

TITLE : REPORT ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN A RURAL SETTING: THE CASE OF EASTERN KENTUCKY.

Introduction.

Much of the literature on domestic violence and the criminal justice response to that violence has arisen from studies of major urban areas. In this pilot study I will address some of the gaps in the literature by examining the phenomenon of domestic violence and the police and courts in the largely rural setting of six counties in Eastern Kentucky. An ethnographic approach was adopted and fifty focused or semi-structured interviews were conducted. Half of these interviews were with battered women and the rest were with law enforcement officers, spouse abuse shelter employees, social services workers, attorneys and a district judge.

The report is arranged in the following manner. I begin with a brief overview of the literature on domestic violence (section 1). I then introduce the six counties covered by the study. In this introduction I highlight the rural characteristics of these counties and the way in which these characteristics resemble those features of rural life in the United States (section 2). In section three I outline the current state of Kentucky's law on domestic violence.

As the review of the literature will show there is a dearth of information concerning women's perceptions of the ability of the criminal justice system to deal with domestic violence. Therefore one of the principal foci of this study has been to access the perceptions of battered women themselves about the criminal justice system's response to their situation. In order to move towards this goal a methodology was chosen which would draw upon the feelings, attitudes and perceptions of these women. Other social actors were approached to provide varying insights into the relationship between battering and criminal justice. I discuss this methodology in section four. The findings of the interviews are reported in section five. In the final section (six) I attempt to make some sense out of these findings and draw out some of the idiosyncracies of woman battering and its policing in a rural setting.

SECTION 1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON WOMAN BATTERING AND ITS POLICING.

Introduction and Definitions.

Woman battering is sometimes called wife beating, marital violence, domestic violence or spouse abuse. In all cases, violence is involved. For the purposes of this research project, I prefer the term woman battering. Unlike wife beating and spouse abuse, it refers to all those cases of women in general being beaten in an intrafamilial context. Unlike marital violence and domestic violence, it clearly refers to the abuse of women as opposed to children. Woman battering can take many forms. In the majority of cases, there is physical battering. This might include pushing, shoving, kicking, hitting, punching, choking, burning, stabbing, clubbing, knifing, and shooting. Often there is sexual battery. This includes physical attacks on the breasts/genitals or forced sex acts that are accompanied by violence or the threat of violence. Sexual battering includes marital rape, although this rape may not be recognized as rape by the legal systems of some states.

In contrast to physical and sexual battering, emotional battering does not involve assaultive behavior. This form of battering is characterized by the abuser's attempt to control the partner's daily routines and involves the attacking of that partner's self esteem and intentionally frightening or intimidating her. The psychological trauma may be all the more confusing for battered women as they are told by society that their conflictual relationship is supposed to be an intimate, caring one.

The final form of woman battering involves the destruction of property and/or pets. The abusive partner serves notice in a menacing and somewhat symbolic fashion, that he can and will destroy the personal belongings of his partner. With this destructiveness comes the implicit message that it could easily spill over to the woman herself.

To summarize, all four forms of battering involve a domination/subordination dynamic between partners. However this intimate and cohabiting relationship is deemed by society to be

one of the most caring in one's life course. Paradoxically, it is within this context that an enormous amount of physical and psychic injury is produced. These injuries almost certainly constitute the most prevalent form of violence and/or cruelty in society.

Prevalence

After defining the phenomenon of domestic violence it is now possible to analyze its prevalence today. The question of prevalence is a hotly disputed one in the literature. The extent of domestic violence is associated with how that violence is defined and who defines it. The narrowest definitions are usually the legal ones. For example, in some states in the U.S.A. marital rape is not seen as rape in a legal sense. Should a husband have forced sexual intercourse with his wife, the law would not recognize this as rape. A broader definition of violence is obtained if we adopt the definitions of women themselves. This more radical approach takes the word and perception of the women who have suffered the violence as a standard. As Stanko (1985) has argued, this radical approach is to be preferred to accepting as 'accurate' the claims and figures of criminal justice agencies such as the police. Russell (1982, 1984), has adopted something of a mid-way position between the 'legalistic' and 'radical' approaches. She has used surveys to assess levels of male violence. In these surveys, she has defined rape as forced intercourse whether or not her female respondents were willing to describe the act as rape.

Most research has demonstrated that wife beating is much more common and damaging than husband beating. (McClintock 1963, Dobash and Dobash 1977, 1980). (See Klein, 1979 for a review). Women who attack their husbands usually do so out of desperation and self defense. Historical findings reach the same conclusion that wife battering is far more serious than husband battering (Websdale, 1991). Having noted the gendered asymmetry at work here, it must be said that all efforts to place a numerical value on the level of battering are somewhat suspect. Since the battering usually takes place in isolation and given that many battered women are too embarrassed, too fearful, or too disillusioned to report violence to the police, all statistics are best seen as estimates.

Diana Russell's survey conducted with a random sample of 930 women in San Francisco revealed that among 2588 reports of rape and attempted rape, 38% were committed by the husband or ex-husband, and 13% by a lover or ex-lover. This suggests that roughly half of all rapes or attempted rapes are committed in relationships involving cohabiting partners. In general, she found that sexual assaults by husbands were twice as common as those committed by strangers.

Later work by Finkelhor and Yllo, (1985), surveyed 323 Boston area women. They found that 10% of the women had experienced rape at the hands of husbands or ex-husbands, compared with 3% who had been the victim of stranger-rape. (1985: 6-7).

The prevalence of wife rape is compounded by the fact that wives may be raped more than once. Russell found that 70-80% of the victims of wife rape were raped more than once. In a related vein, Finkelhor and Yllo (1985: 23) found that half the victims of wife rape had experienced sexual assault on 20 or more occasions.

It is also clear that wives tend not to see forced sex within marriage as rape. Rather they view rape as something that happens between strangers (Gelles, 1979). Public perceptions of wife or ex-wife rape also show that this offence is not seen as particularly serious. Rossi, Waite and Berk (1974) found that out of 140 offences described to respondents the seriousness of forcible rape by a former spouse ranked just above driving while drunk. At the same time, where marital rape has occurred, its effects on the lives of victims has been more traumatic than in the case of stranger-rape (Russell 1982; Finkelhor and Yllo 1983).

Researchers have also studied the relationship between wife rape and wife battering. It appears that between 30 and 60% of all wife beating involves some form of sexual abuse. (Prescott and Letko, 1977 : 78; Walker, 1979: 112). In Russell's 1982 study, 36% of all women interviewed experienced some combination of rape and battering. Finkelhor and Yllo (1985: 23) found that 50% of wife rape victims had also been battered. They also noted that battered women were roughly twice as likely to experience multiple marital rapes (1985: 23-

4). It is also important to note that marital rape can occur without the use of force. For example, Steven Box has drawn attention to the instances where economic pressure has put women in a position where it is difficult for them to give their consent to sex freely. (1983: 122-7) The focus of the criminal justice system upon 'forcible rape' tends to miss this fact and thereby assumes that 'everyday' heterosexual relations are free from coercion.

Estimates of levels of wife battering vary considerable. Sue Titus Reid (1991) cites the Bureau of Justice Statistics estimate of 3.8 million domestic crimes annually. Richard Gelles (1979) has argued that the estimate should be much higher. According to Time magazine (1983: 23), 6 million women are physically assaulted by their spouses annually. The Attorney General of the United States estimated 'conservatively' that 2 million wives were beaten each year by their husbands (Justice Assistance News, 5 February-March 1984: 2). Gelles (1979) estimates that on average one couple in six engages in at least once act of violence annually. If this is averaged out over the entire period of their marriage, the chances are greater than one in four that physical violence will occur. MacKinnon has stressed that:

"... between 60 and 70% of murdered women are killed by their husbands, lovers or former lovers. The same is not true for murdered men." (1988: 109).

Explanations of Woman Battering.

Women battering has been explained from a variety of perspectives. Pizzey (1974) has focused upon the psychological abnormalities of batterers and has attributed these abnormalities to the problems of childhood. When boys are reared in abusive households, they apparently later repeat the cycle as battering husbands. Gayford's (1975) findings supported this evidence. The more rigorous work of Gelles (1972) contradicts these findings. Gelles compared 40 families which had experienced violence with 40 which had not. 30% of his violent spouses had never witnessed violence between their parents while 50% had. Sylvia Walby, in reviewing the evidence on the generational transmission of woman battering, concludes that:

"psychological processes can explain, at best, a small portion of this violence." (1990: 131)

Other researchers have eschewed a psychological approach and have tried to explain domestic violence as an aspect of the social class system. The argument is made that men at the disadvantaged end of the class hierarchy take out their hostility and alienation on their wives. These men may have little control over their work lives, but they can at least coerce their wives into submission. Elizabeth Wilson (1983) argues that in times of economic stress and higher unemployment, men in lower classes express their frustrations through spousal abuse. Wilson's position is supported by the work of Gelles (1972) and Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) who found twice as much domestic violence in blue collar than in white collar families.

Amir (1971) has followed a similar line of argument in recognizing the role of social class in battering. However, Amir differs from Wilson (1983), Gelles (1972) and Straus et al (1980) by arguing that wife batterers are alienated from mainstream culture. These batterers develop a different set of values from mainstream cultural values. These different values attach great significance to machismo and physical superiority. A subculture of violence then develops in which battering and marital rape increases.

However, the above arguments on class and wife battering are inconclusive. In Russell's study, marital rapists were evenly distributed among the working class (32%), middle class (32%) and upper class (36%) (1982: 129). Pizzey (1974) found that batterers are drawn from all social classes. Perhaps the main problem with the class-based analysis is that it does not explain why disadvantaged men engage in this behavior and disadvantaged women do not. The gendered asymmetry of domestic violence remains to be explored.

It is this gendered asymmetry that feminists have addressed. Brownmiller (1976) has argued that men use violence against women in order to control them. She focused especially on rape and the escalation of rape during wartime. Hanmer (1978) and Hanmer and Saunders (1984) also argue that male violence acts to socially control women. However, their analyses go beyond that of Brownmiller by situating that control within the context of the state. Of especial importance in their analyses is the non-intervention strategies of the state which allow the social control of women to continue unchecked, ex: non-policing of wife battering, the failure to recognize marital rape.

The feminist analysis of male violence in general and wife battering in particular go well beyond the class-based or psychologically oriented approaches. For the feminists, woman battering is an integral part of the institution of patriarchy. Sylvia Walby has recently defined patriarchy as:

"a system of social structures and practices
in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit
women." (1990: 20)

Having reviewed the literature on the definitions, prevalence and explanations of women battering, it is now possible to discuss the research conducted on the response of the police to that violence.

The Response of the Police.

Whatever estimates of the prevalence of domestic violence that one chooses to accept, it is clear that the frequency of this offence has been vastly underreported and very passively policed. Websdale (1991, 1992) estimated that from 1853-1960 in Lane County, Oregon, police intervention/arrest of wife batterers occurred in no more than 1% of the overall cases of battering. The literature on current police strategies reveals a similar trend. (See Ferraro, 1989b; and Hanmer, Radford and Stanko, 1989).

Tong (1984: Chapter 5) discusses a number of possible reasons why police departments have failed to confront wife battering. Her approach is legalistic and usefully raises a number of the practical issues involved in policing spousal abuse. More recent feminist studies of policing have situated the non-policing of domestic violence within an overall framework of patriarchal relations (Edwards, 1986; Hanmer et al 1989). A number of these writers cite evidence of the low level of intervention and arrest (Shapland and Hobbs, 1987; Edwards, 1986; Hatty and Sutton, 1986; Casey, 1987; all cited by Stanko, 1989: 49). These findings are paralleled by other research which documents the non-reporting and non-policing of rape and the nature of police antipathy towards rape victims (Chambers and Miller, 1983; Kelly, 1988). Stanko notes that an arrest made in a domestic altercation does not carry the same degree of prestige as the other arrests (1989: 51). She goes on to develop the argument that the organizational structure of policing and particularly the insensitivity of command personnel to the frustrations of rank and file officers form substantial blocks to changing the policing of battering. Other research has drawn attention to the fact that police have failed to arrest batterers even when the victims were in serious danger and where the victims had requested an arrest. (See Berk and Loseke, 1981; Black, 1980; Brown, 1984; Davis, 1983; Parnas, 1967; all cited by Ferraro, 1989b: 61). These shortcomings in police procedures have resulted in both civil suits against police and a number of legislative changes directed at getting 'tougher' with batterers. Ferraro (1989a) cites the U.S. Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence recommendation that:

"family violence should be recognized and
responded to as criminal activity."
(Ferraro: 61).

