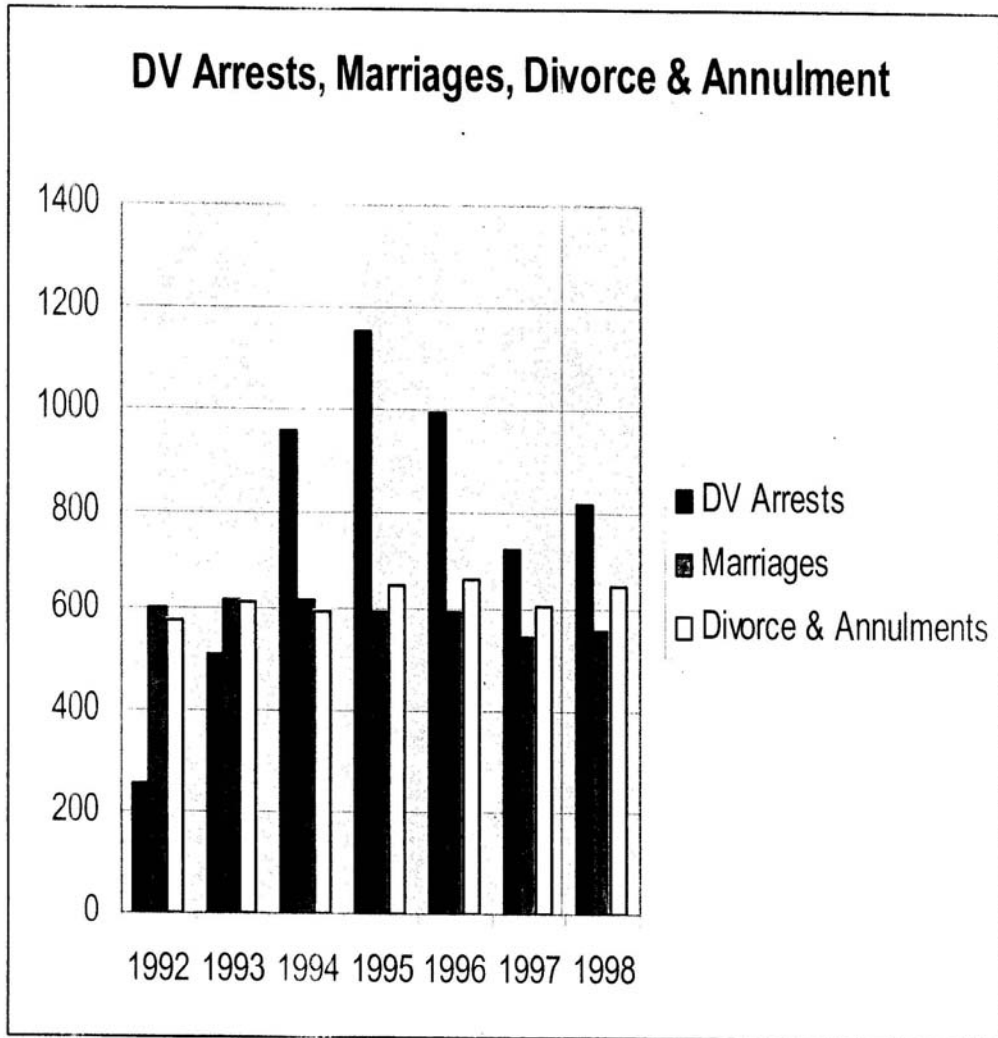
Appendix A:

Estimate of domestic violence in
Cabell County, West Virginia
1992-1998



Out of a population of 95,682 there were 5,417 domestic violence arrests.

Appendix B:



Cabell County Court House
1992-1998

Appendix C:

Major Contributor to Abusive Behavior in Men

Date: _____

On a scale of 1-5

Least

Greatest

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)

A. Man was abused as a child

B. Man saw his mother abused as a child

C. Man wants to control women

D. Man's inability to control anger

E. Man's friends accept his violent behavior

F. People accept violence toward women as normal behavior

G. Woman's friends do not offer to help

Appendix D:

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV Conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q1 Man was abused as a child

Answer	Value Assigned	Q1 Responses	Q1 Value x Frequency
Least	1	18	8
Less	2	15	30
Average	3	12	36
More	4	5	20
Greatest	5	2	10
Total		42	104
Mean			2.48

Appendix E:

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV Conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q2 Man saw his mother abused as a child

Answer	Value Assigned	Q2 Responses	Q2 Values x Frequency
Least	1	13	13
Less	2	10	20
Average	3	1	3
More	4	12	48
Greatest	5	6	30
Total		42	114
Mean			2.71

Appendix F:

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV Conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q3 Man wants to control women

Answer	Value Assigned	Q3 Responses	Q3 Values x Frequency
Least	1	2	2
Less	2	4	8
Average	3	5	15
More	4	9	36
Greatest	5	22	110
Total		42	171
Mean			4.07

Appendix G:

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q4 Man's inability to control anger

Answer	Value Assigned	Q4 Responses	Value x Frequency
Least	1	2	2
Less	2	0	0
Average	3	5	15
More	4	10	40
Greatest	5	25	125
Total		42	182
Mean			4.33

Appendix H:

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV Conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q5 Man's friends accept his violent behavior

Answer	Value Assigned	Q5 Responses	Q5 Value x Frequency
Least	1	15	15
Less	2	6	12
Average	3	14	84
More	4	5	20
Greatest	5	2	10
Total		42	141
Mean			3.36

Appendix I

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV Conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q6 People accept violence toward women as normal behavior

Answer	Value Assigned	Q6 Responses	Q6 Value x Frequency
Least	1	6	6
Less	2	14	28
Average	3	9	27
More	4	3	12
Greatest	5	10	50
Total		42	123
Mean			2.93

Appendix J:

How Abused Women in Cabell Co., WV conceptualize the Major Contributors to Abusive Behavior in Men

Q7 Woman's friends do not offer to help

Answer	Value Assigned	Q7 Responses	Value x Frequency
Least	1	15	15
Less	2	9	18
Average	3	5	15
More	4	10	40
Greatest	5	3	15
Total		42	103
Mean			2.45

CURRICULUM VITAE

After receiving a diploma from New England Business Academy in 1973, I worked various employments as an executive secretary. I have spent thirty years here in Appalachia and my children are the eighth generation of Stepp/Moore clan of Wayne County, WV. I am passionate about West Virginia; I want to help make it a safe place for women. After leaving an abusive marriage with four children; I entered Marshall University as a freshman in 1998 as a criminal justice major. I found that Sociology was my calling and this lead to my pursuing my MA in the field. Hopefully, I will be able to help women with intimate partner abuse in a professional way, and make a difference in reducing incidents. With more research on domestic violence in economically challenged areas such as West Virginia, and the cultural acceptance of violence in West Virginia, life will be easier on Appalachian women. Our area has seen much devastation through flooding. When an abused woman tries to start out on her own there is very little to attain in the way of donated household furnishings. This is a problem that must be dealt with in order for a woman and her children to survive. I hope I will be able to help other women in similar circumstances.