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Am I My Neighbor's Keeper : Toward a Community-Based Model of Local Violence

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Am I My Neighbor's Keeper?: Toward a Community-Based Model of Local Violence

Thesis submitted to
The Graduate College of
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In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
In Sociology

by

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ABSTRACT

By

George F. Bills

The purpose of this exploratory concurrent mixed methods study is to better understand the community context of domestic batterer intervention systems (Gondolf, 2002) by converging demographic trends in crime and arrest, family income, and marriage and divorce rates with community status indicators and marital conflict themes. In the study, county-level Uniform Crime Reports data, US Census data, and Vital Statistics data will be used to analyze community differences in social context and patterns of domestic violence in Cabell County, WV and Lawrence County, OH. At the same time, the local domestic batterer intervention system in Cabell County, WV, will be explored using ethnographic interviews, qualitative content analysis, and participant observation with individuals and organizations in Cabell County and at the state level in order to begin building a grounded theory of community violence.

DEDICATION

The author wishes to dedicate this thesis to Sheilla, who put up with his preoccupation with the project, and Denver, his son, who reminds him of how important it is to keep striving to help families and communities better themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this exploratory concurrent mixed methods study is to better understand the community context of domestic batterer intervention systems (Gondolf, 2002) by converging demographic trends in crime and arrest , family income, and marriage and divorce rates with community status indicators and marital conflict themes. In the study, county-level Uniform Crime Reports data, US Census data, and Vital Statistics data will be used to analyze community differences in social context and patterns of domestic violence in Cabell County, WV and Lawrence County, OH. At the same time, the local domestic batterer intervention system in Cabell County, WV will be explored using ethnographic interviews, qualitative content analysis, and participant observation with individuals and organizations in Cabell County and at the state level in order to begin building a grounded theory of community violence.

Identifying the Phenomena for Study in Relation to the Current Cultural Context

According to Gondolf (2002), the major events in the history of batterer intervention programs can be summarized in five periods of five years each, beginning in 1975 to 2000:

1975-1979
⬧ Battered-women's movement emerges and establishes women's shelters

◆ First National Family Violence Survey documents the extent of
domestic violence
◆ First batterer programs formed as gender-based discussion groups

1980-1984
◆ "Men & Masculinity" conference addresses men's responsibility in
dealing with violence against women (Lansing, MI)
◆ Techniques and skill building introduced into batterers programs
◆ Special conference about concerns with batterer counseling convened by
battered-women's advocates (Pottstown, PA)
◆First research panel on batterers at National Family Violence Research
Conference at University of New Hampshire

1985-1989
◆ First published batterer-program manuals
◆ Minneapolis Police Department study helps promote arrests of batterers
◆ Expansion of court-referred batterer counseling in response to pro-arrest
policies
◆ First national conference on working with batterers

1990-1994
◆ Batterer program standards and guidelines emerge
◆ Reviews of previous program evaluations show methodological
weaknesses
◆ Increased collaboration among batterer programs and criminal justice
system

1995-2000
◆ Federally funded program evaluations commence
◆Domestic violence councils further *coordinated community response*
◆ Books on *batterer types* and personalities published
<div align="right">(Gondolf, 2002, pp. 3)</div>

Early work by community organizers focused on establishing shelters

and "safe houses" to which abused and battered women could retreat to

avoid further punishment. In the first ten years of the movement over

1,500 shelters were established (Gondolf, 2002). The Prevention of

Domestic Violence Act of 1979, among other things, made it a crime to

rape one's spouse. It also allowed advocates to be present at domestic

violence hearings, lengthened the period of protective orders from 30 to

60 days, and required magistrates to inform persons seeking a domestic

violence protective order of the nearest residential or protective service

available for the abuse person (WVCADV, 2000). It became apparent,

though, 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 to abuse other

women (Gondolf, 1988). Batterer intervention programs began to be

developed to affect changes in batterer behavior as a means to increase

the safety of women choosing to remain with her batterer.

The Minnesota Models

Soon afterwards Sherman and Berk (1984) published a study based on

research with the Minneapolis Police Department that appeared to

Demonstrate that a pro-arrest policy toward batterers discouraged repeat

or continuing offenses. The authors believed their research contradicted

labeling theory predictions that criminalizing domestic violence would

increase offending, and it also disputed traditional police practices that

would recommend offenders take a "cooling down" period before

returning home after a domestic incident. About the same time a

negligence suit was filed and won against a Connecticut police

department after that department failed to make an arrest of a batterer, resulting in the victim being severely beaten (Gondolf, 2002).

The Department of Justice funded five additional studies to replicate the Minnesota findings over the next several years, all of which failed to do so (Fagan, 1996). They did find evidence of what has been called the "stake-in-conformity" effect (Pate & Hamilton, 1992). This effect reflects the way that employed, married perpetrators curb violence after arrest while unemployed, unmarried offenders often escalate their violence. Less is known about deterrence effects in gay and lesbian couples, and the author gives little information about how the stake-in-conformity effect generalizes to other cultural and ethnic groups besides white males.

Still, the changes in funding streams and opportunity for program development that followed from the Department of Justice altered the course of batterer intervention programming in significant ways. This study is concerned primarily with one change and its consequences in West Virginia. By privileging the Minnesota study results, a style of related treatment models for batterers accompanied the institutionalization of pro-arrest policies in various states. The Duluth model (Pence & Paymar, 1993) came to be seen as the "industry standard" among many Domestic Violence Coalitions and Victim's Advocacy groups. The West Virginia Coalition Against Domestic

Violence sponsors trainings for licensed Batterer Intervention and

Prevention Program (BIPPs) co-facilatators and has incorporated

ideological elements from this model into its recommendations for policy

at the state level. These elements are likely to influence eventual

standards and "best practice" models which will be used to evaluate

program results in coming years.

In his National Institute of Justice paper *The Criminalization of*

*Domestic Violence: Promises and Limit*s, Jerry Fagan (1996) states

"There is little conclusive evidence of either deterrent or protective

effects of legal sanctions or treatment interventions for domestic violence.

A closer reading of this literature suggests several issues that may lead to

better understanding of why past research has failed to locate deterrent

effects and whether and how law influences the control of domestic

violence. The issues fall into three general domains: the embedment of

domestic violence in complex social and individual contexts, weak

research designs and limitations of policy experiments, and the theoretical

issues in male violence (Fagan, 1996, pp.19)."

My intention in this thesis is to address issues related to the

"embedment of domestic violence in complex social and individual

contexts" with an eye to developing culturally-based theories about male

violence. To do this, I reference the literature on Grid-Group Analysis

(Douglas, 1971; 1973: Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Gross & Rayner, 1985; Hood, 1998) and two of its variants, Rubbish Theory (Thompson, 1978) and Cultural Theory (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990), to develop observation and interview data in relation to how local batterer intervention systems (Gondolf, 2002) are tied to state and federal agencies via policy and funding streams. These linkages are described in terms of specific cultural biases (Douglas, 1973; Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990) which impact the reproduction of systems through time in line with particular social relations and social control strategies. I also discuss the implications of pro-arrest laws in an economically depressed region in light of the possibility that the "stake-in-conformity" effect continues to be validated in future research.

The use of the Grid-Group model is significant especially since the Duluth treatment model relies heavily on a cognitized version of patriarchy theory to identify the causes of domestic abuse. This one-cause model (Gelles, 1983) is widely used in West Virginia thanks to the West Virginia Coalition Against Domestic Violence's endorsement, but the model fails to adequately explain the occurrence of male victims of female violence as well as how a hegemonic, patriarchy explanation of abusive male behavior can be generalized to oppressed populations like gays and lesbians, Latinos and blacks.

During the same period that the battered women's movement has emerged to encourage greater social justice for women, there has also been a reemergence of the political right, which has, in turn, has promoted a monopoly capitalist restructuring of the economy in the United States that has had a profoundly negative impact on the poor and on minorities in this country (Sassen, 1990; Gordan, Weisskopf, & Bowles, 1994; Hardisty, 1999). I use dynamic systems ideas to track how offender explanations of their circumstances reflect the emergence of global dynamics of trust and relative deprivation in the social relations. I include discussion of research which has investigated both linear relationships among economic pressures and quality of life in families as well as threshold effects in communities in relation to the impact of poverty, neighborhood composition, and crime rate on the quality of life on communities. I make connections between demographic data about Cabell County, WV and observations of cultural biases in various communities to model variations in violence in the offender's home and social networks. I use these models to describe problems of legitimacy that arose among offenders as they entered and participated in treatment. I conclude with suggestions for further research into the cultural dynamics of domestic violence and its treatment.

In the next chapter I give a general overview of Grid-Group theory

and use ideas from the political economy of crime, as well as dynamic, complex systems theory of small groups to describe how offenders are embedded in social networks within a community. I suggest global dynamics of legitimacy and trust are relevant to understanding violence in communities. I explain how local dynamics to coordinate group and network activity toward programmatic goals is often confounded by the piecemeal manner in which the criminal justice system and related networks are organized. Conflicts of focus arise from unintended consequences of management strategies and other feedback dynamics in communication as member agencies attempt to use their discipline-specific and agency-specific knowledge to mediate moral boundaries affected by offender behavior.

I also discuss the literature on efforts to measure the outcomes of batterer intervention programs. From this, I make a case for continued ethnographic research into the social context of violence in communities. I argue that violence is a community problem, not an individual or family problem and attempt to describe ways "community" can be returned to studying this issue. It occurs in a total community context which affects the probabilities individuals will act out as well as mediates the allocation of blame and praise.

Having outlined my general theory in Chapter 2, I describe in Chapter

3 the methods by which I gathered data and developed models. Chapter 4 presents my basic ethnographic narrative. Chapter 5 expands the context of the basic ethnography by examining economic data and population data on the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (US Census Bureau, 2003) to understand Cabell County domestic violence arrest in relation to the impact of economic restructuring that has been taking place since 1970. I consider the possibility that pro-arrest laws may be having the opposite effect for which they were intended and are making the goals of victim safety, batterer accountability, and batterer education harder, not easier to accomplish successfully.

Chapter 6 considers offender reactions to treatment as a way of examining the community context of the legitimacy of the batterer intervention system. Are offender complaints and rationalizations always merely efforts to escape accountability, or are these typically low income and working class males actually at times voicing valid concerns?. At what point is dismissing these complaints for fear of "colluding" with offenders actually missing opportunities to raise offender awareness about his community context and losing opportunity to build bridges to his victim? Though I give no definitive answers to these questions, I examine their implications for understanding shared perceptions of risk, blame,

and surprise among networked members in the batterer intervention

system.

Chapter 7 sums up my exploration of the batterer intervention system

in Cabell County, WV. I comment on what might be generalizable and

what likely is not in the study and discuss my intuitions for further

research directions. I include a brief outline of a simulation project that

would examine network interactions related to a community batterer

intervention system as well as suggestions for further field research

concerning family violence in a community context.

Chapter 2.

Theory and Literature Review

A cultural approach [to risk perception] can make us see how
community consensus relates some natural dangers to moral
defects. According to this argument, dangers are selected for
public concern according to the strength and direction of social
criticism. Death and disease statistics are mobilized for justifying
the criticism. Why is asbestos poisoning seen to be more fearsome
than fire? Asbestos was developed to save people from burning;
asbestos poisoning is a form of industrial pollution whose toll of
deaths by cancer justifies a particular anti-industrial criticism more
strongly than does loss of life by fire. Similarly, there is no
obvious way in which the incidence of skin cancer caused by
leisure-time sunburn can be mobilized for criticism of industry,
and so we hear less of it. We shall show that this connection
between perceived risk and moral blame does not reduce the
dangers to political analysis. At the same time politics must not be
avoided. A cultural theory of risk perception would be trivial if it
shirked considering the distribution of power in relation to the
pattern of risk incurred by Americans. Our guiding assumptions
are that any form of society produces its own selected view of the
natural environment, a view that influences its choices of dangers
worth attention. Attribution of responsibility for natural disasters is
a normal strategy for protecting a particular set of values belonging
to a particular way of life. Consequently, research into risk
perception based on a cultural model would try to discover what
different characteristics of social life elicit different response to
danger (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982, pp. 7-8)

In this chapter I develop several theoretical ideas that I believe can

enhance the analysis of batterer intervention systems as well as the study

of family violence in a community setting. I review also literature about

the relationship of crime rates to concentrations of poverty in

communities. I also review theories of intimate violence and literature

about batterer intervention systems and their evaluation. I then return to

my original theoretical framework to organize my position on exploring the social context of domestic violence and its interventions.

My general position is that, as part of a public management program, batterer intervention systems are prone to fads and pseudoscience (Gelles, 1997; Hood, (1998), making policy and program evaluation difficult at best. The state of the field is still quite seminal and inadequate research has been done to date to understand violence in context. In particular, the connections between individual theories of motivations for violence have not been integrated with structural explanations in a manner that can account for variations across genders, sexual orientations, class, and ethnicity, as well as across cultures. Several theories of family violence posit a cultural link between social structure and violence, particularly the dominant treatment model recommended by the WVCADV in WV. The Duluth model (Pence & Paymar, 1993) identifies power relations based on cultural biases against women as manifested through a patriarchal social structure, yet the model over relies on cognitive conceptions of these beliefs and, perhaps unintentionally, minimizes community structures as they influence and support gender bias.

The impetus to push through pro-arrest laws in many states, I believe, has been part of the overall pattern in policy-making that follows from this fadism. It accompanies a general tendency in the United States

toward "discipline of the whip" strategies to manage worker behavior (Gordan, Weisskopf, & Bowles, (1994; Hardisty, 1999) and increased rates of incarceration across all types of offenses (Jacobs and Helms, 1996). To build a case for this, I first introduce the Grid-Group paradigm as a way of describing how culture informs preferences for various social relations.

From this, I discuss perceptions of scarcity, prosperity, risk, and threat and the implications preference styles can have on decisions to marry or cohabitate, engage in sexual intercourse, have children, or to divorce. All these decisions are embedded in cultural contexts and have implications over time for demographic change in communities. Exponential growth in arrest rates for domestic battery following institution of pro-arrest laws in WV may be in part a response to regional economic pressures in communities impacted by the economic restructuring of the last thirty years. The obsession with validating the incidence of domestic violence by community groups may mask threshold effects in small cities, particularly through an over-reliance on large number statistics inappropriate to testing the equilibrium dynamics that characterize smaller cities and the social networks of marginalized groups. I make a case for continuing research that aims at understanding these equilibrium dynamics via cultural linkages to adapt batterer

intervention systems to community needs.

Increasing Crime Rates and Concentrated Poverty

Jargowsky's (1997) study, *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City* examined in depth the consequences to communities in the United States which had the highest concentrations of poverty. Among the SMA's included in his study was the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA. With poverty rates averaging around 20% habitually, this Appalachian region is one that has experienced many of the consequences of economic crisis that followed from the massive economic restructuring that took place over the last thirty years in the United States (Sassen, 1990). A variety of research indicates a strong relationship between crime and concentrations of poverty in communities (Danziger & Gottschalk, 1987; Sutton, 1987; Sampson, 1988; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Salvesburg, 1994; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Calvo-Armengo & Zenou, 2003) following this restructuring. Jacobs and Helms (1996) have developed time series models of incarceration rates in relation to economic and political factors and have found that presence of the rich and out-of-wedlock births in a community predict increased severity of sentences, while election year as a dummy variable and strong Republican political showings in elections also are correlated to severity of sentencing.

In a more general attempt to understand threshold effects in communities, Galster, Quercia, and Cortes (2000) used census tract data from 1980 and 1990 to investigate threshold-like effects on four aspects of neighborhood environment: poverty rate, adult non employment rate, female headship rate of families with children, and secondary school dropout rate. These indicators are variables which in and of themselves have been thought to exhibit nonlinear effects in relation to community changes and the authors label these indicators as endodynamic relationships. They also investigated five exodynamic relationships which the literature indicated may predict nonlinear effects on aspects of neighborhood environment: percentage of persons who moved into their dwelling since 1975, percentage of workers not employed in professional or managerial jobs, percentage of occupied dwellings with no car available, vacancy rate for year-round housing units, and percentage of dwellings specified as renter occupied. The authors say that threshold effects are present when a neighborhood reaches a critical value of a certain neighborhood indicator that triggers more rapid changes in that neighborhood environment. The importance of such effects in urban planning, sociology, anthropology, political science and other social sciences lies in the fact that they signal sudden continuous or discontinuous changes in social conditions for some population. *Rubbish*

Theory (Thompson, 1978) and *Cultural Theory* (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990), two variants of the Grid-Group paradigm, rely heavily on models of threshold effects to explain the power dynamics of cultural change, linking the collapse of confidence in social traditions and failures of credibility in systems of knowledge to breakdowns in social bonds, as a way to understand how social structure is maintained or reformulated through time via the stability or change in cultural values. As I understand it, economic restructuring and the resurgence of the political right in the US has renewed concern that the hegemony of monopoly capitalism is obscuring class and ethnic discrimination and subverting social justice programs toward conservative ends. Demonstrating threshold effects in poor communities as a result of conservative economic policy would at a minimum demonstrate shortsightedness and indifference inherent in that policy making.

As far as the endodynamic relationships identified by the researchers, threshold effects were not found in relation to adult non employment and secondary school dropout rates. It is important to note that Conger and Elder (1994) found direct, linear relationships between unemployment, subjectively experienced economic pressure, and marital and parenting disruption. Also, Calvo-Armengo and Zenou (2003) found that it made sense to examine the threshold effect of crime on unemployment. In their

study, they found that once crime rates reach a threshold in many

neighborhoods, the ability of individuals to rely on weak ties to help

connect them to potential employers is greatly decreased. Returning to

the Galster, Quercia, and Cortes research (2000), the authors did find very

nonlinear effects on neighborhoods in relation to female headship rate and

poverty rate. Significant threshold effects were found in relation to the

five exodynamic relations as well. Table 2.1 summarizes the range effects

noted in the Galster, Quercia, and Cortes article. The wide variety of

variation of neighborhood quality generated by threshold effects in

communities suggests that even within a single neighborhood we still

have a great deal of research to do just to understand how the dynamics of

neighborhood quality varies from one point in time to another. Little

research has been done to investigate how pressures on families that

trigger violence varies with neighborhood quality.

Twelve census tracts in Cabell County (tracts 1.01, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10,

15, 18) had a percentage of employed nonprofessionals above 74.2%,

with two tracts (tracts 5 and 10) having over 83% of its employed

population nonprofessional. Tract 10 had a high percentage of female

headship in families with children, 55% of which are earning incomes

beneath the poverty level. Ten tracts (tracts 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16,

18) had 20% or more of the households without a vehicles, and of that ten

tracts, seven tracts (tracts 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16) were among the ten highest tracts in unemployment. Eight tracts (4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16) had 50% or greater of the persons in the tract in their dwelling since 1995. Of the thirty census tracts in Cabell County, WV, twenty-five had 25% or more of its female headed households with children below the poverty line; seventeen of that twenty-five tracts had 35% or more female-headed households with children living below the poverty line and seven tracts with greater than 50% of female-headed households with children living below the poverty line. If the Galster, Quercia, and Cortes (2000) findings prove to be valid indicators of threshold effects in neighborhoods, a number of census tracts in Cabell County exhibit significant instability which could exacerbate violence in coming years if the economic trends of the past thirty years continue to repeat themselves. In other counties, such as Mingo and McDowell Counties, the economic crisis is even more severe and it is quite likely that even more extreme effects are likely for these struggling communities. This is more reason to be concerned about "one-size-fits-all" approaches to intervention.

Appalachian Field Project Results

My own Appalachian Field Project (Bills, 2001a; 2001b), done as part of the requirements for my Master's program in Anthropology at Marshall University, was an initial attempt to wrestle with the

	Key Threshold Value	Sign of Effect
Endodynamic Relationships		
High school dropout rate	none	
Non employment rate	none	
Female-headed households with children	<12.1% female headship 12.1-52.7% female headship 52.7-70.7% female headship >70.7% female headship	Negative Positive Negative Negative
Poverty rate	<6.9% poverty rate 6.9-18.8% poverty rate 18.8-36.8% poverty rate 36.8-53.3% poverty rate >53.3% poverty rate	Negative Positive Less Positive Negative Positive
Exodynamic Relationships		
Nonprofessional/ non managerial employment Female-headed households with children	83% nonprofessional employment	Positive
Nonprofessional/ non managerial employment Non employment rate	74.2% nonprofessional employment	Positive
Nonprofessional/ non managerial employment Poverty rate	83% nonprofessional employment	Positive
Renter-occupied units Female-headed households with children	<32% renter-occupied units 32-85.5% renter-occupied units >85.5% renter-occupied units	Positive Negative Positive
Renter-occupied units Non employment rate	<60% renter-occupied units 60-85.5% renter-occupied units >85.5 renter-occupied units	Positive Negative Positive
Renter-occupied units Poverty rate	<85.5% renter-occupied units >85.5% renter-occupied units	Positive Positive

Table 2.1 Threshold Effects Impacting Neighborhood Quality (Galster, Quercia, & Cortes, 2000, pp. 724)

consequences to the eight county region of WV along U. S. 60 and

Interstate 64 brought about by community restructuring to access

economic opportunity along the Interstate 64 . By focusing on rates of sex

offending in this region in relation to regional stereotypes of

Appalachians as incest-prone, I began to see that there were significant

processes of social construction taking place to set the frame of "rightness" and "naturalness" not only about the local dynamics of the offender-victim relationship, but also about more general issues at the boundaries of groups concerning access to sexual and/or marital partners and the legitimacy of systems of sanctions and rules determining who gets to decide access. Jenkins (1998) has investigated the moral panic that has accompanied policy cycles in relation to sex offending and suggests that views of offenders and what to do with them have fluctuated during the past 100 years in the United States in relation to family standards for monitoring the behavior of teens in the community and immigration. Periods of high immigration and a relaxing of community moral standards are often followed by a backlash of sexual predator laws attempting to restrict access to youth. The predator image varies in emphasis in relation to where communities locate the source of threat, in-group, as with incest offenders, or out-group, as with stranger rape and child abduction.

I began to recognize that low-income offenders and potential victims, by virtue of their preexisting marginalized statuses in communities, are often placed in proximity to one another. Concentrations of poverty force persons of various marginalized statuses into spatial relations that, from a Routine Activities Theory perspective (Cohen & Felson, 1979), make

potential victims of some and potential perpetrators of others. The 29 year old male with a previous felony conviction for Burglary at age 21, is struggling to adapt given unstable work conditions in the region. His learning disability and lack of education inhibit him from exploring retraining for another vocation and he moves in with a 33 year old single mother of two, in part because it is economically beneficial, at least in the short run, to both of them, in part because both are seeking comfort and support. He continues to struggle to find work, relying on his "jack-of-all-trades" mentality-here as a mechanic, there as a roofer- while she goes to work for a store in the Mall or at a local telemarketing company. He's home as often as he is at work, she works a lot to get extra hours to help pay bills. Because she had a child at age 17 or 18, one of her kids, the oldest daughter, is 15 or 16. When the two adults fail to remain connected to one another, as much because of time and economic pressures, communication failures, petty immaturities, and other strains, he turns to the daughter for sexual gratification, as well as for an ego boost. The behavior continues for several months and the young girl eventually lets slip she is having relations with mom's boyfriend to a friend at school. Department of Health and Human Resources is called in, the girl is removed, mom vacillates between staying with the guy, her source of emotional comfort, and her obligations as a mother to her

daughter. At this point, my attention to offender perceptions would alienate me from many in the domestic battery treatment community. Acknowledging the offender's perceptions and feelings often leads to accusations that the empathic listener has begun to "collude" with the offender by virtue of acknowledging that offender's perceptions. The attitude at times among advocacy groups is that even the most minimal acknowledgment of the perpetrator's perception is affirmation of the power dynamics it expresses. Indeed, a great deal of good comes out of batterer intervention strategies signed to inhibit the batterer from continuing share his perceptions and beginning to listen to those of his partner. One of the conclusions I came to based on my field project is that a great deal of the aversion on the part of listeners to hearing the offender's perceptions comes from the way offender theories have been built in the past based on predator themes. As such, listeners filter their perceptions as they listen to offenders by assuming the offender is lying or conning. It also comes from difficult experiences dealing with the aftermath of real violence perpetrated by genuinely dangerous individuals. Very often cases are riddled with ambiguity and are decided in spite of the "he said/ she said" nature of evidence in the trial. Figure 2.1 was one I used in my Field Project to illustrate the relationship of violence to incest dynamics among the individuals I saw in my research:

Complexity of
Offending Pattern

Denial of
Offending

Number of
Victims

Offenses per
Victim

Number of
Caretakers

Alienation of
Family

Involvement in
Offending Career

To Silence Victim

To Gain Pleasure
from the Violence

Likelihood of Use
of Violence

Indicates balancing loop

Indicates reinforcing loop
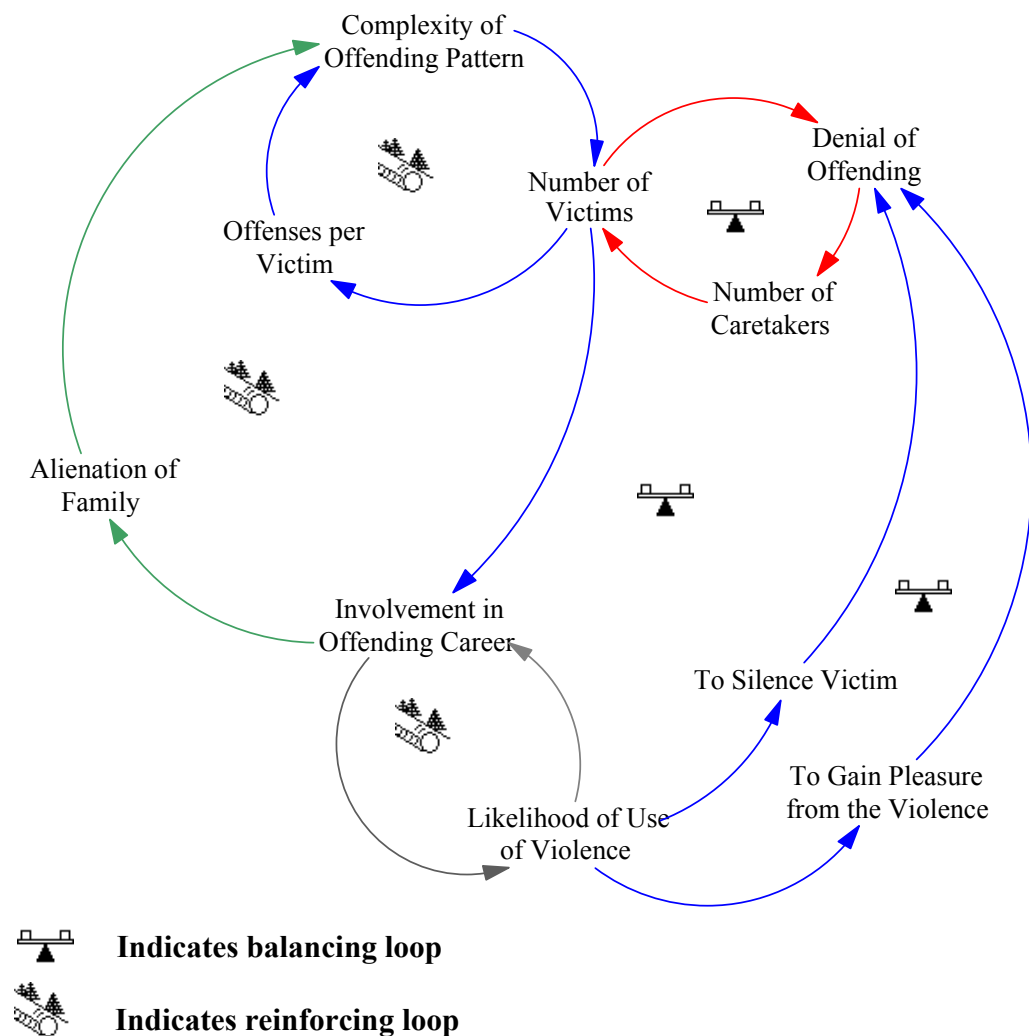
Figure 2.1 An Essential Family Pattern in Incest Dynamics

The cultural history becomes problematic for many minority groups,

including Appalachians, because the nature of their "Otherness" in

relation to majority groups places them in an out-group status that is

subject to be distrusted and feared by those considered part of the in-

group. Appalachian stereotypes have included, thanks to the local color

writers in the late nineteenth century, many images of Appalachians as uncouth, violent, and intemperate, as well as sexually indiscriminate as to mate and mode of activity. In my Field Project (Bills, 2001a) I noted the place of violence in:

> The use of violence, or at least the threat of violence, is a complicating factor here and makes this structure more than a simple self-deception pattern. Also, as the victim is groomed, they are typically given favor by the perpetrator. The more this occurs, the more special they are made to
> feel, the more alienated they become from friends and family. It is this tension between emotional support and reality testing that maintains self boundaries and is subject to sudden, discontinuous changes that can be detrimental to the victim. Violence, or the threat of violence is a latent variable that is part of the emotional support variable in this conception of the incest offense. In a cusp catastrophe model, self-esteem maintenance is the behavioral dimension, with reality testing the normal factor, and emotional support the splitting factor along which personal boundaries in the family are disrupted (Bills, 2001a, pp. 3)

Self-esteem maintenance for many Appalachian males is invested in affirmation of self as "redneck", "good ol' boy", "hillbilly", "hick", "wood hick", etc. These images are embraced by Appalachian males in rebellion to outside interests who have historically sought to minister to, missionary for, rehabilitate, and otherwise control Appalachian communities in an effort to bring Appalachians into whatever vision of the times that interest group had of the present state of the world. It also is a part of a cultural history that has included a great degree of organizing among working class males as part of labor union activity. In

the long run, I think this cultural history makes Appalachians prone at times to high levels of what Brehm and Brehm (1981) calls "psychological reactance". At the first indication that freedoms will be restricted, many Appalachian males will defy direction. This cultural trait can be misinterpreted as excessive *machismo*, and its roots in regional class consciousness ignored if one buys too deeply into feminist models like the Duluth model. As a side note, according to Simpkins (2003), this trait has not interfered with the success of Appalachians in hierarchically organized social institutions like the military. In those settings, many Appalachians have adapted by gravitating to jobs that, on a daily basis, provide them with a considerable latitude in deciding their activities. When heavily micro-managed, Appalachian males often become reactant, but if given some space to be in control of their routines they perform well.

The literature on sex offending develops theories based on the assumption of strangers entering a home or neighborhood, stalking a child, or preteen, and then manipulating them into sexual activity. Other images of the incest offender describe the forcible taking of sex from the victim. These are predatory models of offender behavior. The above case, which was of a type I frequently heard in the course of doing research and treatment, did not appear to fit the predatory schemes. Was there

manipulative activity on the part of the offender? Yes, there was. Should he have realized what he was doing was wrong? Of course. Did he take advantage of his victim? Yes. Still, these are not cases of where destructive abuse of power was initially intended. It was destructive, typically, to the families and lives of victims after discovery and the individual needed to be held accountable as such, but much of the destructiveness of the incident emerged for members of the relational triad as unintended consequences of various decisions constricted the reactions and choices of the others in the triad. Theirs is a mutually reinforcing social bind in which each individual is reading and reacting to the responses of the other.

As I strived to explore perspectives of community members as well as offenders, I felt that there was more to the community dynamics of this type of violence than was often presented in the literature. I was coming up against an ecological fallacy that attempts to apply generalized statistical relations to individual experiences. Though I continue to believe in offender accountability, including the use of incarceration in the case of those who show no progress over time to adapting new behaviors and coping strategies, I am aware of a huge range of possible scenarios by which individuals can act in relation to available illegitimate means and see the need for continued research into theories violence and

their application in treating offenders to assure that changing community dynamics are continually re-factored into research concerning these important social problems.

Domestic Violence and Structuring Variables

The general consensus in this research is that monopoly capitalism restructuring of the economy altered many communities and has impacted the crime rate by increasing social disorganization in communities (Danziger & Gottschalk, 1987; Sutton, 1987; Sampson, 1988; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Salvesburg, 1994; Jacobs and Helms, 1996; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Calvo-Armengo & Zenou, 2003) . Among this research is evidence that the monopoly capitalism economy of many small cities in the "American Manufacturing Belt" has increased trends in crime rates as a result of economic hardship from economic restructuring from 1970 to 1990 (Ackerman, 1998). The study focused on small cities in Ohio including Portsmouth, OH, which is in the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA. Ackerman identified closed factories, bankrupt businesses, an increase in poverty, increases in the number of female-headed households, and greater reliance on government assistance programs as consequences of the deindustrialization that took place in the region from 1970 to 1990. The spatial consequences of this restructuring included concentration of poverty, crime, and increasingly blighted neighborhoods. Economic

marginalization, human capital deficiency, race and weak family structure, and population youth explained 86.7% of the variance among the variables used in the study. Economic conditions were found to increase marital discord and disrupted parenting relations in rural farm communities in Iowa as well, following the decline of farming in a similar period from 1970 to 1990 (Conger & Elder, 1994).

My point is to emphasize that, though the overall population of a community can remain similar, as it has in Cabell County, WV, its internal structure can change significantly through time, particularly in relation to its economic composition. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, Cabell County communities are generally experiencing the delayed impact of economic changes in the region over the past two decades that have disrupted the local economy. This has consequences in terms of the "stake-in-conformity" effect found by researchers trying to replicate the Minnesota study results. If this effect proves to be a reliable one, it could mean that pro-arrest laws are having the paradoxical effect of increasing violence in communities struggling with economic recovery, given that the community is experiencing higher numbers of unmarried, unemployed offenders. This makes the primary mission of batterer intervention systems, protecting victims, much more unlikely. It also suggests that Gondolf's (2002) multisite evaluations findings, done in

major cities of considerably larger size than any found in WV, may not be applicable in WV given differences in ecological dynamics in smaller cities like Huntington, WV.