Ferraro usefully goes on to discuss mandatory arrest laws in the field of domestic altercations. A study by Sherman and Berk (1984a,b) found that the subsequent frequency of battering was lowered if batterers were initially arrested by police. This study became known as the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment. The authors noted that:

"arrest was the most effective of the three

standard methods police use to reduce domestic violence. The other police methods-attempting to counsel both parties, or sending assailants away-were found to be considerably less effective in deterring future violence in the cases examined." (1984 (a): 1).

The Minneapolis Experiment was influential in promoting the shift away from a 'social service' approach to law enforcement and court operations in the field of domestic altercations. (See Morash, 1986; Sherman and Cohn, 1989). However, other studies have not been able to replicate the Minneapolis findings. Dunford, Huizinga and Elliot (1986) performed a similar 'experiment' in Omaha, Nebraska and concluded that arrests did not act as a more significant deterrent to battering than any other strategies tried. The work of Berk and Newton (1985) offers some support for the Minneapolis findings.

Clearly much more research needs to be done in this area. As the above discussion reveals, this research has all taken place in major urban areas. (Ferraro (1989a,b) Phoenix, Arizona; Sherman and Berk (1984a) Minneapolis, Minnesota; Dunford, Huizinga and Elliot (1986), Omaha, Nebraska). There is a major gap in the literature here insofar as rural areas (ex: Eastern Kentucky) have been ignored. The mere fact that the findings differ between Minneapolis and Omaha remind us that the policing of domestic violence is highly complex and must be approached with respect to the nuances and idiosyncracies of each social/economic setting.

It is clear from Ferraro (1989(b)) that laying down presumptive arrest policies is, in and of itself, a limited method of getting tough on batterers. In her observational study of the Phoenix Police Department, she concluded that officers made arrests in only 18% of assaults involving intimate partners. Ferraro stresses:

"If the official rhetoric about treating domestic violence as a crime...is genuine, changes must occur at the prosecutorial, judicial and correction levels in tandem with changes in law enforcement policies." (1989: 72).

SECTION 2. SIX RURAL COUNTIES IN EASTERN KENTUCKY.

The spouse abuse shelter at which the interviews were conducted with battered women is located in a small town in Eastern Kentucky. Although the service area for this shelter covered six counties the women who received shelter were also drawn from other counties. These other counties often bordered the six service counties. For the purposes of this study all the counties will be designated by letter. In the vast majority of cases battered women came from predominantly rural areas. They either resided in the countryside, up a hollow which contained a limited number of residences or in a small town which itself was surrounded by countryside. The economy of these areas varied considerably but we can discern a few patterns that seem to characterize most. Typically unemployment rates are much higher than the national average. Unofficial estimates of unemployment in some of the counties runs as high as 60 percent. In most of the counties there is an underground economy devoted to the growing, sale and distribution of marijuana. Indeed during the last two years at least five sheriff's in the region have been found guilty of being involved in various ways with the illegal growing, sale and distribution processes.

Apart from a limited number of light manufacturing plants the region is primarily characterized by agricultural production. Perhaps the most important crop in the area is tobacco. The growing and harvesting of tobacco is seasonal. Work and unemployment rates therefore tend to reflect the seasonal aspects of the tobacco cycle.

Without wanting to stereotype the region by describing it as 'rural' there are clearly aspects of the lifestyle in the service area that sociologists have traditionally defined in those terms. People tend to know and /or be related to larger numbers of others who are within easy

walking or short driving distance. It was not uncommon for the victims of spouse abuse that I interviewed to live either with or next door to their relatives. This is not to say that those same victims were intimately associated with the community. The stereotypical image of the rural community as 'closer knit' was not borne out by the experiences of these women. On the contrary these battered women, like their urban counterparts, tended to be isolated in a number of ways.

The influence of religious fundamentalism in the counties is strong. A number of the interviewees went to church. This fundamentalism has affected cultural life in a number of ways. The majority of the six service counties are 'dry' in the sense that they do not permit the sale of alcohol. Bootlegging provides for those who unable or unwilling to make the pilgrimage to neighbouring 'wet' counties. It might also be argued that the religious fundamentalism has contributed towards the rather traditional stereotypical images of women whereby women are portrayed as the property of men and the objects of male desire.

I will return to consider the 'rural' setting and the relationship between that setting, domestic violence and the police response to that violence.

SECTION 3. THE KENTUCKY LAW RELATING TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

In response to a variety of pressures, the Kentucky legislature of 1984 introduced a number of laws addressing the problem of domestic violence and abuse. These laws (see Kentucky Revised Statutes (KRS) 403.715 to 403.785) were designed to offer the victims of violence and abuse short term protection (403.715(1)). This was to be achieved by expanding the ability of law enforcement officers to effectively respond to domestic altercations (KRS 403.715(2)). At the same time, the legislation provided for the collection of data concerning intrafamilial violence and abuse so that comprehensive analyses may be produced regarding both the incidence and causes of such behavior (KRS 503.715(3)).

The 1984 legislation defines "domestic violence and abuse" as: "physical injury, serious physical injury, assault or the infliction of fear of imminent physical injury, serious physical injury, or assault between family members," (KRS 403.720(1)).

Family member refers to: "a spouse, parent, child, stepchild, or any other person related by consanguinity or affinity within the second degree," KRS (403.720(2)).

With the above purpose (KRS 403.715) and definitions (KRS 403.720) in mind, the legislation made provisions for filing petitions against batterers (KRS 403.730); for the court to review those petitions (KRS 403.735), for the writing of emergency protective orders (KRS 403.740), for hearing the arguments of the parties (KRS 403.745); for issuing court orders based on the findings of such hearings (KRS 403.750); to direct law enforcement officers to ensure that the provisions of the court order were complied with (KRS 403.755); to deal with violators of court orders through contempt of court laws (KRS 403.760); to define the relationship between the lower court's orders and those of the circuit court (KRS 403.765); to protect petitioners (KRS 403.770 and 403.775); and adverse parties (KRS 403.780); and, finally, to prescribe the duties of law enforcement agencies vis-a-vis domestic violence and abuse. (KRS 403.785).

The 1992 Legislature introduced a number of amendments to the 1984 laws. While a detailed discussion of this legislation lies well beyond the scope of this paper I will briefly summarize the main changes in the law. Under the new laws protection against domestic violence is now extended and afforded to unmarried couples. Victims of domestic violence are no longer required to have lived in Kentucky for 30 days before being able to file for a protective order. The new laws also put in place procedures for the collection of child support and permitted evidence of domestic violence to be considered as a factor in determining child custody and visitation rights in divorce cases. The violation of protective orders now becomes a Class A misdemeanor. A new offense called stalking was created by the 1992 laws. Stalking is defined as an intentional course of conduct directed at a specific person(s) which seriously alarms, annoys, intimidates or harasses; which serves no legitimate purpose; and which would cause a reasonable person to suffer substantial mental distress. While stalking in the second degree is a class A misdemeanor, stalking in the first degree is a Class D felony. The new laws impacted law

enforcement agencies in a number of ways. All police officers now have to undergo a state approved training program on domestic violence. Each police agency must now have written policies and procedures for complying with the Domestic Violence and Abuse Act. When making a warrantless arrest for domestic violence (i.e. for fourth degree assault) the victim of that assault is no longer required to sign a statement. In addition emergency protective orders (EPO's) are now available 24 hours a day. Finally the new laws elevated the offenses of forced sex with an object from the status of sexual abuse to rape.

SECTION 4. METHODOLOGY : IN DEPTH INTERVIEWING.

The following numbers of people were interviewed with a view to gaining wider insights into domestic violence in rural Eastern Kentucky: city police officers (8); Sheriffs (2); Sheriff's deputies (2); a district court judge; Kentucky State Troopers (3); battered women who were residing in a local spouse abuse shelter (25); shelter employees and advocates for battered women (5); attorneys (2) and social service workers (2).

All 50 interviews were of the semi-structured or focused type. While a certain number of core topics were covered, questions were open ended and asked in different forms at different stages of each interview. A card containing key words was used to check off topics as they were discussed. Key words were easier to visualize than whole questions and they allowed the interviewer to formulate the question in relation to the flow of the conversation. The key words approach ensures continuity and good eye contact. Potentially sensitive questions were only asked once a certain rapport has been established.

The interviews typically lasted from 1-2 hours and each one was different in terms of information obtained and rapport established. Responses to the open ended questions were often long, detailed and unique and were therefore not amenable to quantitative coding. Results were analysed and interviews edited around topics that emerged as common themes. Verbatim extracts from conversations are used to accentuate trends that appear in the transcribed conversations. A considerable amount of collation and editing went into the writing up of these oral histories. Selection of verbatim statements was based upon those materials and those conversations which seem to most accurately and succinctly convey the nature of a trend. With fifty different sources of input on, for example, "the effectiveness of restraining orders" it is clear that from a practical standpoint collation of material, editing and final selection of verbatim extracts is essential. This editing process clearly constitutes a subjective component of this type of research.

Any comparisons made between interviews could therefore be described as qualitative. Discrepancies, anomalies and inconsistencies were carefully considered against the weight of observations from other respondents. Wherever possible, other primary sources were used to clarify and augment the respondent's comments, but in some cases this was not possible. The inability to verify some of the oral history data with other primary sources, points to the importance of establishing rapport and ensuring, as far as is possible, openness, honesty and trust during the course of the interview.

As already noted, there is a practical need to filter out a large proportion of oral history data and use that selected material which reflects general themes and responses from the data as a whole. This inevitably excludes some information and at times results in subjective judgments being made about what constitutes a trend. The evaluative criteria used in this editing process did not necessarily follow any hard and fast rules. The collation, synthesis, editing, categorization and construction of information, tendencies and trends, represents a significant source of subjectivity.

The guarantee of confidentiality created some problems in terms of presenting information and integrating it into the rest of the study. Respondents were told that they would not be identified by name. For some this did not go far enough. At times some respondents requested or insisted that I turn the tape recorder off or that I give further guarantees about safeguarding their identity. In one case for example a police officer shared with me how he had

made an arrest without having the required warrant. In another situation a battered woman asked me to turn off the tape so that she could tell me a little more about the illegal actions of sheriff's deputies.

Using information obtained under more stringent guarantees, or information written by hand after the interview, proved very difficult. Sensitive information emanating from an easily identifiable source is not used in a direct manner. As far as possible this sensitive information is employed in more general statements or forms parts of more speculative suggestions. At times, such information could be used to provide new leads in research. In the final analysis, the need to protect the respondent's interests and safety was paramount.

Aside from the political bias of the respondents or their inability to recall events accurately, there may be other more serious problems connected with personal interviewing in general.

There is good evidence to suggest that respondent's replies can be strongly influenced by the nature of the social interaction between him/herself and the interviewer. Reactions to the interviewer can vary according to the interviewer's sex, age, race, class, etc. (Phillips, 1971). More specifically, the respondent might frame his/her reply in such a way as to avoid disapproval or to impress the interviewer. Therefore responses do not necessarily reflect the beliefs, attitudes, life experiences, etc. of the interviewee. Phillips (1971) has called this the "social desirability effect" or "evaluation apprehension." A more serious problem with this research was that I as a 'man' interviewed twenty five victims of domestic violence. Radical feminists have long questioned whether or not a man can ever interview a woman in this or any other setting because of the way in which the power relationship between the genders will both shape and contaminate the findings (see Roberts 1981).

There are limits to some types of distortion. If I realized certain key pieces had been omitted, for whatever reason, this generated fresh leads, and new avenues of inquiry. It also improved the interview schedule which necessarily changed as the number of interviews completed and transcribed increased. Respondents knew the extent of the study and were aware of the fact that I was conducting 50 interviews. Glamorizing or misrepresenting situations was in many cases not difficult to pick up on. Often situations were not difficult to cross check and respondents were aware of this.

SECTION 5. FINDINGS.

WOMAN BATTERING.

PHYSICAL ABUSE.

BARBARA.

N: I want to talk a bit more about the kinds of violence that he forced on you and how long it lasted. Can you give me some sense, first of all, of how many years this punishment went on for, this battering?

B: Well, we've been together seven years and I would say it went on for four.

N: Four years. So from what year to what year, can you give me a sense of that?

B: Well, maybe two, we've been divorced three years. So what year would that have made it? Let's see, '88?

N: Yea, around. Right about, yea.

B: And then I don't know. I guess it was about '83-'84 he started.

N: And the assaults that you said took the form of one stabbing?

B: Yea, in the head. What it was, he was, I was at his brother and his wife's; I was doin' laundry. And he came after me and I couldn't even tell that he was drinkin' or whatever. And we was gettin' ready to come home and he said he had to talk to people, one of them wouldn't get out of the car. Then one of them kept tellin' me you better get out of here cause you're gonna get hurt. And then I got out scared. He said, "Cause he's gonna kill you. Cause he's already bragged about it before he picked me up when he was gonna do it." So the other guy got out and we was on our way home, then he took a different way and went up on that big hill and started accusing me of everything that he had done with other women that he already told me about. And I got the blame for doin' it because he done it.

N: So he was basically jealous of you for some reason that he thought

B: He was doin' it but he was blame me for what it was. And took me up there and just started beatin' me, dragged me out of the car, and beat my face into the road. Then he put me back in the car and I told him I was bleeding then. It was my face that was bleedin'. And we left and we was goin' towards his brothers and before we got to his brother's he, 10 minutes down his brother's driveway he pulled over and that's when he got his knife out and stabbed me in the head. _____ and then he took me on down to his brother's and his brother said, "What happened to her?" And he said, "I don't know, I'm here ___ this." And his brother said, "There's no way you could have done that because there's not even blood comin' out of her head. It's that kind of white stuff and I can see her skull." And they took me to the hospital. By the time I got there, if the knife hadn't been turned the right way or if I wouldn't have turned the right way they said they could see the tip right in my skull. A different way it would have killed me right then. They said I was real lucky at the time. And, I don't know. He got on rampages where he just get so drunk and beat me. The last time he beat me with the brass knuckles, this went on I guess oh three or four times a week. And then he beat me with the brass knuckles, put a hole in my leg and one in my back. And another one in my head. And I was bleeding so bad I guess I had about 3 coffee cups full of blood on the floor. Then after then got down _____ my daughter go in and clean the blood up. Whenever he wanted to break somethin' he'd just grab it and break it or kick it.

N: Were these incidents always when he was drinking or were there times when he would do this when he wasn't drinking?

B: No.

N: It was always with drinking.

B: You couldn't ask for a better person when he's sober. It's just like he has a completely different personality when he's drinkin', you can almost see the devil in his eyes, they just turn red when he gets mad, and his whole expression turns completely different. It's strange to explain, but you can just see it comin' out of him, you know it's not him.

LINDA.

N: I now want to ask you questions about any violence or any abuse that has happened within your relationship. Remember that if there are questions you don't want to answer, that's fine. Just say go on to the next one or something. The questions that I ask are very detailed and you may feel uncomfortable and that's fine. So first of all I want to ask you about the first time you experienced physical abuse. Can you remember the first time and when that was?

L: Yeah. Let's see. It was right before we got married and I was livin' on my own and he was livin'. Well, he moved in with me. And we was arguin' about somethin'. And it was just, it was barely, not what you call slap, it was just kind of a hit across the arm. That's how it started.

N: But you remembered it as a physical?

L: To me it was somethin' physical and it was never directed at me before like that.

N: Did that set any warning signals going to you or not? Or did you just brush it off?

L: Not really. I brushed it off.

N: Okay. So that was roughly in '87, '86?

L: '87.

N: Okay. Can you describe how the physical abuse developed as your time with your husband grew?

L: Well, he got to be more possessive and more jealous. And he always tried to criticize me in front of other people. His family mostly. And it started gettin' more violent when he started hittin' me toward the face. And he started doin' childish things like he would get mad at hisself and he would just do silly things. Like for example he had a headache and the light was too bright for him. And so he just, he kept tellin' me to turn the light off and I wouldn't do it because I really didn't know him, I was goin' with him too at the time. And he threw somethin' at the light bulb and busted the light bulb out because he had a headache. That's silly.

N: Okay. So things like that.

L: And then it got to be more serious.

N: So if you were to say, let's go from the first incident up until the present. As a general rule did the abuse get worse over time?

L: Yes.

N: It did? If I could ask you how many times per month roughly did he abuse you at the start, early stages of your relationship, was it like one, two times a month? Or?

L: I'd say, well, after we got married that's when it really started. When we was goin' together it really wasn't nothin'. But when we was married I would say once a month.

N: Once a month. So he would like push you or slap you or something?

L: He would do something out of the ordinary. Yeah.

N: Describe out of the ordinary.

L: It could be verbal. It wouldn't have to be physical. It could be emotional.

N: Okay. So let me focus just on physical abuse, just talk about that for a second. The physical abuse at the start of the marriage, would you say that was like once every two months, once every three months, or?

L: I'd say once every two months. Because I wouldn't say really once a month.

N: Would that be like a slap or a kick or? Can you describe that? Or shove maybe?

L: Probably a shove or a slap.

N: Okay. Were there any times earlier on in the relationship when he drew say a knife on you?

L: No. He has drawn a weapon on me but not a knife.

N: In the earlier stages of the relationship did he ever draw a gun on you?

L: No. Not in the early stages.

N: Not in the early stages. Okay. How did the violence progress? Can you try to talk me through it? Give me some sense of how it got worse, if it did? For example, did he begin to do things more often?

L: Yeah. He started doin' it more often and he started feelin' that he could control me. And it got to the point where that he didn't want me scared of him but he had me scared of him. And he started gettin' more violent and his temper was easily more, he would get mad easier than most people.

N: What kinds of things would he do physically? Are we still talking about slapping and punching or?

L: Well, he would pull hair and he would kick. And slap. And sometimes he would, well, like when Jimmy was a baby he would cry in the night. And Ronald would take the bottle and sling it against the wall. Because he was cryin'.

N: So he was just angry about the baby cryin' or?

L: Yeah. He would get angry at certain things. And especially if he tried to outdo him or make him think that you was right instead of him. He was always wantin' to be in the right for everything.

N: Okay. You mentioned later on that the violence got worse and it got more often. Can you give me a number in terms of times per month again? I'm sorry to push you on this, but it's important.

L: That's okay. Well, it all depended on how our lifestyle was. If we was goin' through a bad time, if he was out of a job, that's when things would get worse. If we had to live with someone like his parents things would get worse. Now if it was me and him and things was goin' just fine, he had a job, things would maybe somethin' would happen like only once a month. But if he was out of a job and felt bad about hisself for not providin' for the family it would happen more than once.

N: So you definitely noticed that connection then between his being out of work, down on himself, him assaulting you.

L: Yeah, definitely.

N: You mentioned too that he used a weapon to threaten you. Can you tell me how many times or?

L: Well, he did it just once, that once was enough for me. We was livin' with his mother and he was out of a job. And things wasn't goin' too well between us. We was arguin' every day. That's when Jimmy was a baby. And he did it to intimidate me but he didn't let me know the difference

because he went and got a gun but it was a long one, what do you call it, a rifle. And he pointed it at me. And he tried to make me think that he loaded it but really he didn't. He wasn't intendin' to kill me, but he was intendin' to intimidate me by me thinkin' that.

JUNE.

J: Well, I used to live at Maxena. And then I met my first husband, Charles and we moved to Barton but that's still hooked in Maxena. We still got the Maxena address. And I was married to him for 17 years and had two daughters. He died of cirrhoses of the liver. And then I met up with this drunk but I didn't know he was a drunk. And I took off with him and left the two girls. Well, the Welfare took 'em away from me. I was married to him for seven months. He beat me every week end. I woke up with up huntin' knives laid against my throat. So I finally got up enough sense to divorce him. And then I was found layin' on the road many many times drunk. The law picked me up, take me to jail. I'd spend one night, get out and do the same thing over again. So then I met this one man named Henry and he said June, if you want to move in with me I'll take care of ya, you won't never have to worry about anything to eat and you don't have to pay me. So I moved in with him. I thought it sounded real good. I moved in with him.

N: Let me stop a second. When did you move in with him?

J: A year ago. He was always good to me. He treated me like somebody. Until last week end. And then I went, he was drunk. He got drunk. He laid down and went to sleep but I walked down the road a little piece and visited my neighbor friend of mine. She, me and her has been friends for a long time. And when I come back he was sittin' in the dark in his bedroom. He was sittin' on the bed. Had this 357 Magnum. He said, June, you get down on this floor right now. You crawl to me. And when I got to his feet he took that pistol and hit me right along side of the head. I thought I was gonna die. I still got the knot from it. And I took off a runnin'. He said if you even act like you're gonna run he said I'll blow your brains all over this wall. I couldn't help it. I took off anyhow. And I run all the way up the road just screamin' and hollerin' cause there was blood all over me, my shoes, my clothes. It was runnin' down the side of my face. And I got to this neighbor's house and they didn't believe nothin' I was tellin' 'em. _____ They just wasn't believin' me. But she did get a washrag and wash some of the blood off of me. So I finally talked her into takin' me down to that girlfriend of mine. And I called the state police. Well, it wasn't long until he come there and he asked me what was the matter and I showed him the place on my head, which was a whole lot worse than what it is now.

KAREN.

N: Okay. Let's talk about the violence you experienced for a while. And first of all I want to talk about the physical violence. And then I want to talk about the emotional stuff. And then I want to talk about any sexual violence. So first of all, can you remember the first time you suffered any physical violence at your husband's hands? This is _____ is there any one occasion that you can remember when that started?

K: After we were married?

N: No, before you were married even.

K: About the only really bad thing that he ever did before, you know, the first time that I can remember. I mean, he slapped me and stuff. When it really got bad was whenever, like I said, when I should be back from town. He beat me up then. That is the first time that he ever really

N: Was that when you were married?

K: No.

N: That was before you were married?

K: Yeah.

N: You said he slapped you a few times. What was that? Like once every 2-3 months or was that, when was that? Can you describe how often that happened prior to marriage and maybe during your marriage? Once a month or?

K: No. He did it several times a month but I mean, sometimes he'd slap me in the face or whatever he could. I don't know. Whatever he could hit, _____.

N: So maybe 3-4 times a month or something?

K: Yeah. Or more sometimes. Just according to what kind of mood he would be in.

N: Did he kick you?

K: Yeah.

N: Again, how many times? Can you give me some idea? I'm sorry to push you on this but.

K: Okay. Just recently it's been gettin' into kickin' a lot.

N: So recently means the last year or the last few months or?

K: Last few months really.

N: The last few months.

K: When I was pregnant he kicked me a lot. Well, not a lot, but you know, _____.

N: A few times?

K: Yeah.

N: Okay. When he kicked you where did he kick you?

K: Just in the legs.

N: Just in the legs?

K: Yeah.

N: So he never kicked you in the abdomen when you were pregnant, for example?

K: No.

N: Did he ever punch you with you with his fists?

K: Yeah.

N: He did. How many times again? Can you give me some sense of that? As frequently as when he slapped you?

K: No. He slapped me more than he did, punched with his fist. I don't know. It wasn't as much as slappin' and it was a little bit more than kickin' so it's kind of in between there.

N: In between. So maybe if we were to say once a month would that be too much? That he punched you once a month?

K: No, not really.

N: That would be okay?

K: Yeah.

N: When he punched you did he punch you in the face or did he punch you in the body?

K: No. He punched me in the face probably about four times. Twice he blacked my eyes. I had bruises on in through here. But most the time he punched me in the back of the head. If I'd do this then he'll get _____ but I guess he caught on there for a while cause I had to wear my hair down in my face where nobody could see or put tons and tons of _____, the only time I was allowed to wear makeup was when I had bruises on my face. But I don't know.

N: What about, just shoving you around and stuff like that?

K: He did that a lot.

N: How about I don't know. Did he ever use a knife on you? Did he ever draw a knife on you?

K: Yeah.

N: How many times?

K: Probably about, when we first got together it was a lot.

N: It was a lot?

K: Not a lot a lot, but it was like once every two weeks maybe.

N: That _____ throat maybe? For what reason?

K: For no reason at all, really. I mean, just over little things. If I didn't have dinner cooked or if I didn't just jump up and do what he said right then or just really ignorant things, you know. Come in' and _____ and stuff, sayin' he had people watchin' me and _____ I don't know. And then for a long time he quit and then here lately again he started back up with the knife again. So.

N: Did he ever actually knife you?

K: No. He never did. He poked me where I felt like he was going to but he never. No.

N: Has he ever pulled a gun on you? Did he keep a weapon in the house?