The Grid-Group Paradigm

What I believe is the biggest strength of the Grid-Group paradigm (Douglas, 1971; 1973; 1982*;* Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Thompson, 1978; Gross *&* Rayner*,* 1985; Bloomfield, 1986; Thompson, Ellis, *&* Wildavsky, 1990; Hood, 1998) is the way it allows its user to identify how preferences are formed, as well as the relation between preferences as forms of knowledge and social bonds (Bloomfield, 1986). The highly quantifiable version on the paradigm developed by Gross and Rayner (1985) for network analysis provides a means of doing multiple hierarchy analysis (Jefferies & Ransford, 1980), which could serve as an empirical test of theories of "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1994; Bograd, 1999) currently in vogue in the batterer intervention literature. It is precisely these strengths that are needed to fill in the gaps created by current state of batterer intervention treatment models and intervention system policy.

Group "represents the extent to which people are restricted in thought and action by their commitment to a social unit larger than the individual (Gross & Rayner, 1985, pp. 5)." Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky (1990) conceptualize *group*-biased perception in terms of how individuals

maximize group transactions in the course of "making ends meet".

Persons biased toward forms of high group framework may maximize

transactions by arranging their group (not themselves) into orderly and

ranked relationships with other groups. The other type of high group bias

maximizes group transactions by keeping their group apart from others.

Grid "is the complementary bundle of constraints on social interaction, a

composite index of the extent to which people's behavior is constrained

by role differentiation, whether within or without membership of a group

(Gross & Rayner, 1985, pp. 6)." Thompson, et al (1990) suggest that

grid-biased perceptions lead to centralist or peripheralist positions in

relation to social networks. Combining grid- and group-biases generates

four types of *cultural bias*, or preference for social structure. High Group,

Low Grid is the Egalitarian bias, High Group, High Grid results in a

Hierarchist bias, Low Group, High Grid results in a Fatalist bias, and

Low Group, Low Grid results in an Individualist bias.

   Douglas (1982) originally developed her system using sociolinguistic

research by Basil Bernstein into the impact of socialization via public

schools on the language codes persons use to communicate. These codes

were class based, with the working-class using what Bernstein called a

restricted code to communicate. This concrete style of communication

relied mainly on ascribed role structure to shape its social control

mechanisms, while the elaborated codes of the middle class emphasized personal expression and respect for the inner states of others. Social control derived from the use appeals to logic and personal sentiments via achieved statuses. Hochschild (1983) used the Bernstein model to develop her research into the commodification of feeling in service industries. Embedding Bernstein (as well as Hochschild) in the more comprehensive Grid-Group paradigm, we have a basis for understanding the interaction of social context on individual expressiveness in relation to the role structures and group boundaries which constrain the individual as well as enable his action.

More recently, Bandler and Grinder (Bandler & Grinder, 1975, 1976; Bandler, Grinder, & Satir, 1976; Cameron-Bandler, 1985) conceptualized this control system as a set of *fuzzy controls*. In this conception, the authors are able to describe reasoning and decision processes as a set of *fuzzy functions*, which account for the way inexact reasoning on the part of interactional participants manages ambiguity in communication. The authors conceptualize many family problems as double binding communications following from how individuals use faulty *cause-effect* relations, *lost performatives*, and *mind-reading* linguistic patterns. This model emphasizes the place of modal operators in shaping the perception of choice versus compulsion in decision making, and in its later

developments has included the use of linguistic markers for the time

frames in which observations and decisions are made (Cameron-Bandler,

Gordon, & Lebeau 1985). I see this model as a useful update to the

sociolinguistic theories initially utilized by Douglas. One reason I favor

this approach is that Neurolinguistic Programming, the therapeutic

system that was derived from Bandler and Grinder's work, has a

standardized set of therapeutic procedures based on the anthropological

communication theories of Bateson (Bateson, 1972; Dilts; 1979) .

Coupled with Douglas's work and that of others in the Grid-Group

tradition, the hybrid approach I have been working with acknowledges

the issues of *logical typing* and *paradox* originated in the linguistic

tradition of Russell and Whitehead (Polkinghorn, 1983) while also

understanding local sociolinguistic variation in *speech events* (Hickerson,

2000). It also allows the use of social network and sociometric tools to

study actual ties among groups of persons, allowing for later integration

with psychodramatic therapeutic techniques (Hale, 1981). Douglas's

(1982) original formal statement of Grid-Group theory draws from the

structuralist sociolinguistic tradition of Basil Bernstein. Thompson (1978)

and Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky (1990) probably best fit in line with

the tradition of logical positivist tradition of Russell and Whitehead, as

well as the cybernetic social anthropology of Bateson, while Gross and

Rayner (1985) have quantified grid and group using methods similar to those employed in the social network analysis tradition as well as the theories of mind developed by Gilbert Ryle (1949). The overall thrust of these approaches has been to search for a cultural basis to the logic of value and preference that underlies decision-making in the everyday world. This brings me to Douglas and Isherwoods (1979) discussion of the cultural basis of preference and choice.

Preferences and *The World of Goods* (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979)

The World of Goods (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979) is one of several middle period pieces by Mary Douglas. In a paper from the same era, *Cultural Bias* (Douglas, 1982), Douglas develops her two dimensions of *grid* (an individuation dimension) and *group* (a social incorporation dimension) as a way to describe social context. Essentially the low end of the group dimension organizes network members in terms of network centralists (low grid, low group) and network peripheralists (high grid, low group) (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990). The high group end organizes members as groups where members maximize transactions by keeping the group apart from others (low grid, high group) and as groups (high grid, high group) where members maximize their transactions by arranging their group into orderly, ranked relationships with other groups. *The World of Goods* is an application of the Grid-Group paradigm to

consumer preferences. The Grid-Group paradigm leads one to continually recognize that what is said to be "rational", "true", and "natural" is intimately intertwined with one's choice of companions and the social structures groups construct.

 Douglas (1982) uses a 'social accounting' approach to describe the kinds of social structure that would develop in the tension between these dimensions. How individuals cooperate with one another on the grid and group dimensions answer for them the questions of "Who am I?" And "Who am I with?" (group) and "How should I behave?" (Wildavsky, 1987). Knowing this allows the Grid-Group analyst to observe various additional dimensions of decision-making in relation to the type of social unit that is required to fulfill the intentions of the decision-maker. Rationality, then, is said to be dependent in form on its social context, implying risks and rewards are socially constructed, as are other important experiences like blame, envy, scarcity, economic growth, and apathy. Douglas and Isherwood (1979) examine the relationship of cultural values to save and to spend as well as what goods to want according to this social accounting model supplemented by Weber's economic types.

 Weber developed an analysis of two economic-doctrinal types suggested two more:

It is one of the fundamental characteristics of an individualistic capitalist economy that is rationalized on the basis of rigorous calculation, directed with foresight and caution towards the economic success which is sought in sharp contrast to the hand to mouth existence of the peasant, and to the privileged traditionalism of the guild craftsman and the adventurer's capitalism, oriented to the exploitation of political opportunities and irrational speculation(Weber, 1958, pp. 76).

The preceeding quote identifies the traditional economy, the hand-to-mouth peasant existence, adventurer capitalism, and individualist capitalist economy. Douglas and Isherwood (1979) organize hand-to-mouth peasant existence, adventurer capitalism, and individualist capitalist economy along the low group dimension, with peasants operating in a high grid, low group, fatalistic social context. Adventurer capitalism, and individualist capitalist economy are placed in the low grid, low group, entrepreneurial social context. The traditional economy is organized along the group dimension, and is placed in the high grid, high group social context.

Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky (1990) state that Weber's system fails to account clearly for the low grid, high group social context. Weber does appear in *Economy and Society* (1978) to discuss 'sects'. According to the authors, Weber credits sects with having 'bred the capitalist spirit' (Weber, 1978), thus appearing to suggest that sects contributed to the emergence of capitalism and its individualistic emphasis. The authors continue to explain this paradox by suggesting that Weber clouded the

issue with his conception of Protestantism as a culturally homogenous social group. Thompson, et al (1990) contend that Protestantism is actually a composite of individualistic networks and egalitarian groups. Weber's original concept helped him contrast Protestants to Catholics in 19th Century Germany, but needed clarification if it is to be used in current contexts. Douglas & Isherwood (1978) did this by filling in the low grid, high group, egalitarian social context with Convents, Monasteries, and Bishoprics as implied by Weber's references to the organizational structures of the respective churches.

Applying the Douglas & Isherwood Model in Studying Batterer Intervention Programs

What does this distribution of Weber's types across various social contexts tell us about the way people form preferences in reaction to family violence? What can it tell us about how people know what to want in times of crisis and despair? The important addition to intimate violence theory that the application of the Grid-Group paradigm makes is that it provides a method for distinguishing local opportunity structures through empirical observation of community institutions, thereby understanding the decision to act violently in relation to the system of symbolic interaction manifesting in networks and groups as it is involved with the allocation of praise and blame. The bias-types described by various Grid-Group Analysts serve as ideal types pointing to logical

possibilities of alternative forms of structure possible in a community setting. Through participant observation and ethnographic interviewing, the researcher can inductively follow-up syntagmatic and paradigmatic speech cues to understand local rationales for selecting some risks over others, allocating blame in some directions, but not others, or for providing resources and praise to some, but not others.

It also allows one to model local differences in perception among persons who are interacting without reducing their behavior choices to personality traits or personal biology. Individuals can be conceptualized in relation to the actual networks they are a part of and the ties can then be analyzed in terms of how they facilitate or constrain the individual's behavioral options. This forces us to look at "deviant" behavior, like domestic battery or child abuse, in the context of the social structures within which it arises instead of reducing it to individual pathology.

Rather than fitting "social structure" within a procrustean bed of patriarchy theory, with its focus on only one form of biased social structure, we have a means to examine social violence in a community as it arises among all that community's biases and social structures. Timmerman (1986) and Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky (1990) suggest that social groups pursue their idealized forms stable equilibriums based on certain "myths of nature". These myths form the basis for the groups

theories of social control and of good governance. From "myths of nature" follow other myths and assumptions like "myths of human nature" and particular styles of managing resources and responding to anomalies and surprise. The Grid-Group paradigm is a potentially flexible analytic scheme that can be used to analyze violence by men regardless of race or ethnicity and can also be applied to studying violence in the gay community or in any other context where violence occurs between individuals of the same sex, such as gang violence or in the context of property crime.

Rubbish theory (Thompson, 1978) is a variant of the Grid-Group paradigm in which the author models value creation and destruction using a cusp catastrophe model. He does this by mapping established community traditions in relation to its challengers, following how social category systems slip from favor via shared conceptions of taboo, pollution, and rubbish. These concepts form a system of collective denial, a "conspiracy of blindness" in social groups that allow the transfer of value among both material artifacts and ideational artifacts of social units. Thompson models these processes as nonlinear and deterministic. The advantage to this method, according to Brown (1995) is that it diminishes specification error which can arise attempting to develop probabilistic models of complex social phenomena. Deterministic models have the

benefit of providing a realistic understanding of social dynamics, without having to maintain a fantasy of probabilistic completeness required to derive some gains in calculations of variance. Hence, within the frame of Grid-Group theory is a precedent for modeling both the interrelated impacts on perceived confidence and legitimacy of social movement activity and treatment process, as well as the impact of economic restructuring on the same perceptions of confidence and legitimacy in the communities in which treatment is being provided.

Applying the Grid-Group Scheme to Risk Perceptions

In *A Proposal to Create a Cultural Theory of Risk*, Thompson & Wildavsky (1990) identify four sets of factors which vary from social context to social context as social units determine appropriate risks -- (1) The perception of risks as having an impact in either the short run or long run, (2) their acceptability in terms of whether they are a choice or a compulsion, (3) the overlying social (physically nonexistent) risks, and (4) the rewards and penalties for different kinds of risks. Using this scheme, risk perceptions held by victims in relation to potential abuse, the perceptions of offenders in relation to the potential for consequences due to their violence, the perceptions of community agency members, and the perceptions of policy planners all become available for examination in terms that are similar. We can understand the time frames in which the

risks are perceived, how much choice the individual perceives they have to respond to that risk, secondary social risks that might be complicating the individual's decision-making, and the values at stake for the person. These factors are summarized in Table 2.2.

Hand-to-mouth Peasant Existence **High grid, low group** (1) Only short-term risks perceived with any clarity. (2) No options as to acceptance or rejection. Risk acceptance a 'fact of life'. (3) No social boundaries to maintain so little concern for pollution and therefore few, if any, nonexistent risks. (4) Personal rewards seen as resulting from luck not personal risk taking and they are not resented.	*Traditional Economy* **High grid, high group** (1) Short- and long-term risks perceived. Long-term seen as different from short-term but controllable. (2) Risk averting. If risks cannot be avoided completely they are spread. (3) Many boundaries and distinctions to be maintained so elaborate pollution concepts and high incidence of nonexistent risks. (4) Personal risk for personal gain penalized. Personal risk for totality's gain rewarded.
Individualist Capitalist *Adventurer Capitalist* **Low grid, low group** (1) Long and short term perceived. Dominance of short-term over long-term maintains expansive optimism. (2) Risk as opportunity. (3) Little concern for pollution (entrepreneurs profit from removal of social boundaries). (4) Personal risk for personal reward approved (even if it causes coercion). Personal risk for benefit of totality less popular.	*Convents, Monasteries, and Bishoprics* **Low grid, high group** (1) Short- and long-terms perceived. Concern for survival causes long-term to dominate short-term. (2) Strong aversion to all risks except Those involved in the defense of 'wall of virtue' that bounds the group. (3) Pollution concerns all clustered around a single social boundary and give rise to many nonexistent risks. (4) Zero-sum mentality penalizes the personal risk for personal gain. Only risks taken for the totality are rewarded (often posthumously).

Table 2.2 Risk, Weberian Economic Types, and Social Context

This typology provides a reference point from which to link the rational expectations of actors to social structure in order to explain and predict how similar opportunity structures will be perceived by different groups involved in different social contexts. Such an economic model could be useful to analyze social issues such as divorce or domestic violence to illustrate the impact of economic pressures as well as personal psychology on the way families attempt to solve social problems. The Grid-Group model is useful for identifying cultural 'blindspots' that organizations as well as individuals might have that would likely bias perceptions of 'community', 'home', 'family', etc.

Perceptions of Scarcity, Prosperity, and Threat

Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) begin their book, *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technical and Environmental Dangers*, by asking, "Can we know the risks we face?" They continue by expressing the collective anxiety many of us experience in an increasingly technologically complex social world, "Are dangers really increasing or are we more afraid?" These questions mesh well with the framework I have been developing because they highlight our self-reflexive awareness of our own blindspots and the relative distrust many of us have developed in relation to a monopoly capitalist culture which relies heavily on marketing and promotion to manage impressions of personal and

organization identity. "Fear of risk, coupled with the confidence to face it, has something to do with knowledge and something to do with the kind of people we are (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982, pp. 2). The authors identify four groups of dangers at the level of public policy that come to shape our collective identities: 1) foreign affairs, including risks of foreign attack or encroachment; war; loss of influence, prestige, and power; 2) crime, including internal collapse; failure of law and order; violence versus white collar crime; 3) pollution, including abuse of technology; fears for the environment; and 4) economic failure, including loss of prosperity. Funding priorities follow trends in selecting what risks we as a people select as most significant. Also, many of the life-shaping decisions one makes-- to go to college or to work after high school, to marry or to remain single, to have children or to remain childless, when to abstain from sexual relations or with whom to engage in sexual activity-- also follow from our ongoing assessment of risks and rewards. According to Douglas and Wildavsky (1982), the selection of perceptions and the decision processes that follow from these selected perceptions are both culturally and politically biased.

Abernathy (1979) suggests that perceptions of scarcity trigger sociocultural adjustments which have the effect of bringing population numbers into balance with the carrying capacity of the environment.

Direct indicators of scarcity may include trends toward cultivation of increasingly marginal lands, out migration, acceptance of decreasingly desirable work, and child labor. Another indicator is decreasing buying power in a money economy. Indirect, or inferential indicators include diminishing returns from the same levels of effort. Abernathy's sociocultural mechanisms affecting population is similar to the functionalist model of institutional effects on population decisions developed by Davis and Blake (1954). These models link individual decisions about marriage, sexual activity, pregnancy and childbirth, and mortality to institutional contexts via social norms.

It was Marx who first challenged functionalists to ask "Functional for whom?" about systems and organizations, and later this line of inquiry was developed by Merton as a challenge to the postulate of the functional unity of society (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990). This line of questioning opened the door for Merton and other later functionalist theorists to examine how cultural norms may backfire and bring about negative or "dysfunctional" outcomes. Cohen (1966) has stated that one of the major impacts of deviance is that it damages trust persons have in the systems of coordinated action that are required for groups and organizations to function. This subsequent social disorganization is fertile ground for further deviance. Macro-level conditions impacting the

distribution of illegitimate opportunity structures in communities, social psychological "selection mechanisms" in terms of norms and values affecting decision-making, status-specific opportunities for acting out, and societal reaction function as structuring variables which channel and sediment interactional sequences toward deviance (Cullen, 1984). Still, the definitions of deviance and illegitimacy are negotiated daily through our selection of social relations (Thompon, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990).

Feminist theorists in general and women in the domestic violence movement in particular also began in the late 1960s and early 1970s to question functionalist assumptions about the nature of family, calling into question monolithic views of the family beginning to suggest all kinds of alternative relations instead. The major area of contention became the very sociocultural mechanisms discussed by Abernathy (1979) and by Davis and Blake (1954). It has been the "politics of reproduction" (Ginsburg & Rapp, 1991) that has brought domestic battery to the fore. I will examine feminist theories of social inequality at greater depth in the next chapter. In this chapter, I want to focus first on general theories of intimate violence, and examine feminist theory in greater depth in relation to how the poor are coming to be more spatially concentrated in communities.

<u>Theories That Explain Intimate Violence</u>

Gelles (1997) lists nine major theories that explain intimate violence. Cohen (1966) states that all theories of behavior, deviant or otherwise, involve reference to actors and situations at the psychological level. Hence the theories have a motivational component that seeks to explain why the actor behaves as he does. Cohen types deviance theories, then, in terms of kinds of people and frequencies of deviant behavior, b) developmental background and kind of people, c) kinds of situations and frequencies of deviant behavior, d) conjunctions of persons and situations and frequencies of deviant behavior, and e) interaction process and deviant outcomes. When one sorts Gelles's nine theories by Cohen's typology, we can highlight the core motivational assumptions in each theory (Table 2.3 in which the X indicates the model(s) which best fit the assumptions of the theory).

In doing so, we are also identifying the political biases various theorists have as to what preferences are normal and abnormal, given that particular theorist's assumptions about human nature. This suggests that each theory makes violence problematic in different ways. The following analysis, along with the analysis of structuring variables in the next section, highlight the struggle theorists have had untangling the dynamics of population equilibrium and sociocultural mechanisms from the

"politics of reproduction" (Ginsburg & Rapp, 1991). By linking cultural biases in the perception preferences and risk to specific social structural forms, we have a means of understanding the basis of social control as it arises in situational events as either reasoned logic based on perceptions of ends and means, or in response to accidents and other randomizing factors. We can also trace how social control enforces and re-enforces that logic in relation to the system of acceptable motives identified by the structure of expectations which constrain social activity. Motivational mechanisms, then, provide an explanation for coordinated individual and

	Kinds of People, Frequencies of Deviance	Development Background, Frequencies of Deviance	Kinds of Situations, Frequencies of Deviance	Conjunction of Persons, Situations, Frequencies of Deviance	Interaction Process, Deviant Behavior
Psychiatric/ Personality	X	X			
Stress and Coping	X		X	X	
Social Learning		X			
Resource			X		
Ecological				X	
Sociobiology			X	X	
Finkelhorn's Model of Sexual Abuse				(X)	X
Feminist			X		
Exchange/ Social Control					X

Table 2.3 Theories of Intimate Violence and Motivational Mechanisms

social action in everyday life, as well as why, when efforts to coordinate action breakdown, deviant responses emerge.

Psychiatric/personality theories (Hamberger & Hastings, 1986, 1991; Hart, Dutton, & Newlove, 1993; Dutton & Golant, 1995; Dutton & Starzomski, 1993), sociobiology theories (Daly & Wilson, 1980; Burgess & Garbarino, 1983), and social/situational stress and coping theories. In each of these types of theorizing, a specific kind of offender, one with a certain personality type, genetic heritage, mental illness, etc., perpetrates deviant behavior at a certain frequency. Social psychological "selection mechanisms" are recognized here, but conceived of as emerging from neuro-biological mechanisms, or possibly early family influences. Dutton's (Hart, Dutton, & Newlove, 1993; Dutton & Golant, 1995; Dutton & Starzomski, 1993) *abusive personality* model looks for borderline personality disorder or at least behavioral tendencies; Gondolf's (2002) recent research on batterer intervention systems appears to be moving toward a model where anti-social and narcissistic personality types are seen to be the most prevalent batterer in treatment groups.

Social learning models and some psychodynamic personality models emphasize developmental background and kinds of people theories. As their name implies, these theories see previous learning, typically

childhood socialization, as the basis of current problematic behavior and the kinds of people who commit them. Cultural transmission models often have a developmental component, described as socialization. Douglas (1982) has been critical of these models as mildly deterministic. Many theories of family violence have focused as well on the impact of violence in the home on children, attempting to validate clinical folk wisdom that most abusers were abused themselves (Gelles, 1997). This is a good example of the soft determinism Douglas was critical of.

The stress and coping, resource theory, sociobiology, and feminist models all focus on situations as opposed to individuals, albeit for different reasons. The stress and coping models have their origins in traditional functionalist strain theories, suggesting a state of normlessness, strain, or stress motivates individuals to act out. One of the main criticisms of theory has come from within the functionalist tradition itself, pointing out how stress only exists as a motivational state, but does little to explain why offenders choose the direction of their acting out (Cullen, 1984; Passos & Agnew, 1997). This has lead to the development of several theories of "structuring variables", or that set structural conditions that provides direction to the expression of the subjectively experienced strain.

Structuring Variables and Theories That Explain Intimate Violence

Another useful set of distinctions for examining theories that explain intimate violence is Cullen's (1984) set of structuring variables. Cloward (1959) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) introduced the concept of structuring variables and illegitimate means as a way of describing how structural conditions channel deviant acting out in various directions. The four structuring variables identified by Cullen (1984) are 1) macro-level conditions, 2) social psychological factors, 3) societal reactions, and 4) status-specific opportunities. Table 2.4 indicates the relationship between the nine theories identified by Gelles (1997) and the four structuring variables (The X indicates the structuring variable(s) emphasized by the theory). As mentioned before, I have been trying to highlight the difficulties theorists have had untangling the dynamics of population equilibrium and sociocultural mechanisms from the "politics of reproduction" (Ginsburg & Rapp, 1991). Structuring variables are most important in the framework I am developing because of the way they structure opportunity, but also because the failure of structure to manifest the opportunity it is promised to return often comes as a surprise or shock to those who have had faith in that system of structuring social action. How disappointment leads to the allocation of blame is central to the development of social controls. Also, once one has been "burned" by

	Macro-level Conditions	Societal Reactions	Social Psychological Factors	Status-specific Opportunities
Psychiatric/ Personality			**X**	**X**
Stress and Coping	**X**		**X**	**X**
Social Learning			**X**	**X**
Resource	**X**			**X**
Ecological	**X**			
Sociobiology	**X**			
Finkelhorn's Model of Sexual Abuse			**X**	
Feminist	**X**	**X**		**X**
Exchange/ Social Control	**X**			**X**

Table 2.4 Structuring Variables and Theories of Intimate Violence

such systemic failures, the degree to which one can muster resources and

support to ward off further victimization and potential disillusionment

introduces structures of power and authority as they are differentially

instantiated to protect some, but not others. This returns us to the question

of "Functional for whom?" And points us to problematic aspects of how

social actions are embedded in a larger social context.

In the Grid-Group model, it is linguistic codes and their basis in the

shared cosmology of groups and networks (Bernstein, 1971; Douglas,

1982; Gross & Rayner, 1985; Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990)

implemented through social institutions like courts, schools, and other

social organizations that channel activity. Deviance manifests as one

possible response to surprise, ambiguity, and unintended outcomes

(Thompson, 1978) and is capable of being interpreted socially as "rubbish", "dirt", 'pollution", etc. or as creative innovation. Another important issue in the development of theories of family violence is the latitude the observer is allowed in constructing causal relations between perpetrator and victim in response to accidents, surprises, and mistakes.

Psychiatric/personality models and social learning theories emphasize the social psychology and status-specific opportunities of socialization as a set of structuring variables. Birth order may impose the first forms of status competition among family members. Many theories also incorporate cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) as an important explanatory mechanism for describing emotional conflict, but typically have shed the concept's earlier sociometric conception in terms of modern cognitive-behavioral theories. External reinforcement is an important structuring mechanism, but is typically thought to be an extension of early socialization rather than current social structural conditions. Mind is said to be embodied in the human brain and individual fantasy or individual neurochemistry seen as the basis of behavior potentials.

Stress and coping theories may include structuring variables, most typically normative conceptions of institutionally imposed time as a macro-level condition the individual must engage in skill training to adapt to. "Anger management" models typically take a problem-solving

approach in which conflict situations are managed through social

psychological techniques, typically cognitive-behavioral self-soothing,

affirmation, and belief disputation, along with manipulation of status-

specific opportunity through the uses of techniques like "assertiveness

training" and "conflict management skills". The problem with such an

approach is that it assumes a background of normative order that denies

significant power differentials, as well as motivation by the other party to

win at all costs or attempt to lash out or regain face through punishment.

The individual using the method receives little help from the theory to

deal with such real world complexity and may encourage unrealistic

passivity through supplementary use of relaxation techniques to diminish

arousal in the face of a provocative social situation.

Resource theory focuses on situations constrained in various ways

through a lack of already scarce resources and attempts to explain

violence as a means to control those resources and access to them.

Resource theory and stress and coping are opposites of one another in the

sense of one focusing on situations where internal strain (stress and

coping theory) is acted out externally (through violence) or external strain

(resource theory) leads to violence.

Ecological theory takes a macro-level approach, attempting to create

a holistic conception of the violent family. It utilizes systems theory to

develop the sense of interdependency among variables. Sociobiology, in a related approach looks for evolutionary explanations to illustrate how individuals serve the greater good of their species in their choice making. Both approaches begin to breakdown when we introduce real world complexity into the relationship between the individual using violence and the person who is the object of that violence. Homosexual relationships, self-destructive behaviors, and other behavioral commonplaces in everyday activity of community life have yet to be adequately conceptualized from these perspectives.

Social psychological factors and status-specific opportunity constitute global dynamics affecting stability and change in small group and social network structure. They arise out of efforts to coordinate local systems of meaning with social action. With the exception of ecological and sociobiological theories of intimate violence emphasize either social psychological factors or status-specific opportunities as the variables that structure behavioral motivation toward violence. Exchange theory, social learning theory, and feminist theory emphasize over-socialized individuals who act violently as part of their socialization into gender roles.

The stress and coping, ecological, sociobiology, and resource models all utilize macro-level structuring variables, but each understands these

factors as unproblematic in the way they influence how behavior is embedded in social context. Feminist and social exchange models tend to make this issue of embedding problematic, demonstrating that issues of social equality, differential access to resources, and social justice have significant power elements involved that make questioning who is benefiting from the current structure of opportunity a focus of analysis. Feminist theory, at least as it has been used in relation to the battered women's movement, has also included societal reaction as a structuring variable through its close association with grassroots organizing and attention to the voice of victims in designing its recommendations for theory building.

Ecological versus Epidemiological Conflict

One last set of set of distinctions needs to be mentioned before moving on. These come not from the Grid-Group tradition, but from Kenneth Boulding (1962), and Thomas Schelling (1978). Schelling (1978) developed a "checkerboard model" of segregation, which was premised on the assumption that people have a desire to live near people similar to them. Schelling was able to illustrate how complex macro patterns of social organization can emerge using a few simple behavioral rules. Under conditions of equilibrium at the population level of analysis, the internal structure of the community of agents represented in the

Schelling models were shown to demonstrate considerable variation in organization. In *Ecodynamics* (Boulding, 1981) and *Conflict and Defense* (Boulding, 1968) Boulding develops this type of equilibrium analysis in relation to conflict. He distinguishes between ecological conflict, in which species or social groups are competing to survive, and epidemiological conflicts, in which agents react to one another, spreading conflict in a manner analogous to the spread of a disease.

To me, the differences between ecological/epidemiological conflict is similar to the differences between the older theories of population equilibrium and sociocultural mechanisms mentioned earlier in the chapter and the later "politics of reproduction" debate that was part of the feminist movement that arose in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In a sense, much of the confusion in developing theories of intimate violence, not to mention theories of evaluation for batterer intervention programs, follows from the lack of research to sort out the differences between these two forms of conflict. In Chapter 6 I discuss the implications this distinction can have on understanding offender perceptions of program legitimacy.

Chapter Summary

The combination of conceptual tools can be summarized as follows. Macro-level conditions and societal reactions can be conceived of as

elements of contextual dynamics, having to do with a group's adaptation

to multiple embedding contexts, while social psychological factors and

status-specific opportunities as variable sets within the global dynamics

of the group (Arrow, McGrath, & Berdahl, 2000). Global dynamics have

to do with stability and change within the group system. Most theories of

intimate violence emphasize either contextual or global dynamics. Grid

and group as conceptualized by Douglas (1982) are contextual dynamics

which emerge as individuals choose social relations and manage resources

to carry out their coordinated, goal-oriented activities. The actors and

situations that make up the motivational mechanisms discussed operate at

the local dynamic level. Tracing the causal structures and feedbacks

downward from emergent patterns of economic, demographic, and

cultural patterning and upwards from individual motivations embedded in

social network structures results in a middle range theoretical position

interested in isolating conflict as ecological, epidemiological, or mixed

patterns. Violence erupts as at a particular threshold of tolerance for the

individual in relation to his reference group, between groups, or among

individuals, groups and organizations.

Appalachia has a cultural history of integration to the larger nation as

an internal colony. Particularly working class males in the region, but

Appalachians in general, have a behavioral tendency toward reactance

effects that can manifest when the individual or group perceives the
behavioral freedoms as threatened by out groups. Appalachians adapt well
in hierarchical contexts provided they are given leeway to create their
own routines within the hierarchy. Intervention strategy would need to
see this history as a potential resource, but will run into difficulty where
many treasured self-identifications that follow from this tendency
toward "reactance effects".

   In the next chapter I discuss the methods I used to gather my research
data. I discuss the relationship of perception to politics in the cultural
production of risk perceptions. I then review Spradley's (1979; 1980)
methods of participant observation and ethnographic interviewing. I also
review my data sources.

Chapter 3.

..with the Caution of a Man that walks thro' Edenborough Streets
in a Morning, who is indeed as careful as he can, to watch
diligently, and spy out the Filth in his Way, not that he is curious
to observe the Colour or Complexion of the Ordure, or take its
Dimensions, much less to be padling in, or tasting it: But only with
a Design to come out as cleanly as he may (from Jonathon Swift, *A
digression concerning criticks* (1696), quoted in Thompson (1978),
pp. 5)

A Note on Ethnography and Studying Risk Perception

Michael Thompson (1978) talks at length in the first chapter of

Rubbish Theory about "a conspiracy of blindness" that is part of investing

in paradigmatic thinking. He focuses initially on how children find the

rude or crass hilarious, much to the disdain and frustration of the adults

around them. Such uptight behavior can become the basis of humor when

someone viewing the behavior from a different perspective notices the

apparent rigidity an adult might exhibit as they strain to ignore, avoid, or

otherwise *not* notice the obvious. Thompson points out the near

impossibility of taking a detached, objective, scientific approach to

studying such responses. He points out, "The serious adult is the serious

adult because he avoids childish rubbish and so a serious adult approach

to childish rubbish is a contradiction, requiring a stance as schizophrenic

as that of a communist stockbroker..."

Referring to the quote which I used to open the chapter, Thompson

continues by discussing one particular type of serious adult, the social

scientist, and the conspiracies of blindness that often are a consequence of

continued involvement in the serious adult thought that is part of the

occupational discipline. He suggests that serious adult thought in general

and sociology in particular are forms of discourse unable to make contact

with certain regions of social life otherwise crucial to understanding

society. Participant Observation becomes a means for the social scientist

to contact these otherwise obscured regions:

> If this were the end of the matter then rubbish theory theory would
> seem to be doomed from the start. For the social scientist who
> wishes to study rubbish must, at the very least, "pad[d]le" in it. Yet
> if he does this what chance is there he will "come out as cleanly"
> as his fellows? How can he remain a member of the social
> scientific community if, in order to study rubbish, he has to
> abandon the form of discourse which is the defining criterion of
> the discourse? How can he wallow in the ordure of the
> Edenborough streets throughout the morning and contribute to
> postgraduate seminars at Edinborough University in the afternoon?
> Yet this seemingly impossible and revolting course of action is the
> defining characteristic of one type of social scientist: the
> anthropologist. It is called Participant Observation (Thompson,
> 1978, pp. 5).

In working as a therapist for the thirteen years, I had occasion to

"paddle" in it on a number of occasions. I have background in treating

emotionally disturbed and juvenile delinquent adolescents both in

residential settings and in community settings. I worked for nearly four

years in addiction treatment services, as well as treated general mental

health cases, the "mood disordered" and "anxiety-ridden" clients who

attend counseling session sometimes for one or two sessions, sometimes

for years at a time. While working in eastern Kentucky doing general

mental health treatment, I became disheartened with standard clinical methodology and began reading sociology and anthropology, including a number of Appalachian studies related to the area in which I was working. Although I have a Master's degree in Counseling and Rehabilitation and am trained to use clinical diagnoses, I have foregone that jargon in favor of a more idiographic approach that uses language at work in the community I am studying. My counseling training had exposed me early on to systems theory and I have been trained in Neurolinguistic Programming, a Chomskian-based system that had drawn inspiration from hypnosis, gestalt psychotherapy, and conjoint family therapy. I also have a year of supervision in Structural Family Therapy (Minuchin, 1974), which, along with my training with NLP and interest in Bateson's work, probably explains my attraction for the Grid-Group paradigm. By investigating the origins of NLP ideas in the writings of Gregory Bateson (1972), I became involved with communication theory, the theory of double binds, and the cultural basis of logic.