K: No. One night about two months ago he did. I mean, he said if you _____ I'll blow your head off. And had the gun right by the bed.

N: Okay. And that was two months ago. That was the first time he had done that?

K: It might have been more than two months, but it wasn't the first time that. That was the first time he really had me scared with

N: But he had pulled a gun on you before or made you aware that he could use the gun?

K: Yeah. He'd shoot somethin'. He's say that could be your head, you know.

N: So he'd shoot something in the house?

K: No. Not in the house. We'd be out walkin' around and bein' normal, you know. And he'd shoot a bottle or can and say that could be your head.

N: So this was when you were out like normal. He would say this could be your head.

K: Yeah.

N: Did you have the kids with you at the time or was it just you and him?

K: Not that time. But the time that he told me if I moved it he'd blow my head off. The kids was there.

N: The kids were there in the room or were there in the house?

K: In the room. Cause we all four lived in the same room.

N: Did he ever choke you? ____ bruises to the neck?

K: Sometimes there was bruises. A lot of times there was scratches where he'd squeeze hard and his fingernails would _____.

EMOTIONAL ABUSE.

JUNE.

N: Okay. Did he(Otis, second husband) ever threaten you with violence?

J: Many times. Offered to shoot me. Offered to stab me. Offered to cut my throat.

N: Did he ever threaten you with violence with a weapon in his hand?

J: Yeah, he had a big sharp huntin' knife one night. I was asleep. He woke me up and said now if you move this thing is gonna cut your throat. I didn't move. I just waited until he quit then I got up and took off to the neighbors.

ARIEL.

N: Okay. Did he ever engage in kind of behavior that put you down?

A: Yes.

N: What kinds of things did he say to you?

A: That I was poor and a bitch. And that I've done all kinds of wild stuff, some things I've never heard of. And you know. Like he told me I was goin' to a pimp house when I left him. Stuff like that. Just, you know. I'm no good.

N: Swear at you very often?

A: Yeah.

N: Curse you out?

A: Yeah.

N: Told you no good. Did he ever argue with you about money? Did he ever try and control money with you?

A: Yeah. Since we moved over there he keeps, well, before I was providin' all the money, the place to live, my work-study grant, stuff like that. So I took care of it mostly. We moved over there I was allowed to take care of like the food but he took the money and he counted it, I don't know every hour, every time I went in and out of the house. Anytime. I carried it sometimes. He'd put it in my purse but he would count it when it was in there. And we had a lot of arguments over money, especially when we lived over there. Because we didn't have a place to live. We were livin' in a tent. And he would take \$50 and go buy drugs and stuff. And that would upset me. We got a baby on the way.

N: What kind of drugs would he buy?

A: Marijuana.

N: Mostly marijuana. Any coke or?

A: No. Not that I know of.

N: Did he ever control your movements?

A: Yeah. I'm not allowed to go anywhere. I'm not allowed to cut my hair. I'm not allowed to wear makeup. I'm not allowed to . . .

N: So when you say not go anywhere you mean like go to the mailbox or go to the store or?

A: Out. Like one day this past weeks there's nothin' there to eat. There's no refrigerator. So I told him I'm hungry, you know. I want to go to town and get me somethin' to eat. I had \$20. He put \$20 in my purse. I'm gonna go to town and get somethin' to eat. He said okay. He said well, I'm goin'. I'll see you this evenin' about 5:00. And this is like 6:00 in the mornin'. Well, he got up and he went and turned my car ignition on. So it run my battery down. When I went out there at 11:00 to start it up to go get somethin' to eat my battery was dead. There are little things that he would do to make sure that he knew where I was at.

N: Yeah. Are you all right? Good.

A: But I wasn't allowed to go to my friends unless he went. Or to the store unless he went.

N: When did this start to take place? Has he always been like this or has this developed over the last few months or since you've been pregnant or what's the deal?

A: I think part of it was in the beginnin' cause he's always been a little bit jealous. And I didn't go a whole lot of places cause we were just married, we liked to stay together and do things. But it got really bad since I've been pregnant since I've been over there.

N: Did he ever threaten you with violence?

A: Yeah.

N: What kind of violence did he threaten you with?

A: That he's gonna kill me. He's gonna take my baby as son as it's born. He's comin' and gettin' it. That he's gonna beat me up. Mostly that he's gonna kill me. He says he's gonna kill me and himself and you know.

N: Has he described how he would do that?

A: Yeah. He'd lay up in the woods and watch me go down the road and shoot me, snipe me.

N: Okay. Does he have the ability to do that?

A: Yeah.

N: So he knows how to use a weapon and fire it?

A: Yes. Yeah, definitely. He's not afraid of begin' out in the woods at dark or any time.

N: Okay. Has he ever held a gun to you or held a knife to you?

A: No. Only thing that he does is he likes to scare me. Like we were fightin' last Friday, not this past but about two weeks ago on Friday. And I went out after we made up, I'll do anything you want. Let's calm down, be nice. Okay. Take me to go get beer. So I took him to go get him some beer and while we were there he said let me borrow your gun. And he took the gun and shot the dog and was laughin' you know. And just tryin' to scare me.

N: He shot the dog?

A: Yeah.

N: Killed the dog?

A: Yeah.

N: He took your gun?

A: No. It's somebody--where we went to go get beer.

N: Okay. So was it your dog that he shot?

A: No. It was . . .

N: Somebody else's?

A: It was just runnin' around.

N: Okay.

A: It was just a show off thing. I couldn't do it.

SEXUAL ABUSE.

JUNE.

N: Okay. Did he ever control your movements? Did he stop you from going places?

J: No.

N: Never did.

J: Always tried to run me off.

N: Tried to run you off? He invited you to live with him but he tried to run you off?

J: Well, we even got married. Still yet he wanted me to leave. I didn't have nowhere to go.

N: For what reason did he want you to go? He just didn't care?

J: So he could bring some other women in.

N: Okay. So did he have other relationships?

J: Oh, yeah. Young ones.

N: Okay. Now did you know about those relationships at the time?

J: No. Not at the time I didn't.

N: So how did you know that he had those relationships? Did you hear about it from him?

J: No, I heard about it from other people.

N: Other people? Okay. So friends had seen him with other women? Okay. So that must have been humiliating for you?

J: Oh, god. It still shames me. But it's not hardly as bad as this last one I got with.

N: Did Otis ever suggest you engage in sex with other men?

J: Yes.

N: He did?

J: He sure did.

N: Did he suggest that you do that for money or did he suggest that you do that for some other reason or what?

J: No. If I'd stayed with him long enough he was gonna sell my body. And then he was gonna buy the beer and bootleg it out.

N: Okay. Did he ever bootleg beer out?

J: Never did have the money to buy it.

N: So you were poor when you were living with him?

J: Umhum. The poorest I've ever been. I starved many a day. Sure have. He'd buy groceries, his sister took care our SSI checks. And the week ends she'd go get our groceries and bring them over to us. We never had no car to drive. He'd take all the good stuff and put it back on his dresser drawers and he'd come out and he'd say I just dare you to go back there in that bedroom and get into my groceries. He wouldn't let me cook none of the meat or nothin'.

N: So when he suggested that you have sex with others, I don't understand what. Was that when he was there to watch, his excitement or something? What was the deal with that?

J: No. One time he made me leave with this one guy, he said take her out and fuck her. He said I can't do nothin' for her. And that guy did. He took him up on it.

N: So he felt like you were his property or something?

J: A piece of meat, I reckon.

N: Were there any other forced forms of sexual activity? Did he ever force you to have oral sex or anal sex?

J: You mean blow jobs?

N: Yes.

J: Well, yeah, he did force me to do him blow jobs.

N: He did force you?

J: He did like to do them things. I never _____.

N: Okay. Now how did he force you? At knifepoint or did he just ____ violence or?

J: No, he's threatened me with violence.

N: Okay. How often did he force you to do that?

J: About once every 2-3 days.

N: About once every 2-3 days. Okay. Was that often associated with drinking a lot or not?

J: Yeah. When he got drunk is when he'd want me to do it. And you couldn't say no to a dumb drunk.

ARIEL

N: I now want to back up a little bit and ask you about any sexual abuse.

A: No.

N: Okay. When you say no, I want to just ask you about it in some detail cause this is kind of important. Were there any times during your relationship when you had sex with him when you didn't want to?

A: Yeah.

N: Okay. Can you give me some idea of the reason?

A: Well, after he choked me that night it was about 2-3 hours, well it was like 6, 7, 8 in the mornin'. And he wanted to fool around at bein' nice then. Right before we'd fight and then he'd start playin' nice whenever he wanted to have sex. And I mean it. Sometimes I wouldn't feel like it. Especially not that night.

N: Sure. But. You had sex with him on that occasion. For what reason did you have sex with him on that occasion?

A: I don't know. Cause I'm stupid. Because

N: No. I'm not sayin' . . .

A: I know. I'm just. I know. I don't know. I love him and I didn't want to fight anymore. And I was afraid that he'd go on. Cause I'd been up all night. Maybe 24-36 hours. And I just, I was tired, wore out.

N: So you just felt as though this was something you needed to do. Just get the job over with?

A: Yes.

N: Okay. That under my definition constitutes rape. There are lots of different degrees of how much you consent to something, but the way I see that with this study that's rape. Were there any other incidents _____?

A: Maybe a few times. But . . .

N: But there was no forcible incident of rape where he say held a gun to your head?

A: No.

N: Okay. Were there any occasions when he suggested that you have sex with others?

A: No. He would never do that.

N: Again, I ask that because I've heard that before.

A: I understand.

N: Okay. Were there any times when he forced you to have other forms of sex like an oral or anal sex when you didn't want to?

A: No.

N: No. None at all.

A: No.

N: Are there any other times when you were the victim of unwanted touching or times when he would make advances to you when you didn't want that?

A: Not that I can think of. Just like that.

N: So, I want to push you here for a percentage. Give me some sense of how many times, the percentage, that you had sex with him when you weren't into it yourself or you didn't want to?

A: Every time he wanted to I went ahead so we don't fight.

N: Every time?

A: Yeah.

N: So were there any times when you had sex when you wanted to?

A: Yeah. Okay. Well, not every time that we had sex but every time that we would fight and stuff. He would want to and I would just go ahead so he wouldn't start on me again. Just shut up, leave me alone. Maybe he'd go to sleep.

TERESA.

N: Were there any times in your second marriage when your husband forced you to have sex with him against your will?

T: Yes. And he also _____.

N: If you don't want to answer that it's okay. Tell me to move on.

T: No. It's okay. It's just embarrassing. He not only, he made me have sex with others. That's why my girls don't belong to him.

N: Okay. How many times first of all did your husband force you to have sex with him?

T: Every time he wanted me to be with somebody else.

N: So he would have like a party or something, I don't know. Would he drink with this or what was the situation? Can you describe it?

T: There would be drinking. A lot of times they would both pass out and I would be very relieved.

N: So two of them would do this. So it was a friend of his?

T: Yeah, mostly it was his sister's stepson. That's who my girls belong to.

N: His sister's stepson. So how, I guess how do you know, well, let's not go into that. It's not even relevant. It's not important. How often would that happen to you? Can you give me any sense of frequency? Once a month, once a week, six months?

T: Well, sometimes it would be once a week or sometimes it wouldn't be that long.

N: Did this carry on throughout the marriage or was this at a certain time?

T: A lot of the things happened throughout. There was a lot of times that it happened but they weren't really different people. There were times when he tried to get me to sleep with people and it didn't work out the way he wanted it to. So I didn't have to then.

N: What else do I want to ask you. Were there ever times when he forced you to have either sex with objects, did he ever use objects on you?

T: Yes.

N: Okay.

T: They have these stores and they, and he'd go there quite a lot.

N: Okay. I don't know what stores you're talkin' about but okay.

T: Women stores.

N: Okay. Want to take a break? Would that take place very often?

T: Not really.

N: Were there any times he'd force you to have other forms of sex that you were uncomfortable with? Oral sex? Anal sex?

T: No.

SUSAN.

N: No. Okay. In that first relationship, and I want to ask you about any sexual abuse. Did he ever force you to have sex against your will?

S: No.

N: Never. Okay. Were there times when you had sex with him when you really didn't want to but you felt it was your duty to?

S: Yes.

N: Okay. Definitely. Were there ever times when you had sex with him to stop him from being violent or emotionally abusive to you?

S: Calm him down like? Yes.

N: Were there ever times when you had sex with him to stop him from say getting drunk or using drugs?

S: Yes. Keep him from goin' out and gettin' drunk.

DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY OR PETS (SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE).

BARBARA.

N: He broke your car?

B: He broke it. We was in, me and my daughter... He was stayin' with one of his friends. And I just came home from the doctor's that day and the doctor gave me some sleeping pills and something told me don't take nothin' tonight. So I just laid on the couch. My daughter laid on the floor. And I dozed off. And this is about 10:30. And she watched, she was layin' on the floor watching TV. And the TV, we have a timer on it, well, as soon as it kicked off my daughter, she just dozed off right before the TV kicked off. And she heard this big boom and she opened up her eyes and the whole picture window was nothin' but, it looked like the trailer was on fire at the time. Because my car was from that window ___ where we're sittin'. That's how close it was.

N: Six feet or something.

B: Yea, that's how close we was to the trailer ___ park. She said, "Mom, the trailer's on fire." So I jumped up and looked and he was standin' there. And I opened up the door and I screamed his name. I said, "Tony." He took off runnin' down the hill and we ran outside. I didn't have a phone because I had just had it transferred to another house I was movin' to that day. And we ran outside and was screamin' and screamin' and screamin'. And finally got the neighbors. If it wasn't for my tires meltin' off the car and the car rollin' down the hill and hittin' a post, it would have caught the trailer on fire. But he poured gas on the whole driver's side down to the end of the driveway. It totaled the car.

N: Do you think he did that because the car was like simply your freedom or something?

B: He didn't want me to go anywhere.

N: He didn't want you to go anywhere so

B: He wasn't thinkin' of the kids at the time, about how they was going to get to hospital, doctor. He just knew that he did not want me to have a car. That way I could not go nowhere, I would have to stay home. I would have no choice. And he knew I would have no choice ____. And he knew I would still have to pay for the car. But that was the only way. Cause he slit my tires before and things like that. But he really did it this time, he knew before I got my tires all back on that he figured this was the only way, this girl is not goin' nowhere, she aint got the money. We aint on welfare. _____.

POLICING.

THE VIEWS OF BATTERED WOMEN.

TERESA.

N: I got you. Sorry, I'm bein' very slow. Let me go back to the time when you were in Dog County. You lived in a rural area, you were cut off from people. Was there anything about living in there in that area that made your problems worse? Did he, for example, know the sheriff or?

T: In Dog County he knowed everybody. And everybody knowed him. But a lot of times he made enemies. But yet around there they would stick up for them because they're from there.

N: Dog County, recently, as I'm sure you know, the sheriff has been charged with I think _____ dealing or something. I think recently, within the last year the sheriff has _____.

T: A lot of 'em have been, that I know of for sure, if they raise some _____ or somethin' then they won't write it all down.

N: And you know that because . . . ?

T: I've seen it.

N: When you say you've seen it what do you mean?

T: I've seen it. Like I knew one bootlegger and they'd say like we've got 27 cases. They got 27 cases from us. But when they go downtown it was wrote down, they only put down 18.

N: The sheriff would take the rest?

T: Yeah.

N: Where was that?

T: In Kula.

N: So that was the sheriff's department there or the city police or?

T: City.

N: So you knew the bootleggers.

T: I did one of them.

SUSAN

N: Let's go in and talk about policing. And let's take it one relationship at a time first of all. And I know it's hard for you to remember but just do the best you can. With the first relationship you were in, did you ever have any cause to call the police, be involved with the police?

S: Yes. I called 'em once. I was pregnant with my second child and that was the first time I ever called the police on him. But he had thrown a set of keys at me because he told me to leave our apartment. And I couldn't because I had children. And I was about eight months pregnant. He threw a set of keys and hit me in the eye. Cut my eye. So I went next door and called the police. And I told 'em then and there that I wanted him arrested because you know he had hurt me. And they talked me out of the arrest. They told me, well, you don't want to do that. That's your husband.

N: Okay. Which police department was this?

S: It was Elephant County.

N: Elephant County. The Sheriff's Department?

S: No, it was just the city police.

N: The city police in which town?

S: Vienna.

N: In Vienna. Okay. That's very helpful. Can you give me a rough date on that?

S: It was in '85, the year she was born. It was around--born in August--July. I'd say June or July.

N: The reason I'm pushing you on the date is because in '84 the state passed its big reform law with domestic violence. So it's kind of ironic that the year after that was passed these people are tryin' to persuade you not to

S: Sure did. It was around June or July cause I had her in August.

N: So they said you don't want to push for an arrest for him or push for criminal charges because he's your husband.

S: Right. And I kept cryin' and tellin' 'em I did want to and they just, they never did. And I asked 'em, well, could they remove him from the house? Cause you know, it was an apartment, low income housing. And I had children. And they said why don't you just take the kids and you go to your mother's? So they gave me the car keys and asked me to leave. He stayed there and they asked me to leave. I had to go to my mother's.

N: Do you have any idea, how many ideas were involved in that? One?

S: There were two.

N: You don't know their names do you?

S: No. Wish I did.

N: Okay. Was it an evening shift or day shift?

S: An evening shift.

N: Any idea of the time of the evening?

S: It was about 7:00.

N: Seven o'clock?

S: Seven o'clock cause it wasn't dark yet. It was gettin' closer to late evening but it wasn't dark.

N: And what was the location in Vienna?

S: That we lived at?

N: Yes.

S: It was on Peanut Drive, the apartment number was 99, I think.

N: How did you feel about their response?

S: Oh, I was angry. Because it was unfair. I was hurt and I was pregnant at the time. And I felt that he should have been arrested. Felt like they were takin' sides.

N: Yeah. Did they know your husband at all?

S: Not that I know of they didn't.

N: Okay. How did they treat you? Were they rude to you? Did they not listen to you? Or what did you . . .

S: They listened cause I was cryin' and asked them for the warrant for the arrest. Because they seen the blood and all. And he was still cussin' me at the time.

N: He was still cussing you? Did he, did they witness an assault? Or did they come

S: They didn't witness when he threw the keys but they come right after and they witnessed him still angry and violent toward me.

N: And they witnessed the blood and still didn't make an arrest?

S: Right.

N: That's enough. Did that put you off calling the police in the future? Or did you think you just needed to get a better police department?

S: Well, it did but I had to end up callin' 'em again later. It was later on that it really _____ off with 'em. But this time it made me angry. I thought it was just the two police officers.

N: So one bad apple kind of thing.

S: Right.

JUNE.

N: You're right. With your first husband, did you have any dealings with the police?

J: Never did.

N: They were never called out to your place because he was drunk and disorderly or anything?

J: No.

N: Otis?.

J: Many times I've called 'em on him. They took him to jail.

N: They took him to jail. Tell me about the times. Who did you call, first?

J: Snoopy.

N: Snoopy in Lion County. He was the sheriff? How did he respond to you? Did he come quickly?

J: They come when they wanted to.

N: This is important information so I need to know that. First of all, how many times did you call them?

J: Three.

N: Three times in the space of seven months. You called them three times, the sheriff's department. How would you rate their performance overall? Would you say they were good or average or poor?

J: Well, when they got there they made him get in the car and go to jail.

N: Each time they came they took him to jail?

J: Yes, sir, he was always drunk.

N: How long did it take them to get there?

J: About a half hour.

N: Okay. How did they treat you when they arrived? Were they respectful? Were they, what did they do? Can you remember?

J: Yeah, well, they treated me all right. They always did treat me okay. Yeah, they treated me with respect. They'd say June, what's he doin'. They knowed Otis all their life. They knowed he was a drunk.

N: So basically threw him in jail. He cooled off and sobered up.

J: Yeah.

N: Did you ever bring charges against him?

J: I never had no way to get over to do nothin'.

N: You say get over there to do nothin' you mean drive a car or?

J: Yeah. I never had no vehicle.

N: You never had a vehicle to do anything. Did they ever offer to give you a ride to press charges?

J: No.

N: Why are you laughing?

J: Cause they knowed him and his sister and his whole family all their life. They don't want to do it.

N: So they wouldn't do that?

J: No.

N: You knew they wouldn't do that?

J: I knowed they wouldn't. But I know they'd put him in jail and he'd be gone for a day or so. That would give me some good peace of mind.

N: Did you ever, would you have pressed charges against him if you could have done it?

J: Yeah.

N: You would have done it?

J: Aha.

N: You would have pressed charges for assault and see him go to jail for three months or something?

J: Yeah. That would have been good for him.

N: That would have been good for him. So you would have done that.

J: Yeah, I would have.

N: If you had a chance.

J: If I had.

N: Did you ever ask the sheriff's department to give you a ride in so that you could press charges?

J: No. They wouldn't do that. I know better.

N: So what would they have said if you had done that?

J: They'd have said nay, Otis is alright. We'll just keep him in jail until he sobers up. He'll be all right. That's what they would have said and I knowed it. So what's the need to ask them to do anything for me. I come from Skunk County. They didn't even like Skunk County.

N: Is that right?

J: That's right. Skunk people don't go over there very much either.

N: Really?

J: I don't know how I got over there and started living. Boy, I've had my nerve in my lifetime.

N: So what did you think of the sheriff's department in Lion County? Wasn't the sheriff's department recently, wasn't the sheriff arrested recently?

J: No, the sheriff recently got shot.

N: Oh, that's the one. That's how I remember it.

J: Snoopy did.

N: He was the one who was shot. Was he killed?

J: Umhum.

N: What was he shot for?

J: He went and served a warrant on this guy and that guy just went all to pieces.

N: That's right. I do remember that in the paper. So Snoopy a good sheriff do you think?

J: Who, Snoopy? Yeah, he was good.

N: He was an honest man?

J: As far as I know he was.

N: The first you knew of him?

J: I said as far as I know.

N: What about his deputies? Did you know them at all?

J: Yeah, I knowed some of 'em.

N: What did you think?

J: They always acted like smartalecs. Laughed at me all the time.

N: Laughed at you all the time. For what reason?

J: Cause they wanted to.

N: Give me more. Tell me what you mean. Why did they laugh at you? Was it just cause they wanted to? What were they laughing at?

J: Well, I don't know. Just cause I talk funny sometimes. I mean, I say funny things. I don't know.

N: Did that hurt your feelings?

J: Very much. Very much.

N: Did you have any involvement with the state police while you were with Otis?

J: Yeah. One of 'em over here use to work in Skunk and I knowed him all my life. He knows me.

N: What's his name?

J: I can't think of it.

N: That's okay if you can't think of it.

J: But he's come over there at Lion County and got me, took me to over here.

N: So when the state police were called to your house when you were with Otis as well? You said the sheriff's department came three times. Did they come with the state police as well?

J: No.

N: The state police on other occasions?

J: Yeah.

N: How many times did the state police come?

J: Two different ones come.

N: Two different times they came. Did they come quicker than the sheriff's department?

J: Oh, yeah, it didn't take them no time. Sure didn't.

N: When you called them where did you telephone them from?

J: From Lion County.

N: Did you have a telephone at your house?

J: No. My closest neighbor had one.

N: So you went over to your neighbor's house and called? Did you do that on all the times that you called the sheriff's department as well?

J: Yeah, I just walked to her house and she'd let me use the telephone.

N: So your neighbor knew than there was trouble?

J: Oh, she use to live with him too.

N: It's amazing. So the neighbor lived with him too?

J: Not with me there.

N: Okay. She took her turn. And it was the other woman that was

J: Oh, yeah, she knowed him way before I did. When we got married she told me that they was first cousins. No kin at all.

N: So she wasn't the first cousin that came in to see if you needed anything from time to time?

J: Now you're gettin' Henry and Otis.

N: I'm sorry. You're right, I am. Gosh, this is complex.

J: Complicated.

N: So with Henry then you had the state police to your house twice.

J: No. Not with Henry. With Otis.

N: Okay.

J: If I didn't have so many husbands it wouldn't mix you up would it?

N: I'm doin' my best. Bear with me, please. With Otis we've got three visits from the Lion County sheriff's department.

J: And two from the state police.

N: Two from the state police. State police came quicker. What was their attitude like towards you? Sympathetic or helpful or?

J: State police?

N: Yeah.

J: They would say June, what's he doin'? And June, didn't I tell you to stay away from here?

N: So what did you say to that?

J: I said yeah, I know you did. It's worse than a comedy movie, I swear.

N: So you, when the state police came did they take him away?

J: One time they did. Took him all the way and put him in Blofield jail.