As I tried to understand community "ecology" from this perspective, I moved from being interested in treating victims, to treating offenders. For some time now I have been enamored with understanding how our perceptions of risk and our styles of blaming and explaining also construct the phenomena we seek to understand. This is important for

several reasons, not the least of which is to gain at least an intuitive

wisdom of the boundary between magical, wishful thinking that allows us

to escape from the cruel realities that pervade our world, paranoia and

hyper rationality like that which characterizes our nations current political

reality, and genuine social need. With growing world populations and

concomitant adaptive struggles for control of scarce resources a part of

the cultural horizon, we need to be alert to both unrealistic hopes for

Utopian Solutions to social problems, which may well be impossible in

light of the diversity of adaptations exhibited by various cultures, and

Malthusian, hyper rational "bean counting" that reduces most of what is

human about us to a few mathematical symbols, factoring most of what is

truly valuable and human about us out of the mix.

"Total Community Context": Buzzwords or Genuine Commitment?

> The actions that the public endorses in response to serious violence
> will be effective only if: community supports, employment
> opportunities, and continual protection are provided by the
> criminal justice system and neighbors help battered women to
> leave; total community context enforces batterers' completing
> long-term treatment; and severe community sanctions are
> consistently and rigorously imposed against offenders. Research
> shows significant changes in public perception, but further
> transformation is needed not only toward intolerance but toward
> personal responsibility for action (Klein, Campbell, Soler, & Ghez,
> 1997, pp. 62)

This emphasis on "total community context" in developing responses

to domestic violence is in line with the place of culture in Douglas and

Wildavsky's (1982) discussion of risk. The authors emphasize how choice requires selection not only based judgments about what is, but on what should be in the future. These decisions do not happen in isolation from other issues of public management, but come about in face of community pressures to develop the economy, maintain infrastructure, and provide public services such as water filtration, trash pick-up, and community policing. Who gets these services and who does not, who has to wait for attention to their concerns and who is taken seriously...these too are part of the dialogue from which blame emerges and of which the local informal culture of a community derives much of its myths, humor, and legend in this otherwise disenchanted modern age.

Mary Douglas (1985), discussing the development of theories of risk and systems of risk analysis, states that it is "impossible for readers not to know about a host of political writings warning of risks foisted on the people by unscrupulous industrialists and politicians, about risks being minimized, denied, and concealed. A lot of it is intended for journalism. This is where the whole new field of risk analysis started. First there was the public protest, then government and industry called for advice about why the public was so outraged, and then the academic study of risk perception developed ...producing what is now a vast bibliography and including many modes of inquiry (Douglas, 1985, pp. 224)."

Douglas, like Thompson above, is interested in *serious* adult thought. In particular, she is interested in what she has described as "cultural bias" (Douglas, 1973; 1982; 1999; Thompson, 1978; Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Gross & Rayner, 1985; Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky, 1990). Douglas feels that rather than understanding culture as groups of people, culture should be understood as dialogue. Rather than a Habermasian view of the ideal society as dialogue, with an emphasis on possible harmony, she emphasizes social accountability. In this way, culture becomes a dialogue that allocates praise and blame. In this mode of analysis, blame, and the way dialogues of blame are embedded in community contexts, is the appropriate unit of study. This impacts our understanding of the probabilistic basis of risk. Rather than worrying so much about identifying a grand model of who or what to blame, one must instead focus on local dialogues of blame to trace its dynamics, which interests it serves and which it does not, how various interests organize to defend against it, the evidence used to support it, and the manner in which it is incorporated into problem creation, modeling, and solving.

Rieman (1995) has argued that the criminal justice system fails to reduce crime while making it look as if crime is the work of the poor. He identifies how the criminal justice system, as a consequence of having grown up piecemeal overtime, often produces unplanned and unintended

consequences that fail to reduce crime, and also serves the interests of the

rich and powerful. Such a perspective would appear at first glance to be at

odds with efforts by women's groups to work with the criminal justice

system to develop batterer intervention systems. I would argue that "total

community context" involves the place of the batterer and his victim in

the community, but also how the nation's historic movement toward

managerialism (Fox, 2002) has more than ever required critical

perspectives to examine public service programming as a battleground for

control and authority in communities.

This recognition of the impact of managerialism on public

management projects is compatible with the Grid-Group paradigm, and

must be intimately tied to the community-specific patterns of alliances

and networks which have been the the focus of interest of social

anthropologists for some time. To quote Douglas and Wildavsky (1982):

> To understand risk perception we should ask what makes danger
> seem highly improbable when the psychologist is not providing the
> percentages on the probabilities. We should ask how gains are
> ranked when there is no clear money standard on which to
> compare them. The current theories on risk perception steer badly
> between over intellectualizing the decision process and
> overemphasizing irrational impediments. It is as if the individual
> would shun them forthwith if he could only perceive the dangers to
> health and safety that the expert knows. This is to intellectualize
> the uses of knowledge beyond all reason. The satisfactions in
> smoking and drinking and driving are not private pleasures. Even
> if they were, habits would still be hard to change because they are
> locked into lifestyles. But most habits, good and bad, are social,
> rooted in community life. One does not always feel free to
> admonish friends

to change their work and leisure patterns or even utter the silent reproach of deviation, and to drop out of the shared occasions is asking too much. It is quite enough effort to meet the criticisms of fellows by coming up to their standards; getting them to adopt new ones decreed by the health authority is quite another thing. This is the point: anyone who lives in a community is monitored; the more close-knit, the more mutual monitoring. The child cannot read, the dog barks at night, the wife looks ill, the house is a mess- community is interested in these failings, advice flows, and names of doctors, teachers, and other services are proffered. Community life criticizes meanness, lateness, and prodigality according to its standard. Since the monitoring constitutes the social bond, sudden accidents and lingering disease are always occasions of criticism. In a tight community a man has his work cut out to meet the neighbors standards. This is where he gets the health education he cannot ignore. When the community bond is weaker, he can relax. He can pick and choose among his friends; but unless he is totally isolated, his acquaintances to whom he goes for solace are his sources of risk warning. A real life risk portfolio is not a selection made by private ratiocination. In real life the social process slides the decision making and the prior editing of choices onto social institutions. Shared values do more than weight the calculations of risks. They work on the estimates of probabilities as well as the perceived magnitudes of loss (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982, pp. 85)

Spradley on Participant Observation and Ethnographic Interviewing

James P. Spradley (1979; 1980) developed his *developmental research cycle* in relation to both ethnographic interviewing and participant observation. This method is essentially a qualitative, grounded, discovery method. The ethnographer starts with a conscious attitude of almost complete ignorance and, from there, develops a set of intuitions about a cultural setting with the intention of immersing himself in the local culture. Culture is then discovered and learned by asking questions and making observations, analyzing them, and drawing cultural inferences

based on taxonomic analysis of observations and interviews, domain

analysis, componential analysis, and thematic theme analysis. Aside from

developing a number of charts based on Spradley's recommendations for

creating visual tables of various analytic methods. I made concept maps

to understand how clusters of concepts were logically related. I also

employed the System's Dynamics (Richardson, 1986; Bellinger, 2000)
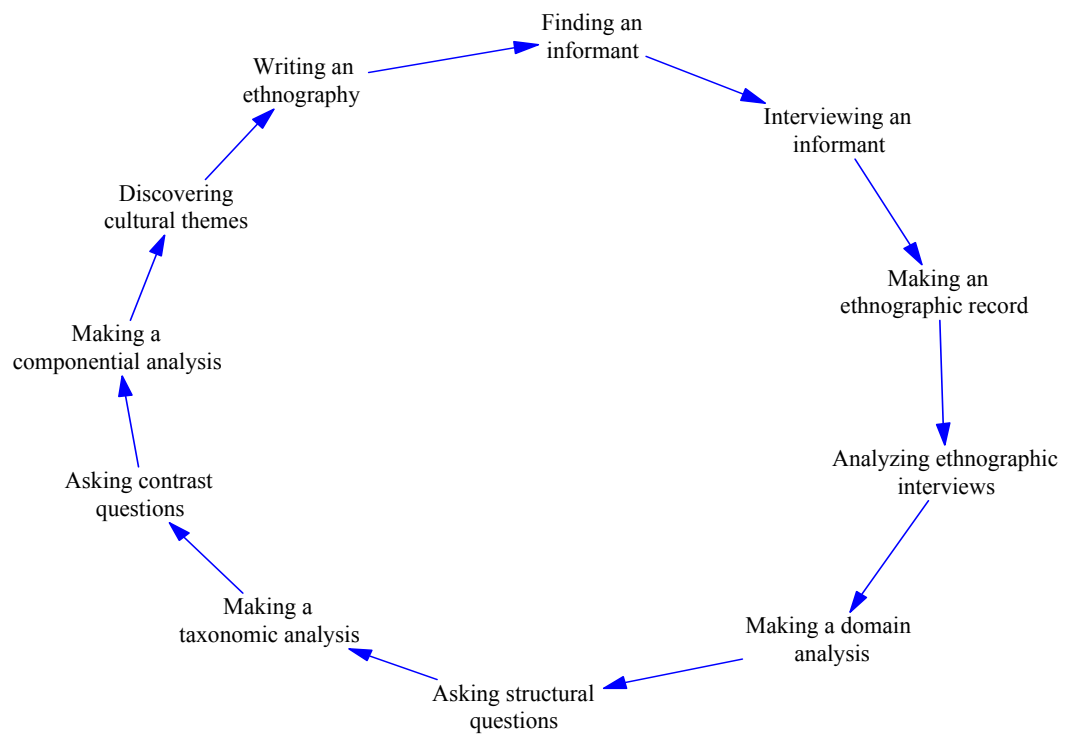
Figure 3.1 The Developmental Research Sequence

method for creating cause-effect loops to display patterns of

dependencies among entities in the contexts I was studying. I developed

a number of models in three years of gathering family violence-related

data as way of getting to know information and understand its

connections and have included several in the body of this work.

Secondary Sources

I read and analyzed a large number of domestic violence

documentation freely available on the Internet from the National

Coalition Against Domestic Violence, West Virginia Coalition Against

Domestic Violence, West Virginia Division of Criminal Justice Statistics,

National Organization for Women, Minnesota Center Against Violence

and Abuse, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Census

Bureau, and the State of the Cities Data Center. I also analyzed a ten year

period of newspaper releases from the *Ceredo Advance* to understand the

historic context locally related to depictions of violence against women.

The Ceredo Advance is one of several local newspapers stored on

microfilm as part of the Marshall University Special Collections.

I also maintained a steady reading list from which I continued to

survey the range of literature in Anthropology, Psychology, and

Sociology about deviance and violence. Using the grounded theory

approach developed by Glaser and Straus (1967) in Sociology and

implemented in Anthropology through Spradley's methods, such

continuous reading and literature review is part of the comparative

process shaping the choices the researcher makes about what areas of

cultural knowledge to examine next.

Associated Problems Developing the Project

I can list four significant problems I had to overcome. First was the simple issue that I had too much information most of the tome. This was in part due to my zealous approach to gathering information, but it is also related to the nature of the discovery method. Working inductively as one does, examples of similar or different patterns of information emerge and one must selectively organize data. Spradley (1979; 1980) limits the process by using incremental structural analysis, but one still must judiciously select which terms and combinations of terms to use to generate further questions. Generating question lists usually, for me at least, in and of itself, posed still more questions on a topic. I had to rely in part on supportive faculty to listen when I became buried in details and the ongoing dialogue I had with those people was as important as any other aspect of the research process. This leads me to the second and third problems I encountered.

Many of the questions I generated were not easily examined within narrowly defined disciplinary lines. I often found myself needing direction about secondary sources of information from other disciplines. As a general rule, I had problems communicating with persons from other departments because the qualitative, discovery approach I was using

appeared to baffle more positivist-oriented faculty and students. The idea

of exploratory research, without a formula based on hypothesis-inferential

statistical test left me looking pretty fuzzy headed to others I am sure.

Also, the inductive nature of the approach forced me to create at times

my own terms and descriptions, but to more deductively minded faculty, I

was often unable to communicate my intuitions with sufficient precision

to ensure their confidence I knew what I was doing. I was left to return to

written sources or abandon the intuition until I could more fully formulate

it.

A fourth problem I had was that once I was "out of the loop" in my

old agency settings, I had difficulty returning to continue research, even

though I had discussed that problem with the agencies prior to leaving

and had received assurances arrangements could be made to accommodate

me. In one case the larger issue was that the agency had become aware of

state regulations in Ohio that prohibited research without state-sanctioned

approval. In West Virginia, I was unable to reestablish a dialogue with

the agency in Huntington. I have no feedback one way or the other what

the issue was there. I also attempted to establish a new contact at Marcum

Terrace for observation there, but my calls were never returned. I had no

problem observing in the local Family Court and found staff there open

and accommodating; any other court-related or probation-related

activities occurred prior to my being laid off in June 2002.

Chapter 4.

Describing Batterer Intervention in Two States in Central Appalachia

In this chapter, I present the essential ethnography, based on participant observation and ethnographic interviews conducted over a three year period of time, in Lawrence, County, OH and Cabell, County, WV. During that time I worked as a therapist in Lawrence County, OH and in Cabell County, WV. I worked at a local mental health agency in Ironton, OH and traveled around Lawrence County to the Family Medical Centers in that county doing additional mental health intervention with referrals from the various communities. I also worked for an adolescent residential facility that treated inner city youth in a rural residential setting, and I worked for a service agency in Cabell County, WV which, among other things, provided Cabell County with the state certified BIPPs program as well as the primary local referral for sex offender treatment.

While in Lawrence County, OH, I took part in establishing both a sex offender treatment group and the "anger management" group used by the local court system for treatment of batterers in Lawrence County. I also provided treatment for "repeat offender" DUI offenders, violent families, victims of violent crimes, survivors of traumatic abuse, and for couples experiencing marital problems that included violence, but had not escalated to the point of prompting legal intervention.

I worked for a brief period of time in a facility for juvenile delinquent adolescent boys in Lawrence County as well. While there, I investigated elements of the spatial and neighborhood arrangements in the cities from which various youths had been referred. In group discussions with the youths I gathered information about the levels of self-identification they felt with their home communities as well as how neighborhood impacted their self-identities. I (Bills, 2000) made a rudimentary effort to conceptualize what I discovered using concepts form Mary Douglas's *The social control of cognition: Some factors in joke perception* (Douglas, 1970) and *Do dogs laugh: A cross-cultural approach to body symbolism* (Douglas, 1971). Working with adolescents from violent backgrounds gave me an opportunity to consider how in-group/out group relations impact social controls, particularly through the influence of humor. Gender labels and the roles they imply, in the hands of adolescents, become the stuff of endless analogical manipulations of self or other's perceptual features and status relations. These caricatures and stereotypes sort "big dog" and "little dog", peer and punk, among teenage boys and community and neighborhood reputations, along with one's choice of local companions to "hang out with", are both the basic source for the construction of self and other as they are the informal evidence that negative evaluations of another's behavior are legitimate.

In Cabell County, WV I co-facilitated the BIPPs program at Family Service as well as co-facilitated the sex offender treatment group and provided on-site intervention for behavioral disordered youths in the local school system. My involvement in the BIPPs program involved me in the monthly meetings of the local STOP team in Cabell County. I participated briefly on the WVCADV Database Commitee that focused on expanding the database used at the state's battered women's shelters to catalogue not only victims, but offenders in battery cases. I attended state level STOP Team conferences as well as trainings provided by WVCADV for BIPPs staff. I observed at the Cabell County Court in both the Magistrate and Family Courts in relation to Domestic Violence cases. I also conducted my Appalachian Field Project (Bills, 2001a; 2001b) as part of my training in Anthropology at Marshall University, in which I summarized a considerable amount of my interview and observation data from my professional work as well as conducted participant observation while traveling to various communities along U. S. Route 60 and Interstate 64 in eight counties in WV.

Differences Between Two Appalachian Counties

I will proceed by first contrasting experiences I had working in southern Ohio with those I had in West Virginia in terms of the social context of providing services for violent offenders and their victims.

Cabell County, WV and Lawrence County, OH are situated on different sides of the Ohio River and are connected by two bridges connecting Interstate 64 and U. S. Route 52. Both areas are considered "Appalachian" in the sense they are counties included in the Appalachian Regional Commission's list of Appalachian counties. Both historically had 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 Kentucky. Both areas have struggled economically in the past three decades as the steel industry and other industrial entities have closed their doors or relocated, leaving the communities scrambling to develop a new basis for economic development.

Still, as I will show, each area involved very different structural contexts from which social problems developed. In Ohio, the local institutional context was egalitarian within the small local organizations in the Lawrence County area, with strong individualists biases in relation to how local groups interacted with each other. This was encouraged by the competitive billing and client referral systems were set up in the community. It was quite possible, through structures of weak ties, to eventually get audience with upper level management or bureaucrats if one had a sufficient range of contacts. The state level of organization

appeared to be one that emphasized individualist values and public

management philosophy in relation to social service provision appeared

to follow from this bias. In West Virginia, I appeared to interact laterally

at all times within networks of others at similar structural positions to

mine. Even at state level meetings, group dynamics appeared to follow

this hierarchist dynamic. Though it is likely that individualist networks

can be formed in the West Virginia systems, the "natural flow" of ties

appeared to be much more structured by structural boundaries separating

levels of hierarchy.

I will also discuss differences I experienced in the types of groups

developed to treat offenders in each state. In Ohio, the local agencies

trying to develop programs for violent offenders in the community were

not tied to Federal mandates via dependence on Violence Against Women

Act and STOP Team funding streams, but instead had an ongoing

dependence on Medicaid funding apportioned through the provision of

services to individual Medicaid recipients. Local agencies competed for

referrals by sending "court liasons" to local courts to attract referrals. In

West Virginia, VAWA and STOP grants, along with Title XX and

United Way allocations provided the agency blocks of money to

guarantee funding of "positions" for "programs".

In both states the agencies in the region, with for-profit hospitals and

local community mental health centers as the few notable exceptions,

were typically small. National pressures to move health and mental health

care toward consumer-oriented models and fee-for-service system designs

created an atmosphere where the individual productivity of a treatment

provider was constantly at issue. Increasing pressure to extract payments

from clients who did not or could not pay increased the likelihood that

clients who made slow progress would be terminated from services,

particularly if they had an unstable payer source. The low return on

Medicaid and other grant sources billed for services, along with poor

return on siding fee scale payment arrangements often meant that

clinicians worked for poor salaries relative to their level of education and

made for high staff turnover in many agencies due to heavy work loads

and stagnant wages. The following diagram (Figure 4.1) illustrates via a

causal loop diagram the relation of these factors to the atmosphere

working in these agencies.

Developing Programs and Referrals in Two Localities

I am not concerned here with the fundamentals of accounting and the

actual dynamics of agency business practices as much as I am how

perceptions of "how business is done" varied from region to region. The

emphasis on the individual was demonstrated in Ohio by an emphasis on

professional credentialing in OH and mirrored the way treatment groups

were formed and the way referrals cut across genders. In Ohio,

independently licensed treatment professionals were seen as experts who

could shape their own system of treatment as they saw fit, as long as it

was ethical and did not harm or defraud clients.

In WV, grant-based funding de-emphasized individual credentialing in

**Intra-Agency
Pressures**

level of role
expectations

staff turnover

ability to bill
adequately

paperwork-
per-chart

decrease in
revenues

client-therapist
ratio

wage stagnation

absolute numbers
of clients
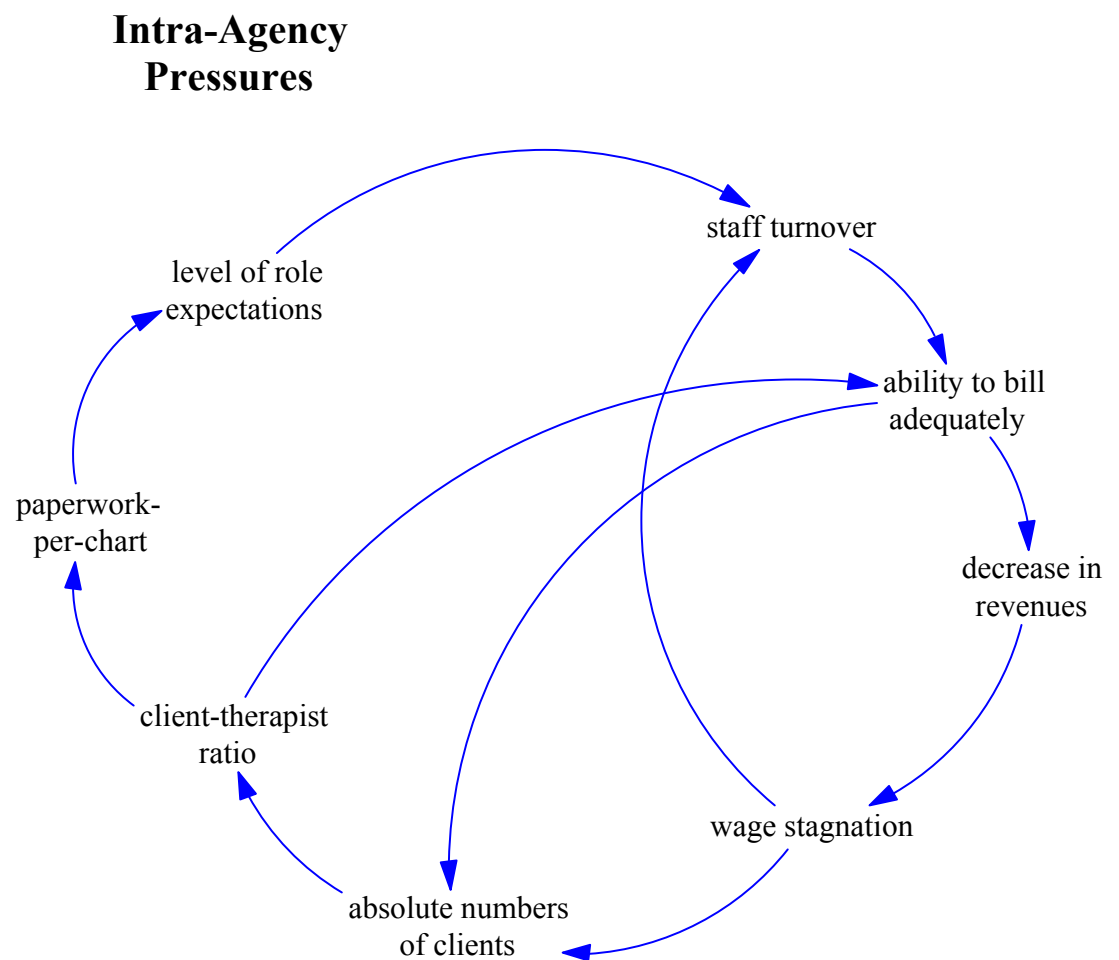
Figure 4.1 Local Stress Dynamics in Small Agencies

the program I worked in as well as in others around the state; the loci of

treatment was centered in the legal rather than therapeutic community,

and the expertise of individuals was suspect unless one had been a part of

the batterer treatment community for some time. Mental Health

professionals were particularly suspect and seen as uninformed about the

power issues involved in treating batterers. They were often accused of

"colluding" with batterers and not concerned sufficiently with victim

safety as they should be. The models of treatment recommended by state-

level advocacy groups were distrustful of mental health interventions for

batterers and tend to emphasize patriarchy, as opposed to mental illness or

addiction, as the basis of violence against women. Though state officials

are moving toward standardization of treatment and credentialing, the

WVCADV and other related groups appeared to be moving toward

credentialing within its own organizations as opposed to trusting the

existing structures for psychological, counseling, and social work

licensure to vouch for the expertise of providers.

Hood (1998) argues that the idea of scientific "cumulative progress

toward truth" is not the basis of ideological change typically driving the

nature of knowledge in public management systems. Using Cultural

Theory (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990) as the basis of his analysis

of public management systems, he describes how ideas about good

organization and good governance change with the social context of the

organization. According to Hood, the orthodox view of "scientific

progress" has been challenged even by philosophers in the natural

science, who have instead focused on discontinuous changes in

knowledge systems, as well as phenomena like "institutionalized

forgetting" as the basis of paradigm rather than a slow progress toward

logical systems of propositions. Timmerman (1986) has proposed

investigating how organizational mythologies imply the surprises and

collapses that plague their projects at times. Local dynamics in group

formation involve the linking of elements of structure-group membership,

tasks that make up projects, and the tools of its technology-via ties based

on coordinated actions, understandings, and goals (Arrow, McGrath, &

Berdahl, 2000). In both Lawrence County, OH and Cabell County,

WV the program building is driven by the promise of a new funding

source for local agencies constantly understaffed and under resourced.

How these forces interacted with fads related to intervention was reflected

in the way "anger management" became the code word for domestic

violence treatment in Lawrence County, OH, while in Cabell County,

WV issues of political correctness were interwoven with efforts by the

WVCADV and the Bureau of Criminal Justice Statistics to oversee

training and build a statewide bureaucracy apart from the mental health

community for domestic violence victims and offenders. My experiences

in forming groups for sex offender and batterer intervention in Lawrence

County, OH and Cabell County, WV involved very different patterns of

local interaction in each community setting. The global dynamics of trust

and legitimacy that emerge from each system had very different bases and

were linked to larger levels of social structure via very different patterns

of contextual dynamics.

An Aside from One Fresh from the Fray

As I was preparing to rewrite this chapter for a final draft, I made the

mistake of picking up Keith Pringle's (1995) *Men, Masculinities, &*

Social Welfare, looking for any additional information I could find to

supplement my own observations of structure in social program systems.

Among the many facets of such systems Pringle discusses is the

relationship between masculine biases in social welfare and social

services policy and the development of systems of therapy and family

therapy that have developed and served as models for clinical practice

within the same time frames, approximately 1970 to the present, that I

am writing about in this paper. He also discusses briefly the overlap

between persons who deliver social services of various kinds and those

that use those services. Pringle's comments are quite astute and worth

consideration at a later, but I want to acknowledge the two issues of

systems of therapy and "user/provider." I think they will help me

highlight a bind I believe front-line service providers, male and female, in

the region I am focusing on, face daily as they respond to shifting

demands to make services more and more "cost effective", "user

friendly", and "fiscally responsible." As buzzwords, such terms are

managerialist code words which appear to promote greater quality

services, but hide political agendas that strip public programs of the

funding needed to actually provide legitimate services and displace blame

for program ineffectiveness from those who design policy and manage

institutions to those for whom the program is supposed to serve and

individuals at the bottom rungs of an agency power structure. Pringle

(1995) says the following about the user/provider distinction in Great

Britain:

> If we are going to study the two categories of those who provide
> and those who receive welfare services separately, we need to be
> careful about how we choose to label them. The development of
> anti-oppressive perspectives and the growing awareness among
> social welfare commentators about the relevance of ideas drawn
> from poststructuralism have meant that we are more alert to the
> way meaning and "reality" con be defined by language; especially
> when that language is constructed by those with more power in our
> society.
> Within one area of social welfare, social work, the term "service
> user" has come into common currency to describe those who
> receive services. It is important to realize that such terminology
> gives particular weight to one version of reality about social
> welfare. It is a version that reflects the ideology of the current
> British government, particularly with regard to "Community care."
> That ideology has to be viewed critically (Pringle, 1995, pp. 17)

What Pringle is getting at is that management models and government "spin" on programs and funding typically during the past twenty years has attempt to promote the illusion of free-exchange in service provision, often grossly ignoring the reality of how many services are forced on to low income families by virtue of their involvement in the system. In my own professional experience, by about 1993 or 1994, "brief therapy" (de Shazer, 1991) was being promoted to practitioners as a means of decreasing the amount of time individuals required services. Along with this trend toward decreasing the amount of time an individual required in treatment were pushes locally to organize group therapy sessions for many more chronic cases, as opposed to continuing to pay for individual sessions. Who received services was no longer a "client", but a "consumer". Pringle discusses problems with many of the terms that have surfaced from that time and favors the term "service user" as the most neutral term he has found. In this paper, I will use "client", a term Pringle suggests is patronizing, as well as "victim" and "offender", mainly because these terms were the terms most frequently in use in the systems in which I operated.

Pringle also recognizes that many men and women who provide services of various kinds in social service systems have also received services. In this day and age of conservative backlash and muckraking, an

admission of such behavior can be devastating to political careers. In social service systems, though, such admissions often become claims to privileged knowledge. Addiction treatment, with its links to Alcoholics Anonymous, is a good example of where such claims have been utilized, by men and women alike, to increase one's marketability as a therapist. I see the potential for a similar misuse of personal experience among "victims" or "perpetrators" claiming special insight in treating victims and offenders in domestic violence programs.

Pringle's characterization of family therapy models from the 1970s and 1980s actually led me to chuckle. His list of "gurus" from the field, Gregory Bateson (1972), Milton H. Erickson (Haley, 1986), Jay Haley (1976), Salvador Minuchin (1974), and Paul Watzlawick (1978), along with his list of systems theory spin-offs, including Michael White and David Epston (1990) and Steve de Shazer (1991), and social constructionists including McNamee and Gergen (1992), constitute the core of my reading list for most of the time I was a working therapist. In graduate school I worked with an advisor trained in Neurolinguistic Programming (Bandler, Grinder, & Satir, 1976), pursued Ericksonian hypnosis training (Lankton & Lankton, 1983), received supervision in Structural Family Therapy, (Minuchin, 1974), and attempted to utilize "solution focused" interventions with clients (de Shazer, 1991). What

Pringle appears to be critical of is the way these methods were promoted and marketed in a way that enriched the predominantly white, male system developers and reinforced an ethos of virtuosity, managerialism, and masculinity in therapeutic services.

For myself, I can say that I personally never made much money as a therapist and the continued pursuit of this expensive, often faddish therapeutic knowledge became a source of frustration and despair for me. Working in small local agencies in an area like the tristate region of WV, OH, and KY, one had little chance of promotion or gaining raises. I watched as a number of my peers switched from providing direct services and moved into management positions as a way of increasing personal income. I have no exact figures about the distribution of males and females in management roles in the social service industry in WV at this time, but my perception is that management is as likely to be made up of women as it was of men, particularly the middle management in larger agencies.

What appeared to be more of a problem overall in the tristate area was a distinct gap between the political and class-based perceptions of management and perception of the persons served held by front-line service providers, with management tending to make pretense of a liberal outlook, which often masked cynicism and distaste for the poor who were

agency service users. Many of the women and men I saw working in agency management jobs would be more likely to agree with the political right in relation to social welfare programming, labor relations, and economic policy than they would more liberal approaches, though I am sure exceptions to this exist. Even if one wanted to practice without engaging in many of the conservative biases promoted in relation to the poor in recent years, one faces profound obstacles to administering programs with an anti-oppressive emphasis in the form of regulation. This is most evident to the front-line worker through the shear volume of documentation needed to get services paid for. In all three of the agencies I worked at during the time frame of this project, the volume of documentation could account for two to three hours a day of time just to make a note on the service provided and to log it in some form of tracking log to account for how I spent my time during a day.

This is in the face of trying to meet a "productivity" expectation of 5.5 to 6.0 hours of face-to-face contact with service users. Any additional work to complete treatment plans, case closures, various contact reports, etc. were expected to be done regardless of the additional time it required after regular business hours. Any case management or collateral information gathering was typically not being paid for by Medicaid or other funding sources. This typically made cases requiring high

investments in interagency cooperation a potential liability more than an

potential asset to agencies. It also meant that complex, multiproblem

cases received services that were unlikely to address underlying problems,

but focused instead on surface issues amenable to educational groups, like

parenting classes or support groups. Elite, virtuosic models of therapy

were often not well received by such groups, and even with a great deal

of creativity to adapt them to the needs of the service user, could not

bring about sufficient change in the short amounts of time allotted to

mandated service users.

The combination of the focus virtuosity and recognition managerialist

biases in social service policy making and management practice has lead

me to question much of how social service programs operate through the

years and lead me back to school to investigate the roots of these issues.

At this time, most of my tools are derived from the very traditions I am

critiquing. For better or worse, they are what I have to work with at this

point. They do make me aware of how claims to virtuosity, managerial

savvy, and special insight were used in the service of competition among

agencies in OH, while instead used to enforce structural divisions within

a budding service domain in WV.

Competitive Cooperation and Cooperative Competition

At the time I was in Lawrence County, OH, state-level policy was
being

implemented to consolidate drug and alcohol treatment services and

mental health services rather than maintain the past divisions that had

existed between the two domains of practice. Much of this appeared to

take place in anticipation of reforms in welfare, supplemental social

security, and in the use of Medicaid for the payment of treatment services

for addiction and for mental illness. Professional credentialing in the state

made distinctions between the two types of services and claims to

expertise in treating one or the other followed accordingly, the drug and

alcohol treatment community locally in the tristate was heavily invested

in Alcoholics Anonymous as a model for recovery development and

many persons delivering treatment services claimed recovery experience,

either as a recovery alcoholic or addict, or as a recovering "codependent"

partner or spouse of someone with an addiction.

Because of the use of recovering persons in addiction treatment, the

initial professional certification is accessible to persons without college

degrees and independent certification, with its more lucrative access to

management and supervisory positions, is available to persons having

only a bachelors degree and sufficient work experience provided the

person completes the testing and oral examination required as well. This

setup quite a bit of tension and one-upmanship between agencies

competing in a local community like Scioto and Lawrence Counties,

based on perceived staffing competence as demonstrated by numbers of

persons with degrees versus without degrees, persons with various levels of credentials, and claims to special knowledge based on actual recovery experience.

Mental health credentialing in OH follows requirements for social workers derived from the National Association of Social Workers, and for psychologists based on guidelines from the American Psychological Association. These older organizations were the first to promote credentialing regulations and the national organizations influenced state policies in OH and WV in similar ways. Counselors operate under a somewhat stricter licensure procedure in OH than they do in WV, with counselors achieving either a Licensed Professional Counselor or Licensed Professional Clinical Counselor status in OH. The LPCC entitles an independently licensed counselor a scope of practice very similar to that of a licensed psychologist, allowing the LPCC to use psychometric instruments like the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and various intelligence test. Universities in OH with Counseling and Rehabilitation programs prepare their students for this licensure difference by including the necessary additional coursework to train their students to administer these tests.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the ins and outs from an anthropological view the structural implications of professional

credentialing and the access to its achieved statuses had on my experiences in both OH and WV. Much of daily life in an agency is shaped by knowing who has the ability legally to sign documents, make diagnoses, and offer supervision and who does not. Access to better paying positions, particularly management positions are often shaped by who on staff has certain credentials regardless of actual ability or skill. One ongoing frustration of front-line providers comes from dealing with persons in authority positions making decisions based on a managerial perspective rather than a clinical one. In both states, OH and WV, this theme returned over and over as financial realities imposed sometimes severe constraints on the various agencies ability to provide services.

In Lawrence County, OH local agencies often competed with one another for clients via the courts. Drug and alcohol offenders, delinquent children, sex offenders, and domestic violence offenders would go through the local municipal, county, and circuit courts and agencies interested in serving them sent "court liasons", case managers typically, to the courts to induce judges, probation officers, and attorneys to refer or order individuals to treatment at a particular facility. Family Guidance Center competed with the Counseling Center, an agency whose main office was in Scioto County, OH, as well as Shawnee Mental Health Center for domestic violence offenders. The Medicaid system declined to pay for batterer intervention, but would pay for "anger management"

training, so the treatment groups were advertised as such. For those

individuals who did not have a Medicaid card, a sliding fee scale was

assessed for the cost of services. Agencies competed with each other for

referrals from local judges and probation officers. In a sense, they

competed for the opportunity to cooperate with the courts. As I will

discuss in more detail later in this section, the West Virginia pattern was

to have programs staked out for the fiscal year, requiring different

agencies to cooperate with one another, while they competed at state and

federal levels for the grants and other allocations to fund the program

themselves. As an example, longtime members of the Family Service

Staff told me that Prestera Center, the local mental health center in Cabell

County, had tried to pick up Family Services programs for years, but for

one reason had been unable to. Instead, when Family Service went broke

in 1999, Goodwill Industries was able to buy it up and claim its staff and

programs (along with its debts).

Network Ties and Group Formation in Southern Ohio

The Lawrence County Prosecutor's Office had a Victim's Advocate

Office attached to it. That office provided advocacy services for domestic

battery victims as well as other victims of violent crime, but had little to

do with seeing whether offenders were sent to treatment. This function

was filled by the agency court liasons in conjunction with the probation officers in local courts. Referrals included both men and women charged with Domestic Battery. Because the agency's historic place in the community was as an addictions treatment facility, assessments initially emphasized the referral's history of alcohol and drug use. Staff members would emphasize the place of addiction in violence dynamics, as well as make recommendations to the local courts about additional addictions treatment. The initial anger management program was only eight weeks long. It became a logical next step to attempt to build a sex offender group as well, given the perception of overlap between family violence, addiction, and legal involvement.

I began a sex offender group when it became apparent through memos from Adult Probation made it apparent there was a need in the community for sex offender services. Offenders from Lawrence and Scioto Counties were traveling to Chillicothe for services. Local probation was under pressure to develop services in the Lawrence County area. To accommodate the various registered offenders in he community who were still on probation or parole. I was directed to contact personnel at the community mental health agency in Chillicothe and made several trips there to meet professionals and offenders alike.

Eventually, as was typical at the small agency I was working for, billing pressures forced management into hiring additional personnel in

an attempt to increase billing potential. The continuing tension in the agency was a delicate balance between meeting community demand for services, which varied dramatically over time, and keeping individual billing up sufficient to pay for one's position with the agency. The original egalitarian structure of the agency was slowly being altered as changes in funding streams at the state and federal levels were increasing agency accountability for the funds it pulled down for service provision. This was in the late 1990s when Medicaid and Welfare Reform were dramatically altering the way treatment services were being administered. Many individuals were being cut off from Medicaid as well as AFDC, and the state of Ohio was increasingly encouraging local agencies to compete with one another, even to the point of allowing expansion of agencies into other counties or into less traditional venues for service provision. Family Guidance Center experienced increasing pressure for the Counseling Center in Scioto County. It took advantage of its affiliation to the local Community Action Council, which administered the Family Medical Centers in Lawrence County. I began traveling among those offices to provide mental health services to patients at those offices as well as began developing groups like the anger management group and the sex offender treatment group.

Individualistic Networks and New Services

Among the persons hired in 1998 was an independently licensed counselor who had prior experience. My employer hired her in large part because of her prior experience providing offender treatment services in the State Prison at Chillicothe. It turns out she knew one of the persons at Chillicothe, and a new set of relations were facilitated as we were introduced to supervisors in Cincinnati, OH that finalized the client transfer from the Chillicothe sex offender program.

Contacts between the program in Lawrence County the agency in Chillicothe were initially facilitated with the help of the Department of Corrections. The fellow clinician hired by the agency I worked for had, as part of her LPCC status, the ability to administer the MMPI and other psychometric tests. This had permitted her to pursue specialized training in sex offender risk assessment. The state of OH employed standardized ratings of offenders in terms of their potential dangerousness, based on standardized test batteries, which has significant impact for offenders seeking parole. By hiring an individual who could do this assessment, the agency I was working for established credibility with the Department of Corrections. My coworkers association with the clinician in Chillicothe grew out of previous experience the two had had doing sex offender treatment in the prison system.

In all, I can identify a series of four weak ties that lead me from Adult Probation in Chesapeake, OH via the agency's court liason. From there I connected with treatment staff in Chillicothe, while also coming in contact for the first time with the new counselor, who happened to know staff at Chillicothe. That set of time took us to Cincinnati to connect with corrections personnel.

Additional ties were utilized in Ironton, OH to work with the Municipal and Circuit Courts on developing access to Pre-sentence Investigation information on offenders, but this became bogged down because the local circuit court, as well as my agency, both lacked sufficient personnel and resources to have a full-time person to gather information about referrals and the nature of their offenses. In several cases after that the agency lost referrals to its competition when the court liason from that agency was able to cast doubt on the use of psychometric assessment to determine an offender's dangerousness. In each case, what became part of the issue was potential liability were the individual to re-offend. This occurred not only with sex offenders, but domestic violence offenders and persons with histories of chronic criminal behavior. What appeared to be called into question was whether or not what was seen locally as "good ol' boy" behavior, or blown off as "understandable" violence when an individual was drunk, was to be interpreted in these local terms based on the courts familiarity with the individual offender, or

if expert professional knowledge would be utilized. The other issue at the time appeared to be who would accept the burden of monitoring a difficult, but "petty" criminal, one for whom this monitoring would need to be frequent. In each case the other local agency resorted to addiction diagnoses to bring the individual in question under their scope of practice and claimed the case as their own. At least with one judge in the local court, the agency I worked for lost referrals all together.

    Personal connections were also important at the local level in Lawrence County, gaining audience eventually with local judges as well as ongoing contact with Probation Officers. Also, credentialing, as a symbol of special knowledge, provided access at state levels Even the local office of the Department of Human Resources emphasized this individualistic mode of operation, referring persons to our Parenting and Anger Management programs via Child Protection Workers, who operated with a great deal of personal autonomy in the county. Difficulties with these workers or with other aspects of negotiating the DHR bureaucracy were handled by calling personal contacts in the DHR office. New services as well as the smooth reproduction of existing programs required an ongoing working relationship with other agencies based on face-to-face, individual contacts and associations. Individual credentials determined whether the state payment systems would accept your work as worthy of payment. These systems emphasized 'personal'

accountability for treatment practice as well as validation for treatment results.

The West Virginia Experience

As I pointed out earlier in this chapter, in WV issues of political correctness were interwoven with efforts by the WVCADV and the Bureau of Criminal Justice Statistics to oversee training and build a statewide bureaucracy apart from the mental health community for domestic violence victims and offenders. The allocation of Violence Against Women Act and STOP Team funding meant that local programs needed to contact the WVCADV to gain access to fund and develop a local STOP team as well as develop a BIPPs group to which local offenders could be referred. The agency I worked for in Cabell County, WV had a long history of providing victim services in Cabell County and developed a working relation with the courts to establish a sex offender treatment program in the 1980s. That service had been done through a patchwork of funding streams in the past. Eventually, through a combination of poor management and the overwhelming difficulty finding sufficient funding for the type of case management intensive services required for treating both sex offenders and their victims, the agency was close to financial collapse. In 2001, it was bought up by the local Goodwill Industries and incorporated into its system of services. VAWA money, along with Title XX funding and an allocation from

United Way provided the basic funding of clinical positions, though both sex offenders and domestic violence offenders were charges a fee of $10 per session for group services to make them "accountable" for treatment. In some cases, WVDHHR would pay a "fee for service" contract for an offender who was referred as part of an open child custody case.

Because of the reliance on grant funding, much of the WVCADV activity to organize programs took place through trainings and retreats at various locations in WV. Trainings involved bringing in an expert on some aspect of current batterer intervention expertise for a day long workshop, or possibly, a three day retreat to train BIPPs personnel in aspects of treatment and program administration. These trainings included for the most part individuals from each different professional discipline involved in delivering batterer services. Shelter workers, BIPPs co-facilitators, community police, and victims assistants are all included. Also included were several management persons from a few of the older, more established programs in the region.

The atmosphere in these sessions was typically centered on the presentation leader, but involved as well the interjection by older, more established participants personal anecdotes meant to clarify or highlight presenter topics. Special knowledge was attributed to the presenter, WVCADV staff, this core of local "old timers", and "victims". "Victims" occupied a special category in and of themselves, because one could "be"

a victim, thereby attaining credibility more quickly by virtue of that special status, or, by virtue of one's occupational position, have access to victims, thereby having attained special insight into the victim mind. This particularly privileged Victim's Advocates and, in turn, reinforced the Advocates position in local courts. Someone who was both an Advocate for victims and a victim themselves could potentially monopolize discussion and dismiss all other knowledge claims.

In at least one case, one of the "old timers" I have mentioned was both Victim's Advocate and a victim. She also occupied a management position in the correctional system. By occupying all three power positions, she posed a formidable obstacle to developing discussion topics outside the confines of topics for which this person had interests. In one training, in which the presenter was demonstrating more advanced treatment techniques for dealing with offenders who had progressed in treatment, this person became upset that discussion had moved to considering the offender's feelings and perspectives. She chastised the presenter and reminded the group attending the training that we must all not forget the victim in the course of speaking of the offender. She then reminded the group of her special statuses as victim, Victim's Advocate, and corrections employee to convince us that "all" offenders are "sneaks" and "cons". After casting such a spell on the group, the presenter had no choice but to take a break to diffuse the tension in the group.

In the same training, another long program administrator lead a discussion group activity in which the point was to "share" feelings about providing services to a difficult population of service users like domestic violence offenders. A condition of the activity was to have Victims Advocates lead the groups and help us hear victims voices in relation to our own. I shared what I perceived as genuine guilt and frustration over dealing with paperwork and other administrative activities in relation to my role as a co-facilitator. Such concern appeared justified given at the time of this particular training there were questions as to the extent of funding cuts looming within a month of the training. Job performance issues, job instability, parenting responsibilities, and school obligations were stressing me. Several other men in the group expressed similar concerns. Others, still, as is typical in such "sharing" activities, were reluctant to make much self-disclosure. The "old timer" chastised us as insincere and shallow, and demanded we share what was "really going on", then launched into a definition of what was for her the "true" domain of feelings we were supposed to have. Whether the outburst was an accurate reading of the group's male biases or not was probably lost completely to most of the group in the shock they experienced at being so quickly and decisively defeated. Perhaps this is politically incorrect of me to state this, but from my perspective, I felt completely and utterly misrepresented and misunderstood.

At another point, late in this three day retreat, I took part in another "deep change" activity designed to help offenders get in touch with the bodily basis of their emotions. Having had prior experience with such techniques, I was able to access the type of emotional experiences requested. As a side note, similar feelings of frustration and guilt in relation to job and parenting pressures arose sufficient to bring tears to my eyes and make me aware of deep bodily exhaustion I was experiencing at the time. The group generally appeared uncomfortable with the expression of strong feelings that came up. Few others were willing to engage in similar activity, apparently for fear of making themselves vulnerable in the group. I thought this generally understandable, given most of the group's background in corrections and criminal justice. The same two old timers discussed previously, along with one or two more of their status, were among the ones in the group most offended by the activities and emotional display. In mental health arenas such displays come up in relation to learning trauma-related or other "deep recovery" techniques. Persons frequently access strong emotions even in training settings, given many of the techniques available to access such feelings are powerful and often a great deal of trust is extended to the trainer and to the group, which is made up of peers doing similar work with victimized clients. To have two persons of supposed high status in the formal and informal status structures of the batterer

intervention community so negatively respond to displays of emotion in one of its male community members strikes me as dangerous for two reasons.

One reason is that the BIPPs community in WV is treating, for most part, low income and working class males. BIPPs programs in WV do not accept female referrals. Licensing of a site requires the presence of a male and female co-facilitator. Given the range of incomes most co-facilitators are earning due to the low wages available for their work, as well as the stressful nature of that work, it seems highly unlikely that many of the individuals, male and female alike, providing services are not experiencing the same kind of financial and work-related pressures in their lives that are perplexing many of the persons referred to a BIPPs program. The mandate "Thou shall not collude with offenders" is presented in a manner that places additional pressure on persons in the field to ignore or avoid becoming invested relationships with offenders. Where co-facilitator and offender are experiencing similar feelings of deprivation, while perceiving themselves as being of the same group in a community (in this case, same group means male, parent, or other similar status grouping), there is a likelihood of either provoking a sense of relative deprivation or relative gratification, depending on whether the other is viewed as deprived (relative deprivation) or not deprived (relative gratification (Davis, 1959). These experiences possible make "collusion"

possible if the two identify with each other's deprivation states and commiserate about it together enough to develop a relationship distorting preference for the other. It may also establish sufficient rapport to promote a sense that the other understands one's position in events such that a trusting bond can form.

Perceiving the other as an out group member while experiencing deprivation feelings leads, according to Davis (1959), experiences of relative subordination (out group member is non deprived) or relative superiority (out group member is deprived). Here we get the very kinds of one-up/one-down feelings that charge relationships with resentment and anger. In this second case we have the kind of emotional dynamic that is likely also to induce the kind of reactance responses from Appalachian males I pointed out in chapter 2. As a therapist or "co-facilitator", I would have no objection to strategically inducing an individual to experience such feelings if I thought I had sufficient relationship with him that I could later process his feelings and aid him in understanding the status basis for his reactions. That seems to me to be exactly the kind of intervention I would need to be doing in a BIPPs group. But I would have to be aware of having done it in the first place to really use it and I would have needed to sow the relationship with enough trust to be able to process that kind of stressful emotion afterwards. Even then I might misjudge the other person and drive a wedge in the relationship.

Even in the face of an organizationally sanctioned training to help BIPPs personnel begin to understand this type of complex training issue, old guard in the system verbalized dissent and disapproval. This seemed incredibly insensitive and paranoid to me. It also appeared to me to be a place that the privileging of the victim's voice reflected more the personal biases of a few powerful individuals in the system than what is really good for a community of people, male and female alike.

My second reason for perceiving these responses as dangerous is that they reflect a perception of the future that holds little or no hope of victim safety as well as offender "conversion." It appears to me that some in the system are cynical to the point they have no image of the "recovered" batterer. It reminds me to some degree of the problem addictions treatment can experience. If "once an alcoholic, always an alcoholic", I never am "fully recovered." An individual never experiences in this model a point in time when his affliction is no longer a problem. Such slogans are useful heuristics to someone early in recovery, needing clear, unambiguous instructions to deal with painful and confusing feelings. But in later recovery, when the individual has more fully reintegrated into the community and requires more flexible, intuitive knowledge to handle multiple conflicts, they are instead left with rigid, black and white thinking and inflexible problem-solving strategies. Some people "slip" and return to use rather than deal with the pain they experience. Others

become "dry drunks"-- grouchy, moody, and withdrawn individuals without compassion for themselves or others. The "cure", the ideology of recovery, is never sufficiently integrated into the individual's identity, but remains at arms length, reinforcing the very thing it was meant to alleviate.

The only persons this serves was the administrators of treatment centers who treated recidivists time and time again. It possibly serves those who have a stake in their own victimage as well. Together that becomes a powerful combination, the chronic victim and their habitual defender. That kind of lore has been part of the addiction treatment community for years and appears to be part of the batterer intervention community in WV. It also makes possible the kind of deflection from the more liberal, human rights agenda I have been discussing possible by not allowing BIPPs programs to become a free space where alternative perspectives can evolve based on the latent interests share with their partners and networks for a nonviolent community through voicing unhappiness with the community's current structural relationships..

Summary

My experiences in each state reflected very different cultural milieus in which batterer intervention systems were being developed. In OH, the boundaries of system of professional credentialing have been breached to some degree by state level changes in funding and payment systems. This

has led to a system that privileges individual expertise, as best represented by the ability to use advanced psychometric testing in the assessment of dangerousness of offenders. Elite therapeutic knowledge is also recognized, though salaries are such that many in poorer counties like Lawrence County cannot afford that elite training. Even with that expertise, the egalitarian, informal in-group relations of local professionals can trump that expertise if it inconveniences sufficiently powerful interests.

Grant funding in WV has led to greater integration of all involved disciplines into one community of service providers and made headway towards standardizing practices. Still, that community does not emphasize individual expertise except in relation to knowing the wishes of the "victim". Community members who are victims themselves, or can claim special access to the privileged knowledge of victims enjoy grater status in the community. This creates obstacles to incorporating more sophisticated approaches to batterer intervention when these powerful "old timers" use their privileged status in trainings and retreats to dominate dialogue and rigidly frame offenders as "uncurable."

Neither state, as represented by its treatment and criminal justice systems constructs domestic violence offenders as capable of true change. As a result, the managerial milieu has developed elaborate systems of protection to shed blame and scapegoat service providers if violence

occurs again. The denial of structural realities in terms of access to better jobs and to real compensation for work done is minimized. No one appears willing to seriously confront how the spatialization of poverty can place offenders and potential victims in close proximity to one another. This is part of a larger failure to adequately conceptualize offender behavior as a community, rather than individual problem

In the next chapter I discuss broader community dynamics related to economic conditions in WV in general and Cabell County in particular. I relate these conditions to arrest rates in Cabell County for domestic violence, as well as to marital and divorce rates and community relations to explore how economic conditions affect where arrests for domestic violence is most likely to occur. I then analyze this data in relation to feminist theories of social inequality and build links to the theoretical framework I presented in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 6 I attempt to locate the basis for moral evaluations of the poor, as well as for cultural constructions of self and other, in the philosophical history of the state as first formulated by Plato and later revisited in the writings of nineteenth century reform writers. I propose that power is used in a monopoly capitalist system to control territorial claims through differential access to privacy. This access is understood as following whoever controls property rights. Moral definitions follow, in turn, the perspectives of dominant interests controlling those rights, and

thus controlling definitions of self and other.

Chapter 5.

Who's Side Anyway?

In this chapter I attempt to extend my project by critically examine the interrelationships among pro-arrest laws in WV, and community norms in marriage and divorce, local economic conditions, and how poverty is distributed locally in Cabell County. The dominant paradigm used by WVCADV has a feminist basis, which is valid in principle, but may fail in Cabell County because it does not provide and adequate assessment of class-based interests that can help BIPPs providers tap the latent interests offenders have in a nonviolent community. In some ways, the ideology of the WVCADV may overemphasize punitive law enforcement and underemphasize the value of mutual support in the face of oppressive economic and social policies at the state and federal levels. For this reason, I quote Rapoport (1974) to highlight how difficult it is to accurately assess sides in conflict situations.

> ...the first task in any analysis of conflict is to identify the conflicting parties and that this task is by no means a simple one. On the basis of our introspective awareness of ourselves as actors with at least some freedom of choice and with consciously perceived goals, it seems most natural to identify individuals as the basic parties. Yet we are aware also of larger aggregates to which goals and aspirations are assigned. If we see these goals and aspirations as simply the collective manifestations of the goals and aspirations of the goals and aspirations of the individuals comprising the aggregates, there is no problem. For instance , the aspiration of a State can in that case be perceived simply as the aspirations of its citizens, the State being simply an instrument for realizing these goals.

Problems arise when organized aggregates appear to acquire goals and purposes of 'their own', independent of those of the individuals comprising them. Problems arise also when the behavior of large systems seems to be determined by quasi-mechanical interactions that do not reflect *any* goals or purposes, not even the systems. In our day, these problems are no longer merely philosophical interest; they are set in a starkly realistic context. For instance, hardly anyone wants a senseless, genocidal nuclear war to occur. Yet the prospect of such a war, now looming, now receding, is always with us (Rapoport, 1974, pp. 133).

As with several issues I discuss in this chapter, the importance of the above quote is in recognizing how little we have actually changed over the last thirty years, in spite of the rhetoric otherwise. Postmodernism and post structuralism aside, we are in an era where once again national leadership is thrusting its constituency into an unpopular war. Conservative policy makers have continued to push an agenda bent on rolling back any gains in social justice and human rights won during the 1960s (Hardisty, 2000). Liberals have been unable to mount a sufficient counter to the New Right's complex and well planned assault on personal freedom.

My concerns have been developed throughout this project in terms of exploring the possibility that, in such a climate, notoriously hostile to minorities, gays, and women's rights, batterer intervention and the system designed to deliver it, has been a deflection of away from the important questions about the structural basis of inequality from which domestic violence emerges. The necessary funding to finance a coordinated system

of battered women's shelters, men's treatment groups, special

prosecutors, victims advocates, and other bureaucratic elements of such a

system requires providers turn to a government increasingly hostile to

their cause. The issue of domestic violence would appear to locate

conflict primarily between husband and wife, but by marking out the

issue in this way, we ignore how control of property enforces what

becomes private and what becomes public as well as subtle aspects of

selfhood as expressed through territoriality and the desire for privacy.

Such highly personal issues are also highly communal in that, under

conditions of economic crisis, where hardship and suffering prevail for

the many, a few can isolate themselves while blaming those around them

for their plight.

I see as a disconnect between the pro-feminist rhetoric used by

domestic violence and batterer intervention specialists in West Virginia. I

compare my own experience as a participant observer at WVCADV

trainings, in local courts, and at local STOP Team meetings to the work

of other researchers to consider the idea that batterer intervention systems

in the Appalachian region serve a deflective function for conservative

political interests. By providing an additional means to control displaced

male workers following the economic restructuring and economic crises

that have followed, restructuring, batterer intervention programs

individualize the expression of male violence and locate its origins in

mental constructs rather than provide needed aid to allow offenders to

develop the latent interests they have in living in a non violent

community. This chapter first integrates regional economic data then

attempts to understand that data in relation to various feminist theories of

social inequality. I first examine the impact of economic crisis an

restructuring on WV, the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA, and on

local communities in the region. I then summarize feminist theories of

social inequality to understand the dynamics at work in the region.

The Effect of Economic Restructuring on WV and the Tristate Region

Booksier-Fieser and Wise (1990) have said that we might look to the

South for ideas how *not* to pursue economic development. Regressive

economic development policy across the South in the 1980s, state

government activities that were blatantly pro-business, and a failure by

local governments to stand up for communities left working people in the

South much worse off by 1990 than they had been twenty years earlier.

Economic development strategies that focused on industrial and mining

job development tended to inflate local economies and strategies of

simple aggregate job creation often tended to result in jobs of poor quality

(Weiss, 1990). Both strategies of economic development tended to

worsen the living conditions of women as the number of single parent

households increased in the region and more women and children found
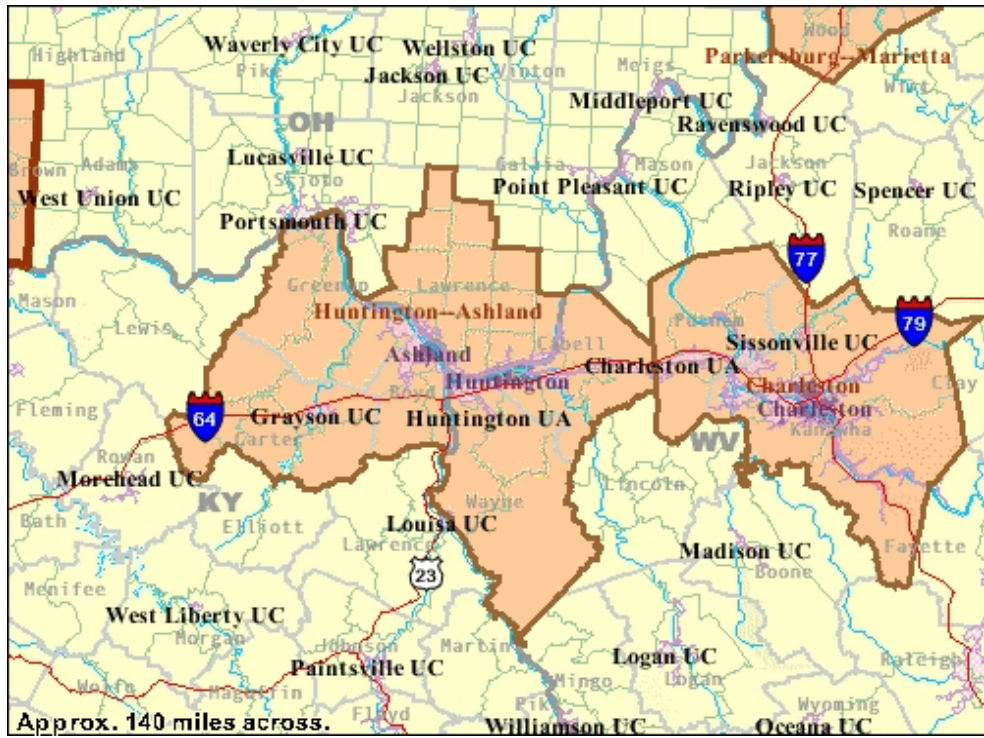
Map source: US Census Bureau
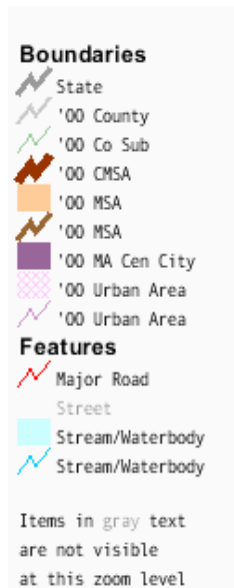
Figure 5.1 Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH and Charleston, WV SMAs

themselves slipping deeper and deeper into poverty.

From approximately the middle of the twentieth century on, U. S. Route 60 and then, in the 1970s, Interstate 64 have shaped the distribution of population on the Cabell County landscape. Transportation investments have also been a significant part of the traditional economic development strategies of the 20th century (Reid, 2002). A map of the Charleston, WV and Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMAs (Figure 5.1) reveals how central to the two regions interstate highways are to the communities that are encompassed within them. I am struck also by sheer size of the region. Looking at the map I cannot help but feel that quite a bit of creative policy making had to go in to justifying the boundaries of the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA with its 315,538 people As the area around Huntington has suburbanized this distribution has followed business and elite housing eastward from Huntington along Route 60 to Barboursville, WV. At Barboursville is the Huntington Mall as well as Merritt Creek Farms Mall, the retail stores in which have become important employers for many persons living in the area. Table 5.1a and 5.1b (SOCDS, 2003) provides population totals for seven communities in the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA.

	Huntington - Ashland, WV - KY - OH SMA	Central city of: Huntington, WV	Suburbs
1970	306,785	74,322	203,218
1980	336,410	63,684	245,662
1990	312,529	54,844	234,063
2000	315,538	51,475	242,082

**Table 5.1a Total Population of the Central City of Huntington, WV
and Suburbs in Huntington - Ashland, WV - KY - OH SMA**

	B'ville	Milton	Culloden	A'land, KY	Ironton, OH	C'peake
1970	No Data	No Data	No Data	29,245	14,897	No Data
1980	2,871	2,178	2,931	27,064	14,290	1,370
1990	2,774	2,242	2,907	23,622	12,751	1,073
2000	3,183	2,206	2,940	21,981	11,211	842

**Table 5.1b Total Population of Important Communities and Suburbs
in Huntington - Ashland, WV - KY - OH SMA**

The region has experienced considerable out migration as a result of

deindustrialization. In particular, the city of Huntington has declined in

population by -30.7% since 1970 (Table 5.2).

	Huntington - Ashland, WV - KY - OH SMA	Central city of: Huntington, WV	Suburbs
1970 to 1980	9.7	-14.3	20.9
1980 to 1990	-7.1	-13.9	-4.7
1990 to 2000	1	-6.1	3.4
1970 to 2000	2.9	-30.7	19.1

Table 5.2 Change in Total Population (Percent)

Huntington city leaders have invested heavily in the "Super Block" Project, to revitalize its downtown area along Third Avenue and Veterans Memorial Boulevard in hopes of regaining retail and other business interest lost when the Huntington Mall opened approximately 25 years ago. That area of Huntington now is the location of several telemarketing firms, which have become one of the cities more visible employers. Along with Marshall University and Cabell County Schools, the health care industry as exemplified by the county's five hospitals (U. S. Census Bureau, 2003) have become the most important employers in the county.

As in many other regions of the United States, the emphasis on transportation investments exaggerated the tendency toward uneven regional development and suburbanization. Deindustrialization in the tristate area in the late 1980s and early 1990s took a toll on community economies. As Table 5.3 indicates, median family incomes in local communities have not returned to their 1970s levels, while unemployment rates (Table 5.4) have continued to grow in all but Barboursville as it continues to develop its retail sales industry.

	H'tington	B'ville	Milton	Culloden	Ashland, KY	Ironton, OH	C'peake, OH
1970	$36,148	No Data	No Data	No Data	$40,937	$37,732	No Data
1980	$38,536	$42,405	$35,046	$44,181	$43,637	$39,943	$32,987
1990	$35,312	$35,558	$34,794	$34,849	$39,371	$33,985	$28,971
2000	$34,256	$45,167	$31,786	$42,356	$40,131	$35,014	$31,528

Table 5.3 Median Family Income in Seven Local Communities

	H'tington	B'ville	Milton	Culloden	Ashland, KY	Ironton, OH	C'peake,OH
1970	5	No Data	No Data	No Data	3.2	5.7	No Data
1980	6.5	5.1	7.6	10	10.2	11.4	5.2
1990	10.8	4.1	7.9	13.8	7.2	13	7.1
2000	10.7	3.1	5.1	3.9	8.7	10.7	10.9

Table 5.4 Unemployment Rate in Seven Local Communities

Table 5.5a organizes Cabell County along with the four other counties in the region included in the WVCADV licensing agreement for Battered Women's Shelters by per capita income and median family income. Table 5.5b organizes the county population, per capita income, family median income and percentage of population below the poverty level to give the reader a sense of the nature of income conditions in the ten county area that is included in the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA (Putnam County is actually included in the Charleston, WV SMA and is included here because WVCADV Licensing of Battered Women's Shelters includes it with the Huntington-Ashland SMA).

Putnam County is the only county in southwestern West Virginia with significant population growth; most of that growth has come from

	Per Capita Income	Median Family Income
Cabell	$17,638.00	$28,479.00
Lincoln	$13,073.00	$22,662.00
Mason	$14,804.00	$27,134.00
Putnam	$20,471.00	$41,892.00
Wayne	$14,906.00	$27,352.00

Table 5.5a Per Capita Income in the Five County Shelter Region

	Total Population	Per Capita Income	Family Median Income	% Population Below Poverty
Cabell, WV	96,784	$17,638.00	$28,479.00	19.2
Lincoln, WV	22,316	$13,070.00	$22,662.00	27.9
Mason, WV	26, 175	$14,804.00	$27,134.00	19.9
Putnam, WV	51,680	$20,471.00	$41,892.00	9.3
Wayne, WV	42,665	$14,906.00	$27,352.00	19.6
Boyd, KY	49,727	$18,212.00	$32,749.00	15.5
Carter, KY	27,024	$13,442.00	$26,427.00	22.3
Greenup, KY	36,823	$17,137.00	$32,142.00	14.1
Lawrence, KY	15,722	$12,008.00	$21,610.00	30.7
Lawrence, OH	62,009	$14,678.00	$29,127.00	18.9
Scioto, OH	78,435	$15,408.00	$28,008.00	19.3

Table 5.5b Total Population, Per Capita Income, Family Median Income, and Percent of Population Below Poverty in Counties in the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH SMA

intrastate migration as persons from Kanawha County have chosen to move to suburban areas in the formerly rural county. Figure 5.2 depicts state levels of population change in various counties. Figure 5.3 depicts Median Family Income in various West Virginia counties, while Figure 5.4 depicts Percent of Persons Below the Poverty Level in various West Virginia Counties. For the most part, those counties with the greatest concentrations of poverty are also the counties losing population and with
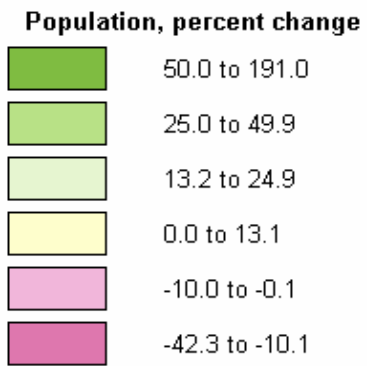
Figure 5.2 Population, Percent Change in WV

Median Household Income in 1999, West Virginia by County
Census 2000

Prepared with American FactFinder.