N: I can't think of anything much worse than going to the Blofield jail. Umm. So they took him to the Blofield jail. And he spent 12 hours there? Sobered up.

J: Eight hours.

N: Usual story, sobered up, came back again. Did they drive him back?

J: He called his brother to come over and get him.

N: When he came back how was he? Was he friendly?

J: I wouldn't know. I wasn't there.

N: So you left for a while?

J: Yeah. Stayed gone for a while too.

N: Then you eventually went back. Tell me why you went back to him.

J: I thought I belonged to him. I thought I was suppose to.

N: You thought you were his wife and you had a duty?

J: Yeah.

ARIEL

N: Let's talk about the police for a second. This is a very broad section so I want to probe along on this. First of all, did you ever call the police for any abuse that he ___ on you?

A: No.

N: You never called them.

A: No.

N: You never saw a restraining order?

A: No. I did today.

N: You did today. That was the first time.

A: Yes.

N: Okay. What are your feelings about the police in general in Mule County?

A: In Mule County?

N: Yes.

A: State police are the only thing and they don't get, they don't get told anything or know anything. So unless somethin' really bad happens, I mean, the sheriff doesn't do anything.

N: Sid Stain

A: No. I mean, I like him, but not sayin' nothin' bad about him. But he don't do anything like one of his deputies I went to nigh school with.

N: So you like him because he doesn't do anything?

A: Right. Right.

N: Or you're sayin' we like him because

A: I like him but he doesn't do anything. He's a nice fellow as far as talkin' to him and stuff, but as far as bein' the sheriff, I really don't care he does anything.

N: Okay. What do you think he could do that he doesn't do? Give me some idea.

A: Be more responsible. I mean, pick people up before things happen. Well, see. We had a big to-do with my husband _____. I'm really upset over that so I guess _____.

N: Tell me about it.

A: Well, me and my husband were fightin'. This was the summer when we were goin' together. And he was drinkin' and he had me take him to town and he was gonna get a six-pack. So I took him down there and he went in the pool hall. And they have, they play poker in there. They're not suppose to. It's illegal. He drags from the pot and the sheriff knows it. And I mean they were havin' trouble with my husband and my husband went and told him that they wouldn't let him in there, stuff like that. And they're havin' trouble. Charles told him just to go home and not to worry about it. And my husband was drinkin'. And I mean if he'd arrested him right then we wouldn't had all the problems we did. But he didn't. So he stayed there and I left. And he drank all day. And he beat two people up. And he kicked all the windows out downtown. In that buildin'. And then that guy almost had a heart attack and it was just a mess.

N: This is in?

A: Mule County.

N: Mule County. Bleakvilleor?

A: Yeah. Bleakville. And when they finally got him other people had to get him and get him in the car. And then they use an electric shocker on him. The whole way over here. And I mean I just. . .

N: the Sheriff's Department used an electric shocker on him?

A: Yeah. All the way over here, yeah. They stopped at the Y and people at the Y were watchin' him. And they were like freakin' out cause they didn't know what to do with him. I don't know. I just don't think they're any _____.

N: Okay. What else do I want to ask you?

A: I think they need like a city police department or somethin' over there.

N: I've heard that before too.

A: Since they've gotten more state police over there things have calmed down a lot.

N: Do you know the state police officers there?

A: Some of 'em.

N: Do you want to name names or not?

A: Hoople. I know him.

N: Hoople?

A: Humhum. No. Jones mostly. And then there a detective, Paterson.

N: What do they do? The state police do in Mule County? What do you think they do?

A: A lot better than the sheriff's office do. They respond to calls, on time. They get there. They help people. They arrest people. They take people into jail. Those are things the sheriff's department didn't do very often.

N: Yeah. The sheriff is elected. Do you think that has anything to do with the fact that they're a little slack?

A: Yeah. Plus the pay. I mean, you know. It doesn't give you much.

N: Hardly an encouragement to go out and work all night and all day. Right? Yeah. Any suspicion that you mentioned that the police department knew about illegal gambling and drinking.

A: They know about everything over there.

N: Do you have any sense that there's any other form of, I don't know, connection with illegal activity with the sheriff's department?

A: ... Yeah.

N: Now what do you base that on?

A: Because I've been there. You know, when they're there. I've been in a poker room before where you know when everybody's there. The judge and the attorneys, the county attorneys, etc.

N: What do you know about the Mule County sheriff's department's response to domestics in general? Do you have any knowledge about that?

A: No. Because I've never called 'em.

N: You have no friends who heard about that?

A: No. Well, Mel and Becky I guess. The sheriff come and picked Mel up but Mel's no big deal. I don't think. I mean, there's some people over there, they don't come and pick up unless they absolutely have to. And

N: You mean people who are well connected or?

A: Or real violent.

N: Oh, real violent.

A: Yeah. Like my husband made up, they let him go and so they didn't absolutely, they have to take him. Like he was up town kickin' out windows and beatin' people up right ins the middle of daylight. And he wouldn't have stopped unless they had of. Most of the time they just let him go and do what he wants cause he didn't have a driver's license and he drives all over there and I know they know he doesn't have one.

N: So do you think they're just afraid of him doin' somethin' to them or?

A: Yeah, he's got four warrants on him right now. And I mean they have never gone and picked him up.

N: So your husband, he's done time. Very much time? Give me some sense of ...

A: I don't know. He's done four months I think's the most he's ever done. That's pretty long time for me, 4-6 months. Somethin' like that. Mostly county jail. Here in Mule County.

BARBARA.

N: Can you tell me something about the response of the police towards the way you've been treated by your husband?

B: Well, Grapevine County Police Grapevine police, they are, I don't like the way they do things over there because in a way they act like they're scared of him. You call them and yea, we'll be there in a few minutes. It takes them a while to get there. They think you're always playin' or jokin'. And when they did pick him up they call him a dozen times and I don't have no choice but to pick you up for DUll because she called. She's hounded us to death to get you. So I mean if I call the _____ to see how long he had to be in jail and tell him about warranty they turn right

around and talk to him. I mean, the police over there at Grapevine none of them ____ for nothin'. And you know, be trained, they're just all off the streets.

N: We're just talkin' about the Grapevine Police Department and Department of Police Officers local and weren't trained very well in your opinion. And they didn't take your complaint seriously.

B: Well, I'll tell you. The arson, the car. When they came they didn't even talk to me cause of the _____. The fire chief did. I mean, they didn't ask if I seen anything, what I heard, or anything. Didn't do nothin. And I always thought they was suppose to help me. I always thought the police was suppose to _____ do, you know, _____ ask you questions and stuff. But nobody asked my nothing the night of the arson. I don't call that very good.

N: That's nonpolicing isn't it? They're not doing anything about it.

B: No. Not doin' anything.

MAVIS.

N: Good. So did you ever call the police?

M: No.

N: Never did. Never had any dealings with them at all?

M: No. One night when he beat me in _____, this was when we lived up _____ mom I ran over to her house and told her. _____ come over and talk to him.

N: She went over and talked to him?

M: Yea.

N: And what happened after that?

M: We went on to sleep.

N: As though nothing had happened?

M: umm.

N: Did you feel comfortable that you could have called the police? Did you think this was something that you could do? Was that an option for you?

M: I didn't really know. I thought if I called the police he would just get out and he would just _____ on me again.

N: How did he behave say the next day after he had assaulted you like that? What was the _____?

M: _____ those kind of movies. _____

N: So he comes out of it. Does he say sorry the next day or something?

M: Yea, he always apologizes.

N: He does? How does he say that?

M: He says I'm sorry, honey. I didn't mean to do that. I won't do that anymore.
VIEWS OF POLICE OFFICERS THEMSELVES.

OFFICER RONNIE (municipal police).

R: A lot of variations. In one sense I feel that at times we are sticking our nose where it doesn't belong. There's an argument between husband and wife. Anyone can have it. I can have it with my wife; I can have it with my children, shouting back and forth. And they're kids. I don't feel that a JC3 needs to be filed for an argument. There's no room for it there, there's no room for the police. My feelings, at that point, you know I'm a police officer. If there's a, if it comes to the point where there's punches being blowed or guns being pulled, yea, we need to be there. And we need to catch both sides of the story. Not just one. It seems like the female is always the one believed. And a lot of times that's wrong. Female pulled a gun on the male, the male goes to jail. Wait a minute. That's not justice.

N: Without mentioning names, obviously, can you give me a couple examples of what you've experienced or that kind of frustration.

R: Last night was a prime example. It was a, we had served an EPO on a person (Emergency Protective Order). And, we served at his house. She was already in a spouse abuse shelter...protected away from him. We advised him he had to leave his house. He got very upset, saying "it's my house." It's a natural feeling. Knowing the circumstances and knowing the person, the guy didn't have anywhere to go. Just out on the street. I don't feel good about that, putting him out on the street. But that's my job. So he left. About half an hour later we get a call at spouse abuse shelter. She wants to go home since he's gone. We cleared it through the chief, we could take her. Normally it's procedure to bring them down here but in this instance we could go ahead and take her home cause she had a two-month-old baby, it was cold. That happened Tuesday. Yesterday about 15:54 (3:54) we get four 911 calls, one right after the other, just bang, bang. There's a woman screaming down on so and so streets hollering for help. We get down there. Well, it's the two parties. I just served the EPO and took her back to the house. She had been assaulted, it was very obvious she had been assaulted. Her nose was red, black was starting to swell around the eye and she said "he hit me". Well, I turned around he blurted out, "Yes, I hit her." "You're under arrest." I put him in the car, I go back and talk to her. Well, in the process I find out that she has come to his place where he works, asked him to come outside and walk down the street with him, try to discuss things.

N: The EPO was still active?

R: Yea. See, here's the problem. The EPO was on him to keep him away from her. She has come forth now, went to his place of business, asked him to come out. Naturally he wants to try to work things out. He goes down, she grabs him around the collar around the back, tears his coat, he pops her right on the nose. Well, in this situation it looks to me like she needs to go too. So, but I look at the greater of two evils. We definitely have an assault where they both said he hit her. She's instigated it. She's activated the situation. I've got a two-month-old baby that I don't want to take from both parents. I have to either put him in jail, she walks away. I did come back and file a JC3 on her. Under both of them I did put that the child needs to be taken away in temporary custody to another family member until they can clean the problem up. So the child's not hurt. My concern is the child, which right now he's due.

N: How long will he stay in jail roughly?

R: Well, he's got a bond coming up, he has to pay 10% of \$500, which is \$50 bucks. But then he had a prior charge on him where he's on probation for five years for forgery. So that pretty much, if he's found guilty, he's gone for five years.

OFFICER JONES.(municipal police)

J: If you go back very far, I realize it was '84 we had a law that changed it, it's unlawful to commit _____ if you're aware of _____. Even up to that point and several years after that it's been the philosophy of the Departments, especially this one, and of the training school that domestic violence was something that should have been handled in the household or handled in the church. And we were viewed as, or our job was viewed as a mediator. Go in and settle now and get the fighting overwith, suggest that they seek clergy or other members of the family to help with the problems, and if that didn't work suggest they go to the County Attorney's office and seek a warrant or something. And we've done that really up until about the time that I took over as Chief a couple of years ago. And the first thing I done, I looked at the law and I interpreted it a little different than the former chief. Also I look and saw several major litigations that were going on, I previewed The Tracy Thurmon story, the _____ and some of those films. And we have changed everything since then but I advocate a pro-arrest policy, and what I mean by that is that an alter-response to a scene of suspected domestic violence that doesn't have to exist but is suspected that upon arrival you _____ certain facts and if any of those facts indicate that domestic violence has occurred or could occur if he leaves the situation as such that they go ahead and make an immediate arrest. That the individual be taken away and incarcerated for a minimum of 12 hours, required by law. And then would come back after he has been arrested, they would come back and end up talking with the victim, 99% of the time it's female. And if she wants to fill out the complaint we tell her what she needs to do to pursue it in court. And we advocate it as strong as that whether she wants to claim she's a victim or not if we got reason to believe, the neighbors called and said, "Hey, John Doe is beatin' up on his wife" and we show up and there's indication of evidence, the house is in disarray, there's a mark or something on her, we will make that arrest anyhow, whether she's hollerin' and screamin' "no, he didn't do anything, I don't want to take him out" understanding that the victims of violence, they don't know what they want. So our job is to take the upper hand.

N: So even if she said no, don't remove him, and no, he didn't hit me, if you perceive there's violence you make an arrest and remove him. Is that correct?