Legend
Data classes
Dollars
16931 - 22120
22662 - 25669
26250 - 29290
30429 - 35016
38763 - 44374
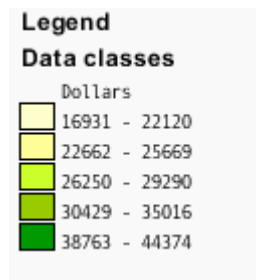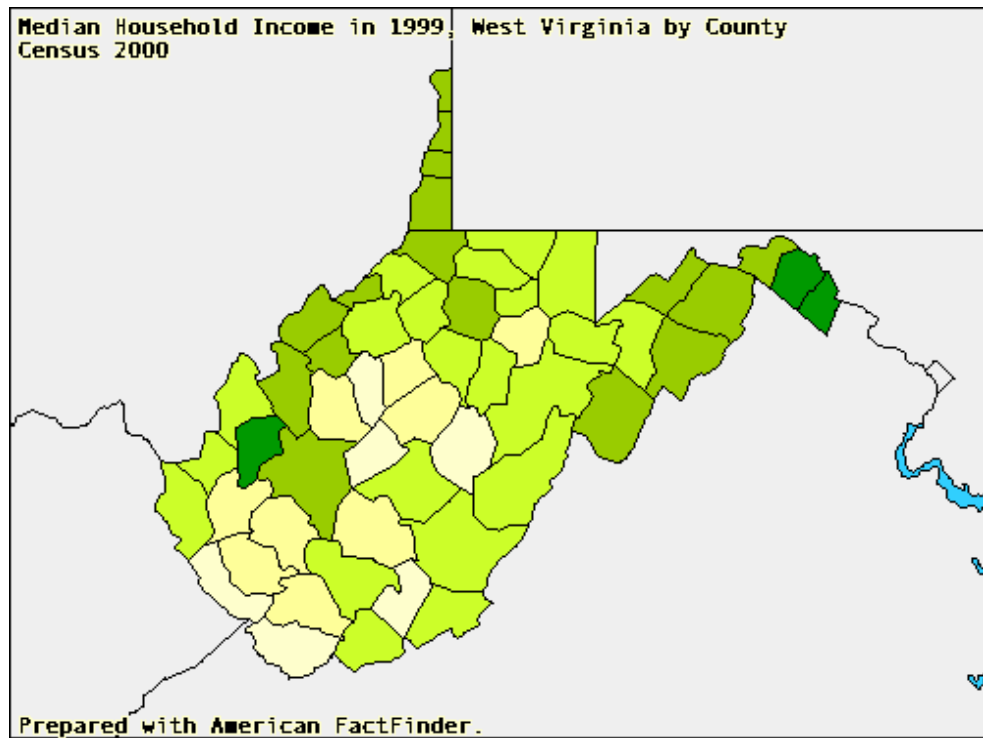
Figure 5.3 Median Family Income in WV Counties

Legend
Data classes
Percent
9.3 - 13.1
13.7 - 17.2
18.0 - 20.3
21.7 - 25.9
27.5 - 37.7
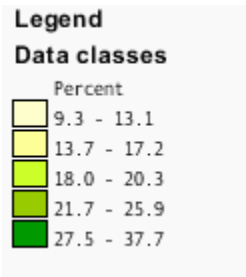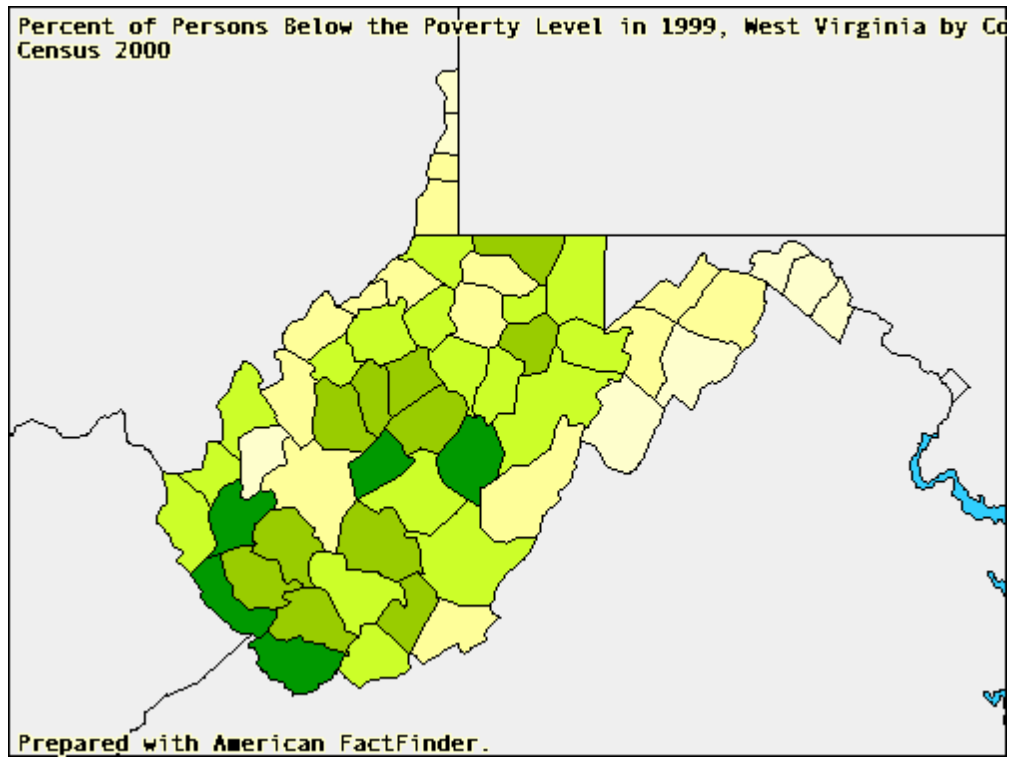
Figure 5.4 Percent Population Below the Poverty Line in WV Counties
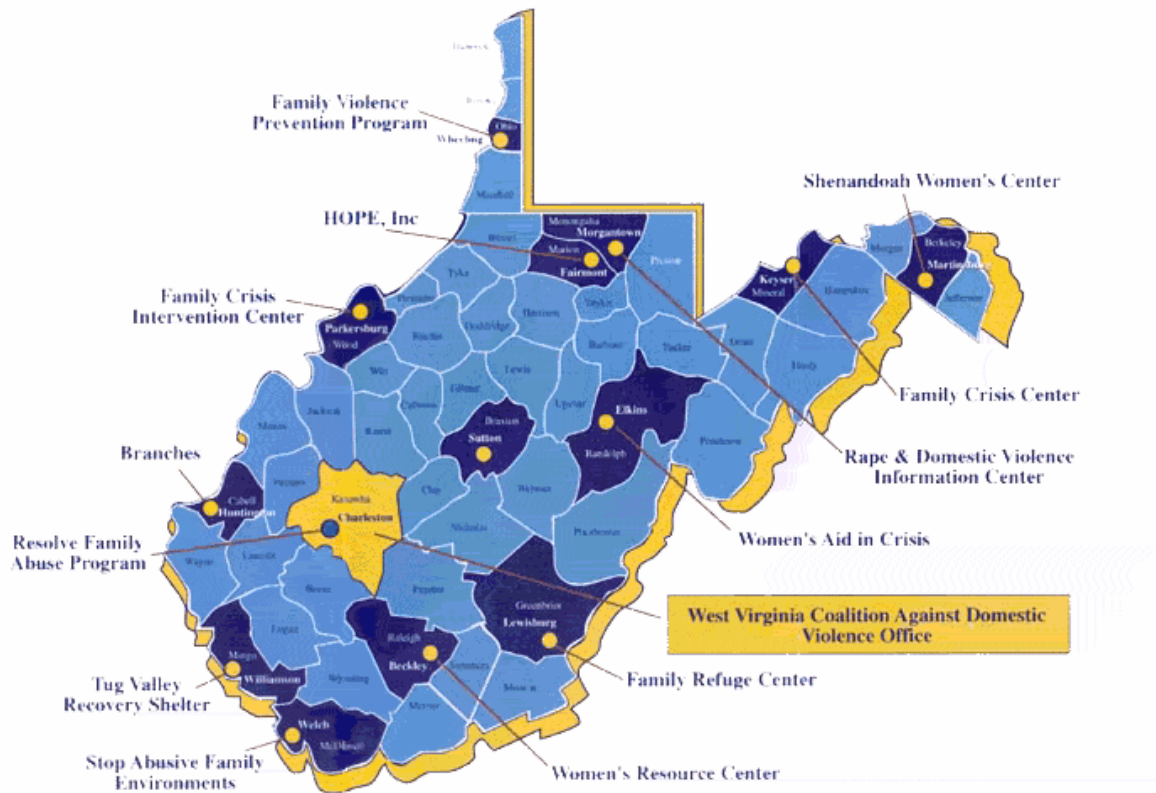
Figure 5.5 Locations of WVCADV Licensed Programs (WVCADV, 2003)

the lowest median family incomes. Licensed shelters and BIPPs programs

(Figure 5.5) are located in the regions most impacted by the changes in

economic conditions mapped in the previous three figures. I have not

been able to find out if this is by design or accident.

We can see that both Cabell County and Putnam County have

experienced heavy suburbanization while the surrounding three counties

have struggled economically. In all, the Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-

OH SMA encompasses most of 10 counties in three states. Aggregate

rates on many economic and sociocultural indicators are likely to be

distorted given differences in state level policy making in relation to

social welfare, economic development, and employment/unemployment.

Confining our look at poverty rates to the above mention seven

communities we can see that similar patterns of increase are apparent in

relation to poverty in the county (Table 5.6).

	H'tington	B'ville	Milton	Culloden	Ashland, KY	Ironton, OH	C'peake, OH
1969	18.6	No Data	No Data	No Data	14.2	17.9	No Data
1979	15.3	8.5	17.9	11.9	15	15.2	23.1
1989	23.4	8.8	17.9	13.9	18.1	23.8	20.4
1993	25.4	9.2	21.7	No Data	19.9	21.6	18.9
1995	23.4	8.4	24.7	No Data	18.9	20.3	17.6
1997	19.4	5.7	22.4	No Data	18.6	20.4	15
1998	19.9	5.8	18.3	No Data	18.4	20	14.6
1999	24.7	10	17.4	8	18.4	23.1	17

Table 5.6 Poverty Rate in Seven Local Communities

Huntington's mean poverty rate over this thirty year period of time is

21.27%. The period between 1989 and 1995 saw a great deal of economic

hardship as local steel mills in Ashland, KY and Huntington, WV shut

down. Later in the decade a plant in Ironton, OH also shut down and the

nickel alloy plant in Huntington, WV saw drastic reorganization as it was

sold to Japanese investors. Looking at these Poverty Rates for local

communities, balanced against the high rate of suburbanization and

relatively high per capita and median family incomes would appear to indicate a high degree of differentiation between "haves" and "have nots" in the region.

Political economy theories of crime suggest that "the criminal justice system primarily exists to control the elements of an economic or racial underclass who threaten existing arrangements (Jacobs & Helms, 1996)." From this perspective, a pro-arrest law, enacted during a period of intensive economic restructuring, which just happens to lead to arrests among the populations hardest hit by the economic restructuring, would be highly suspect.

> A core assumption of this view is that the control of crime is fundamentally political. Instead of seeing the criminal justice system as impartial, these theorist claim that criminal justice organizations rarely act against dominant interests. If criminal justice outcomes are shaped by economic differences, as some political theorists allege, the rate of punishment should move in response to racial and economic cleavages after other determinants have been held constant... (Jacobs & Helms, 1996, pp. 324)

Arrests for domestic violence grew in Cabell County from 35 arrests in 1989 to 816 by 1998, with a peak of arrests in 1995 with 1153 arrests made (WV Division of Criminal Justice Statistics, 2002) while median family income decreased and poverty and unemployment increased. I was able to obtain vital statistics data on marriages and divorces and annulments from 1992 to 2000. I have organized the data into a table (Table 5.7), leaving data cells incomplete to show trends as completely as

possible. Except for 1999-2000, the tendency has been toward fewer

marriages and more divorces and annulments, with the number of

domestic violence arrests and number of divorces peaking in 1995-1996.

Presence of the rich is indicated by high per capita and family median

incomes in Putnam County, WV and Boyd County, KY as well as the

intra-county growth in the Barboursville, WV and Culloden, WV figures,

which would appear to indicate an upper middle class presence in both

communities. In terms of the Grid-Group types described in Chapter 2,

Barboursville and Culloden, along with Putnam County, WV and Boyd

County, KY are likely to have the strongest individualist/entrepreneurial

presence.

	DV Arrests	Marriages	Divorce & Annulments
1989	35	No Data	No Data
1990	57	No Data	No Data
1991	140	No Data	No Data
1992	258	603	580
1993	514	620	617
1994	958	623	594
1995	1,153	599	651
1996	991	596	662
1997	727	547	607
1998	816	558	651
1999	No Data	719	593
2000	No Data	873	600

Table 5.7 DV Arrests, Marriages, and Divorces in Cabell County, 1989-2000

If victim safety through deterrance of further violence is the primary

goal of batterer intervention systems, which include not just the local courts, but the prosecuting attorney's office, victim's advocates within the court system and in local battered women's shelters, local treatment resources, community, county, and state law enforcement, DHHR, and any other additional agencies included in STOP Team activity, then attention to local differences in the extent of marriage and divorce and local economic conditions may affect the likelihood arrests are being made with unmarried, unemployed males. There is possibly a lack of "stake-in-conformity" (Pate & Hamilton, 1992) among this population that may paradoxically create greater rates of violence over time. In light of the data I have presented in this section, economic conditions along with increases in divorce and decreases in marriage may have contributed to rising arrest rates for domestic violence in the Cabell County area as much or more than the institution of pro-arrest laws. If this is so, further investigation would be needed to determine if similar effects are continuing in the area as well as in other locations in WV experiencing similar or worse economic hardship.

Lynn A. Karoly (1993) analyzed a twenty-five year period of time from 1963 to 1989 to measure trends in inequality in America. She was interested in examining controversy both in the popular press and academic about whether or not the middle class is disappearing from America's economic landscape, as well as investigating the notion that

job growth figures misrepresented the nature of economic development by ignoring the fact that most jobs created by the new economy are low paying, poor quality jobs. What she found is that income equality has been growing steady on both fronts: among families and individuals and among workers. I summarize her findings in Table 5.9. Examining the previous economic and population data from the tristate region, we see that the type of uneven economic development that has been concentrating along US Route 60 and Interstate 64 in Putnam County and Cabell County fits the trends identified by Karoly (1993). Though Karoly's analysis only extends to 1989, the year pro-arrest laws were enacted in WV, it appears reasonable that the trends identified in Karoly's research have only continued, give the way economic and population growth have manifested in the tristate region.

The second and sixth cells in column two is particularly important to note here. It is possible that, as women enter the labor force, many are gaining benefits through time. Yet. It may well be that, as with much of what takes place under a monopoly capitalist system, the rewards remain differentially distributed. Increased acceptance in the labor force and increased rewards to some women do not mean all women are benefiting from changes, nor does it mean that the women who are benefiting from the changes are necessarily sympathetic to the cause of greater human rights for women or men. Increased bureaucratic intervention and

Impacts on income distributions for families and individuals	Impacts on income distributions among workers
Despite overall growth in real median income since 1963, family incomes have not grown equally through out the distribution. For example, among families and unrelated individuals, even adjusting for family size, real income at the tenth percentile declined 6 percent from 1979 to 1987, while real income grew 14 percent at the 90th percentile.	Real median wage growth varied for men and women. While male workers have experienced real wage declines, particularly since 1975, female workers have benefited from long-term positive wage growth. Again, the pattern of wage growth differed for workers above and below the median.
The differential changes reflect underlying changes in the shape of the distribution. Even after adjusting for changes in family size, there is evidence of an increase in dispersion since the mid-1970s in both the lower and upper tails of the distribution for families (including unrelated individuals) and for individuals in the bottom of the distribution. Since 1980, dispersion has also increased in the top of the distribution, as the income gains for wealthier families and individuals outpaced their counterparts at the median. By 1987, the income level of a family at the 90th percentile was almost nine times as great as a family's income at the 90th percentile.	Regardless of wage measure, the shape of the distribution of labor income has become less equal for all workers since 1979. The increase in inequality for all workers reflects the combined effect of the experiences of male and female workers. Among men, inequality has been increasing since the 1960s, with growing dispersion in both the lower and upper tails. In contrast, inequality declined for women through about 1980, as the lower tail gained relative to the median while the shape of the upper tail showed little change. Since about 1980, female worker have also experienced growing dispersion in both the upper and lower tail of the distribution.
While a definition of the middle class is somewhat arbitrary, these trends in relative income percentiles indicate that lower and upper classes have been increasing in the 1980s, implying a corresponding decline in the middle class.	These findings are not affected by the data measurement issues associated with the CPS [Current Population Survey] such as top-coding. Furthermore, the timing of many of the changes occur after 1975, which is the period when the CPS labor income data are most comparable.
As the economy expanded during the latter part of the 1980s, there is evidence that the distribution has stabilized at a higher level of dispersion compared to that of the 1960s and 1970s. However, there is no sign that inequality has started to decline	Again, there appears to have been some leveling off in the trend toward dispersion since about 1983 or 1984. When annual weeks worked are controlled for, there is no evidence that the trend in inequality has reversed as the economy expanded.
The pattern of increasing dispersion in both the lower and upper tails of the distribution is even more pronounced when the sample is restricted to families with children, or when the data are disaggregated by the race/ethnicity of the head of the family. Inequality increased to a greater degree among black and Hispanic families than among whites.	The trends evident for all workers are replicated when the sample is restricted to full-time year-round workers. There are some differences in the experiences of workers of different racial/ethnic backgrounds, primarily among low-wage workers.
Inequality also increased among families differentiated by the age of the head and by the type of the head. A decomposition analysis shows no effect	A decomposition analysis shows that the increase in inequality among workers cannot simply be explained by shifts in the sex, education, or experience composition of the work force. Instead, rising inequality within groups contributed to the increase in equality.

.

Table 5.8 Karoly's (1993) Summary of Income Inequality in the US

professional credentialing only add to the existing inflation in the job market and maintain the uneven distribution of income underlying the structures of power in communities.

I find it extremely hypocritical of the system of intervention in place in the state of WV at this time that terms like "total community commitment" and its programs do not typically pay its employees a living wage. In talking to many of the persons at various trainings conducted by the WVCADV, a large part of the persons providing services are making wages below the median family incomes listed in Table 5.5a and 5.5b for Cabell County. Many personnel delivering services are experiencing similar hardships to the persons they serve. Rather than structuring intervention in such a way that would allow co-facilitators and the service users they work with to discover a shared latent interest in genuinely improving the conditions in their community, a style of intervention that is antagonistic and condescending is employed that can, even when used well, be quite alienating for the recipient.

In the next section, I rely heavily on Julia Fox's (2002) summary of theories of gender inequality to highlight issues relevant to the case I have been making in relation to the deflection of feminist objectives in batterer intervention systems through over reliance on federal grant funding and the implementation of pro-arrest laws for batterers. I am investigating a possible source of shared interests that co-facilitators and service users

share with the victims of violence as well. I also draw from Batya

Weinbaum and Amy Bridges (1979), bell hooks (1984), and Dorothy C.

Miller (1992) to relate violence, economic conditions, and gender to my

earlier framework. I contrast these positions with New Right antifeminist

rhetoric as discussed by Dworkin (1983) and Hardisty (2000). This

summary provides a foundation for Chapter 6, whereby I examine power

in relation to property and privacy.

Three Ways Feminists Have Theorized About Social Inequality

Fox (2002) summarizes feminist theories of gender inequality in

relation six dimensions. Liberal Feminist, Radical Feminist, and Marxist

Feminist theorizing is examined in terms of the sources of inequality,

history, analysis of class, analysis of race, solutions, and major theorists.

In doing so, she points to holes in various theoretical positions. Liberal

and Radical Feminist positions are understood to neglect analysis of class

and race. Liberal Feminist theory also neglects history as well. Only

Marxist theory provides a comprehensive explanation of the five social

dimensions of sources of inequality, history, analysis of class, analysis

of race, and solution (Table 5.8).

According to Miller (1992), Radical Feminist and Socialist [Marxist]

Feminist theories have been around since the beginning of the new wave

of feminist movement. Radical Feminist thought is probably best

exemplified in Sulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970). Radical

	Liberal Feminist	Radical Feminist	Marxist Feminist
Sources of Inequality	Blocked access to education	Patriarchy	Patriarchy & oppression of women coincide with class exploitation. Working class women are super-exploited. Discrimination lowers the cost of women's labor
History	Neglected	Patriarchy is transhistorical	Throughout history from slavery to feudalism to capitalism, the oppression of women constitutes the important part of exploitation and the oppression of labor in class-divided societies
Analysis of Class	Neglected	Neglected	Women have different class relations and interests (Elite, Capitalist Working and Excluded)
Analysis of Race	Neglected	Neglected	History and the institutional relations of race differentially impact women of color
Solution	Meritocracy Gender role socialization Reform capitalism with educational and legal guarantees for women	Inherent female values (nurturing caring, pacifism, cooperation, intimacy) are given primacy Separatist relations between men and women Rejection of compulsory heterosexuality	Revolutionary changes in class relations, change in the economic and political power of working class, democratic control of the economic and political system, socially useful production in which humans and the environment are brought into the human calculus rather than profit maximization as the sole criterion for production Elimination of gender and racial discrimination at the private and public level
Theorists	Miriam Johnson Jean Stockard Sara Rix	Shulamith Firestone Carolyn Merchant Cynthia Enloe Elaine Marks Isabelle de Courtivron	Karl Marx Frederick Engels Angela Davis Alexander Kollantai Rosa Luxumberg Clara Zeitkin

Table 5.9 Feminist Theories of Social Inequality

Feminists tended to focus at the micro-level, on the everyday experiences of men and women. This focus lead them to blame patriarchy as a system of domination for the oppression of women. As such, Firestone saw this oppression based on biological differences between men and women, advocating women as a "sex class" equivalent to other social classes. Her solution was to utilize technology to eliminate sex differences, using in vitro fertilization and other reproductive technology to eliminate compulsory heterosexual relations.

If we refer back to Chapter 2 and Cohen's motivational mechanisms, we see a theory in which kinds of situations (situations in which men have sexual needs) increase the frequency of the oppression of women. The local efforts to coordinate and control sexual behavior result in the emergence of a global dynamic of oppression (status-specific opportunity) that structures efforts to dominate women. Biological imperatives operate as a contextual dynamic structuring the gendered basis of the oppression.

Fox (2002) summarizes Marxist Feminist theory in terms of its identification of class exploitation as the basis of patriarchy and the oppression of women. Working class women, in particular, are "super-exploited" and discrimination against women lowers the cost of women's labor. Elite, capitalist, working, and excluded class women are understood to have differential class interests, with historical and institutional relations of race further altering class interests of women.

With the long history of class-based oppression, early Marxist theorists saw revolutionary changes in class relations, change in the political and economic power of the working class, democratic control of the economic and political system, and socially useful production are all seen as aspects of the solution to the class exploitation originally identified by Marx and Engels.

Miller (1992) notes a distinction between "early" and "later" Marxist Feminists. The importance of this distinction lies in the way earlier Marxist and Socialist Feminists tended to minimize differences between men and women, while later Marxists Feminists moved to celebrating differences between men and women. This grew out of a debate about the origin of men and women's "natures". Rubin (1974) pointed out that the "sex/gender system" embedded in our culture constructs sex roles, rather than those roles being simple biological givens. This distinction led to recognizing patriarchal capitalism as different from relations of capital, relegating women to the home and confining their labor to relations of reproduction in the home.

Returning to the Cohen motivation typology from Chapter 2, Marxist Feminist theory could be understood from the kinds of situations, frequencies of deviance model if we think of relations of production as a form of situation. I prefer the conjunction of persons, situations, frequencies of deviance model, given Marx's emphasis on the historical

development of relations of production. Persons, in terms of various classes, enter into situations where it is possible that labor can be used and commodities can be consumed. "Deviance" follows in the form of alienation from one's own creative force as labor is commodified and surplus value extracted. The logic of capitalism is the overarching contextual dynamic shaping outcomes. One might well understand status-specific opportunity to be another global dynamic shaping the stability or change in relations; alienation could be understood as an additional global dynamic also moderating stability and eventually leading to workers recognizing their class interests and triggering the eventual collapse of capitalism. Later Marxist Feminists further differentiate the relations of productions into housework and paid labor for women. It is in differentiating these two spheres that women's latent interests are to be discovered. Much of the political wrangling and maneuvering between the New Right's antifeminist rhetoric and women's rights advocates has focused on turning back gains women's rights organizations have made in the past thirty years through making this distinction (Hardisty, 2000).

Liberal Feminists have focused their theorizing on reform in the context of the American political system. One can see that the ideas they have advanced do not go as far as to challenge the underlying assumptions of our culture, and focus instead on how status-specific opportunity limits women's access to education and training, often

trapping women in low wage jobs, or limiting their career options to a few "gender-appropriate" fields, like nursing, or teaching. This theory lacks the historical depth Marxist theorizing offers and makes little effort to go beyond suggesting reforms in the existing capitalist economic system and educational and professional systems for awarding merit. Though similar complaints have been made about Radical Feminism, Liberal Feminists have been most criticized for reflecting a fundamentally white feminist world view. In the next section I make some initial connections between the theories I have been discussing and the Grid-Group Paradigm.

Some Tentative Connections Between Types of Feminist Thinking About Inequality and the Grid-Group Paradigm

Hartsock's (1983) theory of historical materialism attempted to integrate Radical and Marxist Feminist positions to analyze the epistemological assumptions underlying white masculine domination. Her goal was not so much to articulate a counter epistemology, but to develop from a *feminist standpoint* an articulation of masculine world view (Miller, 1992). Building on Nancy Chodorow's (1978) Feminist Psychoanalytic theory, Hartsock examined how boys begin in childhood to look beyond the material "female" experiences they are having in their home, to the "abstract masculine" experiences beyond the home. This emphasis on self-differentiation leads to dualisms that become basic to

the male identity:

> Masculinity must be attained by means of opposition to the concrete world of daily life, by escaping from contact with the female world of the household into the masculine world of politics and public life. The experience of two worlds, one valuable, if abstract and deeply unattainable, the other useless and demeaning, if concrete and necessary, lies at the heart of a series of dualisms-- abstract/concrete, mind/body, culture/nature, ideal/real, stasis/change. And these dualisms are overlaid by gender; only the first of each pair is associated with the male (Hartsock, 1983, pp. 241).

In the identity differentiation is a function of asking "How shall I behave?" and involves making role-related distinctions that impact global dynamics of stability and change by establishing and maintaining systems of entitlement and accountability, which involve differential rewards and consequences allocated through asymmetries in interaction (Gross and Rayner, 1985). Achieved and ascribed status serve as the basis for criteria systems that weight the probability some actions will be taken as opposed to others, as well as in establishing who allocates these rewards and consequences and at what time. Hartsock is identifying one way that cultural category systems are biased to favor men and men's viewpoint.

Hartsock might well see male violence against women as a means men use to reestablish self-identity. It is interesting to consider Ecofeminist work on the relationship of militarism and economic development to gender. Enloe (1993) wrote at length about the place of military-sanctioned brothels in Afghanistan during the Russian counter

insurgency in the 1980s, around US military bases, in brothels in the Philippines, Guatemala, and in other parts of the world today. She discusses how military commanders utilize brothels and prostitutes as a means to aid soldiers in maintaining morale. Carefully scripted policies assure that prostitutes will be healthy, military personnel use condoms, and everything is orchestrated to see that the fighting man perceives himself as a hero. By the same token, rape and domestic abuse by military personnel in the field and at home are typically reported in a one-sided fashion by military commanders to demonize the enemy (Nikolic-Ritanovich, 1996).

Dworkin (1983) goes as far as to say that what she calls "ultra-right" and Hardisty calls "New Right" political forces do is explicitly make the promise of protection by promoting the image that male violence is uncontrollable and unpredictable. The ultra-right, according to Dworkin, promises form in an otherwise mysterious world, shelter, safety, rules, and love. Referring back to Reiman's (1985) claims, I would add that this image also tends to ignore the violence perpetuated by those dominant groups in power, including the New Right and its pundits, in the service of fulfilling its promise. It does this fundamentally by constructing an image of male violence as poor, as well as typically poor black men or other men of color. It also engages in enforcing strict role differentiation between males and females and by establishing also systems of privilege

and reward that favors severe obedience to ideological constraints, at least for those who occupy are lower in the hierarchy.

Here we see the place where the masculine world of politics and public life can reflect on the feminine household in relative safety. This is facilitated by the introduction of a third party, the "enemy", from whom men can now protect women. The heroic images of defender and liberator along with the demonic vision of an evil Other help maintain the image of the ideal protector protecting the real, homey, and mundane from the evil invader. Hartsock has identified the basis for the militaristical, hierarchic structural biases that often justify using coercive force to control the residential and activity spaces of groups in American communities and are enforcing much of the spatial concentration of poverty in America through "discipline of the whip" and economic sanctions at home and "big stick" policing of our neighbors abroad.

Monopoly Capitalism, Women's Work, and the Grid-Group Paradigm

Another aspect of male dominance has been a confounding element in traditional system theories of family functioning and is possibly better explained from a Marxist perspective. Family systems are typically understood as being organized around the satisfaction of certain biological needs for nurturance, food and shelter, and companionship. Reproductive functions are seen often as the basis for sexual activity and

women are characterized as acting out a "biological imperative" to have and raise children (Dworkin, 1983). Traditional women's work, then, is centered on meeting social needs and fulfilling this biological imperative.

Engels (1948) made this conception problematic and suggested that instead the place of women in capitalist society was to see to the reproduction of labor, both through the maintenance of the home and through having children. In the traditional view, the output of the system is the satisfaction of these individual needs, but Engels pointed out that the output is really the reproduction of the means of production. As the nature of capitalism has changed to a monopolist capital system, consumption, the work of acquiring goods and services, has become central to a monopoly capitalist economy, as families and individuals produce less and less at home and are required more and more to meet their needs through market exchanges in the community. Ownership of the means of production is monopoly ownership of commodities and the necessity of purchasing the means of life (Weinbaum & Bridges, 1979, pp. 192).

Weinbaum and Bridges (1979) point out that claiming, then, that "consumerism" is neurotic is simply sexist. Insisting that women engaging in consumerism are trying to "compensate" for being cut off from socially organized labor by buying things is misrepresenting the nature of the relations of production and blaming women instead.

> ...As the means of production have been progressively expropriate
> from the household, and capitalists produce commodities which
> can be more economically bought than made there, the sphere of
> the market and the necessity for finding the things we need there
> expands. The main impetus to consumption work is not a
> psychological need to express creativity through purchasing
> (though keeping a family going on what most people earn is indeed
> a creative undertaking, with its own gratifications). The force
> behind consumption work is the need to reconcile consumption
> needs with the production of commodities (Weinbaum & Bridges,
> 1979, pp. 194).

The authors are pointing out how the mysticism underlying the

"invisible hand" myths of nature (Timmerman, 1983; Thompson, Ellis, &

Wildavsky, 1990) are incorporated in monopoly capitalist assumptions.

From a Grid-Group perspective we are looking at the individualistic

assumptions of the entrepreneur.

One aspect of current New Right policy is its alliance with speculative

capital interests from California and other areas of the Southwest

(Hardisty, 2000). Such interests have a long history in Appalachia as well

and were integral in even during pre industrial, antebellum Appalachia in

sowing the seeds of regional poverty through speculative land deals,

manipulation of the courts, and "selling out" local interests to outside

interests when booms and busts in speculative capital threatened local

elite interests (Billings & Blee, 2000). Currently, in WV, the legislator

most likely to align themselves with the kinds of ideological stains I

have been discussing is a woman, Shelly Moore Capito, congresswoman

from WV's 2nd Congressional District, has been frequently courted by

the current Bush administration to support its policies when voting

margins in the US House of Representatives have been close.

Toward a Community Model

From a Black Feminist perspective, bell hooks (1984) has written:

> Most people in the United States think of feminism or the more
> commonly used term "women's lib" as a movement that aims to
> make women the social equals of men. This broad definition,
> popularized by the media and mainstream segments of the
> movement, raises problematic questions. Since mean are not
> equals in white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal class structure,
> which men do women want to be equal to? Do women share a
> common vision of what equality means? Implicit in this simplistic
> definition of women's liberation is a dismissal of race and class as
> factors that, in conjunction with sexism, determine the extent to
> which an individual will be discriminated against, exploited, or
> oppressed. Bourgeois white women interested in women's rights
> issues have been satisfied with simple definitions for obvious
> reasons. Rhetorically placing themselves in the same social
> category as oppressed women, they are not anxious to call
> attention to race and class privilege (hooks, 1984, pp. 18).

The overarching trend toward a two class society should make us

consider the implications of one-size fits all policy. Continuing to try to

prove that domestic violence exists through simple repetition of rates of

arrests and formula "tip" messages about how to receive services ignores

the larger issues of social justice at stake in American communities. Pro-

arrest policy and narrowly focused intervention models may tend to

overemphasize punitive law enforcement and underemphasize the value

of mutual support in the face of oppressive economic and social policies

at the state and federal levels.

I continue to discuss the cosmological themes I have developed in this chapter in Chapter 6. I refer to previous work I have done concerning the relation of binary oppositions underlying our concepts of privacy and property. I use the Grid-Group paradigm developed in Chapter 2 to summarize differences in perception and go on to expand this model in the last chapter as a way to illustrate issues of trust and legitimacy as they can arise in batterer intervention. I close with suggestions for further research.

Chapter 6.

Patriarchy, Boundary Formation, and Cosmology: Culture and the Politics of Self, Privacy, and Property

In a previous paper (Bills, 2002), I attempted to examine Gayle Rubin's (1975) structural constructionist theory of patriarchy in relation to Levi-Strauss's original ideas about boundaries and cosmology, as well as structural Marxist ideas about property and territoriality (Godelier, 1977), Altman's (1977) social psychological theories of the social penetration of privacy, and Adams's (1977) structuralist theory of the binary oppositions underlying power. I was interested in organizing ideas about knowledge, domination, and social bonds in relation to ideological assumptions about the nature of cities as a prerequisite to understanding how the debate around areas of concentrated poverty are constructed.

I was also searching for a way to conceptualize the bind that batterer intervention systems have become entangled in relation to cultural conceptions of "home", which often become a snag in generalizing what is often conceived of as a private and personal matter (intimate violence) into an important community issue. Somehow, in Appalachia, we are able to distance ourselves from local violence without questioning how community conditions may be provoking that violence. I wanted to use *Rubbish Theory* (Thompson, 1978) to conceptualize the tendency as a "conspiracy of blindness" based on assumptions that much of the male violence we witness is somehow right and natural. I wanted to go beyond

simply referring again and again to socialization or to vague notions of

"male belief systems" for similar reasons that hooks (1984) questions

which males feminists want to be equal to. Having worked a number of

years treating violence victims myself prior to doing sex offender

treatment and batterer intervention, I have been aware of the attitudes and

beliefs of the low income women I have worked with. Working in both

medical and mental health facilities, I have been aware of the career

aspirations of my female peers. I can appreciate the perspective expressed

by hooks (1984) in the following quotation, having seen the difficulties

the two groups of women sometimes have in understanding one another:

> Women in lower class and poor groups, particularly those who are
> nonwhite, would not have defined women's liberation as women
> gaining social equality with men since they are continually
> reminded in their everyday lives that all women do not share a
> common status. Concurrently, they know that many males in their
> social groups are exploited and oppressed. Knowing that men in
> their groups do not have social, political, and economic power,
> they would not deem it liberatory to share their social status. While
> they are aware that sexism enables men in their respective groups
> to have privileges denied them, they are more likely to see
> exaggerated expressions of male chauvinism among their peers as
> stemming from the male's sense of himself as powerless and
> ineffectual in relation to ruling groups, rather than an expression of
> an overall privileged social status. From the very onset of the
> women's liberation movement, these women were suspicious of
> feminism precisely because they recognized the limitation inherent
> in the definition. They recognized the possibility that feminism
> defined as social equality with men might easily become a
> movement that would primarily affect the social standing of white
> women in middle and upper class groups while affecting in only a
> very marginal way the social status of working class and poor
> women (hooks, 1984, pp. 18).