J: That's correct. And we've got several cases, I'll give you an example of a case just how tough. We are in a field, we've got to be touch. We had a case of domestic violence last year. A man threatened his wife, smacked her around a little bit, he left the residence. A short time later he came to the police department and in the meantime the young lady had filed a complaint which said he'd come back and do harm to her. So this young man showed up at the police department and wanted the police department to go with him to the residence to pick up his car. We simply filled out the Basic 3 form and lodged him in jail. And he got pulled over later, his car and all. So if it's suspected and we think it is going to happen, any probable cause developed at all, we will make arrest. And I have a policy is that if my men go out on a situation and they don't make an arrest they have to call me and explain why. I want to know the reason why behind it.

OFFICER DAVIS.(state trooper)

N: When you're talking assaults you're talking about assaults in bars, assaults in domestic, or both?

D: It varies. Combination of all really. Mainly just I'd say 50% of them are assaults associated with domestics and the rest of them are assaults that just occur between two individuals who are

disagreeing for some sort. May not be family related but isn't classified as domestic. You never know, it's laid back most of the time and then there's not a whole lot of medium.

N: Tell me about your view on domestics. Give me some of your attitudes, your feelings about domestic disputes in this area. For example, give me a sense, maybe we could start by talking about how many domestics you deal with say in a course of a week or a month.

D: That just varies. It may range from zero to eight, maybe, in a month. The thing about these domestics, and I don't, all I can give you is my opinion on it.

N: That's exactly what I want.

D: I don't know if it's the added news media that's brought all this on. I really don't think that domestics have just ____ assaults and child molesting, and so forth. I don't think that's just occurred here in the past two years. We're just hearin' about it a lot more so than we were years ago. On the other side of the coin, a lot of them were fabricated. The majority of them were fabricated.

N: You mean the incest or the domestics?

D: What I'm referring to is the domestics where the wife calls and says the husband has done this, threatened to kill me, bla bla bla. And if you're around it enough you'd see what I'm saying. When you arrive at these homes the majority of the time the wife already knows what's goin' on. She knows to say he did this and I want him removed. She knows she has the right to do that,

N: It's mostly the wife we're talking about here. Is that right? Whose been assaulted. Rarely the other way around, would you say?

D: It's rarely the other way around. But what's not looked at, and I'm not justified in assault. But what's not looked at is the activities and so forth that have occurred prior to this assault going on. You know, it's just like you or myself. If somebody is doing things that annoy us and know that they can get by with saying whatever they want to say, and that may has taken all that he can take, and that's the way he lashes out at it and boom. Call the State Police. I want his ass out of here. And I just don't really see that's right. And again you can't justify a man hittin' a woman.

N: It's a very difficult situation I think. And there are lots of different ways of looking at it. How much injury do you see when you go to these places?

D: That tells a lot right there. I'll give you an example of a domestic that happened last Sunday morning. About 9:00, I guess early Sunday morning. Wife call the Post and said her and her husband had been in a fight and he was trying to take the baby. They had a small infant child. He was trying to take the baby and wouldn't let her leave. This kind of stuff. So I went over there and talked to the woman. The first thing I did when I went inside and met her at this neighbor's residence where she had gone and called from, took her back to her home and interviewed both of them what had occurred. The first thing that rolled out of the old boy's mouth when I walked in his house was I had a form with me that's JC3. It's got a lot of different capabilities. One of them is just a simple report form. And I had that JC3 with me. The first words that he said was "You're gonna fill one of them forms on me I want one filled out on her." And I said you got it all wrong, Bud. I don't know what's goin' on yet. I'm gonna stop here and get a cup of coffee.

There's a perpetrator. Information there on both. I tried to explain that to him right off the bat _____. He's not a real educated fella. He just wasn't bright _____ at first. Had him in there

and started explaining to him what was going on. Asked him the other side of it and so forth. It's all he kept harpin' about was, every time I asked him his date of birth for the thing and he said, "I'll tell you mine but I'm also gonna tell you hers." This kind of stuff. He kind of made me feel right there at first that maybe he, they had gone through this before. And that maybe someone had come before and taken him out of the home on a JC3. So got to talkin' to both of them. The wife says that they got into a fight. She doesn't like his parents who live in Cow County. And evidently on Saturday night, the night prior, they had decided that that morning when they got up they would all three go over to his parents. He's got a suspended drivers license so everywhere he goes she takes him. Well, she got up that morning and had a change of heart. She said she wanted to go to Rawville with her family. That pissed him off. And so they got into it there. She says that he backed her up against the wall, pointed his finger at her, pokin' her forehead. And shoved her up against the wall and took the baby and said that she wasn't goin' anywhere. So evidently she hung around there a few minutes for her opportunity and got the baby and run outside to the neighbor and called us. She says that's crazy. He said "Yea, I yelled at her. I pointed my finger at her. _____ touched her." And the whole time she's sayin' "I just want him out of here." Well, you get in that situation, you got two conflicting stories. No physical evidence to look at, no bruises, no nothin'. No other witnesses. It's just two sides against another. I told her, "Well, I'm not takin' him anywhere. This is his home as well. I said if you feel that you been assaulted or been threatened or anything else what you need to do is get an attorney." Get your own _____. I'm not gonna verify nothin'. So I left, did make arrangements for her to go to her parents and for him, a ride to come and get him to take him away.

N: When you left they were both there?

D: No. I waited until they left, I waited until she left. His ride was on the way. Went back to Post and was sittin' there in the radio room and about 2-3 hours later she come in with a warrant. She had gone to county attorney on Sunday and had gotten it and had it signed. And it was an assault four _____. And took it back and the next day served it. And when I went in again the old boy, he couldn't figure out why were back with a warrant. He said, "You told me you weren't gonna arrest me." I said, "All I'm doin' is servin' this warrant that your wife has got." And, but there's a case of what I'm tellin' you. It's bull shit is what it is. But then on the other hand you've got cases where the old boy, some old boy is drunk and you get there and you can tell. You can tell the difference if something is legitimate, somebody is usin' the state police cause they know that the state police when called will respond. And that's their defense, so to speak.

N: Do you think a lot of this legislation, vocal legislation in '84, do you think a lot of this is changed because of the law situation, the liability issue?

D: Probably it had a baring on it. _____ certainly does.

N: People are worried about that?

D: I think more than anything, first of all 90% of your domestics come from lower income areas. And uneducated areas. I think that has a major factor.

N: Are you saying uneducated in the sense they don't know how to behave, poverty-stricken and they're frustrated because of that?

D: It's just like I was tellin' you about this old boy. He couldn't comprehend anything I was tellin' him. All he knew was that he had seen someone come in before with a paper and he probably went to jail over it. And he didn't want to go this time cause he didn't think he had done anything. And I think prior to our arrival, in that situation, that a lot of times the uneducated people they don't know how to _____ anything. Everything's cut and dried. I know like my

wife and I. We get into arguments and we get into fights and we get into yellin' matches. And I'm sure everybody does. But you have to be able to perceive both sides and not lash out one way or the other whether it be call State Police or something bull-shitting or hit your wife. It's

N: That's a fine line sometimes.

D: Fine line there, that's right. But then like I say on the other side of the coin you've got the ones you go to that are legitimate and it just please you to death to take him out of the home.

N: As a rough guess what would you say the percentage of bull shit ones is to legit ones? In your opinion.

D: Probably 70-30.

N: Seventy bull shit, 30 legit?

D: Yea.

N: Okay.

D: And of those 70 more than half of those are repetitive calls.

N: So where you've served something before or you've been there before and?

D: Yea.

N: How do you feel about those return calls? They just frustrating for you and a pain in the neck?

D: _____. After a while you get you have regulars that call.

N: Regulars?

D: Yea. And you know what's goin' on and all you're doin' is goin' over there and babysittin' them. What did you say? What's your side of ____? And, you know. But there again on those regulars that one out of a hundred chances that maybe the time that you don't go may be legitimate. You're between a rock and a hard place. You can't say now you go to hell. You've called here 50 times and _____. You just can't do that.

N: So you think a lot of the stuff in the press and stuff is just made to sell newspapers?

D: Yea. All you see on TV and all you see in the newspapers are the legitimate cases. The ones where the wife has been severely beaten and the police haven't responded and it resulted in this. They don't tell you about the 99% of the calls that don't amount to shit. And you know you can look at that the same as a DUI. You can look and say, well, the State Police arrest X number of DUIs a year and then that one DUI that smacks a sober driver head-on and kills him, that's the same principle.

N: So would you say that the officers in general see as often a waste of time, or would that be going too far?

D: That's going too far. Yea. It's certainly not a waste of time when anyone calls. It's just that a lot of times you can already in your mind have a good idea of what you're goin' into.

N: Tell me about the outlying areas in the county. Rural areas in general. I've heard a number of stories that it's more difficult just to respond to those calls just in terms of just time driving there, sometimes sheriffs departments aren't able to respond, don't have the manpower, maybe don't have the communication skills. When I say skills I mean training or don't even have the radio support, say in Horse County _____ cars to ring you, whatever. Can you give me some sense of the rural areas, what goes on there in domestic violence?

D: I was in Rhino County, maybe that's an example. ... that I worked ... I didn't work over there as long so I'll use ..as a hypothetical. You're on one end of the county and there's no road like this sittin' on the county. You're on one end of _____ and you're called to say the eastern side of Rhino County, opposite end of Rhino County, a domestic in progress. As hard as you can run, lights and siren, the whole nine yards, you're looking at best of 40 minutes. That's hard runnin', that's 100+ most of the way.

N: A hundred plus on roads like that?

D: Well, that's what I'm sayin'. Where you can get it. The _____, that causes problems sometimes. Now in Dolphin County _____ knock that down to a half hour.

N: When you get out, when it takes you 30-40 minutes to get there you're probably coming into a different situation on average than say the Lovelace Police would come into after I don't know 2-3 minute call.

D: I'd say it's true. I've never thought about that.

N: Maybe you'll come in when it's chilled out a bit or . . .

D: Either killed _____ or escalate _____.

N: Right.

D: I've never compared the two but their response time is a whole lot greater.

N: When you worked in I don't know, Mule, Rhino or Horse or whatever, what's your coordination like with the Sheriff's department over domestics or anything else, for that matter?

D: In those areas?

N: Yea.

D: Good. In some areas it's bad. Generally speaking you can get, if you're the only man scheduled out that night and you get a call you can get an SO unit to assist. He may not be readily available, lots of times they may get him out of bed.

N: But you can generally get them there?

D: Yea, in most counties, the county's king. They'll come if you don't want them.

N: You tell me the county's you don't want 'em or you can't get 'em?

D: I'd rather not. That might offend someone. But like I say each county is different. Dolphin County is good. They give _____ deputies that work regularly at night and a lot of times, although we don't communicate car-to-car with one another, most of the Sheriff's department have

scanners in their vehicles and they listen to us. If we get a call nine times out of ten these old boys from Dolphin County they'll be gettin' that way before Post ever calls to see if they will go.

N: Do all counties have scanners like that and they're able to pick that up and respond?

D: Not all. It just varies with the individual. One deputy may not want to listen to us, one may.

N: In some of the poorer counties do you ever get the sense that there's a lot more domestic violence than you get called to or you hear about because of whether it's the level of education or the level of poverty or whatever?

D: Yea, certainly. I think, I try to relate this stuff to my own life. And I know that there's nothin' more frustrating to you _____ worry about the bad side of you _____ financial problems. You've got these bills rollin' in and you've got people on your ass to pay this, and you've got your wife or your husband on your ass. That certainly is a beginning.

N: So in some of these counties where the unemployment rate, the unofficial unemployment rate is 50% or so, I mean Mule or Horse, or whatever. You're talkin' real stress places, high stress places to be.

D: To some they're tickled not to work. It's some of those people over there have grown up with their parents on SSI or disability of some sort and hell, that's the only life they know. It's the easiest life they know. And they just go on. And they're happier than me or you would be. That's a fact. And you have others that want to work and maybe laid off, maybe forced to drive 2-3 hours a morning to work. I know one of the deputy sheriffs, he's a part-time deputy in _____ County. A real good person all around. And he works for a pipeline organization. And he gets up every mornin' and drives up north of Stone, for him between 2-3 hour drive. He drive it home in the evenings. _____ got a variety of people.

N: So you're talkin' about a deputy there . . .

D: Works on the week ends.

N: You're talking about supplementing salary? What kind of salary are we talking about for sheriffs and deputies in the counties. Got any sense of that?