If one can understand what hooks is saying here, they will no longer be so puzzled about a battered women's desire to return to be with the man she loves, even after he has quite frankly been a bastard to her. She has witnesses his frustrations, attempted to accept him, with his limitations, maybe even found herself trying to make him better in some way, either by repeatedly resubmitting to his control in an effort to cooperate with him so they can be successful as a couple, or by chastising and berating him in an attempt to shock him out of his lethargy or bad judgment. The costs to her can be horrible, but from her point of view, at that time in her life, she is making the best choices she knows how, as far as I can tell. I do not have to like it, or even believe it is wise. *It just is.* If I am going to claim some position as a professional service provider, I will warn her as patiently as I can of the consequences to her and her children of her decisions. If I am working with him, I will continue to question his choice to use violence and work with him cooperatively to find new solutions. I will have him arrested if I know he is hurting her or violating the other terms of his probation or parole. As a researcher, I am interested in examining the basis of our values as community members that we have taken so long to intervene at all, as well as why, when we do intervene, it becomes so complicated and difficult to do well.

<u>**Going Deeper Into the Cultural Basis of Community Violence**</u>

In her chapter, *Feminist Movement to End Violence,* hooks (1984)

discusses the successes of the women's movement in confronting male

violence in communities as well as in establishing shelters for women to

escape to when violence occurs in the home. She references Susan

Schecter's (1982) work, *Women and Male Violence: The Visions and*

Struggles of the Battered Women's Movement, and says she agrees with

Schecter's assessment that violence against women in the family is an

expression of male domination, but goes on to locate the bigger problem

in structural conditions in society:

> While I agree with Schecter that male violence against women in
> the family is an expression of male domination, I believe violence
> is inextricably linked to all acts of violence in the society that
> occur between the powerful and the powerless, the dominant and
> the dominated. While male supremacy encourages the use of
> abusive force to maintain male domination of women, it is the
> Western philosophical notion of hierarchical rule and coercive
> authority that is the root cause of violence against women, of adult
> violence against children, of all violence between those who
> dominate and those who are dominated. It is this belief system that
> is the foundation on which sexist ideology and other ideologies of
> group oppression are based; they can be eliminated only when this
> foundation is eliminated (hooks, 1984, pp. 118).

When I initially wrote the core parts of this chapter I used ideas from

Stallybrass and White (1986) about the organization of the domains of the

body, psychic structures, social interaction, and geographical organization

in terms of a *high/low* binary contrast to understand how spatial

differentiations in wealth and poverty in communities comes to

negatively value lower class experiences and marginalize their place in the community. After doing the initial secondary analysis of regional census and economic data in relation to concerns about the use of pro-arrest laws in an economically depressed region like the tri-state area, I want to recap this earlier work in order to understand how poverty concentrations are given value culturally and note "reputations" of such local marginalized areas in Cabell County.

I start by returning to Gayle Rubin's (1974) article, *The Traffic of Women: Notes on the "Political Economy of Sex*" to understand more critically the basis of sex role differentiation in relation to the changing economic structure of American culture. Her work serves as a starting point to understand how sexist ideology has been intertwined with the logic of capitalism, and is continuing to be shaped by the logic of monopoly capitalism the present.

Gayle Rubin, Traffic in Women, and the Political Economy of Sex

In *The Traffic of Women: Notes on the "Political Economy of Sex"*, Gayle Rubin (1975) begins her paper by suggesting that the literature on women has been a long 'rumination' on the question of the nature and genesis of women's oppression and social subordination. She discounts theories popular at the time of the overthrow of ancient matriarchal societies or attempts to "extract all the phenomena of social subordination

from the first volume of *Das Capital* . Rather, she chooses to give a

critical reading of the theories of Freud and Levi-Strauss, suggesting that

these two theorists stand in the same relation to Marxist theories of

women's oppression as did Ricardo and Smith to Marxist theories of

working class oppression:

> ...They see neither the implication of what they are saying,
> subjected to a feminist eye. Nevertheless, they provide
> conceptual tools with which one can build descriptions of
> the part of social life which is the locus of the oppression of
> women, or sexual minorities, and of certain aspects of
> human personality within individuals. I call that part of
> social life the "sex/gender system," for lack of a more
> elegant term. As a preliminary definition, a "sex/gender
> system" is the set of arrangements by which a human
> society transforms biological sexuality into products of
> human activity, and in which these transformed sexual
> needs are satisfied (Rubin, 1975, pp. 159).

Rubin (1975) continues her article by arguing that the failure of

classical Marxism for feminist analysis is that it is unconcerned with sex.

She sees the theories of Freud and Levi-Strauss as having deep

recognition of the place of sexuality as well as acknowledging the

differences in the experiences of men and women. She begins to

intertwine the three theorists by first recounting a description of the

relations of production in a capitalist system, identifying how the

exchange between capital and labor produces surplus value, and

separating surplus value from the costs of reproducing labor. And it is in

the relations of reproduction that she feels the use of classical Marxist

theory falls short:

> The amount of the difference between the reproduction of
> labor power and its products depends, therefore, on the
> determination of what it takes to reproduce that labor
> power. Marx tends to make that determination on the basis
> of the quantity of commodities--food, clothing, housing,
> fuel--which would be necessary to maintain the health, life,
> and strength of the worker. But these commodities must be
> consumed before they can be sustenance, and they are not
> immediately in consumable form when they are purchased
> by the wage. Additional labor must be performed upon
> these things before they can be turned into people. Food
> must be cooked, clothes cleaned, beds made, wood
> chopped, etc. Housework is therefore the key element in
> the process of the reproduction of the laborer from whom
> the surplus is taken. Since it is usually women who do
> housework, it can be observed that it is Through the
> reproduction of labor power that women are articulated into
> the surplus value nexus which is the sine qua non of
> capitalism. It can be further argued that since no wage is
> paid for housework, the labor of women in the home
> contributes to the ultimate quality of surplus value realized
> by the capitalist, but to explain women's usefulness to
> capitalism is one thing. To argue that this usefulness
> explains the genesis of the oppression of women is quite
> another. It is precisely at this point that the analysis of
> capitalism ceases to explain very much about women and
> the oppression of women (Rubin, 1975,
> 162-163).

Rubin views Levi-Strauss's contribution to be his analysis of the

kinship system as a study of how property rights have been historically

enacted selectively. She appears to agree with Levi-Strauss's use of

Mauss (1967) and with gift-giving as a model of the exchange of women

in societies, and makes a point that this is an exchange of sexual access as

well as genealogical statuses, lineage names and ancestors, rights and

people. Men are specified as having certain rights and women are excluded from having equal rights. Rubin feels that Levi-Strauss made an error in seeing this set of relationships as a cultural necessity rather than a historical artifact which, like other social constructions, can be negotiated. Economic oppression of women is a byproduct of a complex system of identity formation based in difference between genders.

It is gender itself, embodied in the sexual division of labor, that is the outcome of this system of rights, which not only constrains women's sexual behavior, but also prescribes heterosexuality as the "normal" system of sexual activity among adults of a society. Kinship is the culturalization of biological sexuality on the societal level and psychoanalysis is said to describe the transformation of this biological sexuality of individuals as they are enculturated. The Oedipal crisis arises in the course of this transformation as the individual recognizes their place in the complex sex/gender system and the crisis is resolved only as the individual comes to terms with this place. The incest taboo is a marker for the boundaries between genders and functions to channel biological beings toward their social positions in the sex/gender system.

The upshot of this elaborate system of taboos and prescriptions is that it has outlived its usefulness, according to Rubin. What is needed is a 'revolution in kinship':

> The organization of sex and gender once had functions
> other than itself--it organized society. Now, it only
> organizes and reproduces itself, The kinds of relationships
> of sexuality established in the dim human past still
> dominate our sexual lives, our ideas about men and women,
> and the ways we raise our children. But they lack the
> functional load they once carried. One of the most
> conspicuous features of kinship is that it has been
> systematically stripped of its functions--political,
> economic, educational, and organizational. It has been
> reduced to its barest bones--*sex and gender* (Rubin, 1975,
> pp. 199).

Ginsburg and Rapp (1991) suggest that feminist works on

reproduction from the 1970s stimulated a rich set of research projects the

ultimate objective of which has become an description and analysis of the

"politics of reproduction". In a word, this literature has become a

synthesizing of the local and global concerns of women. From examining

large-scale phenomena like family-planning programs with implicit or

explicit eugenic agendas, studying the impact of new reproductive

technologies on kinship, social organization, and understandings of

parenthood, to analyzing social movements focusing on reproductive

issues, linkages between micro-level experiences of women in

communities and global, macro-level activities of nation-states and

international corporations have been traced over the past thirty years. The

central binary oppositions embedded in this argument are fundamentally

the same as those underlying Levi-Straus's Culinary Triangle (Leach,

1974). Now, though what is being transformed is the biological sexuality

of the individual toward social prescribed variations in gender roles. This Sex/Gender Triangle (Leach, 1974) can be seen socially in the rituals and shared knowledge that prescribe mate selection, frequency of intercourse, decisions to have children, and other decision making situations from which men and women construct their daily lives as a couple and as a family.

When Rubin (1975) says that what is needed is a 'kinship revolution', she is not advocating a revitalization of kinship categories. Instead, we might say that gender categorizations have lost credibility as industrialization and economic transformations have stripped the old system of rights and sanctions of its functionality. The once rigid boundaries between roles have little meaning as women have taken a more direct role in the relations of production. With declining birth rates in the wealthier nations of the world, women have begun to define themselves in ways other than as a mother. Traditional roles might even be seen as heading toward the rubbish category, to use Thompson's (1978) terminology.

Marginalization and Ecological Pressure

Many major cities of the developed world are currently experiencing a number of significant social processes which have important spatial implications. These are the processes of gentrification, of marginalisation, and of polarisation. Each of these affects social structure, and furthermore each translates the economic power of leading urban groups into social control mechanisms. Such social consequently reinforces the image of

both area and people in the minds of those exercising power and social control (Winchester & White, 1988, pp. 37)

Winchester and White (1988) examine how economic standards, social norms, and legal codes constrain residential location and activity spaces of a number of groups in communities organized in relation to capitalist-patriarchal control. They identify 13 different categories of groups in relation ideological constraints that come to be "polarised" spatially in communities in relation to "elite enclaves". The authors describe the process by which groups are marginalised as moral characterizations of those groups becomes increasingly negative. "Groups that do not meet certain economic standards or conform to social norms or legal codes are polar opposites of the ruling hegemony; this polarisation is then manifested in spatial terms both in residential locations and in activity spaces (Winchester and White, 1988, pp. 43)."

The authors suggest that for certain groups, like female-headed single-parent families, activity spaces and residential locations must be closely coordinated if the range of activities required of the women are to be met. Attention to her children's needs as well as meeting responsibilities for financial support of the family must be confined to a limited area of a region to assure that emergencies can receive necessary attention. Other examples might include low income working-class families unable to afford a car to facilitate access to work or diversity in shopping, persons

in institutional settings like group homes, and probationers and parolees, whose movements are heavily monitored and limited in scope.

Urban space is often managed by private enterprise in ways that allow businesses to seek maximum profit, with public authorities aiding business interests through regulation to maintain the overall shape and direction of urban growth (Harrison & White, 1988, pp. 43). I discuss this issue at the end of the chapter in relation to Huntington, WV, using Thompson's (1978) *Rubbish Theory* to illustrate how local speculation about property has and is continuing to shape the way marginalized groups are distributed throughout Huntington, WV.

That this process does not have to be entirely conscious was demonstrated by Schelling (1969; 1978). Using a "checkerboard model" of segregation (Heglesmann, 1998), Schelling illustrated how simple patterns of rules and preferences could result in surprisingly complex macro patterns of relations. For my purposes, though, I am attending to how social context and other macro-level dynamics constrain these processes of preference and choice through the way marginal groups are being constructed, in particularly through the use of legal sanctions. Also, the dynamics of cultural identity, reflected in variations of "cool" attitudes, fashion, and sexual expression have become the object of corporate manipulation. Consumerism reflects the expectations of social interaction individuals desire to maintain as well as hope to achieve. In

the last chapter I attempt to integrate my framework for understanding

cultural categories through Davis's (1959) sociometric model of relative

deprivation and Pountain and Robins analysis of the rise of "cool"

attitudes in modern American culture.

The logical foundations of this ideological assault gathered

momentum in the 1970s through the 1980s (Gordan, Weisskopf, &

Bowles, 1994) and continues to manifest in the present through the fiscal

policies of the Bush administration. These logical foundations include

trickle-down economics, a belief in the "invisible hand" of the market to

correct systemic errors in the market, the "global big stick" to exercise

control at the world level and force market compliance from other nations

on the international level, and the "discipline of the whip" aimed at using

negative incentives in the workplace and elsewhere in domestic social

policy to elicit worker effort on the job. Policy initiatives relied on tight

money policies to keep interest rates high and restrain growth to avoid

labor shortages. Labor was "zapped" with attacks on labor unions, high

unemployment, and hostile legal and public policy towards unions.

Extreme regulation meant a rolling back of environmental and citizen

efforts to restrain business. Heavy tax breaks designed to benefit

corporations and the wealthy were instituted. Also, remilitarization lead

to large increases in defense spending and supported "global big stick"

policy internationally.

The 1990s saw an active, aggressive dismantling of the "social safety net" as welfare policy was radically altered and a concerted effort to move millions off welfare roles continued through much of the decade. I was laid off from my job in Roane County, WV in 1996 as Medicaid payments were radically scaled back and much of WV's mental health system was thrown into economic disarray. Three community mental health systems threatened bankruptcy and the eventual collapse of Shawnee Hills Community Mental Health Center in Kanawha County began as that agency toppled attempting to maintain programming in the face of huge revenue losses.

If we think in terms of the Grid-Group paradigm, the Reagan Era policies crystallize an almost pathological trend toward individualism in public policy as many poor and other marginalized groups were humiliated in the media with images of the "urban underclass" and millions of single mothers in urban (as well as rural) areas were misrepresented as lazy, baby-making crackheads on welfare. Sampson (1981) warned mental health and other professionals about the dangers of cognitive psychology as ideology during this era. In his article in *American Psychologist*, Sampson discussed how cognitivism denies reality in part by granting the mental superiority over the material:

> It is my contention that the cognitivist perspective offers a portrait of people who are free to engage in internal mental

> activity-to plan, decide, wish, think, organize, reconcile, and transform conflicts and contradictions within their heads-and yet who remain relatively impotent or apparently unconcerned...about producing actual changes in their objective world. In substituting thought for action, mental transformations for real-world transformation, cognitivism veils the objective sources and bases of social life and relegates individual potency to the world of mental gymnastics (Sampson, 1988, pp. 735).

A system of intervention based primarily in a cognitive approach to patriarchy as is the Duluth-model hardly seems a valid tool in the face of the tremendous social injustices that have been perpetuated on poor and other marginalized populations where domestic violence is likely to be more frequent. A system of evaluation that does not take into account region and local contexts of marginalization is not going to come close to recognizing whether intervention is actually providing offenders with tools to adapt within their community without violence.

Systems and Entrepreneurial Influences on Forms of Knowledge

I have begun a rather deep analysis here because I want to eventually pull the seemingly disparate elements I am surveying together to help the reader get a sense of the actual task at hand in developing batterer intervention systems that actually work as opposed to being a trendy deflection of interest group pressure. Hopefully in doing so I can point out a way of acknowledging the depth of commitment our public management systems have to quick fixes and managerial fashion, rather than actual community building policies.

An assumption that underlies an anthropological analysis of power from a structuralist viewpoint is that men recognize their mortality, as well as that illness threatens death (Leach, 1976). Religious doctrines deny that death implies an automatic annihilation of the individual self. Mytho-logics in religions represent the "I" that survives as some sort of "other being" surviving death in some "other world" in some "other time". The fundamental characteristic of this "otherness" is that it is a reversal of ordinary experience as experienced in the culture of the living "I". Concepts of deity derive from a similar reversal in which man's recognition of his own powerlessness to change the conditions of his material existence to any great degree is balanced by notions of an all-powerful deity who stands in some relation to this "other being" that survives death in this "other" place and time. The great puzzle then of mytho-logic has been, then, if this deity is the source of power and is located in the other world, how can human beings gain access to that power?

Cosmology, as well as world view, are terms used to represent this core set of beliefs and values that organize perception and intention in the direction of a culturally-prescribed set of goals and goal trajectories and within a culturally-accepted range of morally acceptable means to these ends. According to Leach (1976), the space and time are experienced

within the framework generated by a given cosmology, and the

boundaries demarcated by distinctions within that cosmology are charged

by a *sacred/taboo* duality. These boundaries create two zones of social

space-time which impact definitions of the situation as 1) *normal, time-*

bound, clear-cut, central, and *secular* or 2) *abnormal, timeless,*

ambiguous, *at the edge,* and *sacred*. One way of conceptualizing the

movement to respond to domestic abuse that has arisen in the past thirty

years is that entrepreneurial groups have been attempting to reset the

boundary between gender and sex. From this perspective, domestic

violence is a necessary evil that defines the boundary of appropriate

gender relations. The "offender" becomes an abnormal, timeless entity at

the edge of normality, his motives ambiguous and unfathomable. Yet this

construction of offender also renders him outside normal human control,

requiring special intervention to assure his "conversion". Special

expertise becomes necessary to understand him. The stage is set for not

only the continued reproduction of offending behavior, but the

reproduction of systems of expert knowledge to advise and protect us in

relation to the offender.

Thompson, et al (1990) organize the cognitive world view of a given

cultural group in terms of two important types of myth, *myths of nature*

and *myths of human nature*. These myths in turn influence organizational

management strategies by which the institutions of that culture pursue

interactions with individuals and with other organizations and institutions. Organizational discourses, then, are reflections of the myths of nature, myths of human nature, and management strategies an organization embraces. Its practices reflect this world view, or *cultural bias* through specific *ways of life*, or strategic actions embedded in social relations. Each of the four cultural types described earlier in the paper can be described in terms of these five elements and represent the social means by which specific micro-structures are created, maintained, and changed.

The Grid-Group Analysis paradigm assumes that role differentiation and ideological framing interact with classification systems and boundary processes to structure social context (Douglas, 1982). Strangelove (1998) has called Douglas's theory a theory of public memory. In a sense, myths, stories, urban legends, and other 'folklore' forms, as well as special material objects, buildings, and specially demarcated spaces are bounded in relation to this *sacred/taboo* distinction. For that matter, everyday experience often incorporates these dimensions to organize space-time as *normal/abnormal* and *routine/exceptional*. Power is embodied in the boundaries that differentiates roles into systems of expectations and responsibilities and in terms of rewards and costs (Leach, 1976). Power is institutionalized through ideologies that normalize some systems of rights, rules, and rules and delegitimizes other sets. This process of

institutionalization impacts more private aspects of experience through what Altman (1973) called 'social penetration' of the private with the public social world.

Many women's rights issues have resurfaced in the last thirty years as women have come to dispute traditional roles for women in the past thirty years. It is easy to see why Rubin's (1975) position fit well with earlier feminist interests because she was well aware that women's rights issues are arising at this point in time in industrial nations in part because cultural dynamics are de-emphasizing traditional systems for differentiating gender roles. Women's rights organizations have sought to fill this void through active efforts to facilitate new definitions of women's identity. Still, we must also be aware not just of the place of mainstream ideology and its system of functionally-based social controls aimed at continued equilibrium of the dominant paradigm, but also the impact that entrepreneurial movements have on the creation of new forms of deviance independent of the existing structural context (Sutton, 1987).

Social Categories, Collective Memory, and Time

One way this differentiation is playing out is through the spatial concentration of poverty, particularly placing low-income families Archaeologist studying the built environment have identified related binary oppositions like *inner/outer public/private*, and *ours/theirs* as well as *sacred/taboo* that have been used intentionally to bound space in

various cultures (Kent, 1990). Otherwise, these distinctions will continue

to operate out of awareness and assumed to be the 'natural order of

things'. Soja (1971) points out the relationships between kinship ties,

property, and the state in industrial nations:

> With the origins of the state, the importance of kinship
> decreases relative to the growing importance of territory
> and "property" as institutional bases for societal
> organization. At the same time, the political system--the
> goal-setting, order-maintaining component of society--
> becomes a progressively more differentiated and
> specialized subsystem within the larger social matrix. One
> of the central characteristics of the state is, in fact, the clear
> emergence of the polity as a territorially defined unit not
> necessarily linked to any other organizational structure.
> Hence, it becomes easier to talk of a political as opposed to
> socio-political organizational of space (Soja, 1971, pp. 15).

Soja's position suggests that, with a decreasing birth rate, longer life

spans, and increasing female labor-force participation, the political

identity of women has become more important to society than their

identity based in domestic roles. This is where social movement activity

for women's rights, economic equality, and other pressing issue for

women have become so important to women. The difficulty lies in

connecting abstract political themes to the daily living experiences of

many women. By this I mean that the trends I have been discussing

here are not accepted generally by many women. I believe most of the

mainstream political ideology in the United States pays lip service to the

idea of the family as the basic social unit of society, yet is committed to

state-building of the order discussed by Soja (1971), thus creating a pronounced incongruity in mainstream political messages that damages the credibility of that system for many potential participants. The current state of funding for many social programs, such as special education, mental health services, and the programming at issue here, domestic violence, would indicate that the history of domestic social policy is to either fund grand, elaborate programs then retreat from the obligations when the grand scheme collapses under the weight of unanticipated consequences, or to give tidbits to small, but dynamic grassroots organizations, then abandon them before the impact of their reforms can be brought to fruition. Domestic violence intervention, as it gains wider acceptance within communities, is running up against structural limits to resource distribution as its advocates wait in line for its small cut of the Federal pie to fund programs.

What we often fail to recognize in relation to this is that there exists very little in our American terms of a system of social accountability which holds politicians and public managers to the promises that make to those they serve. We have elaborate mechanisms of financial accountability, and massive bureaucratic systems to track minutiae about how money is superficial spent within the course of the fiscal year, yet no system to hold funding sources accountable when "fiscal necessities" allow funding to be cutoff or never adequately provided in the first

place.

Types of Power, Metacategorization of Value Classes, and the Evolution of Power

Power can be enacted independently, based on the knowledge, skills, and abilities of individuals and groups, or dependently when the powerful are given the right to exercise power to another in their behalf (Adams, 1977). The local batterer intervention system, for example the one in Huntington, WV, functions dependently, given its relation to the circuit, family, and magistrate courts. Adams's structural analysis of various native models of the exercise of power resulted in a consistent contrast between *control/out of control*. This binary contrast was extended to a metacategorization that includes fifteen different value classes. The original model was represented in Adams's paper as a circular one, but I have converted it to two columns and labeled them in terms of how they would be typically valued under Hartsock's description of masculine epistemology (Table 6.1).

Remember Hartsock's (1983) critique of masculine epistemology, and we see that social control systems under conditions patriarchy tend to overvalue through identification with the first half of the binary opposition, relegating the Other to the second half of the opposition. Also, returning as well to Weinberg and Bridges (1979), we see that the continued commodification of social needs serves the production of more

masculine	Feminine
control	out-of-control
order	Disorder
known	Unknown
specific	Indefinite
predictable	Unpredictable
familiar	Unfamiliar
safety	Danger
same	Different
inside	Outside
balance	out of balance
pure	Impure
inclusion	Exclusion
culture	Nature
one	two or more
center	periphery

Table 6.1 The Metacategorization of Power Based on Adams (1977)

commodities, requiring unending speculation to develop and redevelop

markets. Long and short term risks are perceived, but there is a

dominance of the short-term over long-term if the production of

commodities is to be maintained in expansive optimism. In the current

economic climate, the haves in the growing upper class can afford to be

hopeful and optimistic. The rest of us scramble frantically to prevent

slipping into the ranks of the Fatalists as represented by the 10th

percentile and below in Karoly's study mentioned in the previous chapter.

This biasing at this point in time is embedded in preferences for

hierarchical social structures. Managed in a militaristic manner,

hierarchists maintain a complimentary relationship to a smaller group of

risk takers, speculating and developing markets while the hierarchists avert risks through distributing them through its levels of structure. Witch hunts and scapegoats are essential to this system to be sure those lower in the hierarchy continue to absorb the blame for failed risk taking and uneven distribution of rewards across the hierarchy.

Attempts to regulate boundaries can be understood in terms of whether or not they maintain control of access to self (Altman, 1977), as well as control of territorial limits (Godelier, 1977). Ranking is an inevitable consequence of binary differentiation (Adams, 1977) and power differentials result, leaving some individuals and groups with greater power levels and others in a position of powerlessness. Hegemony is maintained by controlling the definitions of acceptable risk and allocating praise and blame differentially.

From a cultural evolution perspective, the differentials in power have impacted the development of different levels of political integration among various societies (Adams, 1977). At the micro-level, social penetration processes are mediated through individual and group efforts to control proximal and distal space as a means of regulating privacy and enacting property relations (Altman, 1977). At a macro-level, societies enact violence to control territorial access to resources needed in the service of the means of production (Godelier, 1977). Myth and ritual help to differentiate the sacred from the taboo at both levels of organization,

hence mediating the integration of particular and universal interests

in the society. The "Invisible Hand" functions as a myth which justifies

the "natural" and "self-evident" reality of market relations. Failure to

develop supporting integrative myths and rituals can heighten the sense

local groups have that they are not being heard within the larger society.

Much of what the New Right has done in the past thirty years is engineer

a regressive revitalization movement designed to re-enchant daily life

with fundamentalist Christian "faith" in the rightness of a conservative,

nationalistic agenda (Hardisty, 2000). Social, legal, and economic

marginalization further heightens the sense that the interests of some

groups are not being considered in the larger society while the interests

of elite groups continue to be prominent in the media as well as in the

political arena. The increase of various "acceptable" forms of gambling,

like through the institutionalizing of state-run lotteries and access to

Internet stock market trading supports the myth that equal opportunity

exists for economic achievement and the occasional winner serves as

further evidence of that idea (Prigoff, 2000).

The Nineteenth Century Origins of the Current Masculine Epistemology

Stallybrass and White (1986) argue that during the nineteenth century,

European cultures came to organize the domains of the body, psychic

structures, social interaction, and geographical organization in terms of a

high/low binary contrast (see Figure 6.1). Here we see the ideological

discourses of the era as manifested among the various Victorian reformers

producing the nineteenth century city as the locus of fear disgust, and

fascination. As the bourgeoisie produced new forms of regulation and

prohibition for their own bodies, reformers wrote of the need to control

the body of the Other--the city's 'scum':

> The relation of social division and exclusion to the
> production of desire emerges with great clarity in the
> nineteenth-century city. New boundaries between high and
> low, between aristocrat and rag-picker, were
> simultaneously established and transgressed. On the one
> hand, The slum was separated from the suburb: 'the
> undrained clay beneath the slums oozed with cesspits and
> sweated fever; the gravelly heights of the suburbs were
> dotted with springs and bloomed with health'. On the other
> hand, the streets were a 'mingle-mangle', a 'hodge-podge',
> where the costermonger, the businessman, the prostitute,
> the clerk, the nanny and the crossing-sweeper jostled for
> place (Stallybrass & White, 1986, pp.128-129).

The migrant worker, the 'nomad', was constructed in terms of his

desires ('passions', 'love', 'pleasure') and in terms of his rejections and

ignorance ('repugnance', 'want', 'looseness', 'absence', 'disregard'). The

nomad was 'improvident', preferring to earn a living without any effort to

save or retain earnings. The nomad cared little for home and were

indifferent to marriage. The nineteenth-century reformer complained that

the nomad cared little for marriage and often had 'illegitimate' children

without regards for the responsibilities and rights necessary to care for

the child. The descriptions continued in an effort to 'survey and classify'

High

(civic centres, the courts,
church, mansions)

High

(head, spirit)

city topography

bourgeois body

Low

(sewer, slum)

Low

('lower body stratum')
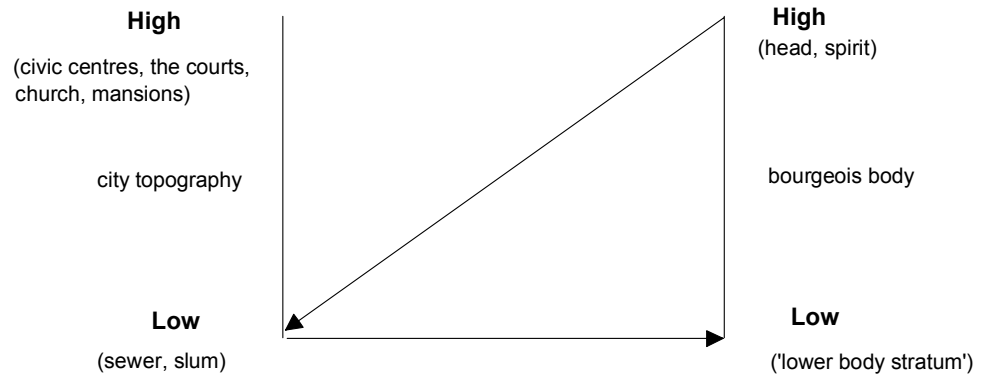
**Figure 6.1 The Hierarchy of the Body Transcoded through the
Hierarchy of the City** (Stallybrass & White, 1986, pp.145)

the nomad as the antithesis of the bourgeois spectator. The descriptions

conscientiously constructed a boundary between *clean* and *filth*:

> As nomads transgress all settled boundaries of 'home', they
> simultaneously map out areas which lies beyond
> cleanliness. However much...attempts to separate 'moral
> wickedness' from 'physical filthiness', the very categories
> of his work (excluding as they do the railway man, the
> factory worker and the domestic servant) foreground the
> connections between topography, physical appearance and
> morality...(Stallybrass & White, 1986, pp. 129).

Many forms of labor were described in terms of their marginality,

seen as 'lying at the margins of the nameable'. The 'bone-grubber', 'rag-

gather', '"pure"-finders" (collectors of dog shit), 'sewer-hunters', 'mud-

larks', 'dustmen', 'scavengers', 'crossing-sweepers', 'rat-killers',

'prostitutes', 'thieves', 'swindlers', 'beggars', and 'cheats' were described in equally scopophilic terms. Basic reforms connected the slums to sewage, sewage to disease, and disease to moral degradation.

What strikes me as I read these descriptions and examine Stallybrass and White's analysis is not their strangeness, but their familiarity. In recent years welfare reformers focused on the 'urban underclass' and made many evaluations of the urban poor in terms very similar to those described in Stallybrass and White. Is this because the same problems have continued to plague us or is it that the same problem descriptions continue to blind us? Collectively, we fail to pass on a great deal of what is required to examine the cultural categories we are using. As Appalachian scholars have demonstrated in recent years (Perry, 1972; Lewis, Johnson, & Askin, 1978; Shapiro, 1978; Gaventa, 1980; Eller, 1982; Batteau, 1990; Gaventa, Smith, & Willingham, 1990; Fisher, 1993; Billings & Tickamyer, 1993; Pudup, Billings, & Waller, 1995; Billings & Blee, 2000) we remain ignorant for the most part of our collective heritage of class discrimination in Appalachia, and as a result allow to go unrecognized many of the policy decisions that perpetuate it. Appalachians are not the only ones sharing the collective wool pulled over our eyes. It is quite possible that the cultural basis how we construct Self, with our overly individualized, often mechanized logics of selfhood,

based as it is on self-fulfillment through consumerism, is deeply flawed

and requires extensive reclamation to revisit its political basis (Cushman,

1995).

Rubbish Theory and the Modal Logic of Community Boundary Systems

In *Rubbish Theory* (Thompson, 1978), Michael Thompson develops

the idea that our value systems can essentially understood in terms of

three general classes of distinctions, the durable, the transient, and

rubbish. Durable values typically imply long-term, perhaps even timeless,

associations such that items are seen to be valued in a manner that is fixed

through time. Transient values fluctuate with what the market is willing

to pay within some relatively short window of opportunity. The fact

different economic types as described by Douglas and Isherwood (1979)

are vying for goods and services often means that different individuals are

operating at any given time in a situation who are using different value

systems to choose among available goods and services. Thompson points

out that the fact some goods or services are ideational; much of our

service-oriented economy is based on providing individuals with a type of

emotional and aesthetic experience as opposed to a material object or

entity (Hochschild, 1983).

This whole market arrangement would eventually shift its equilibrium

through time so as to enter into a stable state were it not for a third

category of item Thompson identifies as "rubbish". The rubbish as a third

general category of value that includes any and all cultural productions

that have lost value in time. These items are discarded, thrown out, or

otherwise removed from circulation. Gentrification of a slum district is a

form of "recovery" or "recycling" of a community area which has to

come through time to be devalues in the local housing market. The fact

that most economists place housing stock in the transient category of

value underlies a cultural assumption that the "value" of the property is in

the materials from which the house is built not in the social significance

of the memories of the family or families who lived there. That is, unless

one can demonstrate the house was part of some socially significant

historical event or linked in some significant way to an individual of

historical significance. In Huntington, the Gallatin plantation on Route 2,

north of Huntington and the Mattie Carroll House in Guyandotte are local

examples of property that local groups have managed to have moved into

the durable category as examples of the areas historical and cultural

heritage.

But what about Marcum Terrace? This public housing facility in the

Gallaher Village area of Huntington is one of the oldest public housing

facilities in Huntington. Or what about the once elite housing stock in the

two or three block region around Marshall University. Many of these

homes are or were over fifty years old, some dating back to the first

quarter of the twentieth century. Rather than seeing these properties as potential remnants of the city's cultural beginnings in the time of Collis P. Huntington and Huntington's origins as the brainchild of one of the United States's early robber barons, that property deteriorated through time to he point the University could afford to buy it out to expand its facilities and other development could move in to gentrify the area with elite student housing. Families that were once part of the neighborhood in that area are displaced elsewhere. Similar processes have been at work, though less successfully on the west end of Huntington among local antique and craft dealers attempting to build up an elite trade in antiques and "Appalachian" crafts.

Many areas in Cabell County, and Huntington in particular have taken on a stigma associated with a likelihood one will "find trouble" if they go there, while other areas are communal and generally most persons in the a Huntington area find these locations attractive and a matter of local pride. To say one grew up "on 20th Street", for example implies one possibly grew up poor, perhaps in an apartment above a store or business. In many cases it implies one was subject to racial conflict, given the highest concentration of blacks in Huntington live in the area twenty blocks east to west from 28th Street to 8th Street and from 7th Avenue to 13th Avenue. It suggests the possibility one's family was lower working class

or on assistance and quite possibly a large family.

Guyandotte on the north eastern end of Huntington is sometimes known as "Guyan-dirt" and "Guyandotte boys" are seen as tough, even criminal. "Guyandotte girls" are sometimes depicted as flirtations and worldly, capable of holding their own if things get violent. Many large families from that area have developed local reputations for toughness as well as criminal behavior, like burglary and selling stolen property. Strangely enough, the area also pre-dates the founding of Huntington and has a history documented prior to the Civil War. "Guyandotte Days" is a wonderful local celebration that includes a Civil War reenactment and arts and crafts.

Huntington is often described by local inhabitants via direction coordinates associate with neighborhoods. "Southside" is the most heavily middle-class and upper middle-class area, with several elite neighborhoods cloistered along the hills on the southern rim of town, Ritter Park, or just "the Park" is a community park of continued social significance as many in the community use it to walk their dogs, to jog or play frisby, allow their young children to play in its playgrounds, or use the tennis courts on the parks southeastern end. Southside, and its many cloistered elite neighborhoods are considered status locations, with many of the grand homes facing the park thought to be particularly sumptuous. "The Galleries", Huntington Gallery of Art is located in one of the hill

top neighborhoods above Southside and is often described by persons

form areas of less social status in Huntington as an elitist, "snobby"

location. Whether that reputation is a projection of relative deprivation

from particular parts of the community or is grounded in genuine

experiences of discrimination, I have not found out. For the most part, the

Galleries provides what appear to be a number of cultural enrichment

programs including instruction in the arts for children around the

community as well as the Hilltop Festival in the fall.

The "West End" of Huntington is a diverse collection of

neighborhoods that are predominantly working class neighborhoods in

varying degrees of decline or revitalization. Sometimes called the "Worst

End", several neighborhoods there are considered tough and violent.

Where Guyandotte has a reputation for criminal activity and toughness,

the West End's reputation has been one of general toughness and

endurance among its inhabitants.

"The Projects" typically refers to a large area along Hal Greer

Boulevard that includes two predominantly black public housing

facilities, Northcott Court being the older of the two. Rotary Gardens and

Marcum Terrace are two predominantly poor white areas in the

community. Each of these areas is typically spoken of in a derogatory

fashion and appear to be objects of local disdain among many of the

community's inhabitants. Considerable stigma is associated with being

from any of these projects. When I observed in the local Family Court as part of my research for this project, one of the Family case coordinators there told me it was her perception that most of the cases the court dealt with were from specifically calls. Marcum Terrace, but also from other projects in town. I attempted to contact the social workers at Marcum Terrace to arrange observation and interviews there, but was unable to get them to return my calls. During my tenure as a facilitator for the local BIPPs program, I attended STOP Team meetings and recommended including Huntington Housing Authority representatives on the STOP Team, but as far as I know, that recommendation has never been followed up on.

Slow Decline in Huntington

The decline showing up in Huntington is not an overnight process. It has not occurred within a fiscal year, but has operated at a much slower rate over a thirty year period of time as local housing stock has deteriorated due to neglect or elite interests not having taken time to invest in the local areas. Thompson (1978) points out that embedded in the cultural valuing system I am discussing is the assumption of "reasonable maintenance" of property. This concept governs the thresholds of expenditure the individual or group is willing to spend in upkeep on its holdings. This concept is culturally derived based on

another set of culturally-derived perceptions, that of the "expected lifespan" of the property, and still again, our perception of "expected lifespan" is culturally derived based on where we place the property in our system of durable-transient-rubbish values at a given time and from a given perspective. For instance, in the Highlawn area of Huntington, one is seeing deterioration of many houses and businesses that has slowly developed as a consequence of the ACF Plant, which makes railroad cars, closing regular operations. Though the plant reopens periodically to fulfill limited orders, this industry and the strong working class neighborhood it supported, are no longer centered on its operations. Saint Marys Hospital has become the primary employer there. Many of the small community businesses and neighborhood shops have closed. Many students from Marshall University are beginning to rent houses in the neighborhood and in general, renters have increased the overall transience of the neighborhood population. Some neighborhood residence have begun to complain of drug-related activity in the neighborhood. The overall quality of neighborhood experience is still relatively high, but ones sees signs of growing decay and neglect. If suburbanization and other forces continue without reinvestment in the community, one may continue to see increased social disorganization and with it higher crime and violence.

In the Appalachian Field Project I completed earlier in my program or study at Marshall (Bills, 2001), I proposed a graphic representation local

public management agencies' influence on boundary settings in

community relations via the way each local agency or organization

emphasized specific modal operators in its rhetoric (Table 6.2 is a slightly

modified version of the table I used in the earlier study with the Xs

representing the most emphasized modality).

	Real/Unreal	True/Not True	Just/Unjust	Possible/ Impossible	Necessary/ Unnecessary
Prosecutor		X	X	X	X
Victim's Advocate			X	X	
Circuit Court Judge		X	X		X
Family Court Judge		X	X		X
Magistrate		X	X		X
Probation Officer	X	X			X
WV State Police	X	X			
County Sheriff	X	X			
Community Police	X	X			
DHHR/CPS	X				X
Treatment Specialist				X	X
Local School		X		X	
Local Church			X	X	

Table 6.2 Local Community Agency Mediation of Modal Boundaries

Embedded in the rhetoric is also the assumptions of value, both in

terms of high/low distinctions of power and durable-transient-rubbish

values. Court and other legal systems mediate meaning in relation to

whether the accusations are about events that are real/unreal, as well as if

these allegations are true/false. Their emphasis is often on short time

frames in relation to the offense and value punishment in terms of time spent doing retribution. Also, at times the organizations are concerned with whether the consequences for real and true accusations are also just. This mediation will uphold existing economic constraints in the community unless otherwise directed. Family courts are constrained by their focus to the assets of the parties filing for divorce or for child custody arrangements and will not typically contend with larger community effects such as a plant closing or a strike. Agency member perceptions, noticing trends, evaluations of the conduct of those the agency serves, are built up in ongoing interaction with persons coming in for services. Records and official documents typically are not shared in any way that would verify or disprove perceptions of trends.

Other organizations focus more on problem-solving within the constraints of the communitiy's current economic arrangements. Concerned with whether solutions are possible/impossible as well as necessary/unnecessary, existential issues of social justice typically get framed as issues of grief or stress and are not typically seen as within the range of response therapists feel they are able to help with. Treatment professionals are constrained by legal mandates in terms of confidentiality and duty to warn that limit interagency information exchange , particularly with the legal system.

These differences in focus often lead to differences in perception of the effectiveness of a given entity by other organizations in the system. Most decisions about whether a case goes to trial in the first place are made outside of public access,. Prosecutors may feel evidence is insufficient to make a case, or has been so tainted by mishandling on the point of law enforcement that they decide it is not possible to got to trial. Therapists are often privy to information that they cannot substantiate in a legal way to help support a case and verify that abuse is real and the allegations of that abuse are true. What follows is a community perception of the Judge as showing favoritism or of letting someone go "on a technicality", while Therapist's are seen as ineffectual bleeding hearts who believe everything they are told, both by the Offender and by the Victim .

Another issue is that resource and time constraints inhibit system members utilizing the communication connections they have available. If one looks at The social networks of local agencies, one sees that the "typical" pattern of connections utilize very few of the possible connections available to network members. Though there are some legal and ethical reasons for some of this disconnection, much of it is simply the result time constraints on the participants. Judges, given the potential they have for connecting with others, are least likely to utilize the opportunities thy have to gather first hand information about a case and rely heavily on the Probation Officer to provide information for

sentencing in particular

For Want of a Nail...

When I was in the graduate program at Marshall as a Counseling and Rehabilitation student I lived for a period on Third Street and Fifth Avenue in an efficiency apartment at the back of a large house near the railroad tracks that cross through that neighborhood at Third Street. I liked the neighborhood because I was far enough away from Marshall that I could be aware from a lot of the partying and other distracting activity that happens in the immediate vicinity of the campus. I did not have a vehicle, but was a runner and, because I was in good shape, did not mind the relatively long walk from my apartment to Marshall each day for classes. I had a Supermarket and laundry mat nearby, so it was no big problem to walk to these facilities to shop or do laundry. I could carry my groceries or laundry two or three blocks and it was no great hardship.

I noticed that in the last two years the Scotch Clean Laundromat that was in the neighborhood has closed. I do not know the actual reasons of the closing, but that neighborhood has been in partial decline for some time and it is possible the management was not seeing sufficient return from a coin operated laundry to reinvest in the aging washers and dryers that were in the facility. I often wonder what impact a seemingly minor change like tat has on a neighborhood. Let me speculate a moment, just as a way of closing the chapter and tying up the rather diverse range of

topics I have covered.

A family living in that neighborhood in one of the numerous aging houses being rented to low income families and individuals there, is likely paying any where from $300 to $600/month rent. They are maintaining an older vehicle, one that Is at least six year old, and may be as much as sixteen years old. They maintain a minimum state required level of insurance on the vehicle and pay perhaps $60 to $90 a month for insurance. For a family of four, eating frugally, it would not be unreasonable in the Huntington area to spend $80 to $100/ week on food. This amounts to $320 to $400/month for food. At this point we have a range of expenditures simply for essentials of $680 to $1090/month for basic expenditures. Unless the family has an apartment that has utility costs figured into the rent, they will pay another $80 to $120 dollars/month in utilities if they do not have an aging gas space heater in the apartment, but instead have a relatively efficient and inexpensive electric baseboard heater. Now we are up to essential expenditures of $760 to $1210/month. At $8/hour, working 40 hours a week in a local telemarketing company, an individual is going to bring home $210 to $240 a week; approximately $840 to $960 a month; less than $12,000 a year. Even with both husband and wife working at that wage of $8/hour, the couple will have their personal finances gravely

disrupted if that older car should break down in some significant way, someone in the family requires dental work or eyeglasses, or a family member dies.

These are real conditions for at least a fifth of the local population in Huntington. Statistically, the likelihood that individuals living with these financial constraints are going to end up in the local batterer intervention system is much greater than any other economic group. A more difficult impact to assess is how the economic disruptions I am talking about generate waves or cascades of other concerns. If that families car is broken down, they now have no good access to do a load of laundry. With the car broken down, they may have to pay for a taxi or ride a bus to travel an addition five to six blocks to the next Laundromat on Adams Avenue. Other simple, but sometimes expensive, "extras" like cleaning supplies or paper towels may be too expensive to purchase. A door frame here, a paint scratch here is no longer "reasonable maintenance". The family could have to withhold rent from their landlord, or not pay utility bills to get the car fixed. Such buildups a larger expenditures, when one has no real way to access lump sums of money, can become overwhelming. The family may even feel the need to move or find less expensive housing. That turn over can contribute to further the perception of transience of the value of the building, not to mention the possible self-perceptions parents can feel about their ability to provide for family.

As Conger and Elder (1994) have shown in relation to rural families in Iowa after the destabilization of local farms due to economic restructuring, the relation of economic pressures to perceptions of marital support and spousal hostility is significant. In the next chapter I pick up this theme to exam how offenders often react in relation to coming to a batterer intervention program, particularly in terms of how legitimate they see treatment for them.

Chapter 7.

Trust and Legitimacy In Batterer Intervention Systems

In my Field Project (Bills, 2001a), I strived to identify how the intersection of three sets of cultural knowledge domains, a set of sexual behaviors, a set of kinship categories, and a set of prohibitions, interacted in relation to local, state and national institutions to maintain moral boundaries in a region of WV. I was interested in the dynamics of confidence and credibility that shaped community values about incest, as well as how those values bounded perceptions of risk and threat among formal and informal social networks involved with a sex offender.

I have continued to build on that approach in the present project, using the concept of batterer intervention system (Gondolf, 2002) to provide a point of reference at the community level from which to study processes of social change underlying the implementation of that kind of intervention system in communities in southern Ohio and in south western West Virginia. Dominant and submissive behaviors in committed relationships, gender roles, class-based definitions of self and other, and ethnic categories, and prohibitions against violence in intimate relationships have been a more complex set of cultural domains for analysis. I introduced the purpose to study social accounting processes in my field project this way:

> The third purpose I have in mind for this paper is to examine
> motivational accounting systems (Ben-Yehuda, 1988, 1990) and

grammars of action (Fararo & Skvoretz, 1984; Heise, 1995) to
connect the macro-level Legislation Cycle model to the
micro-level family model. In particular, I want to highlight how
stories are the typical medium through which power is legitimated
and standards of morality established. Skillful use of appropriate
vocabularies of motive that explain a situation and
make it meaningful is as much a part of the offender's grooming of
victims as it is a part of the therapist's interventions as it is a part
of the legislator's negotiations. The chain of logic embedded in a
story communicates to the listener much about the story teller's
world view and associated values. I propose a simple heuristic
model that recognizes how organizations or institutions involved
with the offender system have impact on particular aspects of the
community's moral domains over which it exerts influence based
on a subset of the modal logic which limits the community's moral
boundaries. I look for understanding of necessary events that are a
part of the narrative structure as various parties tell their stories
about various incest events (Bills, 2001a, pp. 2-3).

The "simple heuristic model" I mentioned was introduced in the

previous chapter (Table 6.2). I originally attempted to look at the density

of communication channels available to system participants based on

structural roles to focus on how different institutional domains, embodied

as formal networks in the courts, law enforcement, social services, and

treatment community impact rationalizations, justifications, and other

forms of social accounting. My idea was to identify the most frequently

used modal operators that are used in each type of institutional setting and

explore how these frequencies influenced behavioral tendencies, or

probabilities, of the actors embedded in these various networks. In this

paper I have been combining this modal logic with the embedded binary

dualisms underlying masculine epistemology to show how shallow,

faddish policy making in public management can short circuit or undercut the intentions of policy makers. I have been exploring the possibility that the long term consequence has been to make pro-arrest policy for domestic batterers a deflection from the original intent to protect victims and deter recidivism. Overemphasizing the place of criminal justice bureaucracy and a distinctly liberal, white, middle-class version of feminist intervention has been a result of risk perceptions based in fears that controlling and changing male violence is unlikely (given the implicit assumption that, for the most part, violence is a phenomena of the poor).

Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) have been critical of risk analysis models that attempt to reduce decisions about risk to simple probabilistic models of decision under conditions of uncertainty. According to the authors, the availability of computers has reduced risk assessment at times to a technical matter of improving the individual's ability to calculate probabilities. Combined with improved labeling of packaging, risk assessment becomes a matter of *correct* perception of reality to "rev up" the reasoning process. With this increased knowledge of the probabilistic nature of the world and intelligent thinking one can proceed to make the appropriate choices. Models of batterer characteristic such as the one developed by Gondolf (2002) fail to consider satisfactorily structural conditions in communities and account for nonlinearities

related to threshold effects on community quality of life.

I have attempted to show in Chapters 2, 4, and 5 various structural biases in local communities in the Cabell County area and I linked them in Chapter 6 deep philosophical biases in modern Western cultures that make it likely those same structural biases will continue to be reproduced in spite of shallow efforts to "fix" offenders by challenging their "male" belief systems. Hopefully, I have made the case by now that issue is not a "male" or female" cognitive style, but a historically based pattern of relations, embedded in the economic and status structures of our communities and institutionalized through the allocation of blame and praise. This pattern penetrates our daily life through property relations and control of access to self through controlling privacy. From this perspective, hook's (1984) idea that the issue of concern is really a Western philosophical tradition of hierarchical rule and the use of coercive authority that is the problem makes sense. Dworkin's (1983) assertion that misogynistic, antifeminist beliefs can be manifested from the far political right to the far political left suggests that it will not be a simple task of placing feminists in one or two quadrants of the two-dimensional Grid-Group quadrant map I first proposed in Chapter 2. Yet, I feel I would be remiss in my efforts to theorize about intimate violence as a community problem if I do not at sketch some tentative relationships among phenomena and theoretical positions before I close this project.

When one reads those handouts various domestic violence prevention groups leave at various locations or give out at table displays in the local mall, the same formula for success appears to be applied. A definition of domestic violence is given, followed by some set of official statistics to both illustrate the definition and prove the extent of the problem. Characteristics of the victim and of the offender is offered and a set of "What you can do if..." tips are offered. It makes sense that in a world where Dr. Phil can do therapy with a cross-dressing husband on national TV or Montel can get six young street youths to agree to paternity tests for the three children he and the child's mother bring on the show, that sound bite literature, left on an office table would be seen as an affective use of resources in a community to serendipitously trigger life-changing behavior in an abusive couple. The best such literature can hope to do is make people aware of a problem. Even then it does little to explain the actual complexity of the issue, much less draw together the intricate web of relations that tie intimate violence to the community of people in which the violence is occurring.

Klein, Campbell, Soler, and Ghez (1997) gathered information for the Family Violence Prevention Fund from 1992 to 1996. Their study is one of the few done to assess the extent to which Americans are aware of domestic violence as a problem and whether or not outside intervention was seen as necessary to end violence in the home. What the authors

found was that, in November 1995, 96% of respondents to their survey

believed outside intervention was appropriate when a man physically

assaults or injures his wife. According to the authors, 82% of the

respondents they polled believed arrest was appropriate if a man hit a

woman, but did not injure her. The authors pointed out that tolerance for

many forms of non-physical abuse was also decreasing, identifying a 7%

increase in the number of people who now believe intervention is

reasonable if a husband insults his wife without bodily harm. This was an

increase from 12% of respondents in November of 1994 to 19% of

respondents in November of 1995. Though hopeful about the impact of

community education on awareness of family violence, the authors are

cautious about what this means in relation to resolving violence as a

whole:

> The actions that the public endorses in response to serious violence
> will be effective only if: community supports, employment
> opportunities, and continual protection are provided by the
> criminal justice system and neighbors help battered women to
> leave; total community context enforces batterers' completing
> long-term treatment; and severe community sanctions are
> consistently and rigorously imposed against offenders. Research
> shows significant changes in public perception, but further
> transformation is needed not only toward intolerance but toward
> personal responsibility for action (Klein, Campbell, Soler, & Ghez,
> 1997, pp. 62)

This emphasis on "total community context" is in line with the place

of culture in Douglas and Wildavsky's (1982) discussion of risk. The

authors emphasize how choice requires selection not only based on

judgments about what is, but on what should be in the future. The

decision to do "reasonable maintenance" discussed in the previous chapter

involved not only the fixed features of the form of the property in

question, but the changing features of technology available to make the

changes and fashion as to what is in good taste at this time. I have been

critical throughout this study based on the issue of fashion in public

management and have been exploring the possibility that batterer

intervention systems could be serving a deflective purpose rather than the

social change purpose for which they have been intended by members of

the battered women's movement. To do this, I have been examining the

community context of batterer intervention systems in two counties in

one Census SMA. I have been attempting to consider the regional

heritage of resistance to hegemonic legitimation of discrimination against

the poor, regardless of race, primarily because the region in question is

overwhelmingly white, with a sizeable poor or low income population. I

have focused on class because I think that marriage and other forms of

pairing among adults still typically follows class lines and by focusing

there I am acknowledging the likelihood that many persons who come to

be involved in the batterer intervention system in Huntington will attempt

to form relations again after their domestic conflict is resolved, whether

through conflicts being resolved or through divorce or annulment.

There is a second reason for the track I have taken aside from an

assessment of what tools best model a particular community. That has to do with the assumptions about probability embedded in our culture's tradition of social science research. Gondolf's (2002) large-scale, multisite study of batterer intervention systems appears to be an attempt to legitimate batterer intervention systems in general based on a philosophy of social science that sees the law of large numbers as the best foundation against which to test the efficacy of the batterer intervention. To me, this project is, at best, possibly well-intentioned, but in the long run symptomatic of the very systemic bias the movement is trying to overcome. Rather than valuing the uniqueness of various communities, large sample statistical models tend can tend to give the illusion homogeneity and miss spatial and sociocultural idiosyncracies that small scale studies and qualitative research would make their focus. Hammel (Hammel, 1960, 1976; Hammel & Hutchinson, 1973; Hammel, McDaniel, & Wachter, 1979) has demonstrated, using computer simulation models, how the incest taboo as well as various local customs of marital mate choice can reduce the fertility potential of some members of small scale societies to the point that individual's bloodline dies out.

When we look at how the spatial concentration of poverty can marginalize and polarize communities, it seems likely that the potential is there to "disappear" some populations by losing them first in large scale

census taking and then more slowly over time and in a manner much less

perceptible than outright execution, incarcerating them or otherwise

controlling their fertility to the point they can no longer survive. Policy

may through an insidious conscious design or, worse, pathological

ethnocentric indifference, place grave ecological pressures on minority

and marginalized communities and worsen violence toward women.

Doing the very hard work of confronting shallow commitment to quality

of life for all communities demonstrated by corporate and the political

interests that have been abandoning the poor and other minorities in this

country through ongoing restructuring of economic policy and

globalization is or at least should be the long term purpose of batterer

intervention strategies. This strategy would include men as allies in a

struggle against fear, resentment, and narcissism, regardless of the gender,

race, or class of the individual that embodies it.

> All men support and perpetuate sexism and sexist oppression in
> one form or another. It is crucial that feminist activists not get
> bogged down in intensifying our awareness of this fact to the
> extent that we do not stress the more underemphasized point which
> is that men can lead life affirming, meaningful lives without
> exploiting or oppressing women. Like women, men have been
> passively socialized to accept sexist ideology. While they need not
> blame themselves for accepting sexism, they must assume
> responsibility for eliminating it. It angers women activists who
> push for separatism as a goal of feminist movement to hear the
> emphasis placed on men being victimized by sexism; they cling to
> the "all men are the enemy" version of reality. Men are not
> exploited or oppressed by sexism, but there are ways in which they
> suffer as a result of it. This suffering should not be ignored. While

it in no way diminishes the seriousness of male abuse and oppression of women, or negates male responsibility for exploitative actions, the pain men experience can serve as a catalyst calling attention to the need for change...(hooks, 1984, pp. 72)

I want to discuss in the next few sections problems of legitimacy clients experienced in the BIPPs program I was involved with in Huntington, WV. I want to do so in light of the larger community issues I have been discussing to frame those responses and suggest explanation of what they mean. To do this, I will adopt a political frame of reference from which to analyze the experiences I had while co-facilitating the BIPPs group and I will attempt to understand its members in this same political framework as opposed to a clinical frame. Grid-Group Analysis provides the means to understand both the managerial frames agencies are taking in response to the offender as well as the resistant the offender adopts in relation to the co-facilitators of the group and others in the system with whom the offender has had to deal with.

I will attempt to elucidate some of the threats, surprises, and blame each side believes to exist by utilizing Dworkin's (1983) discussion of antifeminist and the crimes that follow from it permeate various ideologies. I will combine this with several theoretical threads that run through the Grid-Group Analysis literature to illustrate how modality judgments about real/unreal and normal/abnormal. This will allow me to illustrate the hegemonic influences of the New Right and monopoly

Constraints and
incentives on decisions

Accidents , mistakes
chance events

World view

Action

Cognitive Monitor

That which remains
invisible to the Cognitive
Monitor
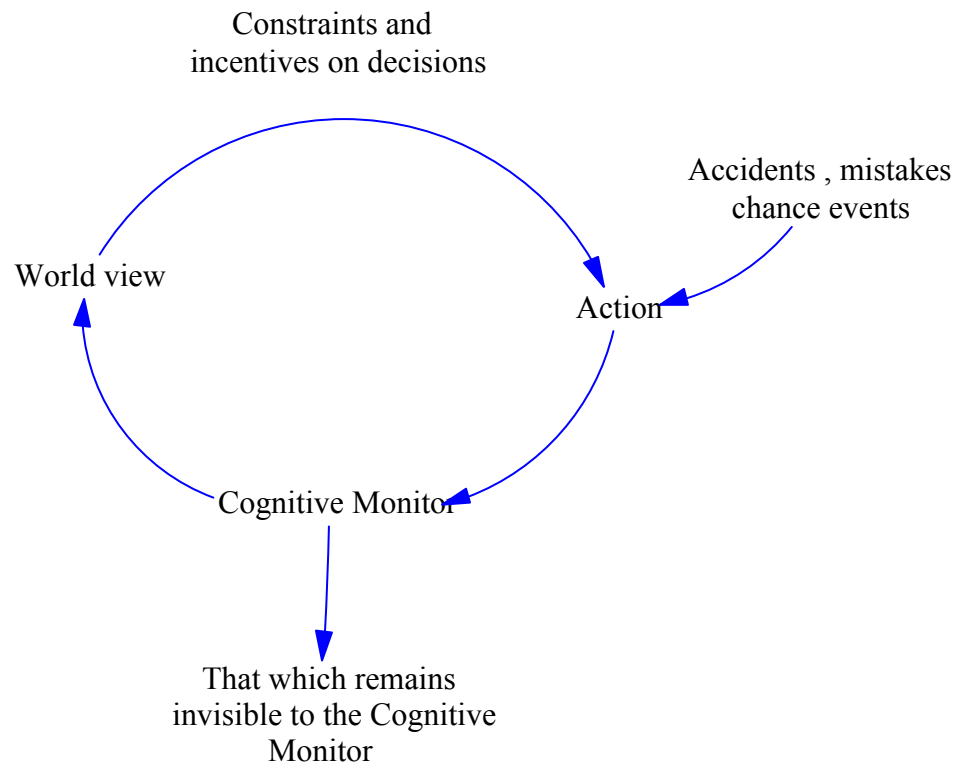
Figure 7.1 Thompson's Rubbish Theory Model of Social Cognition

antifeminist thinking should be part of the long term objectives of any

policy to stop community violence, I focus on the New Right and

monopoly capitalism because they instantiate the primary current forms

of misogyny in American culture.

Four Problems of Risk, Mangerial Modes, and Modes of Resistance

In *Rubbish Theory* (Thompson, 1978) there is a model devised by

Michael Thompson to explain the chicken-egg relationship between

world view and individual action (Figure 7.1). Thompson presents the

model as a visual depiction if the resolution of the philosophical debate in sociology and anthropology about which comes first causally in the development of an agent's social responses, action or world view. Thompson's point is to illustrate the relation of social structure on the perception of constraints and rewards as well as the pressure the same forces put on the individual to adhere to the structure-specific forms of the "conspiracy of blindness" that is at the basis of choice and sanction. He includes the possibility of unintended consequences by adding an input based on accidents, mistakes, fortuitous events and other randomizing influences. Some models represent cognition and rationality as the starting point of individual motivation while other schools of thought focus on behavior and suggest that world views follow from the activities the individual uses to operate in the world. Included in the model is also recognition of the "cognitive monitor", the same social accounting processes that Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) are discussing in *Risk and Culture* and Douglas and Isherwood (1979) are describing as the basis of consumption preferences. Notice this is not a Freudian or cognitive unconscious, but a socially-based attenuation of power-based social accounting. One is continually monitoring one's external and internal environments to 1) negotiate and bargain in relation to the central allocations of blame and praise in one's social network (individualist bias), 2) minimize exposure to allocations of blame by finding praise at

the peripheries of the network (fatalist bias), 3) maximizing transaction

for praise by keeping one's group separate and apart, while shifting blame

to those outside the group boundary (egalitarian bias), or 4) maximizing

their transactions by arranging their group (not themselves) into orderly

and ranked relationships with other groups (hierarchist bias).

Though Thompson insists that the model describes an organized

whole, he acknowledges that different world views tend to favor or reify

some aspects of the system over others. Hence, the framing differences

that different cultural biases instantiate order interactional sequences and

result in different social structures, along with their accompanying

cultural biases in the allocation of blame and praise. Any one of these

biases would tend to stabilize indefinitely were they all inclusive systems

with complete information. Instead they are limited visions of reality,

based on biases in perception. In Thompson's model, creativity is defined

as the ability to change world view and he recognizes two forms of

creativity as a result.

The first type of creativity alters the internal arrangement, but not the

content of the world view domain. This process focuses its energies

within the information feeds among world view, action, and the cognitive

monitor. It ignores the potentially randomizing effects of accidents and

other forms of chance, as well as their creative potential. Hood (1998) has

suggested that this bias promotes an organization milieu where

competition, constrained only by market forces, is the dominant social

control. Its internal arrangement is one where skillful gamesmanship

orders interaction and external relations are based on competitive

provision of services. This is the highly individualistic, monopoly

capitalist style identified by Weinberg and Bridges (1979). Its speculative

basis and risk taking style is reliant on what Thompson calls

"entrepreneurial creativity" to produce change and growth. Perceptions of

scarcity only promote more of a rush to exploit resources; the faith in the

"Invisible Hand" to deliver more supports the belief that one can manage

both one's resources and needs as one chooses (Thompson, Ellis, &

Wildavsky, 1990).

   I suggest that, using Dworkin's model of crimes against women

(Figure 7.2), we would place battery of women as the primary crime

perpetuated in this type of milieu. In this highly competitive,

individualistic type of organizational structure, power in relations is

manifested through negotiation and bargaining. "No" does not mean

"no", but is interpreted as a gaming strategy, a bluff, if you will, designed

to get the other to "up the ante". Help and aid are an "extended line of

credit", carrying no real altruistic spirit, but instead, an investment to be

collected upon even at the expense of using coercive, "strong arm" tactics

to extract the return. Equality feminists (Hardisty, 1999), a liberal form of

feminism that believes in competing with men for status and success, as

well as denying the implication that women are oppressed, are as much in this category as corporate raiders. The high incidence of antisocial personality types identified in Gondolf's(2000) multisite evaluation of batterer intervention systems might be better understood as the manifestation of a significant cultural bias at work in urban areas, particularly, if young men are to survive.

The second type of creativity focuses on the information provided by randomizing effect feed that includes accidents and chance events and by examining that which is render invisible via the cognitive monitor. Thompson says that three subtypes of creativity are actually produced from this information and I will examine them in turn, along with the social control preferences and management styles they are a part of. I will also include ideas about the types of feminist and antifeminist ideology that is biased in each way and the types of crimes against women that are considered "real": and "normal" and I will examine them in turn, along with the social control preferences and management styles they are a part of. I will also include ideas about the types of feminist and antifeminist ideology that is biased in each way and the types of crimes against women that are considered "real": and "normal." Above all what is occurring here is an alteration of the content of the world view domain (which may also affect a change in the internal arrangement of that domain).

rape

economic
exploitation

pornography

reproductive
exploitation

battery

prostitution
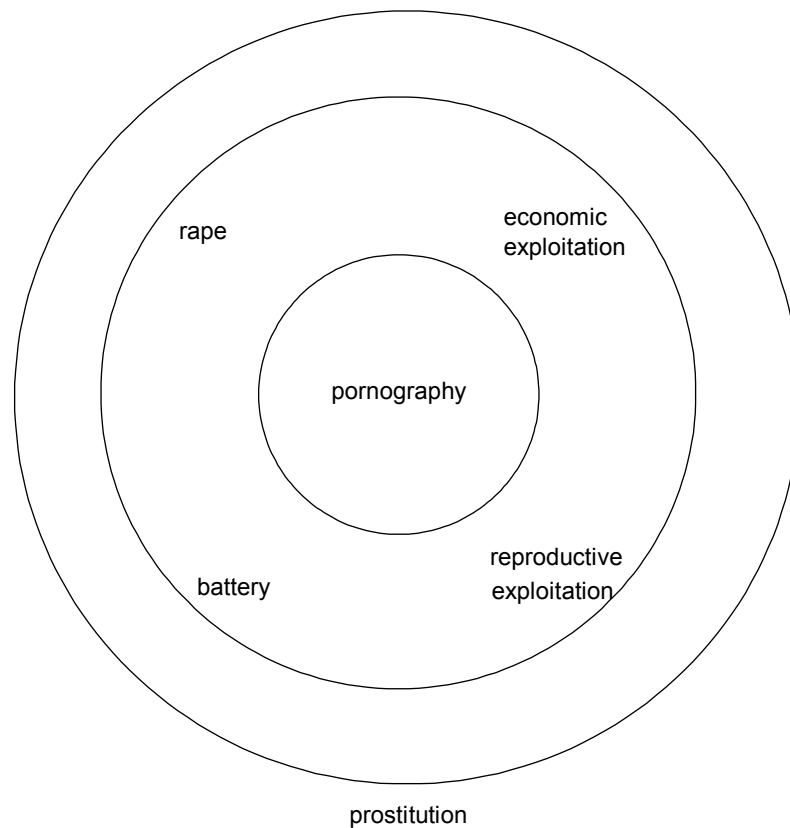
Figure 7.2 Dworkin's Model of Crimes Against Women

<u>**More on Creativity and Cultural Bias**</u>

Imperfect control by the cognitive monitor allows examination of the

covert area otherwise indicated only by the rubbish category. This is the

truth of artist whose feet are in the gutter or the journalistic "truth" of the

muckraking reporter. It is also the revelation of the Charismatic leader,

whose trials in the wilderness have brought enlightenment. Hood (1998)

types the organizational milieu that follows from this bias as one of

mutuality, where collegial interaction internal to the group is matched with co-production of community organization at the boundary with other groups. Special insight or knowledge may make adherents behave somewhat "cultishly" and increased paranoia at the boundary can alter the relationships to other groups such that the group actually become a cult or sect.

This is also the location in social context where reproductive exploitation becomes at issue. The fundamentalist Christian who is opposed to abortion rights is the misogynistic alternative to the Marxist Feminist, who through her reading of Engels has walked through the nineteenth century streets and identified capitalisms expropriation of relations of reproduction actually are variants of the same bias, one working religiously to control the rights of women to choose if she will reproduce and the other championing with every secular humanist bone in their body that same woman's right to choose. Both having gone into the wilderness and had a revelation, now hope to share its impact and affect the world.