D: Depends on what the _____ in that county allots 'em. It also, the sheriff himself, his main source of income is through tax collecting. And I know like the Mule County sheriff that's over there now--his name is Sid Stain--you can't praise that man enough. When he came in as sheriff he came in under an environment where the previous sheriff left off just prior to fulfilling his term. Hadn't collected the taxes in Mule County for several years prior. And it was just until this year that sheriff took off this January of '90 and it was not until this year that man ever drew a cent _____ what he did. And he was right on our ass the whole time we were over there. _____ we need it just like having another unit out _____. And use deputies as well. But the deputies themselves are paid. It depends on how much money the county has. Stone County, I've never worked in Stone County. I understand they have an excellent work in the sheriff's department. Several units and several cars, good radio system, dispatchers, _____. But again that's a high-class area.

N: So you'd estimate what for deputy, \$15,000 a year then, \$20,000?

D: I'd say that's pushin' it.

N: A bit high?

D: I would say. I would say between \$12-15,000. On the average.

N: With, one of the things I've heard, I was gonna run this by you. Is that with sheriffs departments, in particular. Because the sheriff is elected it may make a sheriff more reluctant to go in and confront someone in a domestic violence situation, or make an arrest in that situation. What do you think of that?

D: Again I hate to keep sayin' this same thing, but it's the answer to a lot of questions. It varies from individual to individual. Generally speaking in most of the time the sheriff has no prior police background. He has no idea of really how to defuse a situation that has potential. He's been a farmer or a logger or just a politician in the area that the people like and think is a good ol' boy and they voted him in. And he has the option ____ of either doin' a good job or from the word go thinkin' of the next place.

N: So case-by-case, county-by-county? Yea.

D: It's the only way you can look at it. I've worked with good sheriffs and I've worked with some that I just as soon not work with.

SHERIFF'S DEPUTY ROBERTS.

N: What made you come into law enforcement work?

R: I needed the bread, for one thing. _____ gets rough on the farm _____. I just _____.

N: So did you like apply to the department or how, did you know the sheriff, or what was the deal with that? How did you get hired?

R: I know the sheriff.

N: Good. Tell me about, tell me a little bit about your experience with domestics. How many calls do you get on average? Is it more sometimes during the year, less other times?

R: Yes, sometimes it's _____ many times it's sort of sporadic. _____ the winter months it seems like every other person _____.

N: Do you find that it's certain people all the time that you go back to or do you find that new calls as well? What's the deal with that?

R: Lot of times it's the same ones. _____ then a new one will pop out. It seems like the same _____ most of the time. It takes a while to _____ set a pattern or whatever straightened out. _____.

N: How do you feel about that?

R: Well, it's kind of a _____.

N: Do you see it as a waste of time? I know you have to go, but I mean, do you see it as a nuisance or?

R: I think that it's a nuisance sometimes.

N: For what? Tell me what you mean nuisance? Like _____ issues with kids, divorce stuff?

R: _____ right or wrong. EPOs, they might lie a lot. _____ the children or whatever.

N: What do you think, because there is a lot of, there has been a lot of publicity over the last 4-5 years I guess in this state about domestic violence. Do you think it's mostly a lot of fuss about nothing?

R: Yeah.

N: Yeah?

R: _____.

N: So most of the calls you go out on result in minor injuries or? Would you say--I don't want to say they're a waste of time. But would you say they're calls that the taxpayers' money could have best been spent somewhere else?

R: Yeah. A lot of times. _____ abuse cases.

N: Loud noise and disturbances and whatever. Yeah.

R: That's a lot of it, just disturbance.

N: How do you feel about the mandatory arrest?

R: Yeah. I guess it's all right. A lot of times _____. Like sometimes it don't help to make an arrest right there. A few days or a week _____ right back in. I don't know if it helps _____ or not. In some cases it probably does.

N: Do you see alcohol being involved in a lot of that stuff.

R: Yeah, sure do. A lot of times.

N: Would you guess a percentage like 70, 80 or 90%? What do you think?

R: I'd say it's 85% would be alcohol, mostly alcohol. A lot of times _____. Alcohol is a cause of a lot of the problems.

N: Have you yourself seen a husband assault a wife? Or vice versa in your two years working? Have you ever witnessed an assault yourself?

R: _____ no, can't say I have. _____ duty would be done _____ by the time we get the call.

N: What's your response time like?

R: Well.

N: Depends where you go, obviously.

R: As soon as we get a call we've got to go.

N: But if they're right at the edge of the county, the furthest point in the county, how far could you be away from that call?

R: I'd say 30 minutes.

N: Thirty minutes. You're driving at what speed?

R: From this point here. Lovelace and you're on the other side of the county, 45 minutes _____.

N: If you're doing that you've got your lights on? Lights flashing or not?

R: Not on domestic violence unless there was abuse. We kind of check it out _____.

N: Do you feel that's a dangerous situation for you? A domestic situation?

R: Yeah. _____ many times.

N: Your adrenalin is pumping when you go into that sometimes, or every time?

R: Not every time. _____ know a lot of the people.

N: Let me ask you that. You say you know all the people. How many couples in the county would you say you see on domestic calls more than once a year?

R: _____

N: How many couples.

R: The same ones over and over again?

N: Yeah, or at least where you go to more than once a year, maybe 2, 3, 4 times a year? How many would you say as a guess?

R: I'd say at least 8-10. _____ EPOs _____. And you have to go back again. Stone cold _____. That's what kind of gets to you.

N: How do you feel about that? If you got an EPO that says the husband can't be there, for example. Which is often the case, right? And he's there. What do you think about that?

R: Well, it's not good for us. It makes it really bad. _____ service stations we've got to make sure _____ residence back _____ it makes you feel kinda sad, you know. Sooner or later they're gonna get _____. It could be violent. _____. Each time it seems like it just gets worse. _____

N: Have you ever been assaulted in one of those situations?

R: No. Not really. Had a little trouble on the last one. He didn't vacate. He didn't want to go. But we arrested him, brought him in. _____ right back. He just got tired of it. When I picked the paper on _____ he won't go. I _____ talked to him, got mad, tore the papers up _____. He could be right back in. _____ I know at least 5-6 times.

N: Those do 12 hours in jail?

R: Yeah.

N: And they'll go out somewhere else, and stay somewhere else for a while and then maybe they'll get back together again? Kids involved?

R: Yeah. _____. I don't know, it just keeps goin' and goin'. It seems like it gets a little worse you've got to go. It gets harder _____. She just, somethin' happens she just. I ____ sometimes she makes up a lot of it just to get rid of him. I don't know. It kind of got tougher the last time.

N: What do you mean?

R: ____ his daughter _____.

N: So what did you think of that? A pain in the neck to deal with or?

R: Yeah, it is. You have to leave your own home it's _____. _____ anywhere to go.

N: So your sympathy was with the guy in some ways?

R: Yeah. Sometimes it ain't the guy. The old lady sometimes _____ things that shouldn't be done that cause trouble. A lot of times that there's a problem too.

N: Like the woman like cheatin' on her husband or something?

R: _____

N: You must know that goes on in the community.

R: It happens lots. ____ get rid of her husband _____. Back together, her and her husband. Then you know what's the trouble. They start arguin' about it

SECTION 6. MAKING SENSE OF THE FINDINGS: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND POLICING IN A RURAL SETTING.

Domestic Violence.

The aforementioned examples of physical, emotional, symbolic and sexual abuse represent the tip of the iceberg in terms of the overall frequency and variety of abusive behavior. From the twenty-five interviews with battered women it appears that certain forms of violence were less common than others. Physical abuse such as hair pulling, kicking, grabbing, slapping and punching turned out to be much more common than knifing, shooting, burning, electrocution, poisoning or chaining to the bed. Although only twenty-five women were interviewed it is clear from other key informants such as directors of spouse abuse shelters that these forms of violence are widespread. In fiscal year 1991-2 the Kentucky Domestic Violence Association housed 2300 battered women for varying periods of time. The outreach programs from each of the 16 shelters in the state reveal that many battered women cannot or will not use the services of shelters. This suggests that there is a potentially large number of battered women whose plight is either not known or not officially documented.

It is possible that the rural lifestyles of these women make it peculiarly difficult to escape from their batterers or utilize the services of spouse abuse shelters. A number of the women did not have access to a car or did not have a license to drive. There were instances of abusive partners controlling the physical movements of these women by recording the mileage reading on any vehicle that was left at home. Other abusers disabled the vehicle in some way. Some of the households in rural areas did not have phones. In some cases where phones were present the abuser was known to take the phone receiver out with him when he left the house. Some battered women who live up what is locally called a 'hollow' (a secluded dirt road cul de sac with a small number of houses on it) seem to live extraordinarily isolated lives. Several of these women reported not having had any friends for years. With no public transportation and large distances between houses they reported that it was often physically difficult to engage in social life.

I am not suggesting that woman battering is substantially different in urban and rural areas. The underlying structure of patriarchy cuts across geographical regions. It seems that the violence reported by the respondents closely resembles that reported in urban centers. Nevertheless, the isolation of some rural settings does appear to put battered women at a considerable disadvantage. The women in this study reported that it was simply too difficult to just walk out of the 'hollow'. These difficulties were compounded if the women had children to care for. In cases where the abuser's parents lived next door or in the same house it was especially difficult to get away. I make these points because the women who were the victims of this abuse did plan their escape. They did devise strategies to resist the abuse of their partners. It is not the finding of these interviews that battered women in rural areas were 'backward' or were suffering from what the psychologists call 'learned helplessness'. There were very real geographical, economic and social constraints which compounded the controls exerted by the terroristic tactics of their partners.

The findings on sexual abuse have to be interpreted with care. On the surface only a few of the battered women reported being the victims of rape. However, the majority of women reported engaging in a variety of forms of sexual activity with their partners when these women did not really want to. Some thought it was their duty as wives. This duty may have been influenced by religious beliefs, economic necessities, preexisting thought patterns acquired from their own parents, etc.. These 'non-consensual' sexual relations took many forms. Vaginal intercourse out of necessity rather than volition was a reality for most of the battered women interviewed. Oral and anal sex under the same terms were far less common as were instances where women reported being pressured to have sex with other men or with animals. During the course of the research I uncovered two cases of women being forced to engage in sex acts with animals. In both of these cases the animal in question was a German Shepherd dog. The connection between this type of dog and physical power/propensity to violence should not be missed.

The extensive evidence of non-consensual as well as forced sex is consistent with the findings of feminists that marital rape is extremely common (Russell 1982, 1984). The criminal justice system only recognizes 'forcible rape' as prosecutable, so my findings provide further evidence that the family is a site of extreme tension and antagonism. There was also a clear connection between both non-consensual and forced sex and the commission of acts of physical violence. Many women who were battered reported that their partners at least attempted or requested sex immediately after an episode of battery. In the cases where battery was associated with intoxication these attempts to have sex were not successful.

Policing.

The interviews with the respondents in this study revealed a number of different opinions on the policing of domestic violence. As the excerpts show, the response of police is very variable. Of the agencies involved the state police were the best trained to deal with domestic disputes. However the officers in the Lovelace municipal police were more sensitive than most municipal departments in the area due to the personal interest of the police chief in domestic violence. We might use Howard Becker's term 'moral entrepreneur' to describe the

overall orientation of Chief Jones towards this particular social problem. Jones sits on the advisory board of the local spouse abuse shelter and is involved in publicity campaigns to increase funding for the shelter. The performance of local sheriff's seems to be extremely variable. Some sheriff's denied that domestic violence constituted any kind of social problem at all. Others were much more willing to intervene and were clearly aware of the magnitude of battering. Nevertheless these sheriff's were short staffed and undertrained. Their deputies were clearly political appointees who were in many cases ignorant of the rudiments of police procedure or the subtleties of the law relating to domestic violence. Sheriff's were also in a difficult position because their future employment depended upon them winning the votes of the people they policed. Many battered women cited the electoral vulnerability of sheriff's as a key reason for the sheriff's failure to intervene in domestics. It seems that sheriff's and deputies were reluctant to intervene for fear of intruding upon what has traditionally been seen as a family matter. If they had have intervened they ran the risk of losing the votes of all family members who believed that the domestic altercation should have been solved internally. At another level, all or most respondents gave the impression that the relationship between the sheriff's department and the male populace was rather like a 'good old boy' system in which the sovereign powers of men took precedence over the need to rationally enforce the law or to provide the rudiments of protection.

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