The negative variant of this takes a distinctly hierarchical turn, such that "shit rolls down hill". The application of "discipline of the whip" enforces the boundary between levels of the hierarchy and blame is shed from the upper levels of organization to the lower levels. Oversight is the basis of the organizational milieu (Hood, 1998) and a "ladder-of-authority

orders the internal relations of that organization. A "dedicated " line channels only official images to the outside. Power and authority through bureaucracy and hierarchy are the ideal.

In this milieu, misogynist tendencies play out through economic exploitation. This is as true for the males in the hierarchy as it is for the women, though often a "glass ceiling" may prevent women from advancing beyond a certain level of attainment. Sexual harassment may be part of the equation as well. Prostitution is the extreme expression of this exploitation. I will have more on that later, but one should recall the previous discussion in the last chapter about militarism and prostitution.. For now we simply need to recognize how control of the cognitive monitor in the hands of those at the top of the hierarchy allow them to utilize surveillance and negative discipline to shed blame and exploit others lower in the hierarchy.

The last variant of the second type of creativity is focused on the randomizing information feed in the model. The organizational milieu that follows from it sees the organization as a gaming machine or lottery. What Hood (1998) calls contrived randomness is the social control style and relations external to the group are based on the idea of a semi-randomized state. This is a fatalistic bias that seeks only to minimize the negative impact of fate and celebrates what Thompson calls "serendipitous creativity."

Baron and Straus (1989) studied four theories of rape-- social disorganization, gender inequality, the effects of pornography, and cultural spillover, or "legitimate violence"-- at the state level to understand the validity of each theory as an explanation for rape. In their summary they indicated social disorganization theories best explained the incidence of rape among the four theories, though they found support for all four theories to some extent. We can think of the fatalist milieu as in a somewhat contrived state of perpetual social disorganization, where rape is an option to dominate. It follows from a mindset that perceives connections to others as "fated." I have also wondered if the Radical Feminist theorists also fit here as well. "Fated" or "predestined" is a result of biological determination, though, rather than some romantic or sexual concept of destiny.

Dworkin (1983) argues that pornography and prostitution are mirrors of one another. She discusses alternative scenarios where one is the ideology, the other is the surface action. In relation to the model presented by Thompson, pornography and prostitution become the binary oppositions in masculine social cognition, mediated through a cognitive monitor, a system of social control that uses epithets, coercion, and violence to dominate women. They are elements of the social processing of women's sexuality via the Sex/Gender Triangle (Leach, 1976). If Rubin's (1974) and Hartsock's (1984) assessment of the masculine

epistemology is correct, male identity must encourage a "conspiracy of blindness" within a social unit, mediate the boundaries of self through differentiation from women, and rely on the symbolic exchange of women as a scarce resource to form alliances. In our culture, this is best typified through the hierarchical and entrepreneurial biases, best exemplified through the antifeminist rhetoric of the New Right.

The "Player" and the "Control Freak" as Ideal Types of Batterers

Mainstream, commercial pornography presents a vision of sexuality that is individualistic, in which both the men and women are "players", athletically maximizing their investment in each sexual encounter. She is not only a willing and skilled sexual partner, but demands little from him but his time to engage in the act itself. She is also skilled in pleasing him, from the manner in which she presents herself and negotiates the encounter, to her intuitive knowledge of what will please and excite him. To me it makes sense that in reality, when a man with such an image of women encounters the imperfections and resistances of a real woman, he could see those imperfections as lowering her exchange value. Resistance could be misinterpreted as tough bargaining, and too much resistance seen as reason to coerce and intimidate. In such a scenario, battery becomes an option to contend with a women who is a "tease" as a negotiator and who wants more for what she is "selling" than its worth. This model organizes female sexuality in relation to masculinity by

understanding it through an ideology of pornography, with prostitution being the surface action. Emotional abandonment in the face of her resistance, cheating, or outright physical abandonment are "creative" solutions when she is simply "not worth it anymore."

The ultimate economic exploitation of a women is to use her body for profit. As I described in the previous chapter, military commanders know full well the importance of keeping relatively "clean", available young women for the troops in order to keep morale high and to assure those troops feel like virile, heroic saviors. This kind of "control freak" monitors even the most private of behaviors to assure compliance. In more moderate forms, this is the corporate executive who utilizes sophisticate computer technology to monitor employee e-mail and keeps a padlock on the supply cabinet, making getting a tablet of sticky notes a bureaucratic nightmare This is the employer who believes an employee leaving work ten or fifteen minutes early is "stealing" from them and keeps track of who is doing this "disloyal" behavior come the next round of layoffs.

Both Dworkin (1983) and Hardisty (1999) have written at length about the agenda of the Eagle Forum and STOP ERA to derail the Equal Rights Amendment. Yet, when it came time for New Right leaders to reward these movement's top leader, Phyllis Schlafly, with the place she had hoped for at the men's table, she was left out in the political cold:

> The Republicans also never properly rewarded Schlafly for her
> role in defeating the ERA. The Reagan Administration threw only
> one crumb her way: a seat on the Commission on the Bicentennial
> of the Constitution. Perhaps Schlfly had done her job too well, and
> once the Republicans gained power, Schlafy's outspokenesss
> became a political liability to her New Right colleagues, She
> simply has been unable to join the club of the right's male
> leadership (Hardisty, 1999, pp. 75).

One can only wonder what the outcome will be for the

congresswoman from the second congressional district. Moore Capito has

done her job to date to help the Bush administration. It remains to be seen

if and how long that relationship will work for her as she hopes.

The two ideal types represent patterns prevalent in American culture

today. One difficulty involving organization members in presentation of a

batterer's intervention system is that the same cultural biases that are held

by offenders are held by parts of the organization. Federal and state

regulation also embody this bias by embracing market paradigms for

service provision and demanding burdensome accountability practices

that increase surveillance and monitoring of minutiae and refusing to pay

for case management and other important activities not directly part of

"face-to-face" contact. We become so used to having our privacy violated

and our every action monitored that it becomes hard to make this

behavior visible again. In the next session, I present a series of figures to

illustrate how the biases I am discussing relate to the cycle of violence, as

well as illustrating the how individuals with various biases will resist

organization intervention.

Offender Biases and the Cycle of Violence

I created Figure 7.2 to organize several aspects of offender perceptions based on the model developed by Dutton (1998) of offender perceptions in abusive personalities and Cameron-Bandler's (1985) model of threshold effects in romantic relationships. In this attempt at integration of different models, I conceptualized offender's behavior as a dynamic cyclic attractor arising through a couple's efforts to coordinate action, meaning, and tools (Arrow, McGrath, and Berdahl, 2002). Where Dutton (1998) would see "blunting" as an unconscious avoidance strategy, I understand it as a response to a binding logical paradox created by the individual's experience of social constraints in relation to poorly formulated latent interests. In the Grid-Group paradigm, Fatalists (Low Group, High Grid) and Hierarchists (High Group, High Grid) are risk averters, using avoidance to either minimize an experience of being powerless to divert the destiny (Fatalists) or to shed blame as they search for an appropriate scapegoat.

I do not focus here on the possibility of unconscious drives and other psychodynamic or cognitive-behavioral understandings of what goes on in the individual's mind, but on the individual's intuitive knowledge of how to adapt and respond within the networks of relations he participates in and on how those relations impact the individuals perceptions of
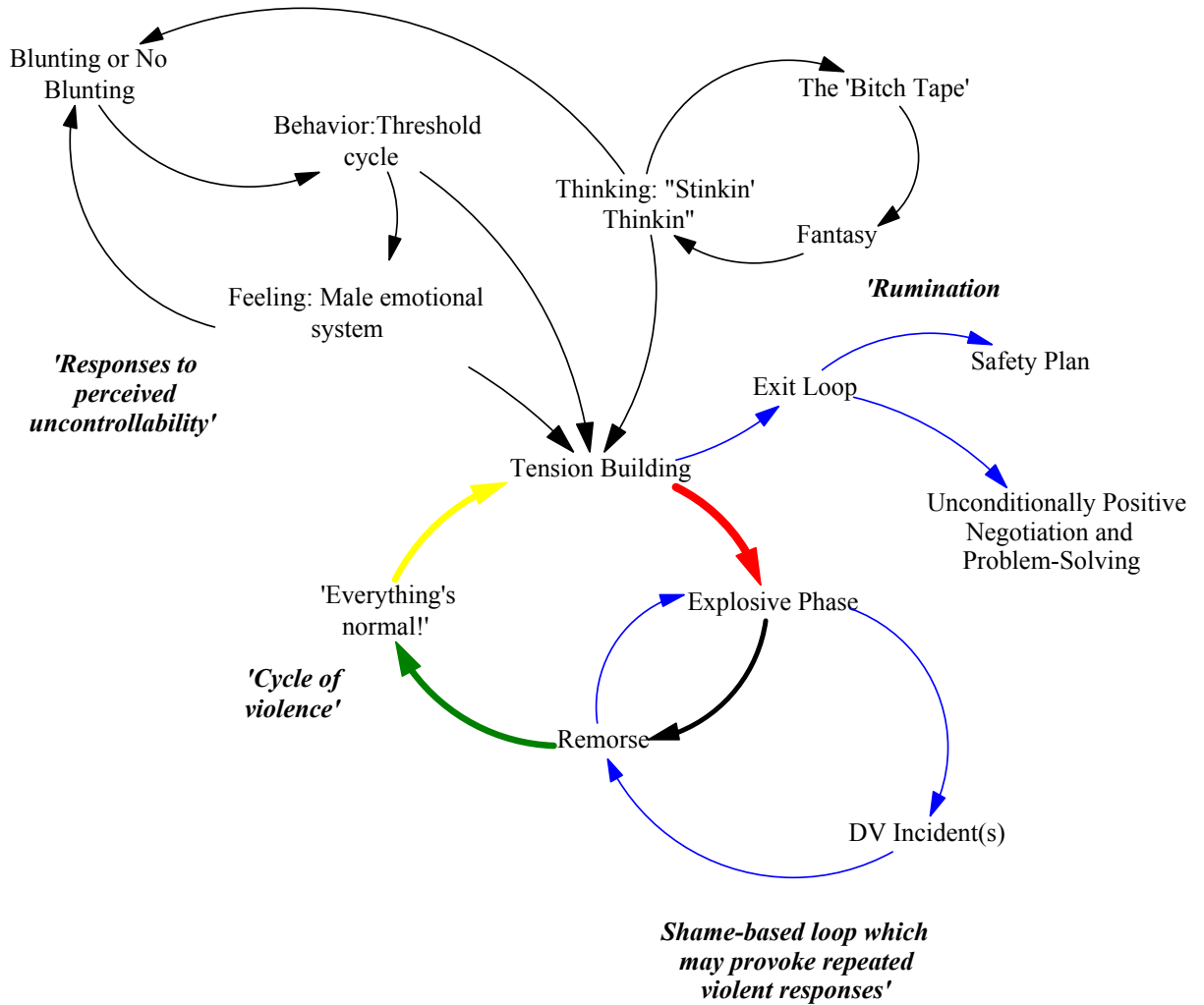
Figure 7.3 Elements of Batterer Thought and Action in the Cycle of Violence

rewards, risks, blame, and surprise. These common sense intuitions are

derived from the individual's abilities as a native speaker of his language,

in particular, his recognition of various social categorizations and from

his history of shared usage of these categorizations in his networks of

relations. Under conditions of uncertainty, when there is sufficient environmental conflict or social ambiguity, any number of combinations of motivational settings and structuring variables can channel a potential offender toward violence. The individual's deep assumptions about the world continually elicit delayed effects. Most of the offenders I dealt with in the past three years were more likely to react to affronts to their world view after leaving the therapy or educational setting, perhaps by drinking or using drugs, hanging out with persons not supportive of the education they are receiving, engaging in criminal behavior, sex addictions, or continued violence. This "blunting" of emotional responses is conceptualized as a response to perceived blame, and involves indirect means to avoid dealing with the recognition of power differentials the world view affront the elicited.

Cameron-Bandler (1985) has described a "threshold cycle" model of attraction in romantic relationships. Rusbult (1987) has evolved a model or relational satisfaction that can be organized in a similar threshold pattern (Carver & Scheier, 2001). Typically, after a period attraction and appreciation, individuals begin to notice differences between their original impressions of the person they were attracted to. These differences may come to the person's attention slowly or suddenly. One's ability to resolve the cognitive dissonance that emerges with the perception of difference is an important set of skills required to maintain

intimacy in a couple. Failure to resolve the conflict can escalate the perceptions of further difference and over time erode the quality of bond between the persons. One thing feminists have pointed out is the superficiality of attraction based on cultural constructions of physical beauty and feminine sexuality as directed to satisfy male conceptions of women as sex objects. Other behavioral tendencies, such as the disposition toward egalitarian versus hierarchical inter-gender relations, can become part of the individual threshold pattern and weight behavioral probabilities for violence. The point is to recognize how person-specific these patterns of preference can appear to be. Yet, from a Grid-Group Analytic perspective, this specificity is patterned at a social level in terms communally shared narrative forms, with predictable patterns of social controls favoring search and consumption behavior triggered in relation to the time frame which provides the horizon for response, the perception of choice or compulsion to act, whether long-term or short-term benefits or consequences dominate perception, and how balanced these perceptions are across time frames (See Table 2.1, pp. 25)

Again, as with Dutton's model, Cameron-Bandler describes these criteria as individual and partly unconscious. I see them as socially constructed, intertwined with cultural standards as represented by my earlier discussion (Chapter 2) of "sociocultural selection mechanisms" and the binary dualisms that structure his thoughts through analogy and

other tropic forms, his perceptions of bodily experience and the bodies of others, the logic of the social status systems in which he is participating, and his mental maps of the geographic area in which he conducts his routine activities. In this model, how a person is situated in their community constrains access to scarce resources, like high status potential partners and valuable spatial resources, as well as other resources needed to maintain a supportive bond in the relationships he forms with others.

Summary of the Interaction of Offender Biases and Organizational Biases

Herman Kahn (1979) developed a Grid-Group model to illustrate the resistance of a colonized social group. In the original presentation the author included distinctions to discern magical thinking styles from rational styles. I am using only the basic strrutural description to simplify the presentation and make highlighting local responses easier.

Kahn's model makes two basic distinctions, one for the Grid dimension and one for the Group dimension. Along the Group dimension, resistance can be rejecting of the intruding culture (Low Group) or synthetic of the intruding culture (High Group). Along the Grid dimension, resistance can be either violent toward the intruding culture (Low Grid) or it can be nonviolent with the intruding culture (High Grid). I add from my experiences dealing with offenders in BIPPs typical

responses to the questions of why they were sent to treatment, as well as basic treatment complications. The resulting typology of resistance is represented in Table 7.1. This depiction allows us to predict reactions by service users to BIPPS intervention, given we recognize the intervention as a cultural one.

In the upper left corner is the Fatalist, whose adaptation to the intrusion of a feminist cultural intervention is going to involve nonviolent rejection of the intruding culture. This will be exhibited through attitudes of passivity and subdued verbal aggressive. When asked the question, "What reason were you sent to treatment?" Typical responses are "bad luck", "It was all a mistake", "It was just an accident.", or some other variation that defines them as a random "victim" of fate. Common treatment complications include addiction, and depression, and distractibility. While I was doing the participant observation, one offender in the group, often quite, but grudgingly compliant committed suicide on his ex-wife's porch after she refused to let him into the house. The individual had a significant history of clinical depression. He was disabled and worked occasionally under the table to make extra money. His violence with his spouse occurred usually while he was drinking, often while also taking prescription medication. The loss of his wife and of access to his kids had been a last straw for him. The uncomfortable

	Rejecting	Synthetic

Nonviolent	Nonviolent rejection of the intruding culture
	  Attitude: Passive
	    Aggressive
	  Response to question of reason sent to treatment: Bad luck
	    Mistake
	    Accident
	    Victim
	  Treatment complications:
	    Addiction
	    Depression
	    Distracted
		Nonviolent synthesis with the intruding culture
		  Attitude: Compliant
		    Controlling
		  Response to question of reason sent to treatment:
		    Intellectualization
		    Use of third
		    person
		  Treatment complications:
		    Uninvolved
		    Detached
		    Failure to feel

Violent	Violent rejection of the intruding culture
	  Attitude: Defiant
	    Manipulative
	  Response to question of reason sent to Treatment: Framed
	    Lied about
	  Treatment Complications:
	    Failure to pay fees
	    Manipulative threats and attempted coercion
	    Bargaining
	    Testing limits
		Violent synthesis with the intruding culture
		  Attitude: Self-righteous
		    Indignant
		  Response to question of reason sent to Treatment: Persecuted
		    Misunderstood
		  Treatment complications:
		    Jailhouse
		    conversion
		    Moralizing
		    Esoteric
		    Beliefs

Table 7.1 Resistance to Cultural Intrusion

thing for myself and the co-facilitator of the group were that we had no

indication, given his quiet manner, of his intentions to kill himself. He had

gone to the ex-wife's house, drunk, with his gun in his coat. When

she refused to let him into the house to see his kids, he shot himself on the porch in front of her.

In the upper right corner is the Hierarchist, whose adaptation to the cultural intervention is nonviolent synthesis with the intruding culture. In this bias, the individual looks for status cues to measure his place in the pecking order. His attitude is often compliant, but controlling, attempting to establish clear performance criteria to assure he can shed blame. From this bias, the response to questions about the reason for being sent to treatment will involve verbal intellectualizations, and frequent use of third person to avoid implication of blame. Treatment complications can include uninvolved, detached avoidance. And failure to feel. An example I experienced of an individual operating from this bias was with an individual who was construction company foreman. He often interacted as the middle man between management and workers at his job. He was anxious frequently about performance expectations and felt compelled ask extensive, detailed questions to trace the implications of minor even rule changes. When it came time to finish the program, he became mildly obsessed with getting a certificate of completion to verify his satisfactory achievement.

In the lower left corner is the Entrepreneur, the "Player", bias, whose

adaptation to intruding cultural intervention is often violent rejection of the intruding culture. Resulting attitudes include defiance and conscious manipulative negotiation and bargaining. Often the response to question of reasons for being sent to treatment include that he was in someway framed by the criminal justice system, others lied about his behavior, or other variations on the theme that his arrest and subsequent referral was illegitimate. Treatment complications might include failure to pay fees, manipulative threats and attempted coercion, and conscious use of racial and gender slurs intended to incite co-facilitators, followed by bargaining and testing limits. As an example of this bias, I can note one individual who began from his first evening in group to question the legitimacy of the $10 fee for the BIPPs group. He accused staff of pocketing the money after group, insisting that, with 20 persons in the group, the co-facilitators here splitting the $200. He justified his accusation simply on the basis that he would work for a $100 an hour any time. The sheer ridiculousness of the accusation had a very disrupting effect on the group. Each effort on the part of myself and the other co-facilitator to quiet things down and deal with the accusation was then interpreted as "angry", "coercive", and with further accusations about our lack of skill. The overall impact of the behavior was to render those in power powerless, or at least frame them as hypocritical. From there the next step would be to renegotiate the

terms of the group or force his discharge so he was not at fault for the

discharge. The lower left corner involves the Egalitarian, or possible

Sectist, bias. Here the bias leads to a violent synthesis with the intruding

culture. The attitudes exhibited include self-righteous indignation and

possible reference to esoteric or fundamentalist dogma. In response to

question of reasons for being sent to   treatment, the presentation is one of

persecution and of being misunderstood. Treatment complications can

include "jailhouse conversions" and excessive moralizing. Esoteric

beliefs can involve elaborate conspiracy theory about "the System" and

how it works. The example that come to my mind here involves an

individual who was employed by the Veteran's Administration. In this

case, the

individual, became guilt ridden over "living in sin" with his girlfriend,

whom had also been his victim and at time monopolized group discussion

with his guilty rambling. He became immobilized by that guilt and had

trouble maintaining regular attendance to group. He was actually envious

of the "players" in the group and attempted to present himself at times in

that manner, only later backing down when his guilt and anxiety over

possibly provoking envy in others would send him into spirals of shame

and guilt.

Anyone familiar with mental health diagnostic schemes might see a

variety of possible explanations for each example of type of response I

presented. Other theoretical positions and disciplines could also provide

equally valid analysis as well. The important issue here is to illustrate the

possible connection of responses by offenders being linked to the types of

social networks they participate in. Their various reactions to intrusion by

an outside culture are based on perceived threat to control and are likely

validated to some degree elsewhere. Some theorist, like Gelles (1983) link

abusive behaviors to the lack of sanctions in an individuals family to

prevent violence. Others, like Gondolf (1985) have looked for

explanations similar to the one I an developing here. Using the work of

Ball-Rokeach (1980), Gondolf links abusive responses to the competition

for scarce resources in the community:

> Ball-Rokeach suggests that the conflict is more internally
> motivated. The conflict is over scarce resources arising from
> "asymmetrical social relation" and is essentially an effort to
> influence the distribution of these "scarce resources by threat of
> exertion and physical force". More simply, the abuse is goal-
> oriented and rational. Rather than inflicting harm for its own sake,
> men abuse women to get something they want (Gondolf, 1985, pp.
> 77)

The interesting thing here is the disagreement about the "depth" of

motivation. Gelles looks at consciously-shared, surface, possibly

legalistic sanctions formulated by rational actors. Gondolf looks for more

unconscious, value-oriented responses. What the Grid-Group paradigm

does, once we incorporate Dworkin's understanding of how social

structures are permeated with misogynistic constructions, we realize both

theorists are correct to a limited degree. Gelles is discussing low grid

contexts, particularly the Entrepreneurial bias and the type of network

centralist positioning such a bias requires. That milieu will involve

individuals attempting to negotiate freely in a set of exchanges without

rules or sanctions, a kind of lassifare exchange based on

negotiated vales which can change from one time frame to another.

Gondolf is looking more at high grid contexts in which a complex set of

prescriptions and sanctions make it necessary for an individual to have

internalized local codes of conduct in order to gain access to resources.

Coercion maintains the boundary structure of that milieu based on status-

specific opportunity structures.

The more critical point is to incorporate a model of organizational

social control preferences into this mix. Table 7.2 lists such preferences

based on work using Grid-Group Analysis to study public management

systems (Hood, 1998). Each quadrant represents the accompanying Grid-

Group biases, and notes the difference in focus of internal controls and

external controls. I attach some of the ideological/theoretical positions I

have mentioned through out the paper in different quadrants. I will not

reiterate in detail the connections, but simply try to summarize them.

Organizations will likely have differing impacts given the milieu they

establish. This also applies to co-facilitator style. All are incomplete

Grid-Group Bias: Fatalist *Weberian Type: Hand-to-mouth Peasant Existence* **High grid, low group** **Masculine epistemology: Class relations** **Likely crime against women: Rape** **Possible Feminist Deconstruction: Radical Feminist** **Social Control Style: Contrived** **Randomness** **Internal: Organization as gaming machine** **External: Semi-randomized state**	**Grid-Group Bias: Hierarchist** *Weberian Type: Traditional Economy* **High grid, high group** **Masculine epistemology: Corporate** **capitalism** **Government bureaucracy** **Likely crime against women: Prostitution** **Economic exploitation** **Possible Feminist Deconstruction: Liberal** **Feminist** **Social Control Style: Oversight** **Internal: Ladder-of-authority** **External: "Dedicated" outside view**
Grid-Group Bias: Entrepreneurial *Weberian Types: Individualist Capitalist* *Adventurer Capitalist* **Low group, low grid** **Masculine epistemology: "The Player"** **Likely crime against women: Pornography** **Battery** **Possible Feminist Deconstruction: Equality** **Feminist** **Social Control Style: Competition** **Internal: Organization as a team** **External: Competitive provision of services**	**Grid-Group Bias: Egalitarian (Sectist)** *Weberian Types: Convents, Monasteries, and Bishoprics* **Low grid, High group** **Masculine epistemology: Fundamentalist** **religious sect** **Cults** **Possible Feminist Deconstruction: Marxist** **Feminist** **Social Control Style: Mutuality** **Internal: Collegial Organization** **External: Co-production or community** **Organization**

Table 7.2 A Summary of Grid-Group Relations in the Intimate Violence Theory in Relation to Ideologies and Management Control Styles

representations or reality and may have blind spots to certain types of

violence, or may put priorities on stopping one type before the other. At

this point in time, to my knowledge, this type of evaluation, which is

intended to examine the extent of system integration as well as the
offenders response to it, is not being done. When we consider the fact that,

by Gondolf's definition, a batterer intervention system includes arrest, court action, probation supervision, victims' services, and other community services, we can see that the web of interrelationships is quite broad just getting those who "should" be concerned on board. Figure 7.4 represents the cultural system of collectivities involved with a typical offender in even a small city like Huntington, WV. (The red lines represent involuntary relationships and the blue lines represent voluntary relationships.) Again, my point here is to emphasize the complexity implied by buzzwords like "total community context" and to hopefully bring to the fore how much more still needs to be done.

Conclusions

The purpose of this exploratory concurrent mixed methods study has to better understand the community context of domestic batterer intervention systems (Gondolf, 2002) by converging demographic trends in crime and arrest , family income, and marriage and divorce rates with community status indicators and marital conflict themes. In the study, county-level Uniform Crime Reports data, US Census data, and Vital Statistics data were used to analyze community differences in social context and patterns of domestic violence in Cabell County, WV and Lawrence County, OH. At the same time, the local domestic batterer intervention system in Cabell County, WV was explored using ethnographic interviews, qualitative content analysis, and participant

observation with individuals and organizations in Cabell County and at the state level in order to begin building a grounded theory of community violence.

Critically, I continued to ask throughout the paper the question if pro-arrest laws and dependence on federal grant funding have lead BIPPs programs to serve more of a deflective function for conservative political interests in the community than for the larger goals of human rights espoused by various feminist interest groups. Although this project was an exploratory one, I believe I did find evidence that many of the factors necessary to actually making the structural changes in communities is ignored in the local community in favor of cognitive models that in a sense ignore the structural conditions underlying male violence. These included long term evidence of the negative effects of economic restructuring and crisis on Cabell County, WV, without realistic policy intervention to insure appropriate recovery, fragmented funding for programs, the imposition of bureaucratic solutions that hamper service provision as much as aid them, failure to finance necessary case management and information gathering functions for program staff, and inconsistent attention to the ideological consistency between program management and the goals of the batterer intervention system as a whole.

   As I write these conclusions I am thinking about Gondolf's (2002) summary of findings in his extensive multisite study of batterer intervention systems. I have not strived to emulate that style of research and am well aware of the possibility that the type of research I have done here will fall by the wayside unnoticed. The pervasiveness of cultural biases toward violence against women is such a broad topic and to try to situate the study of a small region of the Appalachian region in relation to that topic has been difficult to say the least. Still, I stand by my belief that what we are dealing with a cultural issue and bantering around politically correct terms like "total community context" as buzz words. I wanted to try to capture what that means as best I could.

   The importance of doing this is paramount. When we keep our eyes open to violence and its integration into our culture we find it permeates most of our assumptions about community and good governance as well as our concepts of relations to family and friends. It seems strange to me that these distinctions have so little relation in practice, given the rhetoric that circulates in media and politics about the two. This means we miss many subtle changes because they happen out of political view. The snapshots and sound bites are as much a distraction as information. For example, as I was preparing this paper I visited the National Organization of Women web site to check in about legislative issues related to violence against women, and this is part of one of the postings:

Last year Congress passed the Department of Justice Reauthorization Bill (PL 107-273) and the President signed this bill into law. As part of this Act, Congress created a permanent, separate and distinct Office on Violence Against Women with a presidentially-appointed and Senate-confirmed director.

The law clearly intends to elevate the Office from its current status as a subset within the Office of Justice Programs. Senator Biden (D-Del.), author of this provision, stated on the Senate floor before the vote on the conference report: "Rather than be one of many offices subsumed in a larger bureau or office, the Violence Against Women Office will now be its own, separate and distinct entity within the Department of Justice. This provision means that the Office will be removed from its current location in the Office of Justice Programs, and become its own free-standing entity."

Advocates must insist that this elevated status is critical to furthering strong leadership on the part of the federal government towards our common goal of ending violence against women. Furthermore, in its current placement under the Office of Justice Programs, which commands only grant programs, the Violence Against Women Office's ability to manage these important policy functions is restricted.

The law also requires that the director report to the Attorney General. Contrary to congressional intent, the Department of Justice has stated that they do not intend to require direct reporting authority to the Attorney General. This unwillingness to implement the law must be addressed by Congress.

The office is charged with overseeing implementation of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA). VAWA includes not just grant programs, but also important and life-saving civil and criminal provisions that require the full attention and focus of a strong, separate office.

The Department of Justice is thwarting the will of Congress and signaling a retreat from its leadership role on ending violence against women by this unnecessary and damaging move (NOW. Action Alert, March 3, 2003)

I emailed the contact person at the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence:

> Hi,
>   My name is Frank Bills. I am a graduate student at Marshall University in the Sociology/Anthropology program. I am doing my thesis on local batterer intervention programs (I worked 13 years as a therapist and did batterer intervention and sex offender treatment for the last 4 tears before returning to school full-time). How will this reversal impact local communities? In WV, we are broke and there are few funds to support existing programs, much less continue developing new programs.
> Frank Bills

and this is the response I received:

> Frank,
> Thank you for inquiry and concern about the Violence Against Women Office. As you know, VAWO is charged with overseeing grant programs and important policy components of the Violence Against Women Act. Thus, it has a strong impact on not only future programs but also existing programs, such as yours, which are already facing budget crisis. Without a strong Office to administer the grant funds, we are concerned this money for programs may be mismanaged by administrators who are unaware of the needs of domestic violence survivors and the programs that assist them. For example, successful programs that are now receiving grants may no longer receive the funding if the money is rerouted. In addition, the Office is charged with overseeing important policy functions. In its current placement it is unable to carry out this component such as administering guidelines to local shelters.   The Office also provides technical assistance to programs; however, the current restructuring could put this assistance in jeopardy for the future. I hope this information is helpful.
> I have included our VAWO fact sheet for your reference. Please don't hesitate to contact me if you have further questions.
>
> Krista Holub
> National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
> 1532 16th St., NW
> Washington, DC 20036

In effect, as it stands at this point, the promised "place at the table" is being denied to the Office of Violence Against Women (VAWO), as the Attorney General's office is preventing control of funding to programs by the VAWO. I have not had time to follow it up, but no doubt the reason remains the current administration's insistence on cutting or denying funding to social programs to support its war on terrorism. Another NOW (NOW Action Alert, June 17, 2002)posting points the trend out:

> June 17, 2002
> Kim Gandy, President of the National Organization for Women, protested with Washington-area activists outside the Dirksen Senate Office Building on June 17, challenging members of the Senate Finance Committee to enact welfare reform with the best interests of poor women and their families in mind when the Senate's welfare bill goes in for a markup, as soon as Tuesday, June 18.
> "While welfare "reform" has moved people off the rolls, it has failed miserably at moving people out of poverty and into self-sufficiency," Gandy said. "It's high time the Senate catches on and passes the most family-friendly welfare bill this country has ever seen.
> "This week, the Senate has the chance to pass a welfare reauthorization bill that will actually reduce poverty, rather than simply kick poor women and children off the rolls to prove superficial short-term success."
> "A 2000 report from the Kellogg Foundation showed that nine out of 10 people in the U.S. think that families moving from welfare to work should have access to education and/or training for jobs that would allow them to be self-sufficient. Yet, less than one percent of Federal TANF funds were spent on education and training in 2000."
> "I challenge the Senate Finance Committee to enact legislation that truly helps women and their families become self-sufficient by providing the education, fair job opportunities and programs that

support work, including child care and transportation, that are
essential for lifting poor women and their families out of poverty."
"After all, rhetoric about encouraging self-sufficiency for poor
families is empty unless poor families can have access to an
education that will guarantee equal opportunities. TANF recipients
are currently required to spend 30 hours per week in work or work
activities. It's critical that time spent getting an education be
counted toward TANF's mandatory work hours."
"It's time to end the welfare debate once and for all. The only way
to end the vicious cycle of poverty and welfare reform debate is to
enact fair legislation that will yield real results. Educational
opportunities and work supports, like child care and transportation,
are key to real reform. This isn't rocket science, it's common
sense." (NOW Action Alert, June 17, 2002)

The interrelationships of motivational mechanisms and structuring

variables as discussed in this project. Rubin (1974), Hartsock (1984),

hooks (1984), and Dworkin (1983) have pointed to the need to examine

our philosophical traditions in the hopes of affecting significant changes to

the masculine epistemology from which dominance and control arises. I

have attempted to expore how this epistemology is linked to basic aspects

of property in communities with the hopes of highlighting how the

spatialization of poverty, which is accompanying significant loss of

income to many families in the tristate region, is affecting the very

populations affected by pro-arrest policy in WV. Though the exploratory

nature of this study was such that I did not focus on hypothesis testing in

relation to the idea of deflection, I did review a variety of research in

relation to this concept and used the combination of local census and vital

statistics data, UCR data, and area maps to highlight how conditions in the tristate area are similar to this studied in my secondary sources.

I finished up by using the Grid-Group paradigm to illustrate the interrelationships among offender biases and the kinds of issues they raise in relation to the legitimacy of intervention for them, ideological and theoretical positions in the literature on violence against women, and management preferences for styles of social control. The concept of "total community context" as a management buzzword was juxtaposed against the reality of what that buzzword implies for integration of batterer intervention systems. In light of current conservative political biases, it appears likely that deflection is the current effect of policy, whether it was planned intentionally as a strategy by political strategists or whether it is the emergent result of unconscious collective biases.

Suggestions for Further Research

I continue to see social network analysis and sociometry as promising directions for research. Gross and Rayner (1985) have quantified the grid and group dimensions into five group predicates and four grid predicates. Ethnography in a community designed to elicit these relationships modeled in relation to studying possible threshold effects of poverty and economic decline in the neighbor hoods where networks are observed would begin to elucidate the relations between neighborhood thresholds and violence. A local study of the spectrum of programs involved in a

community batterer intervention system, possibly combined with factor analytic modeling of cultural themes underlying violence by particular offenders, in conjunction with similar schemes for the organizations contributing services to the batterer intervention system would map relationships among ideology, interactional sequence, and individual choice patterns. Additional analysis of court records to parallel this mapping with official decision making would provide insight into perceptions of real/unreal in relation to the courts. What is possible/impossible, necessary/unnecessary in the perception of offenders and service providers could be examined in relation to the decisions that actualize these expectations.

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